

*file: Counsel*



# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036, Telephone: (202) 265-3800

## MEMORANDUM

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From: Leo Szilard

I am taking the liberty of sending you this memorandum on the tentative assumption that you have been asking yourself if there were anything that any of us could do to halt the general drift towards war. I, myself, didn't think that there was, until about a year ago, when I began to see how even a small group of people, ten to twenty thousand perhaps, who may unite on a set of attainable political objectives, would have a chance to bring about the change that is needed.

We came close to war last October when the Russians transported rockets to Cuba, and if the arms race continues other crises of this sort are bound to occur. It is easier to build long-range rockets, such as the Minuteman, as fast as the available production facilities permit, than to stop the arms race by arriving at an agreement on arms control with the Soviet Union which the Senate may be willing to ratify. If we keep on following this line of least resistance we shall before long reach a point of no return in an all-out arms race.

With President Kennedy, a number of exceptionally capable men moved into the Administration. No one knows better than they do that America cannot be made secure by trying to keep ahead in the arms race, but they find it difficult to keep their attention focused on the central issues when peripheral issues take up much of their time and attention and when they get little encouragement from the Congress.

There are a number of exceptionally capable men in the Congress also, particularly in the Senate. Many of them are deeply concerned about the general trend towards war and have considerable insight into what needs to be done but, more often than not, they give in private conversation a lucid analysis of the problems with which we are faced and then, at some point or other, they say "Of course, I couldn't say this in public."

About a year and a half ago, it occurred to me that if enough people would unite on a set of attainable objectives they could maintain an organization which would bring to Washington from time to time scientists and scholars who understand the problem that the bomb poses to the world. These distinguished men would speak with the sweet voice of reason to key people within the Administration and the Senate; they would try to get them to focus their attention on the central issues and assist them in clarifying their minds on some of the more complex issues which are involved.

The next thing that occurred to me was that these distinguished men would be heard, but they might not be listened to, if they were able to deliver neither votes nor campaign contributions.

I was led to conclude that the sweet voice of reason alone could not do the job, that campaign contributions alone could not do the job, but the combination of the sweet voice of reason and substantial campaign contributions might very well do the job.

Twenty thousand people having an average income of \$10,000 and willing to devote 1% or 2% of their income to campaign contributions for Congressional candidates would provide an amount of \$2 to \$4 million a year. This amount, if wisely spent, could have a profound effect on the composition and the attitudes of Congress.

The Council for a Livable World, set up in Washington in June of last year, is prepared to advise its supporters as to where their campaign contributions would be most effective.

The Council is composed of scientists, scholars and men well-versed in practical politics. It includes William Doering, Director of the Division of Science, Yale University; Morton Grodzins, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; and James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union.

In the last Congressional election the Council recommended to those who sought its advice to concentrate their campaign contributions on three Senatorial candidates. Checks were made out directly to the candidate and sent to the Council for transmission. The Council transmitted over \$20,000 to George McGovern, formerly Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years. To the other two Senatorial candidates, the Council transmitted over \$10,000 and over \$4,000 respectively, and both of them were elected.

On the basis of the experience gained so far, I am inclined to believe that the Council could become the most effective public-interest lobby that ever hit Washington by the time the number of its supporters reaches 10,000.

Regular Supporters of the Council are expected to expend 2% of their income, and Contributing Supporters of the Council are expected to expend 1% of their income or \$100, in support of the work of the Council, including campaign contributions to Congressional candidates.

If you believe that you might wish to become a supporter of the Council, please fill out the enclosed form and mail it to the Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. A pre-paid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

Draft policy statement on a multilateral nuclear force (Szilard, 2-15-64).

The Council urges the United States government to try to reach a meeting of the minds with the Russians at the earliest date on the prevention of proliferation of atomic bombs. The Council is opposed to the continuation of American support for the concept of the so-called multilateral nuclear deterrent under which a large surface fleet armed with Polaris rockets would be maintained under the joint control of America, Germany, and a few other European nations. As long as America holds a veto over resorting to the use of such a force, such a force would make no additional contribution to the security of the nations of Europe, and there is reason to believe that the nation in Europe which has come out most strongly in favor of the establishment of such a force, namely, Germany, favors it only because it believes that sooner or later the American veto will be abandoned. The creation of such a force would establish and maintain the threat that a strategic striking force might be put into the control of Germany by a stroke of the pen. For this reason it would represent a roadblock to an agreement aimed at preventing the proliferation of atomic bombs.

Draft policy statement on the minimal deterrent (Leo Szilard, 2-15-64).

We urge that the U.S. make a serious attempt to reach a meeting of the minds with the Russians on reducing their strategic striking forces to a minimal level which would be sufficient to inflict unacceptable damage in retaliation if the country were subjected to an atomic attack. For an agreement based on the concept of a minimal deterrent to be acceptable, the agreement would have to provide for measures of inspection sufficient to make sure that a minimal deterrent could not be destroyed in a surprise attack. An agreement based on the concept of a minimal deterrent will also have to set limits on the strategic striking forces maintained by countries other than Russia and America. Further, such an agreement would have to set a limit to the size and numbers of tactical bombs retained, and, depending on the measures of inspection which are adopted, tactical bombs might be virtually or completely eliminated from the arsenals of the nations. As a first step in this direction, certain areas of the world might be denuclearized at the outset of the government.

If America and Russia were to reach a meeting of the minds on the concept of a minimal deterrent, a production cut-off relating to atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, and their means of delivery, might be agreed upon as a first step.

*file: Counsel*

MEMORANDUM

From: Leo Szilard

I am taking the liberty of sending you this memorandum on the tentative assumption that you are <sup>(personally)</sup> vitally interested in searching for ways and means to continue and rapidly accelerate the so far tentative steps made by the major nuclear powers toward halting the arms race. Until about two years ago, most of us did not believe there was much that we, as individuals, could do to halt what appeared to be an inevitable drift toward war. At that time I conceived the idea of how even a small group of people, ten to twenty thousand perhaps, who could unite on a set of attainable political objectives would have a chance to bring about the changes needed.

Since that time we came close to war in October, 1962, when the Russians transported rockets to Cuba. It then became apparent even to the most obtuse, that nuclear war as an instrument or "continuation of policy by other means" was a reductio ad absurdum. Undoubtedly, this fact and the scare developed over Cuba permitted the first vague blush of understanding which culminated in the test ban agreement. Additionally certain unilateral acts have recently been taken by the super powers resulting in minor cuts in their respective defense budgets and a better atmosphere is apparent at Geneva. However, the arms race has not halted and could easily escalate rapidly again through the Russian move to deploy anti-missile missiles around their cities and missile bases. This action could trigger a U.S. response in building more missiles to insure overcoming the Russian missile defenses and getting through to the targets. As the U.S. builds more missiles, the Russians in turn build more missiles to ensure a counter strike capability and the U.S. in turn deploys a NIKE X system and so on.

A number of exceptionally capable men are now present in the current Administration. No one knows better than they do that America cannot be made secure by trying to keep ahead in the arms race, but they find it difficult to keep their attention focused on the central issues when peripheral issues take up much of their time and attention and when they get little encouragement from the Congress.

There are a number of exceptionally capable men in the Congress also, particularly in the Senate. Many of them are deeply concerned about the general trend toward war and have considerable insight into what needs to be done but more often than not, they give in private conversation a lucid analysis of the problems with which we are faced and then, at some point or other, they say "Of course, I couldn't say this in public."

About two years ago, it occurred to me that if enough people would unite on a set of attainable objectives they could maintain an organization which would bring to Washington from time to time scientists and scholars who understand the problem that the bomb poses to the world. These distinguished men would speak with the sweet voice of reason to key people within the Administration and the Senate; they would try to get them to focus their attention on the central issues and assist them in clarifying their minds on some of the more complex issues which are involved.

The next thing that occurred to me was that these distinguished men would be heard, but they might not be listened to, if they were able to deliver neither votes nor campaign contributions.

I was led to conclude that the sweet voice of reason alone could not do the job, that campaign contributions alone could not do the job, but the combination of the sweet voice of reason and substantial campaign

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In the 1962 Congressional election the Council recommended to those who sought its advice to concentrate their campaign contributions on three Senatorial candidates. Checks were made out directly to the candidate and sent to the Council for transmission. The Council transmitted over \$20,000 to George McGovern, formerly Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years. To the other two Senatorial candidates, the Council transmitted over \$10,000 and over \$4,000 respectively, and both of them were elected. In the fall of 1963 a total of \$30,000 was transmitted to three Senators; Burdick, Moss and McGee to enable them to get an early start in their re-

election campaigns.

On the basis of the experience gained so far, I am inclined to believe that the Council could become the most effective public-interest lobby that ever hit Washington by the time the number of its supporters reaches 10,000.

Supporters of the Council are expected to expend 2% of their income, or if this is unrealistic 1% of their income or \$100 in support of the work of the Council, including campaign contributions to Congressional candidates.

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Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

FRONT COVER COPY

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

" . . . . . A DEDICATED MINORITY taking effective political action . . . . "

(from Are We on the Road to War)  
just in case you didn't know

-- Leo Szilard, 1961

Drop

Forbes

Sept 1968

INSIDE FRONT COVER COPY

The Council for a Livable World was formed in 1962 by the world-famous (renowned) physicist and biologist, Leo Szilard. It is an independent, non-partisan political organization active in the areas of arms control, national defense and foreign policy. The Council is not a protest organization. It was formed for the purpose of identifying and achieving specific political goals through realistic and practical measures.

small — The basic assumption underlying the Council's operations is that a relatively number of Americans can accomplish results out of all proportions to their ~~numbers~~ numerical strength provided they can agree unite on a specific set of political objectives and are prepared to back up their convictions with an annual financial commitment. During the six years of the Council's existence the validity of this premise has been repeatedly demonstrated (again and again).

sizable —

[At bottom of page in different type face:]

It was Leo Szilard who in 1939 brought to the attention of Albert Einstein the feasibility of producing atomic weapons. Szilard's initiative led to the Manhattan Project which ~~resulted in~~ manufactured the first atomic bombs. The small group of scientists who had helped to build the first bombs submitted to President Truman a minority report opposing their use against civilian populations. Szilard was the key figure in organizing the group and preparing their report. In 1946 he was instrumental in securing passage of the Atomic Energy Act which removed control of nuclear energy from the hands of the military and placed it under civilian authority, the Atomic Energy Commission. In 1959 he was awarded the Atoms for Peace Prize. Three years later, convinced the world was drifting toward nuclear war, he [brought together] summoned a number of colleagues and friends who joined with him to establish the Council for a Livable World.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE COUNCIL

To prevent a nuclear war by opposing the <sup>introduction</sup> ~~use~~ of nuclear weapons of any type into any conflict

To secure immediate and maximal effort on the part of the United States government to reach (negotiate) further international arms control agreements with the ultimate ~~the~~ goal of achieving general and complete disarmament

To convince the United States government to take the lead in organizing a coordinated world effort to combat hunger, disease and poverty in all nations

To obtain an immediate revision of this nation's present order of national priorities which will reduce the vast and unwarranted level of military programs reallocating funds thereby made available for use in rebuilding blighted urban areas, eliminating poverty, unemployment, improving educational systems and providing equal opportunities for all citizens

OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL

- I - Congressional Campaign Assistance
- II - Congressional Seminars
- III - Washington Conferences
- IV - Legislative Program
- V - Vietnam Program
- VI - Information Program
- VII - Special Projects
- VIII - United Nations Program

Never before has this country been confronted simultaneously with both foreign and domestic crises <sup>of the utmost gravity</sup> [which are] of the utmost gravity. No one can predict today how the next Administration will decide to deal with them -- whther it will be heavy-handed and repressive or restrained and compassionate. In either case it is clear that the critical elemant in the political process will be the United States Senate. With a majority composed of courageous and thoughtful men it will not only be the vital safeguard against a reactionary, insensitive Administration but <sup>it can</sup> will also serve as the instrument for carrying out the programs of an enlightened Executive. If, on the other hand, the balance of <sup>Senate</sup> power should be held by a coalition of Neanderthals, the <sup>domestic</sup> prospects for unity and justice during the next four years are <sup>slim, indeed,</sup> [remote].

Since its formation in 1962 the Council's primary concern has been to provide, through its thousands of Supporters across the nation, substantial campaign assistance <sup>to</sup> the most capable and outstanding Senatorial candidates, both incumbents and challengers. In every Congressional election since 1962 the Council has recommended to its Supporters a slate of candidates for the Senate. 19 candidates have received <sup>major</sup> assistance and 16 have won their contests. 10 [men] received secondary support, 6 of whom were elected. Perhaps the most remarkable accomplishment is that 6 of these 22 winning candidates were challengers who won Senate seats for the first time.

In many instances the assistance furnished by the Supporters of the Council <sup>was proven to be decisive</sup> [has been a decisive factor in the race.] The principal <sup>ground intellectual?</sup> criteria em-

ployed in selecting candidates for support are -

1. Their genuine concern with the urgent necessity to limit the arms race and to press for far-reaching arms control and <sup>disarmament</sup> agreements.
2. Their understanding that the use of force in the nuclear age to settle disputes between nations is fraught (carries with it) with unprecedented dangers.
3. Their commitment to the principle that ~~international conflicts~~ <sup>Must be made to settle</sup> ~~can only be settled~~ <sup>international conflicts</sup> ~~must be settled by making~~ every possible effort <sup>to resolve</sup> ~~to resolve~~ them by diplomatic initiatives, by direct negotiations between the parties involved, by referring <sup>disputes</sup> them to appropriate international organizations, <sup>and</sup> by independent initiatives aimed at reducing tensions.
4. Their conviction that this country's foreign policy must be characterized by a spirit of reconciliation rather than provocation.

A second set of criteria <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ political: Candidates must ~~be~~ run on a major party ticket; they must have at least a reasonable chance of winning their race; they must be in need of campaign assistance. As a general rule candidates selected for support are from ~~the~~ states with small populations where the assistance provided by Supporters can have a decisive impact on the campaign. ~~The calibre of the opposition is an important consideration.~~ The Council does not take sides in those races in which two candidates of equal merit are opposed. Every attempt is made to give aid to candidates who are running against right-wing extremists. Council assistance has helped to defeat many arch-reactionaries; for instance, a leader of the Birch Society in New Mexico; a director of the extremist Americans for Constitutional Action in Utah; leaders of the John Birch Society in Wyoming and South Dakota.

(Wes McKeown of Group Research is looking up in his files the precise details of the present associations of a number of men defeated by our candidates. He knows off-hand that Mechem, Grenier, Wilkinson are doing.)  
(No names will be mentioned; just states and associations)

The Council attaches no conditions, explicit or implicit, to acceptance of its Supporter contributions and <sup>they,</sup> by the same token, ~~its Supporters~~ do not look for personal gain or favors in return for their contributions. The Supporters of the Council understand that it is the Senate which in its "advice and consent" <sup>which</sup> role is charged with the responsibility of approving or disapproving the foreign policies of the Executive. Members of the Senate are concerned primarily with issues which affect <sup>the</sup> the entire nation, not merely their state. <sup>Every</sup> American citizen, regardless of his place of residence, <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ a deep personal stake in every contest for a seat in the United States Senate. <sup>redundant</sup> [The assistance given to candidates is disinterested and impersonal.] <sup>Assistance</sup> It is given to the most outstanding, ~~and~~ courageous and intelligent candidates. It is the sort of backing which enables them to maintain their political independence, their integrity and effectiveness.

The victorious record of Council-assisted candidates is nothing short of remarkable; Council support <sup>of</sup> it is a major factor today in American political life. The Council's <sup>operating</sup> methods of operating are unique: Only the most outstanding men are selected as recipients of support. This means that contributions are not spread among a large number of candidates but are concentrated ~~on~~ in most years on six men, sometimes even fewer. These candidates receive, therefore, very substantial assistance, often enough to make a difference between victory and defeat. <sup>contribute such</sup> The Council is able to concentrate large sums because of its unique methods of operating: The Corrupt Practices Act of 1917 prohibits making a campaign contribution from individuals or organizations to \$5,000 to any single candidate. Council Supporters do not make campaign contributions to the Council itself ~~for~~ for distribution later among the candidates. Each

Supporter makes his contribution directly to the candidate's official campaign fund <sup>according to</sup> [on the basis of] recommendations made to him by the Council. No other organization raising campaign funds nationally operates on this basis, and therefore no other organization can be <sup>so</sup> as effective as the Council. The contribution of a Supporter living in, say, Chicago, when combined with thousands of contributions from the ~~entire~~ other Supporters throughout the country, does not amount to a mere token of moral support; it represents very possibly, the largest <sup>single</sup> bloc of assistance <sup>a</sup> ~~that~~ candidate will receive without any strings attached, <sup>and it will</sup> be a major factor in the campaign. The cost of a Senate race <sup>has risen astronomically in the last few years</sup> in a large state <sup>now</sup> varies from \$1 million to \$2.5 million. In a small state \$300,000 is not unusual. It becomes increasingly difficult for candidates, particularly for challengers, to raise such enormous sums without having recourse to sources which expect a quid pro quo. The assistance from Council Supporters is totally disinterested, it is not "organization" money; ~~it is not~~ "Eastern" money or "Northern" money, but <sup>It</sup> comes from every state in the Union. It helps to offset the vast ~~sums which come~~ <sup>in many states</sup> ~~from~~ out-of-state sums which are poured into Senate races by wealthy extremists in order to defeat liberal and enlightened men.

"To me, the Council's greatest contribution has been its concentration on the election of Senators, of both parties, who are sincerely seeking an ~~im~~ honorable peace and sorely needed domestic reforms."

Mark Hatfield of Oregon

"The Council is playing an increasingly important role in supporting the election of Congressmen and Senators who will meet realistically the great issues of peace and war."

George McGovern of South Dakota

"I commend the Council for a Livable World for its efforts to support the re-election of those Senators who have demonstrated great leadership in working for the general welfare of all citizens and in particular who have opposed escalation of the Vietnam war and who continue to seek peace."

Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota

Campaign Record --- 1962-1966

	1962	
✓ Frank Church, (D)	.....	Idaho
✓ Joseph S. Clark, (D)	.....	Pennsylvania
✓ J. William Fulbright, (D)	.....	Arkansas
✓ Jacob K. Javits, (R)	.....	New York
✓ George S. McGovern, (D)	.....	S. Dakota
✓ Wayne L. Morse, (D)	.....	Oregon

	1964	
Albert Gore, (D)	.....	Tennessee
Philip Hart, (D)	.....	Michigan
Eugene McCarthy, (D)	.....	Minnesota
Gale W. McGee, (D)	.....	Wyoming
Joseph M. Montoya, (D)	.....	New Mexico
Frank E. Moss, (D)	.....	Utah
Edmund Muskie, (D)	.....	Maine
Joseph Tydings, (D)	.....	Maryland
Ralph W. Yarborough, (D)	.....	Texas

*Revised*  
*Revised Harding*

	1966	
E. L. Bartlett, (D)	.....	Alaska
Edward Brooke, (R)	.....	Massachusetts
✓ Clifford Case, (R)	.....	New Jersey
✓ Mark Hatfield, (R)	.....	Oregon
✓ Lee Metcalf, (D)	.....	Montana
Walter Mondale, (D)	.....	Minnesota
John Sparkman, (D)	.....	Alabama

(18)

Through September 30, 1968, the following candidates had received assistance from Council Supporters -

- George S. McGovern, (D).....South Dakota
- Gaylord Nelson, (D).....Wisconsin
- Wayne Morse, (D).....Oregon
- Joseph S. Clark
- Gaylord Mathias
- Gaylord Fulbright

Contributions through September 30, 1968      \$308,571,002.49

OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL II - Congressional Seminars

The procedures of the American political system have changed very little in the last 50 years. This particular form of conservatism may not in itself be <sup>dysfunctional,</sup> ~~destructive~~. However, the nature of the issues and questions with which members of Congress are daily required to deal has changed dramatically. Economic and fiscal problems are vastly more complicated today than before World War II. Minority problems are a matter of survival for the country. In addition, a whole new range of issues, most of them in foreign ~~and~~ and defense policy are so complex and call for such an unusual background of special knowledge that barely a handful of members of Congress are equipped to consider them. The result is that as often as not these matters are decided on the basis of their emotional and psychological aspects rather than on the substantive. When first discussing <sup>with university audiences</sup> the proposal to form the Council for a Livable World <sup>before</sup> audiences at a number of universities and colleges across the country, Leo Szilard suggested that one of the most important functions <sup>has</sup> an organization <sup>such as he had in mind</sup> could fulfill would be to bring to Washington the "sweet voice of reason".

Since the Council was formed 6 years ago it has sought tirelessly to clarify the more complex issues, particularly those which demanded extensive knowledge and scientific insight, for example, the Anti-Ballistic Missile question, inspection of a test ban, policing a non-proliferation treaty, the international diplomatic and technical problems raised by the multilateral nuclear force project. No organization existed then in America which could ~~or~~ had the credentials to do this job. Szilard had devoted the greater part of the last 20 years of his life to analyzing these questions and he brought on to the Board of Directors of the Council and to its Advisory Committee a number of men who were acknowledged experts in arms control and ~~related~~

nuclear strategy. A great part of the respect in which the Council is held by both its friends and its right-wing enemies\* is due to the fact that the issues on which it speaks out are <sup>precisely</sup> those on which it is exceptionally well-informed. <sup>best -</sup>

The Council's Congressional Seminar program began in 1963, a few months after the Council was founded, when a group of Senate legislative and administrative aides met to discuss problems of intercontinental ballistic missile deployment with several members of the Council's Board of Directors. Today the Seminar Program is one of the Council's most important operations.

The Speakers are brought to Washington by the Council for the express purpose of examining in detail a question of unusual importance. In almost all cases <sup>Senators</sup> members of both parties attend. The seminars are not scheduled on a regular basis such as the third Wednesday of each month. They are held when there has been sufficient expression of interest by members of the Senate.

These seminars enable Senators -- among the most overworked and harrassed Americans -- to meet informally and quietly in a Congressional dining room with a speaker who is one of the most articulate and knowledgeable ~~men~~ experts in the country on the issue under discussion. By ~~keeping the~~ limiting the number of those attending to twenty each Senator is in a position to ~~con-discuss the~~ can participate in the discussion personally.

The largest proportion by far of seminars are for Senators only. From time to time, however, seminars are given for members of the House of Representatives and several have been expressly for the aides of Senators and or Representatives.

The list below of seminars gives an idea of the range of topics. Many have dealt with matters of immediate concern; others have served to introduce new ideas and to encourage discussions and concepts which otherwise ~~have been~~ would not have <sup>come</sup> been.

\* something about Holmes, Alexander, Maxwell Simpson, etc?



~~1964-65~~

- The Multilateral Nuclear Force - Prof. Franklin Long
- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- Some Problems in Latin America - \*
- Mainland China, Taiwan and U.S. Policy - Prof. John K. Fairbank
- The Peace Corps: Future Developments - Warren Wiggins
- ~~The Problem of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons~~
- The Anti-Ballistic Missile Program - Donald A. Brennan

~~1965~~

- National Polling and its Relationship to Public Policy - Prof. Peter Roser, U. Chicago
- Mainland China and the United Nations - Hon. ? Kahtai, of Nepal
- Russian Intervention in the Vietnamese War - Prof. Harold Borah, Harvard U

~~1967~~

- Anti-Ballistic Missiles - Prof. Franklin Long, Cornell U
- Vietnam???????? - Prof. Roger Fisher, Harvard Law Scho
- Anti-Ballistic Missiles - Prof. Jerome Wiesner, Provost, MIT
- Vietnam????? - Prof. George McT. Kahin, East Asia Program, Director, Cornell Univ
- Vietnam?????? - Prof. Roger Fisher, etc
- Anti-Ballistic Missiles - Prof. George Kistiakowsky, Harvard U
- The Anti-Ballistic Missile Program (For Republican House Staff only) - Prof. " " "
- Vietnam -- After the Elections -what? - Tuan Van Dinh, U.S. Rep
- Vietnam -- A proposal for Political Settlement - Prof. GT MC Kahin
- Military Strategy and the Planned ABM Defenses - Prof. Hans Bethe, Cornell U
- Same as above (For members of House Staff only) - " " "
- ABM and the Prospects for a Successful Arms Race - Prof. Jerome Wiesner, Provost, MIT
- Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare - Prof. Matthew Meselson, Harvard U

Operations of the Council - III - Washington Conferences

The Council has organized and sponsored five major conferences in Washington. Their purpose has been to bring together as broad as possible a representation of members of Congress, the Administration and academic leaders and private individuals to examine ~~as possible one particular~~ <sup>a single</sup> issue of great urgency in which all participants were deeply concerned. These conferences have ~~enabled~~ made possible an exchange of opinions, views and information which has ~~been~~ helped to clarify extremely complex questions. They have contributed to extending the scope of Congressional debate, to ~~the~~ <sup>developing</sup> development of new initiatives on the part of the Administration, to encouraging more enlightened discussion in the Press and they have <sup>to</sup> encouraged study and action in the academic community.

Council Conferences -

Discussion Leaders

~~1953~~

American Strategic Choices in the Next Decade

\*

Economics of Disarmament

Prof. Wassily Leontieff, Harv

~~1954~~

Arms Control Developments

Richard Barnet, Insititute for Policy Studies; Marvin Fox, Hughes Aircraft; Dr. Leonard Rodberg, ACDA  
Prof. Louis A. Sohn, Harvard Law

~~1955~~

Vietnam

Dr. Mark Mancall, Prof. George T. Kahin, Cornell U. Clifford Geertz

The Problem of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Dr. Jeremy Stone; Prof. Bernard T. Feld, Howard Margolis, Insitiute for Defense Analysis; Prof. Franklin L'ng, Cornell U.

~~1956~~

Mainland China

Han Suyin, Charles Taylor, Richard Wilson, Audrey Donnithorne,  
Dunson

The following organizations have been represented at these conferences -

Department of Defense  
Institute of Defense Analysis  
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency  
Hudson Institute  
Senate Committee on Commerce  
Office of the Secretary of Defense  
Agency for International Development  
Office of the Secretary to the Senate Majority  
Department of State  
Office of the Secretary of the Senate  
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations  
Institute for Policy Studies  
Hughes Aircraft Corporation  
Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy  
Atomic Energy Commission  
Brookings Institute  
National Academy of Science  
American Psychological Association  
American for Democratic Action  
Office of the Vice-President of the United States  
Library of Congress  
Department of Personnel, United States Army  
National Parks Association  
White House Staff ????  
National Security Council  
United States Information Agency

The following newspapers, wire services and periodicals have sent invited representatives to conferences and seminars -

Associated Press  
United Press International  
New York Times  
Wall Street Journal  
Washington Evening Star  
Washington Post  
St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
Christian Science Monitor  
New Republic  
National Broadcasting System  
Columbia Broadcasting System  
~~XXXXXX~~Public Broadcast Laboratory National Educational Television  
Science  
Saturday Evening Post

(The list of participating org's can be increased substantially by breaking down the State Dept and DoD into the various sub-divisions which have attended.)

Furthermore the lists are grossly inadequate since one conference had been omitted altogether. The office will have to pull together a far better listing. It seems we have kept little in the way of records).

OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL - IV - Legislative Program

The Council has always been more <sup>interested in</sup> concerned with introducing <sup>under consideration by</sup> affairs relating to policy than in working for or against a particular bill <sup>before</sup> the Congress. In that respect it differs from <sup>almost all</sup> other organizations which maintain a Washington legislative operation. There <sup>are two</sup> ~~is one~~ further distinction between the Council's approach to legislation and that of other groups. As far as possible the discussions with members of Congress regarding legislation are conducted not by a permanent Washington staff but by the most expert and knowledgeable persons <sup>who are</sup> outside government circles ~~to~~ brought to Washington ~~to~~ by the Council. ~~for the express purpose of talking about one special issue.~~ Also the Council does not ~~take positions on all issues; it restricts itself to those issues with which it is most important.~~

Most non-governmental organizations <sup>employ</sup> ~~use~~ their permanent staff <sup>members</sup> to present testimony on behalf of their organization and its constituents, and ~~in~~ in the course of a year ~~they~~ the same individuals may testify as many as 30 or 40 times before different committees on ~~a~~ a wide ~~variety of~~ range of issues. The Council, when it does present testimony, ~~on its behalf brings to Washington~~ follows the same procedure as with its lobbying program -- it brings academic and other experts to testify on each different piece of legislation. ~~Furthermore the Council~~

In addition to testifying before Senate and House committees, <sup>and</sup> discussing legislation directly with members of Congress, the Council has often done special research <sup>in connection with legislation</sup> for members of the Congress, ~~who were directly concerned.~~ It has brought experts to Hearings who otherwise would not have been able to come. ~~And~~ It has furnished temporary staff in special cases to prepare Hearings. It has worked intensively and closely on such legislative initiatives as Senate Resolution 179, which expressed to the President of the United States the Senate's support of negotiations to conclude an international agreement inhibiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

few members

1963

~~Testimony present before Senate and House Committees -~~

A typical case of a Council legislative project is ~~the efforts it made to raise~~ the very important and neglected issue of the impact of reduced arms spending on the economy. Until the Council introduced the issue into governmental channels it had <sup>been "unthinkable"</sup> an "unpleasant" question, discussed only by a few individuals in Congress and the Administration, privately, for the most part. ~~The segments of the industrial community~~ <sup>The groups</sup> which were most likely to be severely affected by large reductions in defense spending -- labor and industry -- were the most reluctant groups most reluctant to face up to it. As a result many influential members of Congress and the Administration preferred to <sup>choose</sup> let ~~the~~ ignore the issue as long as possible.

Largely as a consequence of a Council memorandum circulated in 1963 and a conference <sup>it sponsored</sup> held in June, 1963, the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower held Hearings in late 1963 on the economic consequences of disarmament. Two bills and a Senate Joint resolution came from this highly productive and useful conference. Furthermore, the conference served to allay ~~once~~ <sup>out</sup> and for all the nagging doubts many important persons in government and industry had as to the ability of the United States to achieve a full economy in peacetime. Two vital principles were established by the Senate Hearings: The responsibility of the federal government to work with state and local governments; and the imperative requirement that intensive planning and preparatory steps be taken before <sup>any</sup> substantial reductions in defense procurement. <sup>maintain</sup> occur.

The Council has testified before Senate and House Committees on the following bills and issues:

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency -- Authorizations  
Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty  
Economic Consequences of Disarmament

The principal legislative matters the Council has been concerned with are -

- Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
- Economic Consequences of Disarmament
- Defense Department Appropriations
- Multilateral Nuclear Force\*
- Anti-Ballistic Missile Program
- A Treaty to Limit the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

2 \*The question of a Multilateral Nuclear Force did not come directly before Congress in the form of legislation, but members of Congress, especially Senators, were deeply involved in the maneuvers and debate which took place over three-year period in the government.

OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL - V - Vietnam Program

As the war has escalated and intensified year by year the Council has increasingly concentrated brought to bear its full resources on this national disaster. Less than two months after President Johnson was inaugurated in 1965, and less than a month after the United States first bombed Hanoi <sup>during a visit</sup> while a Russian delegation under Leonid Brezhnev, ~~was there on a visit~~, the Council called a major conference in Washington. It was attended by members of the Senate, legislative aides from the Senate, two members of the staff representing the Vice-President of the United States, Senate staff from the Foreign Relations Committee, the office of the Senate Majority, members of the Department of State, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Department of the Army and many leading members of the Academic community, specialists in Southeast Asia. Seven seminars dealing with various aspects of the war have been held, five of them in the last 18 months. Two seminars and a major conference have been devoted to other aspects of United States Asian policy.

In addition the Council has published three important papers on the war, two of them by Prof. George McT. Kahin, director of the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell. A fourth paper, a major statement on China, was distributed by the Council.

Since 1966 the Council has given campaign support to 6 Senators who have criticized the course of the war. Among the recipients of support are -

- J.W. Fulbright
- J.S. Clark
- George McGovern
- Wayne Morse
- Gaylord Nelson
- Ernest Gruening
- Mark Hatfield
- Lee Metcalfe
- Edward Brooke
- Jacob Javits
- Albert Gore
- Eugene McCarthy
- Joseph Tydings
- Clifford Case
- Gale McGee (The traitor)

In July, 1967 the former cabinet minister Au Troung Thanh, a candiadate for President in the South Vietnamese elections was disqualified by the Constituent Assembly. The Council invited Dr. Thanh, professor of economics at the University of Saigon to come to visit the US to talk with Congressional and academic circles on the elections, the war and possible solutions to it. Prof. Thanh was refused an exit visa and shortly after the elections was arrested and jailed by the notorious Gen. Loan, cheif of South Vietnam's Security Police. The American Embassy in Saigon secured Thanh's release and he returned to the University.

In January of 1968 a group of South Vietnamese political, intellectual and church leaders released a document which outlined a set of proposals for bringing the war to a halt. In South Vietnam, of course, the document was suppressed. The New York Times of January 15 carried a short news rport which contained several brief excerptps. and that was the end of the matter. However, a copy of the document reached the Council for a Livable World on January 12 and, after reworking the laborious English translation, the Council distributed copies to members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, to other interested members of both Houses, and to several highly-placed persons in the Administration and to a number of Presidential candidates.

[Au Troung Thanh's arrest; huge strike; arrest of political leaders crucial in document - Council efforts to get Thanh out]

The document, known as the "South Vietnamese Solution", was the basis for a principal section of the Minority Vietnam Plank which was defeated at the Chicago Democratic convention of August, 1968. The South Vietnamese solution remains today the most hopeful and feasible (workable) [constructive] proposal for concluding the war. The proposal is based on the assumption that a representative group of South Vietnamese can enter directly into negotiations with the National Liberation Front more rapidly, more enthusiastically and more successfully than can the United States and Hanoi.

The Council's efforts to end the war in Vietnam [illustrate furnish] an excellent

illustration of the interaction ~~and~~ between the different Council <sup>Programs</sup> operations and the way in which the full impact of all Council activities can be concentrated on a single project. Seminars, conferences, publications, special projects -- all directed at a specific objective.

(Insert following PP. where indicated on previous page)

The intention of the Council's founders in 1962 was that its principal objective should be to prevent nuclear war. That, above all other considerations, was the function<sup>h, j</sup> <sup>h, j</sup>suppermost in the mind of Leo Szilard and collaborators. During 1961 three international crises followed in quick succession: Laos, the Bay of Pigs, and the Berlin confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the summer of that year. Four months after the Council's formation the Cuban missile crisis<sup>h, j</sup> <sup>h, j</sup>which brought occurred bringing the world to the brink of a thermonuclear war.

*Other?*  
The second Cuban crisis was followed by a partial nuclear test ban treaty, by a consular protocol, East-West trade agreements, an undertaking by Russia and the US not to place in outer space weapons of mass destruction, an airline agreement and the non-proliferation treaty. Despite the war in Vietnam it appeared that the two great nuclear super-powers had established a successful detente. In the winter of 1968, in the middle of the Tet offensive, and with the US Base at ~~H~~ Khe Sanh imperilled, the possible use of tactical nuclear weapons was openly discussed as a last-ditch measure to <sup>prevent</sup> avoid an American Dien Bien Phu. The Council took the lead in a national effort to oppose the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. At the suggestion of the Council its Supporters and those of many other organizations sent telegrams to the President protesting against an <sup>h, j</sup>act of pure insanity. The Council also joined with two other national groups in a press conference at which the strongest possible stand against nuclear weapons in Vietnam was taken.

## Operations of the Council - VI -- Information Program

[The Chinese say "One picture is worth a thousand words"; In Washington people say "One study paper is worth a thousand well-intentioned suggestions".] The Council has published during its 6 years a limited number of Study Papers, Background Papers and Position Papers. They are distributed to members of the Senate, the House of Representatives, members of the Administration and in academic circles. Council Supporters receive copies of all publications which are not considered to be confidential.

The importance of carefully prepared papers and memoranda is indicated by the Special Memorandum prepared by the Council in 1963 on the subject of the economics of disarmament. As stated previously (supra) this memorandum led directly to the Hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower. In some cases a paper is related to an issue of immediate concern; in others its function is to bring to the attention of governmental and academic circles a completely new idea. The following unclassified papers have been published by the Council -

Current US Strategic Nuclear Policy	
The Multilateral Nuclear Force	
A Meaningful Arms Control Agreement: The "Minimal Deterrent"	Leo Szilard, 1964
Questions Relating to American Policy in Vietnam	George McT. Kahin, 1965
A Program for Arms Control in Central Europe	Bernard T Feld, 1965
Prospects for NATO	Col. H. Ashton Crosby, 1965
Preventing the Further Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons	B.T. Feld, 1965
Arms Reduction and Its Impact on the Economy	
Analysis of the Testimony Sec. McNamara	BTfeld, 1963
The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: An Analysis	??????? 1964
ARM - Point of No Return	AForbes, 1967
The South Vietnamese Solution	Anonymous, 1968

## OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL - VII - Special Projects

Under this heading would come the assistance we provided to Politics of Escalation, the distribution we handled for the group of scholars which put out in 1966 a statement on China. Betty Lall was involved and we got a mention on the NY Times.

Also Matt Measleson's CBW project which we financed to the tune of \$1,000 or something

Also one or two projects which we helped Roger Fisher with and anything else that anyone can think of.

## OPERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL VIII - United Nations Program

I guess Doering and/or Fisher will have to write this.

The booklet ought to have on the inside back cover a statement which runs like this -

The Council can look back on <sup>the accomplishments of</sup> its first six years with considerable satisfaction. Through its Supporters it has helped many of the most outstanding members of the Senate to win their seats. The paramount issues of the early 1960's -- East-West relations, the danger of nuclear war, the NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation, Berlin, Cuba, arms control, the madly spiralling arms race of 1959-1963 -- all these have on all these questions some progress has been made; on some of them remarkable agreements and arrangements one would hardly have dared hope for 6 years ago. Today there is a new set of urgent problems -- Vietnam, China, the Anti Ballistic Missile, for example. The great change is, of course, that domestic affairs are beginning to outweigh in gravity the international problems. We must move with the utmost dispatch to straighten out resolve our outstanding international crises in order ~~to be able~~ to turn our attention to internal crises. Vietnam has taught

us one lesson: We do not as a nation have sufficient human and financial resources to fight on both foreign and domestic fronts [at once] simultaneously; nor do we have the will to win our battles at home as long as we are engaged overseas in adventures which are debilitating to ~~our~~ economically, physically -- and what is worse -- morally and spiritually.

The Council was founded in 1962 to further progress in arms control and disarmament. Much has been done, but much remains to be done. The real difference between 1962 and 1968 is that most thoughtful Americans perceive very clearly that at this moment the survival of our country depends on healing the dreadful wounds [in] within the nation. The task which the Council set itself 6 years ago is now even more urgent than it was then. The Directors of the Council invite you to join with its Supporters to work toward our national goals. There is no other way <sup>in which</sup> the effort you are prepared to put into saving this nation can be so effective.

---

Supporters of the Council are asked to contribute up to 2% or 1% of their annual incomes for its programs and as campaign assistance to the most distinguished and deserving Senate candidates. This is admittedly a sizable sum; but it is essential to <sup>the Council</sup> its program and commensurate with its goals. Students and others who are not in a position to contribute substantial sums may receive Council publications and mailings by making a yearly donation of at least \$10.

Add Board of Directors - Finis

## **Council for a Livable World**

*National Office:* Dupont Circle Building, Suite 535, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone: (202) 265-3800

### **Officers**

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*Vice President:* Allan Forbes, Jr.

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**Ruth Adams**, Editor, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Editor, *Contemporary China*.

**Bernard T. Feld**, Professor of Physics and former Director, Laboratory for Nuclear Science, M.I.T. Manhattan Project 1941-45. Vice Chairman, Federation of American Scientists 1960-62. U.S. Member, International Pugwash Continuing Committee; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

**Allan Forbes, Jr.**, Producer-director of documentary films, "March to Aldermaston," 1958; "The Anonymous," 1957; "No Governors," 1956. 3rd Armored Division, European Theater 1944-45. Bronze Star 1945. Haydn Society of the United States, 1947-54, overseas director 1950-55.

**Maurice S. Fox**, Professor of Genetics, M.I.T. U.S. Army Air Force 1943-46. Member, American Association for the Advancement of Science.

**Jerome D. Frank**, Professor of Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University. Past President, American Psychopathological Association and Society for the Psychological Study of Social issues. Participant in International Pugwash Conferences.

**Matthew Meselson**, Professor of Biology, Harvard University. Participant in International Pugwash Conferences. Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Member, National Academy of Sciences.

**James G. Patton**, President, United World Federalists. Past President, National Farmers Union. U.S. Consultant to the UN Conference on International Order, San Francisco, 1945. Past President of Freedom from Hunger Foundation.

**Charles Pratt**, Photographer. American Field Service, Italy 1945. Theater producer 1952-58. Illustrator, with Rachel Carson, *A Sense of Wonder*, 1965.

**Charles C. Price**, Benjamin Franklin Professor of Chemistry, University of Pennsylvania. Past President, American Chemical Society and United World Federalists. Past President, Federation of American Scientists.

**THE  
COUNCIL  
FOR A  
LIVABLE WORLD**



**1968**

---

The Council for a Livable World, founded in 1962 by the late physicist Leo Szilard, unites committed American citizens in a sustained effort to reduce the risk of a nuclear war and to bring about arms control, disarmament and world order.

Most of this effort is focused on the Senate of the United States which, in its constitutional role of "advice and consent," has a primary influence on foreign policy. The effectiveness of the Senate depends on the intellectual understanding, the political courage, and the breadth of outlook of its members. As each Senator must be concerned with issues affecting the United States as a nation, so each citizen, regardless of his place of residence, has a profound stake in every Senate race.

In election years the Council asks its supporters to make campaign contributions to a small number of distinguished Senatorial candidates who are convinced of the urgent necessity to control nuclear weapons and to establish international peace-keeping mechanisms. Candidates are selected without regard to party affiliation, taking into account their chances of success, their need for financial support and the nature of their opposition. The Council tries to recommend participation in close races between candidates of highly disparate qualifications where its support can be decisive. The Council does not place explicit or implicit conditions on the acceptance of campaign contributions, nor do its supporters expect any personal gain in return for their help. This type of national campaign backing assists members of the Senate to maintain their political independence, integrity and effectiveness.

The Council and its supporters have participated in each Congressional election campaign since 1962. That year, six of the eight Senatorial candidates backed by the Council won their contests. In 1964 the Council supported nine candidates for the Senate, including two challengers. All nine were victorious. And in 1966 seven of ten Council-supported candidates were elected.

Thus far this year the Council has asked its supporters to contribute to the current campaigns of Senators Clark (Pa.), Fulbright (Ark.), McGovern (S. Dak.), Morse (Ore.), and Nelson (Wis.), and Congressman Charles Mathias, who is campaigning for the Senate in Maryland.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AIDED THROUGH  
THE COUNCIL, 1962-1966

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>State</i>
1962	
Frank Church, (D) .....	Idaho
Joseph S. Clark, (D) .....	Pennsylvania
J. William Fulbright, (D) .....	Arkansas
Jacob K. Javits, (R) .....	New York
George S. McGovern, (D) .....	S. Dakota
Wayne L. Morse, (D) .....	Oregon
1964	
Albert Gore, (D) .....	Tennessee
Philip Hart, (D) .....	Michigan
Eugene McCarthy, (D) .....	Minnesota
Gale W. McGee, (D) .....	Wyoming
Joseph M. Montoya, (D) .....	New Mexico
Frank E. Moss, (D) .....	Utah
Edmund Muskie, (D) .....	Maine
Joseph Tydings, (D) .....	Maryland
Ralph W. Yarborough, (D) .....	Texas
1966	
E. L. Bartlett, (D) .....	Alaska
Edward Brooke, (R) .....	Massachusetts
Clifford Case, (R) .....	New Jersey
Mark Hatfield, (R) .....	Oregon
Lee Metcalf, (D) .....	Montana
Walter Mondale, (D) .....	Minnesota
John Sparkman, (D) .....	Alabama

The Council has also supported candidates in several important Senate primary elections and has occasionally provided support to outstanding candidates for the House.

While a major part of the Council's effort is involved in supporting candidates for national office, its Washington activities supplement this program in an important way.

Through this vital part of the Council's effort, it strives to bring greater insight into problems of national security, to inject new ideas into appropriate political channels, to encourage national discussion of controversial proposals and to facilitate the involvement in vital national issues of the most knowledgeable and articulate scientists and scholars from outside of the government.

The Council conducts a regular series of seminars for Senators and their staffs, to which key members of the executive branch, outstanding non-governmental figures and key journalists are also invited. Frank and off the record, these discussions have in recent months given first priority to the Vietnam war and to the military and political dangers of anti-ballistic missile deployment. Over thirty of these seminars, well attended by numerous members of the Senate, have been held since the Council's formation. The Council also has sponsored a number of larger conferences on pressing issues. There have been conferences on Vietnam, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and on China. They are attended by Senators and their aides, by members of the Departments of Defense and State and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, by staff members of key Congressional Committees and by members of the Washington press corps. These conferences have been effective in extending the scope of Congressional debate, in developing new initiatives within the Administration, in encouraging more enlightened discussion in the press, and inspiring further study and action in the academic community.

Although the Council is more occupied with policy considerations than with specific legislation, it gave testimony on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; it provided substantial assistance to the first significant hearings on the problems of conversion of the economy from military to civilian spending; and it was closely involved in the drafting and passage of Senate Resolution 179, expressing to the President the Senate's support of negotiations toward an international agreement limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

---

The Council's supporters are asked to contribute up to 2% of their annual incomes for its programs and as campaign assistance in crucial Senate contests. Admittedly, this is a sizable sum, but it is both commensurate with Council goals and essential to its activities.

Campaign contributions from supporters are in the form of checks *made payable to the candidate*. They are sent to the Council for tabulation and are then transmitted directly to the candidate.

Students and others who are not in a position to contribute substantial sums may receive Council publications and mailings by making an annual donation of at least \$10.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

*National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036, Phone: 265-3800*



I enclose a check for \$....., made out to  
**COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD**

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... STATE..... ZIP.....

Group

February 12, 1962

5-listed

HOST AND HOSTESS LIST

For Dr. Leo Szilard

already  
listed

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| <del>Carly</del> Billings | 1 West 72nd St., NYC       |
| <del>Peggy</del> Penn     | 2 West 67th St., NYC       |
| <del>Mike</del> Nichols   | 7 East 75th St., NYC       |
| <del>Elaine</del> May     | 90 Riverside Drive, NYC    |
| <del>Betty</del> Fisher   | 141 East 88th St., NYC     |
| <del>Rosalind</del> Roose | 333 Central Park West, NYC |

Leo Szilard  
Hotel Dupont Plaza  
Washington 6, D. C.  
Telephone: HUDson 3-6000

February 28, 1962

Dear Colleague:

Enclosed you will find a memo on the "Responses To Date."

If we just sit back at this point we will probably gradually accumulate 2 percent pledges of between 1,000 and 2,000. The question is, could we at this point go further and identify perhaps 25,000 virtual members of the Movement, pledging 2 percent of their incomes for campaign contributions. If that is done, we would be in business and we would then have to set up the Lobby to give guidance and counsel to the members of the Movement.

How do we bridge the gap between 1,000 and 25,000 pledges?

In order to do this we must be in a position to disclose the identity of the Council and its Political Advisors, and we must have some "seed money" to get started. My own guess is that we might have to spend \$2.00 per pledge, which means we ought to have at the outset about \$50,000 "seed money" and preferably more.

We could presumably raise this amount by going back to those whose pledges we have and ask them to give us this year perhaps 1 percent of their income to get the Council started. We could also try to raise the "seed money" through small dinners, at \$300 a plate, in New York and perhaps also in Beverly Hills.

In either case it would be necessary to disclose the identity of the Council and its Political Advisors. The Council need not go into operation, however, until we have actually collected an adequate amount of "seed money."

With the above aim in view I am now grappling with the problem of guessing who the Council and its Political Advisors might be. The problem is somewhat similar to the problem of "the hen or the egg," because I cannot ask anybody to serve without telling them who the others may be who have agreed to serve. Also, both the Board of Directors of the Council and the Panel of Advisors of the Council would have to be formally elected by the Fellows of the Council, and while I may make suggestions to the Fellows I can neither make the decision for them nor predict with assurance what their decision would be.

The attached memorandum entitled "The Next Step" is an attempt to solve this insoluble problem, and my request to you is that you read it and return it to me with your comment. I particularly need to have your comment as far as

it relates to your own role. I need to know whether you would be willing to be part of this operation, and want to play the role which I tentatively have assigned to you in the attached "Next Step" or some other role, and if so, which one.

If you are willing to be part of this operation, will you please send me a very short statement about yourself to be included in a "Who's Who" to be improvised and to be used in raising the "seed money" either from those who pledged 2 percent of their income, or from those who may attend \$300-a-plate dinners.

It is important that the operation of the Council be successful from the outset and we would need an Executive Officer to take over from me very soon, probably even before the Council is incorporated. Until such time as the Council assumes responsibility, such a man could operate in my name, but it is important that there should be no discontinuity and that he be able to carry on at least for a few months, on a temporary basis, after the Council takes over. I am looking around for someone who could fill this job.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Enclosures:

"The Next Step"

"Responses To Date"

Leo Szilard  
Dupont Plaza Hotel  
Washington 6, D. C.

February 24, 1962

RESPONSES TO DATE

Between November 17 of last year and February 12 of this year, the speech "Are We On The Road To War?" was delivered at the following universities or colleges: Harvard, Western Reserve, Swarthmore College, The University of Chicago, The University of California in Berkeley, Stanford, Reed College, The University of Oregon in Eugene, and Sarah Lawrence College.

In most cases I stayed over another day to be available to interested students for further discussion. The audience turnout and response were very good with the possible exception of Western Reserve. I spoke there before a mixed audience of students and adults of about 1,800, and the student response was rather mediocre.

I expected a good response at Reed College but not at the University of Oregon; yet 1,200 people turned out there to hear the talk at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and 200 students returned the next day to continue the discussion.

The speech was first given under the auspices of the Harvard Law School Forum. After the lecture, a copy of the speech was sent to those who asked for it and gave their name and address. We ran out of copies, and a graduate student, Mr. Michael Brower (at 3 Dana Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.) volunteered that he would mimeograph additional copies and mail them out on request (at 15¢ to 25¢ each, depending on size of order).

By January 1 he had distributed 2,300 copies, by January 15 another 3,500, by February 1 another 2,000, and by February 15 another 3,500.

Each campus mimeographed its own copies of the speech for distribution. Chicago distributed 2,500 copies to date.

The press comments were uniformly favorable. A set of press clippings is available in the office of Professor Bernard Feld in the Physics Department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in the office of Professor David Hogness in the Department of Biochemistry at Stanford University, and at the office of Professor Owen Chamberlain in the Physics Department at the University of California in Berkeley. It can be also obtained from me.

A few days after I delivered the speech in Chicago, ABC's 6 o'clock Television News -- a coast-to-coast broadcast originating from New York -- devoted a few minutes to describe what I am trying to do, and ended up by saying, "We wish him good luck."

I am overwhelmed by the mail that pours in. Mrs. Ruth Adams, who recently looked through my accumulated mail, estimates that we have about 400 hard-and-fast pledges of 2 percent so far, and indications of many more.

A sample of the more interesting letters is available at the offices of Feld, Hogness and Owen Chamberlain. It can also be obtained from me.

The present disorderly procedures might yield us 1,000 or perhaps 2,000 pledges, and the interest manifested so far is sufficient to set up the Council. I presume, however, that the Council would want to identify perhaps 25,000 people by name who would pledge 2 percent of their income, before setting up the political organization that would give advice and guidance to those who pledge 2 percent of their income. For this purpose the Council might need \$25,000 to \$50,000 "seed money."

Groups have sprung up spontaneously in support of the "Movement" around the Austen-Riggs Center in Stockbridge, Mass., as well as around the University of Connecticut at Storrs, Conn., and I have met with some members of these groups in New York at the apartment of Arthur Penn, a Broadway director. We discussed the possibility of obtaining "seed money" for the Council by holding in New York and perhaps in Hollywood \$300-a-plate dinners for 12 to 15 guests each. Mr. Arthur Penn, who would be in charge of this operation in New York, has the names of 8 persons who have volunteered to act as hosts for one dinner each.

I am being approached by representatives of the Methodist Church and the Society of Friends, and I shall discuss with them how to reach those of their members who are interested and who might want to pledge 2 percent of their income.

\* \* \*

Leo Szilard  
Hotel Dupont Plaza  
Washington 6, D. C.

February 28, 1962

### THE NEXT STEP

There seems to be a consensus among those with whom I have discussed the matter on the East Coast that the time has come for us to take the next step and to identify those who would form the Council.

The Council would, in close consultation with its Panel of Political Advisers, determine from time to time the political objectives which it regards as attainable and which it proposes to advocate.

At the outset the Council would try to identify, say, 25,000 people who would want to be members of the Movement and would want to spend 2 per cent of their income on campaign contributions. If the Council succeeds in finding a sufficiently large number of such potential members of the Movement it would proceed to set up the "Lobby," which would give guidance and advice to the members of the Movement as to how to put their campaign contributions to good use.

The Board of Directors of the Council would have five to seven members who would be elected by the Fellows. The Fellows would also choose the Panel of Political Advisers. Later on, the Fellows would elect the Board of Directors of the Lobby -- even though the Lobby may be a separate corporate entity.

The relationship between the Fellows and the Board of Directors would be similar to the relationship of the shareholders of a corporation and the board of directors of the corporation. The shareholders elect the directors of the corporation, but they are not otherwise responsible for the operations of the corporation and the officers of the corporation are appointed by the Board. Nevertheless, one may say in our case that the moral responsibility lies ultimately with the Fellows and that they assume the responsibility to see to it that what needs to get done gets done.

I propose that the Fellows be drawn from a larger group of distinguished scientists to whom I shall refer as the Associates. The Associates would all be members of the overall committee to which I shall refer as the Committee for a Livable World. The Committee, as such, would have no jurisdiction over anything in particular, but it would meet once a year to talk things over and the Council would draw on its members for help in performing the tasks with which the Council and the Lobby may be faced.

At a later stage, after the Lobby is established, the Associates could fulfill an important function in their home communities, by helping to find good men who may be persuaded to seek the nomination and to stand for election -- with the backing of the Lobby.

\* \* \*

During the past four months I had conversations with a number of colleagues concerning the speech, "Are We On The Road To War?" which I presented at various colleges and universities. The attached list contains the names of those who gave me reason to believe that they may be in sympathy with what I am trying to do, and I assume that they would want to lend their support to the Council. Their names are marked with a star. The attached list contains also the names of other colleagues with whom I had no personal contact lately, but to whom I have recently sent a copy of my speech and from whom I expect to have a response in the course of the next two weeks.

I propose that those whose names are contained in the attached list form the initial set of "Associates."

\* \* \*

All Associates would be part of a panel of "Visiting Scholars and Scientists" who on occasional visits to Washington would be at the disposal of the Council and may discuss with members of the Administration, and certain key members of Congress, the political issues which are of concern to the Council. This need not involve any "extra" trips to Washington.

An Associate might serve as Fellow of the Council and might then have to attend perhaps three meetings in Washington each year.

An Associate might serve on the Board of Directors of the Council and may then have to meet with the Panel of Political Advisers in Washington, D. C., for several days -- six to ten times a year. Presumably the meetings of the Fellows would always be scheduled to coincide with the meetings of the Board of Directors, for the convenience of those Fellows who serve on the Board of Directors.

An Associate might serve on the Panel of Political Advisers and may then have to meet with the Board of Directors in Washington, D. C., for several days, six to ten times a year.

\* \* \*

I propose to try to fix, by correspondence, the identity of the Associates and also the identity of the Fellows. It should be possible to do this because the by-laws may provide that the initial set of Associates and the initial set of Fellows be designated by the three "incorporators" of the Council.

The incorporators would name as Associates all those whose names are listed in the attachment, provided that their acceptance is received before the relevant document is executed by the incorporators. After that date the election of Associates will rest with the Fellows.

I am mindful of the need to keep the burden carried by scientists who are active in their own field of specialization at a minimum, by keeping the number of Fellows low and by having the Associates take turns in serving as Fellows, so that no one need to carry the burden of serving as Fellow for very long. However, to my mind, it is indispensable that scientists who are at the peak of their activity in their own field of specialization, do serve as Fellows.

I have somewhat arbitrarily drafted the list of Fellows which is enclosed in the hope that most of those listed would be both able and willing to serve as Fellows at the outset and to continue to serve in that capacity for a least one year. Upon receiving the responses of those listed, I would try to cut down the final list even further, if that seems advisable, to what would appear to be the practically indispensable minimum. The names of those whose response is not received by the time the relevant document is executed by the incorporators, must, of course, be deleted from the list. After that date, the election of Fellows will rest with the Fellows. I very much hope, however, that all responses will be in within two weeks.

In contrast to the Associates and Fellows, the identity of the Board of Directors and of the members of the Panel of Political Advisers cannot be settled by correspondence, because they have to be elected by the Fellows and it is preferable that the Fellows should meet for this purpose rather than be polled by mail.

\* \* \*

As far as the Board of Directors and the Panel of Political Advisers are concerned, all I can do for the moment is to prepare the ground for the Fellows and to try to find out who would seem to be desirable as well as available.

It would seem advisable to have some non-scientists on the Board of Directors, but we should preferably choose from among those who have for a

number of years worked closely with scientists and who may be regarded both as safe and likely to be productive. My own preferences would be:

Mrs. Ruth Adams, Associate Editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, who attended most of the Pugwash meetings, and

Professor Morton Grodzins, Chairman of the Political Science Department of the University of Chicago, who also attended many of the Pugwash meetings.

I am reasonably certain that both could be persuaded to serve.

The remaining three to five members of the Board of Directors probably ought to be drawn from among the Associates (the Fellows are, of course, all Associates and eligible to serve on the Board of Directors). In order to facilitate matters I am asking all those who may serve as Associates to write me if, because of their preoccupation with other matters or for any other reason, they would rather not serve on the Board of Directors in 1962-63, and I shall transmit the names of those who disqualify themselves in this fashion to the Fellows prior to the election of the Board of Directors.

From the point of view of economizing with the time of the scientists involved, an argument could be made in favor of drawing those members of the Board who are Associates from among the Fellows. This would cut down on the total number of extra trips to Washington that the Associates would have to make. One might, however, argue that from the point of view of spreading the responsibility among the Associates it would be better to adopt just the opposite principle. I presume the Fellows would like to be guided on this point by the views held in general by the Associates, and views communicated to me, prior to the election of the Board of Directors, would be transmitted to the Fellows.

\* \* \*

The Panel of Political Advisers ought to consist mostly of people who are staying in Washington at present or who have earlier spent some time in Washington during the Kennedy Administration.

Gilbert Harrison, publisher of the New Republic, is a keen observer of what is going on at present and would be in a position to give good advice. I am inclined to think that he could be persuaded to serve as a member of the Panel of Advisors.

Lester Van Atta, Director of Research of Hughes Aircraft, Malibu, California, has spent about a year in the Department of Defense as an adviser

to York on disarmament, and I propose to find out whether he would be willing to be on the Panel of Advisers.

I had hoped that the two highly regarded legislative aides and administrative aides, respectively, on the Senate side, who are very much interested in what I am trying to do, would be free to serve on the Panel of Advisers, but it turns out that they would not be free to do so.

Either Roger Fisher or David Cavers, or both, of the Harvard Law School, would be valuable on the Panel of Advisers, and judging from their present interest in what I am trying to do I would assume that they would be willing to serve.

We ought to have two or three further names available in readiness by the time the Board is incorporated, and I shall try to do my best to find them.

\* \* \*

I have tried to draft a political platform for the Council, in order to characterize its initial direction. It goes under the heading "The Premises," and you will find it attached.

The End.

February 28, 1962

List of Potential "Associates"

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

*Schiff, Leonard I.	Department of Physics
*Hogness, David S.	Department of Biochemistry
*Kaiser, A. Dale	Department of Biochemistry
*Berg, Paul	Department of Biochemistry
*Kretchmer, Norman	Professor of Pediatrics
*Holman, Halsted R.	Professor of Medicine
*Kornberg, Arthur	Department of Biochemistry
*Finn, Robert	Department of Mathematics
*Fairbank, Wm. Martin	Department of Physics
*Lederberg, Joshua	Professor of Genetics and Biology

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

*Goldberger, M. L.	Department of Physics
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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*Meselson, Matthew	Department of Biology
Watson, James	Department of Biology
Edsall, John	Department of Biology
*Shurcliff, Wm. A.	Harvard Electron Accelerator

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

Marshak, Robert	Department of Physics
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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

\*Gomer, Robert

Institute of Metals

\*Szilard, Leo

Institute for Nuclear Studies

YALE UNIVERSITY

Doering, William

Department of Chemistry

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

Muller, H. J.

Department of Zoology

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Salpeter, Edward

Department of Physics

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - Berkeley

\*Chamberlain, O. H.

Department of Physics

\*Chew, Jeffrey

Department of Physics

\*Rosenfeld, Arthur

Department of Physics

\*Glaser, Donald

Department of Physics

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

\*Feld, Bernard

Department of Physics

THE WORCESTER FOUNDATION

\*Hoagland, Hudson

President of the American Academy  
of Arts and Sciences

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

\*Fox, Maurice

Associate Member

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

\*Novick, Aaron

Institute for Molecular Biology

\*Streisinger, George

Institute for Molecular Biology

\*Stahl, Frank

Institute for Molecular Biology

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

\*Livingston, Robert B.

Department of Neurobiology

February 28, 1962

Proposed List of Fellows

Hogness, David S.

Fairbank, Wm. Martin

Meselson, Matthew

Doering, William

Chamberlain, O. N.

Chew, Jeffrey

Glaser, Donald

Feld, Bernard

Fox, Maurice

Stahl, Frank

Livingston, Robert B.

February 22, 1962

THE PREMISES

By Leo Szilard

The following is a very rough draft of the premises on which the Council may be expected to base the statement of its general objectives, which it may issue from time to time for the guidance of the members of the Movement.

The Council would state from time to time also what it regards to be the attainable immediate objectives. No amount of political pressure brought to bear on the Administration can force the Administration to do something that no one inside the Administration wants done. It follows that for an immediate objective to be attainable it is necessary that it have some support inside the Administration. In selecting the immediate objectives it may advocate, the Council would first ascertain how much support for these objectives could be generated inside of the Administration.

\* \* \*

The problem which the bomb poses to the world cannot be solved except by abolishing war, and the overall objective is to have an enduring peace in a livable world. This might be attainable within the next 25 years, whereas a just peace may not be an attainable objective in the predictable future and if we stubbornly persist in asking for peace with justice we may not attain either peace or justice.

It is necessary to abolish war in order to have a livable world, but it is not sufficient. In order to have a livable world we must not only have peace but also a certain minimum standard of stable and effective government, economic prosperity and individual freedom in the less developed regions of the world. The problems which this involves would of necessity come within the scope of the concern of the Council.

\* \* \*

Conceivably, war could be abolished within the predictable future within the framework of a general political settlement through general disarmament. General disarmament does not, however, automatically rule out the possibility of war. In a generally disarmed world, with inspection going full blast, armies equipped with machine guns could spring up, so to speak, overnight.

The question of just how secure America and other nations would be in such a disarmed world would depend on the means that would be adopted in order to secure the peace. Few Americans in responsible positions have a clear notion at present of how the peace may be secured in a disarmed world, and therefore most of them remain uncertain of whether or not they would really want to have general disarmament.

The Russians are strongly motivated toward general disarmament by the economic savings which would result from it and it stands to reason that this should be so. A much larger fraction of industrial production is absorbed by arms in Russia than in America, and the needs of the consumers are satisfied to a much higher degree in America than in Russia. In the circumstances, Russia might be willing to go a long way towards reaching the kind of political settlement which is a prerequisite for disarmament, in return for obtaining general disarmament. But until such time as Americans in responsible positions become clear in their own mind that they really want disarmament they are not in a position successfully to negotiate with Russia an acceptable political settlement because they are not in a position to offer Russia the disarmament that she would want to obtain in return.

In any negotiations centering on the issue of disarmament the problem of inspection is likely to loom large. No major progress is likely to be made on this, or any other, issue involved until Americans in responsible positions are sure in their mind that they would want general disarmament under conditions which Russia could be reasonably expected to accept.

If America and Russia were able to reach a meeting of the minds on the issue of how peace may be secured in a disarmed world, such a meeting of minds could open the door to serious negotiations of the other issues involved in disarmament. This is a point which the Council may have to devote its attention.

\* \* \*

Until such time as the peace of the world may be secured through a disarmament agreement providing for adequate inspection and means which will be adequate for securing the peace in a disarmed world, we cannot rule out the possibility that a war may break out which neither America nor Russia wants.

Reducing the probability that such a war may break out must be one of the immediate objectives of the Council.

1.) A war that neither America nor Russia wanted may break out as a result of an all-out atomic arms race, and avoidance of such an arms race must be regarded as an immediate political objective.

We would be provoking an all-out atomic arms race if America were to maintain the threat that in case of war with Russia she would attempt to shift the power balance in her own favor by mounting an attack against the rocket bases and the strategic air bases of Russia. There is an increasingly influential school of thought within the Administration which advocates that America should use the threat of a "first strike against bases" in case of war as an instrument of her foreign policy -- in order to deter Russia from obstructing objectives of our foreign policy. The Council must oppose this school of thought.

2.) A war that neither Russia nor America wants may break out if either America or the Soviet Union resorts to force in order to extend her sphere of influence. If America had openly intervened in the attempted invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles and had sent in the Marines, she could have conquered Cuba but the Russians might have responded by occupying West Berlin and there is no way of telling whether or not a Russian response of this kind would have resulted in war. If a war is to be avoided that neither Russia nor America wants, both countries must refrain from resorting to force, in attempting to reach their foreign policy objectives.

3.) Quemoy and Matsu represent one of the danger spots where a war might break out, and these islands ought to be evacuated without further delay before they may come under attack.

4.) The danger of a resort to force could be reduced if America and Russia stopped fighting meaningless battles in the Cold War. In this regard America could and should take the initiative, and the Council may have to devote considerable attention to it.

\* \* \*

If a war were to break out it could quickly escalate into an all-out war in the absence of any clear policy of how to keep the war limited until such time as it becomes possible to arrange for a cessation of hostilities. The adoption of policies aimed at preventing the escalation of a war must also be among the immediate objectives pursued by the Council.

5.) The danger that a war might escalate could be reduced if America and Russia adopted the policy of refraining from using atomic bombs in case of war unless atomic bombs were used against her. As far as manpower and economic resources are concerned, Europe is not inferior to Russia, and within three to five years Europe could build up conventional forces to a level where the West might resolve to forego the use of atomic bombs in case of war. It is rather doubtful, however, whether the outlawing of atomic bombs would be an immediately attainable objective, at the present time.

Moreover, the outlawing of atomic bombs in itself would not prevent an escalation of the war, for if there were a resort to force, even if at first only conventional weapons were used, subsequently the side which is about to lose the war would presumably find it impossible to abide by its pledge and would resort to the use of atomic bombs.

If there is a resort to force, the means which are employed are, of course, important, and the refraining from using atomic bombs could be a very important factor in preventing escalation. But even more important than the means employed would be the purposes for which force is employed. If force is used for the purpose of changing the power balance and thereby to attain certain foreign policy objectives, then escalation of the war may be inevitable no matter what the means that may be initially employed.

An example for this is what happened in Korea. When North Korean troops moved into South Korea, America intervened and pushed the North Koreans back to the 38th parallel. If America had been satisfied with the use of force for the purpose of making the conquest difficult and with luck to prevent it, the war would have ended at this point. But when American troops crossed the 38th parallel in order to unify Korea under free elections, the People's Republic of China intervened.

If, in case of war, escalation is to be avoided, both the American Government and the Government of the Soviet Union must clearly understand that, today, if force is used and is resisted with force, the use of force must only have the aim of preventing an easy conquest and extracting a price -- if necessary, a rather high price. The aim must not be victory or anything approaching victory; it must not be a change in the power balance that would enable either America or the Soviet Union to bring about a settlement in its own favor.

Within this frame of reference the Council would have to consider the possibility that the Administration might be willing to adopt two closely inter-related policies which might be phrased as follows:

6.) America's Atomic Strategic Striking Forces shall be maintained only for the purpose of protecting America and her allies by being able to retaliate in case either America or her allies were attacked by bombs.

7.) In case of war, if America found herself forced to use atomic bombs against troops in combat, she would do so only on her own side of the pre-war boundary as long as the Soviet Union imposed the same restraint on her use of the bomb.

\* \* \*

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE LOBBY

The Scientists Committee for a Livable World is a group of scientists whose sole function is to consult with each other on the problems involved in achieving a livable world. The names of the scientists presently on the Committee are annexed. The Fellows of this Committee--those whose names are marked with an asterisk--have the responsibility of establishing such operating organizations as are needed.

A meeting of the Fellows was called on June 1, 1962 and was attended by Professors Charles Coryell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, William Doering, Yale University, John Edsall, Harvard University, Bernard T. Feld, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Maurice Fox, The Rockefeller Institute, David Hogness, Stanford University, and Leo Szilard, The University of Chicago.

At the meeting, two political committees, The Council for Abolishing War and The Lobby for Abolishing War, were established, and their Boards of Directors were elected. The same persons were chosen to serve on both Boards of Directors for an initial period of one year. They are: Mrs. Ruth Adams, Associate Editor of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Chicago; William Doering, Professor of Chemistry, Yale University, New Haven; Bernard T. Feld, Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Allan Forbes, Jr., producer of documentary films, Boston; Maurice Fox, Associate Professor of Biology, The Rockefeller Institute, New York; Morton Grodzins, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago; James Patton, President of the Farmers' Union, Denver; Arthur Penn, director, theater and motion pictures, New York; Charles Pratt, Jr., photographer, New York; Daniel M. Singer, attorney, General Counsel for the Federation of American Scientists, Washington, D.C.; and Leo Szilard, Professor of Biophysics, The University of Chicago.

The Boards of Directors elected Professors William Doering and Leo Szilard to serve as Co-Chairmen of the Boards. The following officers for the organizations were elected: Bernard T. Feld, President; Allan Forbes, Jr., Vice-President; and Daniel M. Singer, Secretary and Treasurer.

At the meeting, it was resolved that, in addition to their financial support, supporters of the Council and the Lobby will be encouraged to participate if they desire and are able to do so in the formulation, propagation and achievement of the political objectives of the organizations. It was recognized that the promotion of these objectives depends not only upon effective action in Washington, but also on the ability of the supporters of the Council and the Lobby to give public currency throughout the nation to the best ideas and programs for the reduction of the danger of war, and the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy, and the creating of a livable world.

The Boards of Directors authorized Dr. Leo Szilard to announce the formation of the Council and the Lobby and to transmit the following documents, which are enclosed:

Memorandum A on Campaign Contributions for 1962

Questionnaire

Memorandum B on a Joint American-Russian Staff Study

The Council and the Lobby

Proposal for the Platform of the Council

11 April 1962

LIST OF ASSOCIATES OF COMMITTEE for a LIVEABLE WORLD

The names of those Associates who are at present serving as Fellows of the Committee are marked with an asterisk.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Leonard I. Schiff  
Executive Head  
Department of Physics

Dale Kaiser  
Associate Professor of  
Biochemistry

Halstead R. Holman, MD  
Professor of Medicine

\* David S. Hogness  
Professor of Biochemistry

Robert Finn  
Professor of Mathematics

Paul Berg  
Professor of Biochemistry

Arthur Kornberg (Nobel Prize, 1959)  
Professor of Biochemistry

\* William M. Fairbank  
Professor of Physics

Norman Kretchmer  
Professor of Pediatrics

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Marvin L. Goldberger  
Eugene Higgins Professor of  
Theoretical Physics

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

\* John T. Edsall  
Professor of Biological  
Chemistry

\* Matthew Meselson  
Associate Professor of  
Molecular Biology

William A. Shureliff  
Research Fellow, Physics

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Robert Gomer  
Professor of Chemistry

\* Leo Szilard  
Professor of Biophysics

YALE UNIVERSITY

\* William Doering  
Professor of Chemistry

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

H. J. Muller (Nobel Prize, 1946)  
Professor of Genetics

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - Berkeley

Arthur Rosenfeld  
Associate Professor of Physics

\* Geoffrey F. Chew  
Professor of Physics

Donald Glaser (Nobel Prize, 1960)  
Professor of Physics

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

\* Bernard T. Feld  
Professor of Physics

Charles Coryell  
Professor of Chemistry

THE WORCESTER FOUNDATION

Hudson Hoagland  
Executive Director  
President of the American Academy of  
Arts and Sciences, Boston

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

- \* Maurice Fox  
Associate Professor of  
Biology

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Aaron Novick  
Professor of Biology

George Streisinger  
Associate Professor of  
Biology

- \* Franklin W. Stahl  
Associate Professor of  
Biology

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

- \* Robert B. Livingston, MD  
Chief, Laboratory of Neurobiology  
National Institute for Mental Health

M.G.F. Fuortas  
Chief, Neurophysiology-Ophthalmology Section  
National Institute for Neurological Diseases and  
Blindness

June 1, 1962.

Memorandum A

on campaign contributions for 1962

by Leo Szilard

Because of its limited financial resources, the Movement might spread itself too thin if it were to support in 1962 more than two to five Congressional candidates. Therefore, if in the attached questionnaire you indicate that you may make a campaign contribution for 1962, the Lobby may recommend to you in July two to five candidates and you may then decide to support one of them. (Naturally, the Lobby would make certain ahead of time, that these candidates would welcome such campaign contributions.) The Lobby will ask you to make out your check directly to the candidate of your choice but to send it to Washington to the Lobby for transmittal.

The Lobby will base its recommendations on the best information available in July. However, it would be easier for the Lobby to arrive at their recommendations if those who intend to make a campaign contribution in 1962 express their present preferences in the enclosed questionnaire.

Since the Lobby is not yet in operation, I, myself, have consulted in Washington a number of persons who have good judgment, as well as a thorough knowledge of Congress, and these consultations have lead me to the following conclusions:

Individual Senators are in a much better position to make a positive contribution to U. S. foreign policy than individual members of the House and as long as our financial means are very limited, it might be well to focus our attention on the Senate rather than on the House.

The following Senators, who come up for re-election in 1962, could be expected to go along with any constructive foreign policy or defense policy that the Administration might adopt:

John A. Carroll (D., Colorado)  
Frank Church (D., Idaho)  
Joseph S. Clark (D., Pennsylvania)  
J. W. Fulbright (D., Arkansas)  
Lister Hill (D., Alabama)  
Jacob K. Javits (R., New York)

Thomas H. Kuchel (R., California)  
Edward V. Long (D., Missouri)  
Warren G. Magnuson (D., Washington)  
Mike Monroney (D., Oklahoma)  
Wayne L. Morse (D., Oregon)  
Thruston B. Morton (R., Kentucky)  
Alexander Wiley (R., Wisconsin)

Among the Democrats, Clark, Fulbright, Morse and Monroney may be expected to go beyond just supporting the policies of the Administration and to press, on occasions, for improvement in these policies.

Fulbright will receive the Democratic nomination in Arkansas. His election is thus a foregone conclusion, and there would seem no need for the Movement to give him financial support. This would then leave, among the incumbent Democrats, Clark, Monroney

and Morse as the strongest candidates for receiving financial support from the Movement.

It seems that Senator Kuchel is going to be opposed by Richard Richards, who I understand is very good, and if this is correct, there would be no need for the Movement to get involved in the contest.

We do not as yet know who will oppose Senator Javits and some members of the Movement would perhaps want to give financial support to Javits, if the Democrats do not put up an adequate candidate. If you are among them you ought to mark the enclosed questionnaire accordingly for the guidance of the Lobby.

George McGovern, Special Assistant to the President in charge of the Food for Peace Program, and former Congressman, is contesting the Senate seat of Francis Case in South Dakota. Even though Francis Case may be considered a good man, McGovern is so outstanding, that he ought to receive financial support from the Movement.

Congressman Frank Kowalski (D., Connecticut) is seeking the Democratic nomination for the Senate in Connecticut, as does Abraham Ribicoff, at present Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. If Kowalski should receive the nomination presumably he ought to receive financial support from the Movement, even if he were running against an otherwise acceptable Republican candidate.

I am less clear in my mind, however, whether the Movement ought to support Kowalski in his contest with Ribicoff for the nomination. This is one of the several points on which your opinion is solicited in the enclosed questionnaire, (The primary in Connecticut will be in September.)

Congressman David S. King (D., Utah) is contesting the seat of Senator Wallace S. Bennett (R.) and depending on the financial resources likely to be available in the Fall, the Lobby might recommend in July that King be supported by the Movement.

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\*

June 2, 1962

The Scientists Committee for a Livable World

Those marked with an asterisk serve as Fellows of the Committee for 1962

Meselson and Szilard serve as secretaries of the Fellows in 1962

- Paul Berg  
Professor of Biochemistry  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California
- \* Geoffrey F. Chew  
Professor of Physics  
University of California  
Berkeley 4, California
- \* Charles Coryell  
Professor of Chemistry  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
- \* William Doering  
Professor of Chemistry  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut
- \* John T. Edsall  
Professor of Biological Chemistry  
Harvard University  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
- \* Bernard T. Feld  
Professor of Physics  
Laboratory for Nuclear Science  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
- Robert Finn  
Professor of Mathematics  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California
- \* Maurice Fox  
Associate Professor of Biology  
The Rockefeller Institute  
New York 21, N. Y.
- M.G.F. Fuortes  
Section Chief  
Neurophysiology-Ophthalmology  
National Institutes of Health  
Bethesda 14, Maryland
- Donald Glaser (Nobel Prize 1960)  
Professor of Physics  
University of California  
Berkeley, California
- Temporary address:  
Department of Biology  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Marvin L. Goldberger  
Eugene Higgins Professor of  
Theoretical Physics  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey
- Robert Gomer  
Professor of Chemistry  
Institute for the Study of Metals  
The University of Chicago  
Chicago 37, Illinois
- Hudson Hoagland  
Executive Director  
The Worcester Foundation for  
Experimental Biology  
Shrewsbury, Massachusetts
- \* David S. Hogness  
Associate Professor of Biochemistry  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California
- Halstead R. Holman, M.D.  
Professor of Medicine  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California
- Dale Kaiser  
Associate Professor of Biochemistry  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California

Arthur Kornberg (Nobel Prize 1959)  
Professor of Biochemistry  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California

Norman Kretchmer  
Professor of Pediatrics  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California

Robert B. Livingston, M.D.  
Chief, Laboratory of Neurobiology  
National Institutes of Health  
Bethesda 14, Maryland

\* Matthew Meselson  
Associate Professor of  
Molecular Biology  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Herman J. Muller (Nobel Prize 1946)  
Professor of Genetics  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana

Aaron Novick  
Professor of Molecular Biology  
Institute of Molecular Biology  
University of Oregon  
Eugene, Oregon

Arthur B. Rosenfeld  
Associate Professor of Physics  
University of California  
Berkeley 4, California

Leonard I. Schiff  
Professor of Physics  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California

William Shurcliff  
Research Fellow, Physics  
Cambridge Electron Accelerator  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

\* Franklin W. Stahl  
Associate Professor of Molecular Biology  
Institute of Molecular Biology  
University of Oregon  
Eugene, Oregon

\* Leo Szilard  
Professor of Biophysics  
The Research Institutes  
The University of Chicago  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Temporary address:  
Hotel DuPont Plaza  
Washington 6, D. C.

George Streisinger  
Associate Professor of Molecular Biology  
Institute of Molecular Biology  
University of Oregon  
Eugene, Oregon

## PROPOSED INTRODUCTION TO PLATFORM

The problem which the bomb proposes to the world cannot be solved by turning the clock back and eliminating the bomb; it can be solved only by abolishing war. At this point, we can build up the armed forces of Western Europe and equip them with conventional weapons, and maybe we should do this, but we must not believe that we could fight another world war with conventional armaments and settle the outstanding issues in our own favor. The fact of the matter is that the advent of the atomic bomb has made Victory obsolete. If a war broke out in a world disarmed down to machine guns and if Russia and America intervened on the opposite sides, it would not take long before the war would be fought with atomic bombs.

It might take more than one or two generations before we can have a world living under law and have justice as well as peace. But the world in which a certain minimum standard of freedom and economic well-being is established everywhere might be within our reach within one generation, provided only we succeed in avoiding war.

The limited objectives listed below are aimed at eliminating the major roadblocks that stand in the way of establishing a world free from war and making the world a livable place. In the measure in which one or the other of these roadblocks disappear, the Council's attention may shift to the next major obstacle in the path of progress. These limited, immediate, objectives are listed in order to make it clear what the currently attainable major objectives may be. An objective is attainable only if it is possible

-2-

to generate support for it inside of the Administration; what no one inside of the Administration wants done will not be done even if it were possible to generate considerable political pressure for it.

The Council would welcome the help of anyone who goes wholeheartedly along with one of the objectives listed and would be willing to help to attain that particular objective.

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DRAFT  
1/25/63

## INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

Discussion of proposals for general and complete disarmament by a small group of American and Soviet citizens, not acting as representatives of their governments, would have the purpose of exploring the area of possible agreement between the two nations on disarmament. The participants on each side would be selected so as to have both a technical knowledge of the problems of disarmament and an understanding of the concerns and views of their respective governments.

In their discussions, which would be informal, the participants would seek to understand each others' views about disarmament proposals that might possibly be workable. Both governments have agreed that the achievement of general and complete disarmament is a process which must proceed in steps. It is especially difficult to foresee at this time how the last stages of the process might work, without some experience with the first stages. Accordingly, it would seem useful for the group to concentrate on the problems of the earlier stages of the disarmament program, including the problem of transition from earlier to later stages.

Ideally, the end product of the discussion would be an agreed proposal or a number of proposals for the first stages of a general and complete disarmament treaty. However, in fact, any such agreed proposal would contain a number of crucial variables such as, for example, the rate of arms reduction, the length of the stages, the number of stages, on which agreement or disagreement among the discussants would be of no great significance, since these variables would ultimately be a matter for political determination in the course of a negotiation. What would

be important, rather, would be discussion of, and agreement on, the considerations which are involved in the choice of these variables, such as, for example, the relation of the rate of arms reduction to the character and degree of inspection, or the size of armed forces on each side needed for stability in the absence of complete disarmament.

The usefulness of the discussions need not depend on the two sides reaching agreements, even of a broad sort. If an appropriately selected group of participants failed to reach broad agreement and the nature of the disagreements are clear, this may be taken as a useful indication of the kind of difficulties that would be faced in any serious attempt at negotiation between the two countries.

The respective participants on each side would undertake the obligation to explain to the officials of their respective governments responsible for dealing with disarmament problems both the conclusions that had been reached and the nature of the considerations that led to these conclusions. The composition of the delegations should be such as to facilitate this task.

Since the discussants would not be representatives of their governments and not under instructions by their governments, it would seem appropriate to hold the meeting at some place away from both the American and Soviet capitals.

Because the American participants would have had some access to classified information, it might be useful to prepare a factual brief on U.S. and Soviet forces which could be used on an unclassified basis in the discussion.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Responses to Direct Mail  
of March 22, 1963

<u>Code No. and Organization</u>	<u>Total No. Responses</u>	<u>Including Contributors</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1 Federation of American Scientists	45	18	\$ 505.00
2 Americans for Democratic Action	29	11	224.04
3 Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists	41	11	71.--
4 War/Peace Report	45	14	681.00
5 Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues	41	17	182.00
6 American Anthropological Assn.	30	5	185.00
7 Scientists on Survival	44	8	190.00
8 New Republic	23	2	11.00
9 Congress of Racial Equality	19	5	85.00
11 American Physical Society	20	3	33.00
12 Faculty group	14	6	245.00
20-30 -Various faculty groups	13	4	160.00
Miscellaneous	1	1	100.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	365	105	\$ 2,672.04

Note: This tabulation covers responses through April 12, 1963.

*Miss Hubelius*

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Questionnaire Returns

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. 4</u>			<u>No. 5</u>			<u>Cumulative Totals</u>		
	<u>Total Responses</u>	<u>Contri- buting</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Total Responses</u>	<u>Contri- buting</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Total Qs.</u>	<u>Total Contrib.</u>	<u>Total Amount</u>
Through April 10	205	159	\$ 11,244.60	93	66	\$ 1,237.00	298	225	\$12481.60
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April 11	8	7	1,125.00	7	5	75.00	15	12	1,200.00
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April 12	12	12	870.00	12	10	140.00	24	22	1,010.00
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Totals:	225	178	13,239.60	112	81	1,452.00	337	259	14,691.60

*Miss Hubertus*

Agenda for Executive Committee Meeting, 13 April 1963

1. Report of National Director

- a. Advertising Campaign
- b. Direct Mail Campaign
- c. Council Mailing

2. Report on Washington Operations

- a. ACDA Hearings
- b. Test Ban
- c. Economic Impact of Reduced Arms Expenditures
- d. Strategic Delivery Systems
- e. Tactical Nuclear Weapons
- f. Planning and Program

3. Chicago Local Group

4. New York Local Group

5. The Joint Studies

6. American Faculty Council

7. Public Relations

8. Executive Director

Raskin

Wadsworth

Jerome Ziegler

RESULTS OF DIRECT MAIL TEST THROUGH 12 APRIL, 1963

1. Total Requests for Information	- 260
2. Total Number of Checks Received	- 104
3. Total Responses to Test	- 364
4. Total of Contributions Received	- \$3,067.00
5. Total Cost of Mailing	- <u>\$1,900.00</u>
6. Net Profit on First Round	- \$1,167.00

Coding Key:

1A - Members of the FAS - Metered	1B - Hand-Stamped
2A - Selected Group of Well-Informed People	2B - Filled-in Names
3A - Readers of the BAS - Metered	3B - Hand-Stamped
4A - Readers of WAR/PEACE	4B - A Selected Group of Well-Informed People
5A - Colleagues of SPSSI	5B - Full Fill-In
6A - Members of the American Anthropological Association - 1,000	
7A - A Selected Group of Well-Informed People	7B - Filled-in Names

An accompanying tally sheet gives the complete results for each list.

RESPONSES TO DIRECT MAIL OF MARCH 22, 1963

<u>CODE</u>	<u>A - \$</u>	<u>B - \$</u>	<u>Total Responses</u>	<u>Total Contributions</u>
1-FAS (2,500)	15 8	12 11	27-19-46	\$330-\$375-\$705
2-ADA (35,000)	10 6	7 4	17-10-27	\$450-\$ 68-\$523
3-BAS (26,000)	17 7	13 4	30-11-41	\$ 45-\$ 25-\$ 70
4-War/Peace Report (3,000)	14 4	16 10	30-14-44	\$208-\$470-\$678
5-SPSSI (960 -APA-15,000)	13 8	11 9	24-17-41	\$ 97-\$ 85-\$182
6-AAA (3,500)	14 2	11 3	25- 5-30	\$ 15-\$170-\$185
7-SCS (1,000)	16 5	19= 3	35- 8-43	\$145-\$ 45-\$190
8-New Republic (75,000)	22 2		22- 2-24	\$ 11- -\$ 11
9-CRE (15,000)	14 5		14- 5-19	\$ 85- -\$ 85
11-APS (15,000)	17 3		17- 3-20	\$ 33- -\$ 33
12-Boston Faculty Group (2,500)	7 6		7- 6-13	\$245- -\$245

Selected Universities and Colleges

	<u>Without \$</u>	<u>With \$</u>	<u>Total Responses</u>	<u>Total Contributions</u>
A-Large-Physics	2	0	2	0
B-Small-Physics	2	3	5	\$155
C-Large-Biology	1	0	1	0
D-Small-Biology	2	0	2	0
E-Large-History	0	0	0	0
F-Small-History	1	0	1	0
G-Large-Sociology	1	1	2	\$5.00
H-Small-Sociology	2	0	2	0

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LETTER TO DIRECT MAIL RESPONDERS

Opening "A"

I am writing to thank you for your response to my memorandum of March 22 and to say something about the situation with which we are faced.

Opening "B"

Because of your interest in the Council for a Livable World I am writing to you on this occasion to say something about the situation with which we are faced.

-----

When President Kennedy assumed office, it was generally assumed that the Administration would make a serious effort to arrive at an agreement with Russia which would halt the arms race. With President Kennedy, a number of exceptionally capable men moved into the Administration, but they are so preoccupied with problems which require immediate action that they are unable to focus their attention on the central long-term objectives. In these circumstances, the Administration has so far not been able to make much headway towards solving the problem which the bomb poses to the world.

It appears likely that President Kennedy will be re-elected in 1964, but even so, two out of his eight years in office have gone by and time is running out. What is needed is a clear vision of a set of objectives aimed at establishing a stable peace, which would be attainable before the end of the President's second term, provided they are consistently pursued. What the Administration can do is limited by what the Congress may accept, but if the President knew clearly where we are going, he could, step by step, prepare Congressional opinion for the acceptance of those objectives which are negotiable with the other nations that are involved.

The Council is at present actively exploring how it might best contribute to the development of a consensus in Washington on a set of national objectives which would be likely to be attainable. To this end, the Council intends to keep in close touch with about fifteen key members of the Administration and about an equal number of

senators who are friendly to the Administration. The Council is currently bringing to Washington scientists, scholars and other public-spirited citizens who are knowledgeable as well as articulate and who, by discussing the relevant issues with members of the Administration and of the Senate, can help them to clarify their minds and to arrive at a valid consensus.

By and large, the Council is more concerned with Congressional attitudes than with the promotion of the passage of individual bills, because major foreign policy decisions rarely come before Congress wrapped up in the form of a bill and by the time they do, it is usually too late to do much about them. However, there are important exceptions. On April 10th, hearings were held before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on an amendment to the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. After an initial period of faltering the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency established under this Act has found itself and in recent months a remarkably large amount of constructive work has been done within the Agency. The Council received permission to testify in these hearings and it brought Roger Fisher, Professor of Law at Harvard, to Washington to testify on behalf of the Council in favor of S. 777, which would enable this Agency to pursue its task with greater effectiveness.

Another important piece of legislation might come before the Senate this year if the Administration succeeds in reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on a test ban. Ratification of such an agreement requires a two-thirds vote in the Senate and as matters look now, it will take an uphill fight to have the treaty ratified. The Council intends to participate in that fight.

It is one of the concerns of the Council that the good men who are now in the Senate be re-elected and the Council will have to see to it that they shall not lack adequate campaign funds. This, however, is not enough and the Council will have to do what it can to increase the number of those in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, who can be counted on not only to support such constructive foreign policies

as the Administration may adopt, but also to press for the adoption of such policies. To this end, the Council will have to find, in the years to come, at the grass roots level, men who have insight into what needs to be done and who would have a fair chance of being elected if they were to get the nomination of their party. It would be the task of the Council to persuade such men to seek the nomination of their party and to help them to get it by assuring them in advance of adequate financial backing.

The contributions of twenty thousand people having an annual income of \$10,000 and spending two percent of their income on campaign contributions to Congressional candidates would amount to \$4 million a year. This amount, if wisely spent, could have a marked effect on the outcome of the elections.

One of the functions of the Council is to give advice to its supporters on where their campaign contributions would do the most good. During the last elections, we recommended to our supporters that each make a campaign contribution in the amount of one-half of the amount they intended to spend in support of the Council in 1962. One-half of the total amount spent in support of the Council in 1962 went to one of two senatorial candidates, George McGovern, who was running in South Dakota, or Senator Joseph Clark, who was running for re-election in Pennsylvania. In response, the Council received and transmitted to George McGovern checks totaling over \$20,000 and to Senator Clark checks totaling over \$10,000.

Both of these men were elected. McGovern was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic senator in South Dakota in 26 years. His maiden speech, which concerned itself with Cuba, is enclosed together with an editorial of the WASHINGTON POST, which it evoked.

A few weeks before the elections, we learned that Senator Wayne Morse, who was running for re-election in Oregon, needed funds. The Council thereupon sent telegrams to those of its supporters who, in a questionnaire that had previously been sent to them, expressed a marked personal preference for him. In response, the Council received and transmitted to Senator Morse checks totaling over \$4,000.

1963 is not an election year, yet the Council plans in the Fall to set up three bank accounts, each one in trust for a senator who comes up for re-election in 1964. The Council will recommend to its supporters that each make a campaign contribution to one of these senators in the amount of one-half of the total contribution which they intend to make this year in support of the work of the Council. The three senators to be supported in this manner in 1963 will be selected by the Council from among the seven senators listed below. If you are willing to make such a campaign contribution in the fall of this year and if you have any marked preference in favor of one of these seven senators, you are asked to mark the enclosed questionnaire accordingly, for the guidance of the Council.

These seven senators are as follows: Quentin N. Burdick (6), N. Dakota; Albert Gore (10), Tennessee; Philip A. Hart (9), Michigan; Frank E. Moss (9), Utah; Gale W. McGee (9), Wyoming; Edmund S. Muskie (9), Maine; Eugene J. McCarthy (8), Minnesota.

The numbers in parentheses following the name of each senator represent the Council's rating on a scale of zero to ten, based on key votes on legislation pertaining to the U.N., the Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, foreign aid and foreign trade.

These senators all happen to be Democrats. This is not due to any bias which the Council might have in this regard, but rather to the fact that all of them seem clearly superior to any of the Republican senators who come up for re-election in 1964. These Republicans are: J. Glenn Beall (3), Maryland; Hiram K. Fong (4), Hawaii; Barry Goldwater (0), Arizona; Roman L. Hruska (0), Nebraska; Kenneth B. Keating (6), New York; E. L. Mechem (appointed Nov. 30, 1962), New Mexico; Winston L. Prouty (3), Vermont; Hugh Scott (3), Pennsylvania; John J. Williams (3), Delaware.

If you are not prepared to make a campaign contribution in the fall of this year you may have an opportunity to make a contribution, at that time, to one of the special projects of the Council which are at present in preparation.

Our ultimate goal is to have 20,000 supporters. We could be, however, the most powerful lobby that ever hit Washington if we had 5,000 supporters whose contributions might come close to \$1 million a year. If, on the basis of what you now know about the Council, you wish to be one of them, I should be very grateful for your marking and returning the enclosed questionnaire with or without an attached check. As the questionnaire indicates, the Council is prepared to bill monthly those who prefer this mode of payment.

Right now, the cost of the Council's operations in Washington absorb about one-half of the contributions of the Council's supporters while the other half goes to campaign contributions of Congressional candidates. In the years to come, the proportion may markedly shift in favor of the campaign contributions. Regular supporters of the Council are expected to spend, in toto, two percent of their income; contributing supporters are expected to spend either one percent of their income or \$100.

It would be my suggestion that at this time you make out a check to the Council for a Livable World in the amount of one-half of your total contribution for '63 and mail it to the Council together with the enclosed questionnaire. A pre-addressed and pre-paid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

April 16, 1963

The ~~Pope's~~ Encyclical covers a lot of ground and I shall address my remarks only to those portions of it which concern themselves with the ~~need of~~ stopping <sup>of</sup> the arms race. This is an area where intellectual and moral leadership have been sadly lacking up <sup>until</sup> now. Such leadership is not likely to come from any of the national governments, which have an axe to grind, and can be counted upon to speak the truth only when it suits their purposes. <sup>It</sup> It is conceivable that the Vatican has decided to assume <sup>such</sup> the leadership ~~in this area~~ <sup>th</sup> and that the current Encyclical <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ merely the first step which may be seen followed up by other steps. If this were the case, the Encyclical ~~might mean that we have reached~~ <sup>could become</sup> a turning point in history.

April 16, 1963

Intergovernmental negotiations on disarmament are not likely to  
 succeed unless the ground is first cleared by privately sponsored informal  
 conversations among the scientists and scholars of the ~~nations~~ <sup>countries</sup> involved.

~~In the past,~~ <sup>up until now</sup> Because of lack of suitable sponsorship, it was not possible  
 to arrange for adequate informal conversations of this sort. <sup>I am convinced personally</sup> ~~if the~~ that

Vatican should <sup>now</sup> ~~decide to~~ take the lead and assume <sup>such</sup> ~~the~~ sponsorship, it could

count on the enthusiastic cooperation <sup>I think</sup> of the scientists and scholars

of the ~~Western world:~~ <sup>both in America and in Russia.</sup>

# **COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD**

*National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Phone: 265-3800, ac 202*

This was prepared for Burdick who, because of fear of what Holmes Alexander might say, will not speak for us in Syracuse. At the moment, Sen. Muskie's office has the speech in the hope that he may be able to make the Syracuse engagement. If he cannot, Sen. Gaylord Nelson will give it at some time in the future.

H. A. Crosby

*Wash. Independent*

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Kennedy Administration was the partial nuclear test ban treaty. With truly remarkable perseverance the late President continued to press for a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests when most others were losing heart. Through the crisis over Berlin, the resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union after a three-year moratorium, and through the later Cuban missile crisis, he continued to press for such a treaty. And his patience was finally crowned with success.

He knew, perhaps more clearly than any other man, the nature of what he called "the nuclear sword of Damocles" that has been hanging over our heads for nearly 20 years. He could see, as clearly as any man, the increased dangers that would lie ahead if no limit were put on the nuclear arms race. The spectre of ever-increasing armadas of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles in the hands of ever-increasing numbers of nations haunted him, as it should haunt us. Spurred by this vision of a nightmarish future, he pressed on to ultimate success.

As he no doubt foresaw, the nuclear test ban treaty has had effects far beyond those implied by its simple terms. On paper, it simply prohibits the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space. But, beyond that, the fact that this country and the Soviet Union, along with more than 100 other nations, agreed to halt the further testing of nuclear weapons in these environments has had an obviously salutary effect on the political climate and, even more important, on the prospects for peace. In the era of good feeling engendered by the treaty, incidents which at other times would have led to tension and hostility, and perhaps even to armed conflict, have been rectified with a minimum of argument or bitterness. It may well be, in fact, that this indication on the part of the nuclear powers that they were willing to limit the weaponry that symbolizes their antagonism may well be the forerunner of a sequence of steps that can remove that antagonism and lead to a growing mutual accommodation.

In terms of armaments themselves, the test ban treaty symbolizes the recognition by this country and by the Soviet Union that the weapons possessed by each of us have grown in number and destructiveness beyond any level that can serve a rational purpose. Toward the end of World War II we were able to mount huge 1000 plane raids on Germany. Today, one bomber such as that in the U. S. Strategic Air Command is capable of delivering more destructive power than one million of the B-17 aircraft we were so familiar with during the second world war. Those of you who might have been in England during the period when we were carrying out these raids might remember how impressive it was as the sky was darkened by one thousand bombers flying off towards Germany. The sight of one million bombers is almost beyond comprehension; such an armada would have taken several days simply to fly over the target, even if it were conceivable to build and equip such a fleet. Nevertheless, today the United States has more than 1000 bombers, each of which is equivalent to such a one million bomber armada. The destruction

that could be caused by such a fleet is indeed beyond our comprehension.

Today these bombers are being supplemented by an increasing number of intercontinental missiles armed with nuclear weapons. Each of these missiles also carries a destructive power equal to such a one million bomber raid. We are adding these missiles to our armed forces at the rate of more than 1 a day and will soon have more than 1,000 of them. In an era when the Soviet Union also possesses long-range missiles, it is necessary for us to have such weapons which can be protected underground or hidden under the sea, in order to ensure that we could retaliate in the event of a Soviet attack. But let us not delude ourselves into thinking that this vast, and even incredible, array of power can defend us in the event of war.

In the nuclear age the word defense has lost its meaning, and our vast array of weapons serves only the function of deterring an attack by the other side. In the event that a madman were to gain control of his weapons, or one side were to launch an attack in the midst of some crisis, it has been estimated by President Johnson that we would lose between 50 and 100 million people. Our vast array of forces might be able to limit this damage somewhat, by destroying some of the Soviet forces before they could be launched, but we would still have to expect to lose tens of millions of people.

Such a disaster is beyond comprehension. In the first world war the U. S. suffered 53,000 deaths in battle. In World War II it suffered 290,000 deaths in battle. In the Korean War, it suffered 34,000 deaths in battle. Now we are talking, not of thousands of deaths or hundreds of thousands of deaths but about tens or even hundreds of millions of fatalities. And now these are not limited to the battlefield but are here in this country. Our own cities would be destroyed, and it is questionable whether our nation could survive such a loss.

Surely a situation in which such destruction, which is incomprehensible to the human mind, can occur in minutes and without the possibility of defense calls for new and original thinking about ways to maintain the peace. As President Eisenhower said, "There is now no alternative to peace." Now, as never before, we must recognize the strong degree of mutual interest that exists between the two sides. Today a nuclear war could serve no rational end, neither side could possibly benefit and both sides must, together, strive to create those conditions in which a nuclear war would not be possible. Responsible officials in both our country and the Soviet Union have recognized that nuclear war cannot be used as a means of achieving national objectives. But we have not yet

succeeded in establishing conditions in which a nuclear war through accident or through a miscalculation of the other's intentions could not take place.

What we must recognize is that in the nuclear age even the most bitter of adversaries, when they possess the weapons of mass destruction that are available today, share a common interest in preventing the use of these weapons. Much as we may differ with the political and ideological objectives of communism, we must recognize that we share with our adversaries a common enemy, nuclear war.

Out of this growing realization that there is a mutual bond between the opposing sides in today's world, there has grown an area of professional thought and study that is sometimes termed arms control. The practitioners of this art have sought to understand the kind of situation I have been discussing, in which we maintain force to deter aggression, but, at the same time, seek to restrain that force so that it does not cause our own destruction. We have established an executive agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, to carry out studies and prepare specific arms control and disarmament measures, to achieve the objective of reducing the threat of nuclear war. But in the last analysis, these measures can only be successful if they have the support and understanding of the American people. As President Kennedy said in his celebrated speech at American University, "Some say that it is useless to speak of world peace or world law or world disarmament--and that it will be useless until the leaders of the Soviet Union adopt a more enlightened attitude. I hope they do. I believe we can help them to do it. But I also believe that we must re-examine our own attitudes, as individuals and as a nation, for our attitude is as essential as theirs. And every graduate of this school, every thoughtful citizen who despairs of war and wishes to bring peace, should begin by looking inward -- by examining his own attitude toward the possibilities of peace, toward the Soviet Union, toward the course of the cold war, and toward freedom and peace here at home."

The people must make their desires felt if we are to make progress in the field of arms control and disarmament. Too often the members of Congress have listened to the voices that urge greater and greater armaments; seldom do they hear the voices calling for restraint, moderation, and a recognition of the mutual interest in survival that we share with our adversary. Only when these voices make themselves heard will measures now being discussed within the Government and at the disarmament conference in Geneva be able to gain the support of the Congress which is so essential to their success.

A case in point is the set of proposals made in January by President Johnson to the Geneva Disarmament Conference. While strident voices in this country call for more missiles and more strategic aircraft, President Johnson proposed an agreement that would halt further increases in strategic armaments now. He said the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective allies should agree to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles. He went on "For our part, we are convinced that the security of all nations can be safeguarded within the scope of such an agreement and that this initial measure preventing the further expansion of the deadly and costly arms race will open the path to reductions in all types of forces from present levels. The U. S. has thus proposed that we halt the arms race in the area of the most deadly weapons, namely, the intercontinental missiles and aircraft."

Recognizing the mutual interests that we and the Soviet Union have in preventing the growth and spread of the stockpiles of these deadly weapons, this seems to me to be a sensible step to take after the nuclear test ban, which halted the testing of large nuclear weapons, and the recent agreement in the United Nations to prohibit placing nuclear weapons in orbit. Each of these measures limits or halts a segment of the arms race, and the "freeze" proposed by President Johnson would do the same in the all-important area of strategic missiles and bombers.

Those who argue for the production of even more missiles claim, that if we continue, we can win the arms race. It is not clear to me what they mean by this. The Soviet Union can already inflict enormous damage on this country with their existing missile and bomber forces, and, at the same time that we build up our forces, they will continue to increase theirs. Given the nature of modern weapons, the ability to protect missiles in underground concrete casings, to hide them on submarines under the sea, and to launch them on a moment's notice, it seems clear that the ability of the Soviet Union to inflict damage on this country can only increase - if there is no halt in the weapons build-up.

It might be said, though, that our ability to retaliate in the event of a Soviet attack is not yet great enough to provide an adequate deterrent. However, official government figures show that we now have more than 600 B-52 bombers, 200 Atlas and Titan missiles, 600 Minuteman missiles, 200 Polaris missiles, several hundred B-47 bombers, and several hundred attack aircraft on carriers that can deliver thermonuclear weapons on the Soviet Union. Mr. Paul Nitze, present Secretary of the Navy, has estimated that

the presently available Polaris missiles could alone kill 25 to 35 million Russians, and this represents only a small fraction of our total available force.

It has been suggested that we need a large retaliatory force since we would never strike first, and the Soviet Union could destroy a good number of our aircraft and missiles in a surprise attack. However, Defense Department officials have claimed that the United States currently enjoys a significant numerical superiority over the Soviet Union, a superiority which has been estimated by an independent research organization in England at about a factor of 3. It estimated that the Soviet Union has about 200 missiles and 200 long range bombers. With our superior force ready to go at a moment's notice 24 hours a day, it seems clear that we possess today a more than adequate deterrent to Soviet attack.

On the other hand, it may be claimed by those who advocate more drastic disarmament measures that the US proposal to freeze the present level of strategic weapons not only is not real disarmament, but is actually a way to avoid disarmament. I think that if we could achieve a balanced and adequately inspected agreement to reduce strategic weapons, this would be even more desirable than an agreement which simply prevents a further increase in these weapons. But it is probable that political conditions are such that we cannot achieve such an agreement in the very near future. As I have noted, there are strong voices calling for increases in our present forces and objecting to any agreement with the Soviet Union on disarmament or even in less sensitive areas that would have little impact on our national security posture. While the freeze may not be the best of all possible agreements, it may be the best of those agreements that we can achieve at this point in time.

I think, also, that we must look to the future and compare the alternatives that are really open to us. If there is no agreement of any kind, it is inevitable that we and the Soviet Union will continue to build up these forces, and that other countries as well will be tempted or encouraged to join the race. Whereas we now have about 1,000 long-range missiles, we are planning to build at least 2,000 of them, and the Soviet Union undoubtedly will build up at a corresponding rate. In fact, of course, our continuing build-up forces the Soviet Union to keep pace in order that they, too, can have an adequate deterrent force, from their point of view. Thus, if we were to succeed in freezing these forces at their present levels, we would, in a sense, have achieved a significant amount of disarmament when compared with the future in the absence of such an agreement. Surely it is better to halt now, and then to seek agreements that

would reduce these weapons from their present levels, than to continue increasing in the possibly vain hope that disarmament agreements could be reached in such an increasingly-tense climate.

Just what would the proposed freeze involve? Mr. William Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in presenting the new proposal at the Disarmament Conference, explained that the measure would halt the further increase in the numbers of long-range missiles and bombers and would also include a halt in the further production of any anti-missile missile systems that were in existence when the agreement was signed. Without this last provision, one country or another might be able to develop an effective defense against missiles which would nullify the deterrent forces of the other side. In a world where each country is depending upon the potential destructiveness of its forces to deter attack, the development of anti-missile missile systems by one side could raise fears on the part of the other side that it was planning a surprise attack. If the US, for instance, is to be a party to an agreement that prevents it from any further build-up in its missile forces, then it seems reasonable that the same agreement should prevent the Soviet Union from building up their defense against such missile forces. In the absence of any prohibition on building new anti-missile missiles, it seems clear to me that any attempt by the Soviet Union to go ahead with the construction of such a defense would be met with such an outcry in this country that we could no longer continue as a party to the treaty.

The agreement would also allow each side to continue to produce replacements for those missiles which it lost through deterioration or which it used up in carrying out the continuing tests that are needed to assure that the missile force is reliable. For every missile that was produced, though, one would have to be destroyed, so that of course there would not be any increase in the level maintained at any particular time.

An important element in the proposal made by President Johnson is that it would freeze the characteristics of the present weapons maintained by each side. As Mr. Foster pointed out, the significance of this provision might well be greater than that on the freeze on numbers. It would halt the race to produce better strategic vehicles to carry bigger warheads. An important factor in the tension that leads to the arms race today is the fear that one side or the other will develop some new weapon that will drastically alter the military balance. If the agreement could stop the production of new types of weapons, this fear could be removed or at least greatly diminished. Whereas the

best brains in our country are now devoted to developing new weapons systems, many of them could turn to the other problems that face our country and could very likely apply modern technology in ways that have never been tried before. One wonders what could be achieved in the areas of mass transportation, health, air traffic control, and mass communications if the effort and brains now applied to building weapons were instead used in these far more productive areas.

Lastly, there is the matter of inspection for the freeze. A basic element in the US philosophy on disarmament has always been the requirement that any agreements in this critical area must include provisions for effective verification that all sides are abiding by the agreement. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has consistently objected that we were insisting on inspection solely in order to conduct espionage on their soil. While we find it hard to understand why they should think this, when our motives seem to us so clear and straightforward, we should nevertheless remember that they do not see the world in quite the same way as we do. Their communist ideology tells them that the capitalistic world is hostile to them and is seeking their downfall. Their history tells them that Western nations have often invaded their soil when Russia was weak or vulnerable. Psychologists who have studied the Soviet mentality suggest that these and other factors have led the Soviet people to be inordinately suspicious of the actions of foreigners, so that it may not be surprising that they suspect our intentions when we insist on having foreigners snooping around their country after they have reduced their armed forces.

At the same time that we should take more seriously these innate Russian objections to inspection, we should also be thinking more seriously about the subject ourselves. We cannot think of inspection as a way of testing the honesty of the Soviet Union, since we know that neither they nor any other country are honest. All countries act at any moment as their national interests dictate, and even this country has at times acted in a way that seemed to others as if we were breaking treaties.

We can also not expect inspection to provide us with absolute security against violations. No inspection could be perfect, and nothing on God's earth can provide absolute security. Rather, we should ask that inspection, together with other sources of information available to this country, should assure us that the Soviets are not carrying out any activity which could significantly affect the security of this country. As this suggests, in thinking about inspection, we should recognize that this country has a vast number of sources of information available to it, including those maintained by the CIA, and the host of new scientific

techniques that can detect missile tests and other activities behind the Iron Curtain. In addition, we must recognize that not all violations of a treaty are equally significant. In an age when we and the Soviet Union each maintain hundreds or even thousands of long-range weapons, each with enormous destructive power, small violations can hardly have any effect. It is only those large violations, such as a large production facility that continued operating after the agreement, that could possibly affect the military balance, and such a large program would have a good chance of being detected either by our own information sources or by the inspection system that might be established under the agreement.

An agreement which would freeze present levels therefore may require far less inspection than we are accustomed to thinking of. This may be desirable, not only because it makes the agreement more acceptable to the Soviet Union, but also because it means there would be fewer Russians running around this country. We seldom think about this, but even this country is concerned with maintaining its security from espionage, and we would not want unnecessarily large numbers of Soviet officials to have great access to this country. Mr. Foster, in Geneva, suggested that the freeze could be verified by monitoring existing production and missile testing facilities which each side would declare, and by a specified number of spot-checks to guard against possible undeclared production facilities. Thus there might be inspectors at the factories still producing missiles for replacement purposes, and a few teams which could periodically visit factories which were supposed to be producing peaceful items, but which might in fact be producing missiles, or parts of missiles. While it is my understanding that the Government is still studying this problem, it appears to me that such a relatively simple arrangement would be workable and could probably provide the kind of assurance that this country would rightly demand.

What should come after such a freeze agreement, if it could be reached? Surely we should not be content even if we could achieve such an agreement. Both we and the Russians would be left with large numbers of highly destructive weapons, and the possibilities of war by accident or miscalculation, while they would be reduced by the improved political climate that would inevitably result, would still remain. We often forget that even a single accidental nuclear explosion could well be the greatest disaster ever to befall humanity, and a nuclear war would be an unmitigated catastrophe. It seems to me that we should continue our efforts to reduce these forces in a balanced fashion, so that the overall security of all parties would be increased and it would never be to the advantage of any one country to carry out a surprise

attack. It sounds difficult to meet these conditions, but those who have studied the problems of arms control have suggested that proceeding in such a direction is not only desirable but is also possible. They suggest that we should seek to reduce those areas in the world where we might be forced to use nuclear weapons to protect our interests, either by strengthening our conventional forces - as we have been doing in West Germany -- or, preferably, by reaching agreements that would reduce the level of the armies maintained by the Soviet Union. In this way, for instance, we would not have to resort to nuclear weapons to defend Western Europe or Berlin, but could assure these areas against attack through the maintenance of purely conventional weapons. We could thus move to a situation in which only a limited number of long-range missiles were retained, and these would be kept solely for the purpose of deterring an attack from the other side using similar weapons. This has been called the principle of the minimum deterrent, but I prefer to think of it as a rational arrangement in which we recognize the awesome power of modern weapons by reserving them for only the direct emergency. I think we are now a long way from achieving such an arrangement, primarily because people seem to have become accustomed to having nuclear weapons around and to relying on them. I think this has been a dangerous development and one which we should seek to reverse. Certainly, the Kennedy Administration and the Defense Department under Secretary of Defense McNamara has sought to move in this direction by reducing those areas in which the resort to nuclear weapons was necessary. However, in the long run, we must seek a world in which those weapons would be used only in response to the use of nuclear weapons by another country. If that condition could be achieved, then one might even envision the complete abolition of these weapons, once people realized that they served no purpose at all, but were instead a threat to everyone.

The freeze on long-range delivery vehicles proposed by President Johnson may then be viewed as a logical first step along the road to a safer future. While the initial reaction of the Soviet Union to this proposal appears to have been negative, we must be patient. Four years elapsed between the time that President Eisenhower first proposed the partial test ban until the Soviet Union accepted it in the summer of 1963. In this case, also, we must attempt to impress on them, as President Kennedy did at American University, our recognition of the mutual interest that we both share in preventing a nuclear war and our feeling that such a freeze would be to the advantage of both of us.

If we do not succeed in reaching an agreement, then this nation's security is bound to decrease in the coming years. Herbert York, the Director for Defense Research and Engineering under the Eisenhower Administration, spoke as follows during the hearings on the test ban treaty last year:

"Ever since shortly after World War II, the military power of the United States has been steadily increasing; over the same period the national security of the United States has been rapidly and inexorably decreasing.

" In the early 1950's the Soviet Union, on the basis of its own sole unilateral decision, and if it had been willing to accept the inevitable retaliation could have launched an attack against the United States with bombers carrying atomic or fission bombs.

" Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses and the number of American casualties could have been some millions.

" In the later 1950's, again on its own sole decision, and again if it had been willing to accept the inevitable massive retaliation, the Soviet Union could have launched an attack against the United States using more and better bombers, this time carrying hydrogen bombs.

" Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses, and the number of American casualties could have been in the tens of millions.

" By the mid'1950's the Soviet Union, again solely on the basis of its own decision, and again, if it were willing to accept the inevitable retaliation, could launch an attack on the United States using intercontinental missiles and bombers carrying thermonuclear weapons. This time, the number of American casualties which would result from such an attack could be in the neighborhood of, perhaps, 100 million.

" This steady decrease in national security was not the result of any inaction on our part, but simply the result of the systematic exploitation of the products of modern science and technology by the Soviet Union."

Dr. York continued, "It is my view that the problem posed for both sides by this dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security has no technical solution. If we continue to look for solutions in the areas of science and technology only, the result will be a steady and inexorable worsening of this situation.

Let us pray that we have the wisdom and the insight to use our political institutions to gain a security that our scientists have not been able to bring us. Only by placing the modern weapons at our disposal, in proper perspective, and recognizing the overriding importance of the human factor in our relations with other countries, can we truly advance the security of this nation and of all nations with which we share a common fate.

ABOUT LEO SZILARD

~~March 18, 1963~~

Dr. Leo Szilard, currently professor of biophysics at the University of Chicago, was among the first to conceive of the possibility of an atomic chain reaction and to recognize what it would mean to the world. The first patent issued in America in the field of atomic energy was issued jointly in his name and the name of the late Enrico Fermi. With Professor E.P. Wigner he shared the Atoms for Peace Award for 1959.

In 1939 Szilard took the initiative in inducing the U.S. Government to assume responsibility for the development of atomic energy. The historic letter which Albert Einstein wrote on August 2, 1939, to President Roosevelt was based on the work of Fermi and Szilard. In 1945 Szilard assumed the leadership of those of his colleagues who were opposed to dropping atomic bombs on the cities of Japan. In 1946 he led the successful fight of his colleagues against the May-Johnson Bill, which would have placed the development of atomic energy in the U.S. in the hands of an agency not under the direct "civilian" control of the President. His recently published little book, THE VOICE OF THE DOLPHINS - <sup>or whimsical</sup> ~~in the little story~~ containing five stories of political and social satire, gives a lucid analysis of the problems involved in disarmament, ~~in a whimsical form~~. A speech, Are We On The Road To War?, which he gave at eight universities, across the country, ~~speaking~~ ~~before large student audiences~~, evoked 2500 letters expressing approval and led to the establishment of the Council for a Livable World.

REPORT

\_\_\_\_\_  
COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

\_\_\_\_\_  
Washington, D. C.

FOR THE PERIOD

FROM June 2, 1962 TO December 31, 1962

OSCAR J. BERNSTEIN & COMPANY  
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

OSCAR J. BERNSTEIN & COMPANY

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

1832 M STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

FEDERAL 8-7282

MEMBERS  
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF  
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

June 21, 1963

Board of Directors  
Council for a Livable World  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.  
Washington 6, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We have examined the statement of assets and liabilities of the Council for a Livable World as of December 31, 1962, and the related statement of cash revenues received and expenses paid or accrued for the period June 2, 1962 to December 31, 1962. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In the preparation of the financial statements, we have used a modified accrual basis which includes unpaid bills as expenses for the period ended December 31, 1962 and includes, in income only the actual cash received as of that date without giving effect to the unpaid balance of pledges.

We have relied upon the opinion of your counsel that income tax returns need not be filed with the Internal Revenue Service or the District of Columbia Finance Office at this time and consequently there has been no provision made for income tax liability.

We recommend that a blanket bond be secured to cover all employees. We believe the coverage need not be in excess of \$5,000.00.

In our opinion the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Council for a Livable World as of December 31, 1962 and the recorded cash receipts and expenses for the period June 2, 1962 to December 31, 1962.

Respectfully submitted,

*Oscar J. Bernstein & Company*

OSCAR J. BERNSTEIN & COMPANY

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Statement of Assets and Liabilities  
as of December 31, 1962

ASSETS

Current Assets

Cash in banks	\$ 6,940.60
Cash in savings accounts	<u>37,722.26</u>

Total Current Assets \$ 44,662.86

Fixed Assets

Furniture and fixtures	\$ 1,546.28
Less: Accumulated depreciation	<u>14.80</u>

Total Fixed Assets 1,531.48

TOTAL ASSETS

\$ 46,194.34

Liabilities

Accounts payable	\$ 2,465.07
Payroll taxes payable	<u>820.45</u>

Total Liabilities 3,285.52

Unappropriated balance

\$ 42,908.82

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Statement of Revenue and Expenses  
June 2, 1962 - December 31, 1962

Income

Contributions	\$ 91,043.46
Interest earned	<u>722.26</u>

Total Income

\$ 91,765.72

Expenses

Salaries	\$ 10,423.58	
Payroll taxes	558.13	
Rent	4,341.77	
Travel expense	5,641.99	
Office supplies	1,171.57	
Printing and stationery	6,161.62	
Political contributions	9,000.00	
Telephone and telegrams	4,005.05	
Outside clerical services	5,322.17	
Equipment rental	468.91	
Postage	771.93	
Parking and local transportation	152.55	
Bookkeeping services	494.50	
Miscellaneous expenses	328.33	
Depreciation	<u>14.80</u>	
Total Expenses		<u>48,856.90</u>

Excess of Income over Expenses

\$ 42,908.82

*K- for Mr. Szilard*  
COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036  
Phone: 265-3800 ac 202

October 5, 1963

Memo to: Board of Directors

From: Washington Office

In Re: October meeting

We would appreciate your returning the enclosed note as soon as possible to confirm arrangements for the Executive Committee and Board of Directors meeting of October 18-20:

1. Hotel room reservations have tentatively been made at the Dupont Plaza for Friday and Saturday nights, October 18 and 19 for out-of-town members. Please let us know whether your reservation should now be confirmed.
2. The Dan Singers again invite everyone to dinner Saturday night. Please let us know whether you will be able to attend.

The meeting itself will be held in the conference room of the Dupont Circle Building (1346 Connecticut Avenue, across the circle from the Dupont Plaza). The Executive Committee (business) meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. Friday.

Dr. Szilard

Please return this note as soon as possible to the Council office; a return envelope is enclosed.

1. I will \_\_\_\_\_, will not \_\_\_\_\_ be able to attend the meeting, October 18 (p.m. only) Executive Committee \_\_\_\_\_, October 19 \_\_\_\_\_, October 20 \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Please confirm, \_\_\_\_\_, do not confirm \_\_\_\_\_ a room reservation at the Dupont Plaza for Friday evening \_\_\_\_\_, Saturday evening \_\_\_\_\_.
3. I will \_\_\_\_\_, will not \_\_\_\_\_ be able to accept Dan Singer's invitation to dinner Saturday evening (for \_\_\_\_\_ persons).

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 20, 1963

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

### MEMORANDUM TO CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION ASSUMED TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ARMS RACE

The Council for a Livable World is a political committee which was set up in June of last year. It is supported by people who are willing to expend one to two percent of their income on campaign contributions to congressional candidates.

In last year's elections, the Council recommended to one group of its supporters that they each make out their check to George McGovern and send it to the Council for transmittal and it recommended to another group of its supporters that they make out their checks to Senator Joseph Clark. On this basis, the Council received and transmitted checks totaling over \$20,000 to George McGovern and checks totaling over \$10,000 to Senator Clark. Shortly before the elections the Council sent out seventy telegrams to its supporters who had previously indicated a marked personal preference for Senator Wayne Morse and it received with a few days, checks totaling over \$4,000 for Morse.

The general concept of the Council was outlined in a speech which Leo Szilard gave between November, 1961 and February, 1962 at eight universities. In it he expressed the view that if our policies keep on following the line of least resistance the peace may not last another ten years. In discussing what it would take to get off the road to war, he pointed out that if a minority of 20,000 people, having an annual income of about \$10,000 were to unite on a set of attainable political objectives and were to spend two percent of their incomes on campaign contributions, their contributions would amount to about 4 million dollars a year.

Szilard said that he would undertake to set up a political committee in Washington, to advise where such political contributions ought to go, if the response to his speech indicated that the views of such a committee would be sought by a sufficiently large number of people. Szilard received 2500 letters and the Council was set up in Washington in June of last year.

The selection of the candidates to be supported rests with the Board of Directors of the Council which includes scientists, political scientists, and also men well versed in practical politics. William Doering, Director of the Division of the Sciences, Yale University, and Leo Szilard, Professor of Biophysics, University of Chicago, are co-chairmen of the Board which includes Morton Grodzins, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, and James G. Patton, President of the Farmers Union.

The Council believes that those within the Administration and the Congress who are concerned about the general drift towards war might be able to reach a consensus on what needs to be done and it is exploring at this time how it might be of assistance in this regard.

*Co-Chairmen:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD  
Chicago, Ill.

*President:*  
BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.

*Vice-President:*  
ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
Cambridge, Mass.

*Secretary-Treasurer:*  
DANIEL M. SINGER  
Washington, D.C.

RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.  
MAURICE S. FOX  
Cambridge, Mass.  
MARGARET BRENNAN GIBSON  
Stockbridge, Mass.  
MORTON GRODZINS  
Chicago, Ill.  
JAMES G. PATTON  
Denver, Colo.  
ARTHUR PENN.  
New York, N.Y.  
CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
FRANKLIN W. STAHL  
Eugene, Oregon

Allan Forbes, Jr.  
Vice President

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD - 1346 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON 20036, D.C.

MEMORANDUM

July 3, 1963

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: National Office

Enclosed are the minutes from the June 22 meeting, as well as the audited statement of assets and liabilities for the period June 2, 1962 to December 31, 1962.

Encls.

Executive Committee Meeting, June 22, 1963

Present: Ruth Adams, Lee Bamberger (p.m. only), William Doering, Bernard Feld, Allan Forbes, Jr., Lois Gardner, Matt Meselson, John Silard, Daniel Singer, Leo Szilard

Treasurer's Report: The financial statements for May and June (through June 21) show expenditures totalling \$11,761.62; the report was accepted as submitted.

Fidelity bond: The purchase of a fidelity bond in the amount to be recommended by the auditors was approved.

Countersignatures: John Silard was approved to co-sign (with Dan Singer) checks in excess of \$1,000, replacing Allan Forbes.

Next meeting: At least one meeting of the Executive Committee is to be held prior to Labor Day.

Barnet-Raskin study: Dick Barnet and Marc Raskin have finished the first draft of their study paper; copies of which were circulated. They are to provide a final draft (within a reasonable period of time) for Council consideration.

Manpower hearings meeting (report by John Silard): Through the continued support and sponsorship of the Council, a meeting was convened by Senator Clark of key participants in the proposed Senate Labor Subcommittee hearings on defense readjustment implications. Representatives of various government agencies and experts from the academic community, (including Professors Roger Fisher and Wassily Leontief) spent a day of deliberations over the desirable scope and direction of the Senate Subcommittee's investigation. The consensus reached by the participants indicated four key elements for investigation: 1. Prospects for qualitative or quantitative reductions in the Defense Program in coming years. 2. The nature, impact, and role of government in ongoing defense industry change and relocation. 3. Potential impact of major reductions in defense industry resulting from disarmament. 4. Prospects for transferring from the defense sector resource management and technology to alternative areas of potential national development. The Council is maintaining its high interest and cooperation with the Senate Committee and the Federal agencies in the preparation for these hearings, which are expected to stimulate national concern and interest on a subject which has so far remained obscured from serious national attention.

Manpower hearings: John Silard reported that public hearings of (Senator Clark's) Senate Labor Subcommittee on the economic consequences of disarmament will probably be held in November as a result of the recent meeting supported by the Council. (His report on the meeting itself is above). Considerable discussion followed on the preparation necessary: a follow-up meeting with a somewhat different group of people in September is fairly definite. Some thought should also be given to finding persons to prepare study papers and proposals.

Seminars for legislative and administrative aides: John Silard reported that plans for a seminar program are in process and that the seminars ought to begin after Labor Day; one remaining problem is locating an adequate place, preferably a private home.

Affiliation of Lobby for Peace: The affiliation of the Lobby-for-Peace (San Francisco, California), as outlined in previous correspondence between the Lobby and the Council, with the Council for a Livable World was approved.

Support of Local Groups --Los Angeles: The request of the Los Angeles group for funds was approved in the amount of \$200, further funds to be contingent upon their success in encouraging people to support the Council with contributions.

Support of Local Groups--Chicago: The request of the Chicago group for \$800 was approved.

Affiliation with SANE, UWF: The federation of the Council with SANE and/or UWF was rejected.

Executive Director: Three candidates were to be interviewed following the Executive Committee meeting for the position of executive and/or national director. If these candidates proved unacceptable, Michael Brower was to be offered the position for one year at \$12,000.

"Cease-fire" proposal: There was considerable discussion over the "cease-fire" proposal, but no consensus.

Membership contact: There was discussion of the need to provide supporting members of the Council with enough information to encourage their continued support, and the ways in which this might be accomplished. A proposal to apportion \$2.00 per member for this purpose was rejected, with further consideration of the matter to be held at the next meeting. It was suggested that the Barnet-Raskin study, depending on its final form, might be sent to supporting members only.

Joint Studies: Leo Szilard reported on the progress of the projected Joint Russian-American study program, and there was considerable discussion over the most useful ways of structuring participation in the program.

Direct Mail: Allan Forbes reported on the two direct mail tests to date. The third direct mail test (of four new lists) was scheduled to be mailed June 28. Lois Gardner outlined tentative plans for the direct mail program to be prepared and partially mailed during the summer; both to follow-up the March 22 mailing and to test new lists.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036  
Phone: 265-3800, ac 202

FOR RELEASE: Sunday, September 15, 1963 a.m. papers

#### COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD APPOINTS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Council for a Livable World announced today appointment of an Executive Director and two new members of the Board of Directors. The newly-appointed Executive Director is Henry Ashton Crosby, Col., U.S. Army. Col. Crosby is currently military advisor to Steuart Pittman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense; he will assume his new position effective upon his retirement from the Army after 22 years of active commissioned duty.

The Council for a Livable World was initiated two years ago by physicist Leo Szilard as an organization of scientists and scholars that would devote itself to practical means of halting the arms race and securing peace. Supporters of the Council pledge up to two per cent of their incomes for support of congressional candidates and educational and lobbying activities in Washington.

New appointments to the Board of Directors are Dr. Jerome D. Frank, Professor of Psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and author of numerous articles on psychological aspects of disarmament, and Dr. Matthew Meselson, Associate Professor of Molecular Biology at Harvard University.

Current officers of the Council for a Livable World are Dr. Szilard; Dr. William Doering, Professor of Chemistry and Chairman of the Science Department, Yale University; Dr. Bernard T. Feld, Professor of Physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Allan Forbes, Jr., Documentary Film Producer, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Daniel Singer, Attorney, Washington, D. C.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036 Phone: 265-3800, ac 202

MR. & MRS. BROWNLEE HAYDON  
14227 SUNSET BLVD.  
PACIFIC PALISADFS, CALIF.



Your contribution for November-December \$50.00

is now payable at your convenience.

1/62 25.00

BROWNLEE HAYDON

11/8/63

Gentlemen:

As one of the original contributors to Leo Szilard's campaign, I am embarrassed to appear to delinquent in my payments. The truth is, I am waiting for word that the charitable function has been launched.

I have heard it is not yet going.

Correct me if I'm wrong. I have intended assisting with the research effort described in early

bulletins. What is happening?

maybe  
study  
papers

Sincerely,



14227 Sunset Blvd  
Pacific Palisades  
California

1/62 - 25.00

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036, Telephone: (202) 265-3800

## MEMORANDUM

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

From: Leo Szilard

To: Participants in the Congress of Scientists on Survival

I am taking the liberty of sending you this memorandum on the tentative assumption that you have been asking yourself if there were anything that any of us could do to halt the general drift towards war. I, myself, didn't think that there was, until about a year ago, when I began to see how even a small group of people, ten to twenty thousand perhaps, who may unite on a set of attainable political objectives, would have a chance to bring about the change that is needed.

We came close to war last October when the Russians transported rockets to Cuba, and if the arms race continues other crises of this sort are bound to occur. It is easier to build long-range rockets, such as the Minuteman, as fast as the available production facilities permit, than to stop the arms race by arriving at an agreement on arms control with the Soviet Union which the Senate may be willing to ratify. If we keep on following this line of least resistance we shall before long reach a point of no return in an all-out arms race.

With President Kennedy, a number of exceptionally capable men moved into the Administration. No one knows better than they do that America cannot be made secure by trying to keep ahead in the arms race, but they find it difficult to keep their attention focused on the central issues when peripheral issues take up much of their time and attention and when they get little encouragement from the Congress.

There are a number of exceptionally capable men in the Congress also, particularly in the Senate. Many of them are deeply concerned about the general trend towards war and have considerable insight into what needs to be done but, more often than not, they give in private conversation a lucid analysis of the problems with which we are faced and then, at some point or other, they say "Of course, I couldn't say this in public."

About a year and a half ago, it occurred to me that if enough people would unite on a set of attainable objectives they could maintain an organization which would bring to Washington from time to time scientists and scholars who understand the problem that the bomb poses to the world. These distinguished men would speak with the sweet voice of reason to key people within the Administration and the Senate; they would try to get them to focus their attention on the central issues and assist them in clarifying their minds on some of the more complex issues which are involved.

#### Co-Chairmen:

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Denver, Colo.

ARTHUR PENN  
New York, N.Y.

CHARLES PRATT, Jr.  
New York, N.Y.

FRANKLIN W. STAHL  
Eugene, Oregon

The next thing that occurred to me was that these distinguished men would be heard, but they might not be listened to, if they were able to deliver neither votes nor campaign contributions.

I was led to conclude that the sweet voice of reason alone could not do the job, that campaign contributions alone could not do the job, but the combination of the sweet voice of reason and substantial campaign contributions might very well do the job.

Twenty thousand people having an average income of \$10,000 and willing to devote 1% or 2% of their income to campaign contributions for Congressional candidates would provide an amount of \$2 to \$4 million a year. This amount, if wisely spent, could have a profound effect on the composition and the attitudes of Congress.

The Council for a Livable World, set up in Washington in June of last year, is prepared to advise its supporters as to where their campaign contributions would be most effective.

The Council is composed of scientists, scholars and men well-versed in practical politics. It includes William Doering, Director of the Division of Science, Yale University; Morton Grodzins, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; and James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union.

In the last Congressional election the Council recommended to those who sought its advice to concentrate their campaign contributions on three Senatorial candidates. Checks were made out directly to the candidate and sent to the Council for transmission. The Council transmitted over \$20,000 to George McGovern, formerly Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years. To the other two Senatorial candidates, the Council transmitted over \$10,000 and over \$4,000 respectively, and both of them were elected.

On the basis of the experience gained so far, I am inclined to believe that the Council could become the most effective public-interest lobby that ever hit Washington by the time the number of its supporters reaches 10,000.

Regular Supporters of the Council are expected to expend 2% of their income, and Contributing Supporters of the Council are expected to expend 1% of their income or \$100, in support of the work of the Council, including campaign contributions to Congressional candidates.

If you believe that you might wish to become a supporter of the Council, please fill out the enclosed form and mail it to the Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. A pre-paid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

From the Office of  
Senator Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.)  
Rm. 260, Old Senate Office Building  
CA. 4-3121, Ext. 4254

FOR RELEASE 8:15 p.m.  
Friday, March 20, 1964

SPEECH BY SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK (D., PA.)  
BEFORE THE COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM  
March 20, 1964, 8:15 p.m.

THE MILITARY-CONGRESSIONAL COMPLEX

There is a story -- which I am confident is wholly spurious -- currently circulating in Washington involving Aleksei Adzhubei, Khrushchev's son-in-law, who is the editor of IVESTIA, and the late President Kennedy.

During a meeting, the President and the Russian were talking about civil defense arrangements in their two countries. Kennedy asked what preparations had been made in the Soviet Union for an atomic alert.

"We have given our people very specific directions", the Russian said. "In the event of an all-out atomic attack, each citizen has been instructed to lie down in the street, cover himself with a sheet, and begin to crawl slowly to the nearest cemetery".

"But why slowly?", Kennedy is supposed to have asked. And the Russian answers, "To avoid a panic."

I cannot tell you how much this poor fellow under the sheet, crawling slowly to the nearest cemetery, reminds me of that august institution of which I am a member, the United States Congress. The alarm sirens of an impending nuclear catastrophe brought on by accident, malice or madness; the alarm sirens of a population explosion which will double the population of the globe in the few short years between now and the year 2000; the alarm sirens of a second civil war which may well break out in towns and cities all across the land unless Congress promptly fulfills the promises of the first Civil War after one hundred years of waiting -- these sirens are sounding, but the Congress does not want to hear them. It just wants to draw itself beneath its sheet and begin to crawl slowly to the nearest cemetery.

For it is at hiding from issues, not resolving them, that Congress excels; at devising ingenious means for avoiding decisions, not for demonstrating effectiveness and courage in making tough decisions.

Today we live in a world in which total nuclear devastation is a distinct possibility. Obviously general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law ought to be a matter of urgent concern. We should be formulating elaborate, detailed and specific plans, looking toward the day when the Soviets and the Chinese and the French wake up and admit that our mutual security -- and even our mutual survival -- depends on the adoption of such plans.

(MORE)

But is Congress debating and considering these problems? The answer, to put it bluntly, is that Congress couldn't care less. In fact, when Congress is not demonstrating a total lack of interest in the subject of general and complete disarmament -- which is the case most of the time -- its attitude is one of hostility, suspicion, and distrust.

The Senate does not often have a moment of truth on disarmament questions. That is because it is easier to ignore the problem than to face it. But last September it did have a minor moment of truth when it was called upon to approve the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Almost a fifth of the Senate -- 19 Senators -- voted against this Treaty, even though its effects are so minor and relatively insignificant as to make it absolutely harmless.

I find it particularly significant that of these 19 Senators who voted against the Treaty, all but two had also voted earlier last year against a proposal to limit the abuses of the filibuster rule. Nearly all of them also voted against foreign aid. There is, in other words, a pattern which indicates that it is the same Senatorial oligarchy which is negative on Senate Rules reform, negative on civil rights, negative on disarmament -- and negative on the 20th Century.

And this pattern of nay-saying, which reaches across the board into other issues such as our great unmet public needs in education and manpower training, in housing, in rebuilding and making our cities more liveable, in mass urban and inter-urban transportation, in preserving our shrinking wilderness areas for recreation -- this negativism is the key to Congress' hostility to general and complete disarmament.

For at the heart of this opposition to disarmament is an archaic, outmoded notion of national security which perhaps made some sense before the invention of the computer, the airplane, the hydrogen bomb, the big rocket and the intercontinental ballistic missile. The axiom has been that security is a function of relative armed strength. "Be stronger than your neighbor and he will leave you in peace". This is the elemental wisdom of the savage in the jungle, and we have little altered it in our thousands of years of civilized sophistication.

It has never been a very good rule. It has produced a succession of arms races and two world wars in our lifetime, the second more horrible than the first, due to the advance in scientific skill and technology in the lull between them. It is true that over the thousands of years it was followed it did not produce total world-wide destruction; but I attribute that solely to

the fact that the Defense Departments in Babylon, Macedonia, Rome, Berlin and Tokyo simply did not have the means at their disposal.

We do have the means now, nestling in concrete silos across the Soviet Union and the Great Plains of this Country, cruising in secret patrols under the oceans, and even mounted on trucks and missile launchers in the fields of Germany. But the conventional wisdom -- which never has been very wise, and may well be fatal now -- continues to prevail. Congress persists in seeking security by increasing armaments, while dismissing as "visionary" plans for general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law.

A good example of this lack of interest is the case of the "Planning for Peace" Resolution which I introduced last October. This Resolution merely seeks to have the Congress express its support for the efforts of the President to achieve general and complete disarmament under legally effective controls, and requests the President to formulate specific and detailed proposals for the development of effective international machinery for the supervision of disarmament and the maintenance of peace. The Resolution was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee but no hearings have been scheduled. In fact, although requests for comment have been made to various agencies in the Executive Branch, not all of these agencies have yet replied.

Serious questions exist as to whether the United Nations with its limited financial resources, its veto in the Security Council and its one-vote-per-nation in the General Assembly is capable of supervising the disarmament process and maintaining peace. It may be that a new International Disarmament Agency, dominated by the major military powers, should be created with some loose relationship with the United Nations. A Committee of Jurists representing the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Italy is presently at work on these problems in Geneva.

Yet recent developments in the United Nations have been mildly encouraging. The action of the Security Council in setting up the Cyprus Peace Force can be an important step forward in developing a true peacekeeping capacity in the United Nations.

Although general and complete disarmament has had to take a back seat at the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva, a number of interesting and significant proposals have been advanced by this Country's representatives. Among them has been the suggestion that the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective allies agree to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles. And just the other day, our representative raised for discussion

a proposal for the mutual destruction of obsolescent bombers (in the B-47 and Badger classes) by the United States and the U.S.S.R. in a "bomber bonfire." Although these bombers are not in our front rank of defense, they are capable of causing a real threat to peace should they fall into the hands of lesser powers in Africa, Asia and Latin America. One way to assure that they will not, is to agree with the Soviets to put them out of harm's way.

When old ideas which no longer apply to the situation keep hanging on it is worthwhile looking behind them. Often one finds, underneath, some interest, some privilege, some lobby with a stake in the status quo. I think this is the case with our outmoded notions of national security. Deeply ingrained as they are, I believe that we could grow out of them but for the foundation of inadequate education in history, personal privilege and prerogative and dollars-and-cents material interest on which they rest. Has not the teaching of history with its indoctrination of old-fashioned patriotism and by "glory" arising from "victory" of our national state in war played a major role?

I do not mean to suggest that there are munitions makers who want war to make profits. There are no profits in a nuclear war, as any rational person knows. But there are profits in defense, huge profits in building weapons you hope you never have to use.

I wonder how many of you appreciate the fact that your federal government regularly allocates half its annual budget -- roughly 50 billion dollars -- to defense. That is the size of the pie which our defense contracts are slicing. Is there any wonder that the preconceptions and prejudices which support and justify the continuation and expansion of this huge defense budget are firmly held?

Probably the one most important -- and certainly the one most expensive -- decision Congress must make each year has to do with this military budget. The way it handles this matter is of crucial importance for the nation's economy as well as for its security. If ever Congress has a need to be impartial and free from conflicts of interest, whether apparent or real, it is in matters of this kind. Certainly one would not want to have an assortment of generals, colonels, captains and majors having the final say on the defense budget. Decisions of this magnitude must be made by civilians who are free to act for the nations as a whole without any limiting ties to the military establishment. To put a man in both camps, and make him both a Senator and a general, presents a blatant and clear-cut conflict of interest, in which even a Solomon would find himself torn between conflicting ties of duty and loyalty. (MORE)

-4-

Yet when the roll is called in the Senate of the United States, three generals, five colonels, four lieutenant colonels, two majors and one Coast Guard captain answer to their names. These fifteen Senators, all of them men of high integrity, are active reserve officers in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard and Air Force Reserves. They put on their uniforms and serve on active duty at least once each year. In addition, there are 70 members of the House of Representatives who hold active reserve commissions and are associated with military reserve units attached to Capitol Hill.

I do not mean to suggest that all of these men are opponents of general and complete disarmament and strong proponents of the military's point of view -- although I think it is plain that some of them certainly are. The point is that dual office of this kind raises a clear conflict of interest on some of the most important public questions a Senator or Representative has to face.

The men who founded this nation and drew up our Constitution were not naive about this matter. They plainly foresaw the dangers, and they just as plainly made provision for them. They wrote into the Constitution the following unambiguous prohibition (Art. 1, Sec. 6):

"No person holding any office under the United States shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in office."

The relevant Supreme Court cases indicate that where the Constitution says "office under the United States" it is talking about office in the armed services, in the reserves, and in the National Guard. (See U.S. v Carter, 217 U.S. 286 (1910); U.S. v Hartwell, 6 Wallace 385 (1867)).

But if it is unconstitutional for Members of Congress to hold reserve commissions, why isn't something done about it? Why doesn't the Supreme Court step in and make them choose between their reserve commissions and their Congressional seats?

The answer is that it doesn't appear that the Supreme Court has any power over violations of the Constitution of this kind. The Constitution says (Art. 1, Sec. 5, Clause 1):

"each House shall be the Judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own Members."

The important word is "qualifications" and the net effect is that the Senate and the House of Representatives themselves, and not the Supreme Court, are vested with the high obligation of enforcing this Constitutional prohibition.

Although Congress is in gross default on this obligation today, things were not always so bad. For example, on January 11, 1803, the House of

(MORE)

Representatives voted 88 to 0 to expel Representative John Peter Van Ness (D.,N.Y.) Representative Van Ness had accepted from President Jefferson a commission as major in the District of Columbia Militia. In so doing, the House said, he had "forfeited his right to a seat as a member of this House.

There are a number of such cases, and not all of them are ancient history. In 1916, for instance, a House Resolution asked the Judiciary Committee to investigate the question of Members holding commissions in the National Guard. The Committee decided "that the seats of those Members of the House of Representatives who shall accept commissions in the National Guard of the various States under the act of Congress of June 3, 1916, will at once become vacant."

It is bad enough that the Congress permits 85 of its Members to hold reserve commissions in flagrant disregard of these Constitutional precedents. But in 1930, the Congress attempted a Constitutional dodge aimed at circumventing the prohibition by a legal technicality.

In that year, Congress passed a law which said, "When he is not on active duty, or when he is on active duty for training, a Reserve is not considered to be an officer or employee of the United States..."

This was a bald effort by the Congress to cancel out the Constitutional prohibition -- as blatant as trying to repeal the Bill of Rights by a rider on an appropriations bill, which the President could not veto without invalidating necessary appropriations.

And to make matters worse, the Congress had reason to know that the 1930 act was unconstitutional -- that they could never get away with it -- when they passed it. In discussing the bill on the floor of the Senate, Senator James Couzens of Michigan said:

"There is a Constitutional inhibition against an officer in the military service holding two offices. There are officers in the Reserve Corps who are Members of the Senate and who are also Members of the House of Representatives as there are Reserve officers holding other governmental position."

Senator Couzens said that he had talked to the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and went on:

"I do not believe that I misquote the Senator from Pennsylvania when I say that he doubts whether this proposed legislation will remedy the situation. However, it is an attempt to do so by amending the law so as to provide that Reserve officers shall not be considered as officers referred to in the Constitution."

The point has been made that this law must be Constitutional because no court has held it unconstitutional. The answer to that is that the Constitution never gave the courts the power to strike this law down. It is the

two Houses of Congress, and they alone, who have the power to act. If they choose to defy the Constitution, rather than to obey it, there is no legal recourse.

But that does not leave us entirely helpless. There are at least two things which can be done:

--We can appeal to the individual Senators and Congressmen who are now holding reserve commissions to obey the Constitutional mandate voluntarily and resign their commissions.

Many of these men are friends of mine. They are men of integrity and many of them, I am sure, are no less ardent for peace and disarmament than they would be if they had no affiliation to the military. But the Founding Fathers put the prohibition against dual office-holding in the Constitution for a good reason, and I think the Constitution should be obeyed whether it can be enforced or not.

--The Department of Defense should immediately put a stop to the awarding of reserve commissions to Members of Congress. It is widely known on Capitol Hill that there is an intense competition among the services to recruit Members of Congress into their respective reserve units, to outbid one another in granting Congressmen and Senators rapid promotion and in offering alluring junkets and secret briefings to Congressional Reservists.

There is no justification for the practice. It is at odds with the spirit of the Constitution, and is motivated, I am confident, by the desire of the uniformed services to have "friends on the Hill". It was precisely to prevent this that the Founding Fathers wrote the prohibition into Article 1 of the Constitution.

President Eisenhower clearly recognized the power of the military-industrial complex in this country, and in his Farewell Address he uttered this warning:

"...we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. . . .This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. . . .In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

When the question of the legality of Members of Congress accepting commissions in the armed forces came up during World War II, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Attorney General, Francis Biddle, expressed the opinion that, "It

would be a sound and reasonable policy for the Executive department to refrain from commissioning or otherwise utilizing the services of Members of the Congress in the Armed Forces."

I believe that it was a "sound policy" then, and it is a "sound policy" now, for Reserve as well as Regular commissions.

Obviously these actions, if they are taken, will not dissolve Congressional resistance to general and complete disarmament overnight. It is possible that they will not bring us even one step closer to adopting a more mature and responsible outlook on the terrible perils of nuclear war, and the need to chart a course away from the arms race and toward the development of enforceable world law. But the situation which presently exists is worse than unseemly; it is unconstitutional, and we owe it to our national heritage to set matters right. Perhaps then we will be able to turn to the matter of our national survival, and the peace and security of all mankind.

I would like to see the Congress take a more positive approach to disarmament. But I would also like to see it take a less passive approach. There is no need for Congress just to sit back and react to actions taken and initiatives proposed by the Executive branch. An enlightened Congress could lead a timid Executive branch into bolder courses of action. Right now there is a very great need for this country's disarmament policy makers to sit down and formulate detailed and specific plans for achieving general and complete disarmament under legally effective controls. We still have a long way to go in working out the details of an International Disarmament Organization; a permanent World Peace Force, with appropriate and reliable financial arrangements; world tribunals for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes not settled by negotiations; and such other institutions as may be necessary for the enforcement of world peace under the rule of law.

Badly as this work needs to be done, it is not now being done in a speedy and satisfactory manner. And this is not just because of the timidity of the Executive -- it is also because the Congress, which is supposed to be the watchdog of the Administration, is not properly doing its job. If the Congress will only purify itself of those conflicts of interest which arise from the holding of Reserve Commissions; if it will only modernize its archaic rules, precedents and procedures and permit a majority to act when it is ready to act; if it will only begin to reflect the sincere desire for world peace through world law which I am confident is the deeply felt wish of the American people, then Congress will truly be fulfilling the great and honorable role which the Founding Fathers intended for it.

# HOUSE WORKSHEET

(as of 2/15/63)

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Subject

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Date

# U. S. House of Representatives

88th CONGRESS

Democrats

Republicans

## ALABAMA

AL Andrews \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Elliott \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Grant \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Huddleston \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Rains \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Roberts \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Selden \_\_\_\_\_

## ALASKA

AL Rivers \_\_\_\_\_

## ARIZONA

3 Senner \_\_\_\_\_      1 Rhodes \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Udall \_\_\_\_\_

## ARKANSAS

1 Gathings \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Harris \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Mills \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Trimble \_\_\_\_\_

Democrats

Republicans

## CALIFORNIA

7 Cohelan _____	14 Baldwin _____
9 Edwards _____	1 Clausen _____
18 Hagen _____	10 Gubser _____
34 Hanna _____	6 Mailliard _____
2 Johnson _____	38 Martin _____
4 Leggett _____	12 Talcott _____
15 McFall _____	13 Teague _____
8 Miller _____	35 Utt _____
3 Moss _____	36 Wilson (B) _____
5 Shelley _____	11 Younger _____
33 Sheppard _____	
16 Sisk _____	
37 Van Deerlin _____	

## Los Angeles County

29 Brown _____	28 Bell _____
27 Burkhalter _____	32 Hosmer _____
25 Cameron _____	24 Lipscomb _____
22 Corman _____	20 Smith _____
23 Doyle _____	
21 Hawkins _____	
19 Holifield _____	
17 King _____	
26 Roosevelt _____	
30 Roybal _____	
31 Wilson (C) _____	

## COLORADO

4 Aspinall _____	2 Brotzman _____
1 Rogers _____	3 Chenoweth _____

Democrats

Republicans

## CONNECTICUT

- 1 Daddario \_\_\_\_\_ 4 Sibal \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Giaimo \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Grabowski \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Monagan \_\_\_\_\_  
2 St. Onge \_\_\_\_\_

## DELAWARE

- AL McDowell \_\_\_\_\_

## FLORIDA

- 2 Bennett \_\_\_\_\_ 12 Cramer \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Fascell \_\_\_\_\_ 11 Gurney \_\_\_\_\_  
9 Fuqua \_\_\_\_\_  
10 Gibbons \_\_\_\_\_  
7 Haley \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Herlong \_\_\_\_\_  
8 Matthews \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Pepper \_\_\_\_\_  
6 Rogers \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Sikes \_\_\_\_\_

## GEORGIA

- 7 Davis \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Flynt \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Forrester \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Hagan \_\_\_\_\_  
9 Landrum \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Pilcher \_\_\_\_\_  
10 Stephens \_\_\_\_\_  
8 Tuten \_\_\_\_\_  
6 Vinson \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Weltner \_\_\_\_\_

Democrats

Republicans

## HAWAII

AL Gill \_\_\_\_\_

AL Matsunaga \_\_\_\_\_

## IDAHO

1 Harding \_\_\_\_\_

2 White \_\_\_\_\_

## ILLINOIS

21 Gray \_\_\_\_\_

24 Price \_\_\_\_\_

23 Shipley \_\_\_\_\_

16 Anderson \_\_\_\_\_

17 Arends \_\_\_\_\_

20 Findley \_\_\_\_\_

14 Hoffman \_\_\_\_\_

12 McClory \_\_\_\_\_

19 McLoskey \_\_\_\_\_

18 Michel \_\_\_\_\_

15 Reid \_\_\_\_\_

22 Springer \_\_\_\_\_

## Cook County

1 Dawson \_\_\_\_\_

9 Finnegan \_\_\_\_\_

5 Kluczynski \_\_\_\_\_

7 Libonati \_\_\_\_\_

3 Murphy \_\_\_\_\_

6 O'Brien \_\_\_\_\_

2 O'Hara \_\_\_\_\_

11 Pucinski \_\_\_\_\_

8 Rostenkowski \_\_\_\_\_

10 Collier \_\_\_\_\_

4 Derwinski \_\_\_\_\_

13 Rumsfeld \_\_\_\_\_

Democrats

Republicans

## INDIANA

3 Brademas _____	4 Adair _____
8 Denton _____	7 Bray _____
1 Madden _____	11 Bruce _____
5 Roush _____	2 Halleck _____
	10 Harvey _____
	6 Roudebush _____
	9 Wilson _____

## IOWA

5 Smith _____	2 Bromwell _____
	3 Gross _____
	6 Hoeven _____
	7 Jensen _____
	4 Kyl _____
	1 Schwengel _____

## KANSAS

	2 Avery _____
	1 Dole _____
	3 Ellsworth _____
	4 Shriver _____
	5 Skubitz _____

## KENTUCKY

4 Chelf _____	5 Siler _____
2 Natcher _____	3 Snyder _____
7 Perkins _____	
1 Stubblefield _____	
6 Watts _____	

Democrats

Republicans

## LOUISIANA

2 Boggs \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Hebert \_\_\_\_\_  
8 Long \_\_\_\_\_  
6 Morrison \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Passman \_\_\_\_\_  
7 Thompson \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Waggoner \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Willis \_\_\_\_\_

## MAINE

2 McIntire \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Tupper \_\_\_\_\_

## MARYLAND

4 Fallon \_\_\_\_\_  
7 Friedel \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Garmatz \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Lankford \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Long \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Sickles \_\_\_\_\_  
6 Mathias \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Morton \_\_\_\_\_

## MASSACHUSETTS

2 Boland \_\_\_\_\_  
11 Burke \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Donohue \_\_\_\_\_  
7 Macdonald \_\_\_\_\_  
9 McCormack \_\_\_\_\_  
8 O'Neill \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Philbin \_\_\_\_\_  
6 Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Conte \_\_\_\_\_  
12 Keith \_\_\_\_\_  
10 Martin \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Morse \_\_\_\_\_

Democrats

Republicans

## MICHIGAN

7 O'Hara _____	12 Bennett _____
AL Staebler _____	18 Broomfield _____
	10 Cederberg _____
Wayne County	6 Chamberlain _____
13 Diggs _____	5 Ford _____
15 Dingell _____	9 Griffin _____
17 Griffiths _____	8 Harvey _____
16 Lesinski _____	4 Hutchinson _____
1 Nedzi _____	3 Johansen _____
14 Ryan _____	11 Knox _____
	2 Meader _____

## MINNESOTA

8 Blatnik _____	7 Langen _____
5 Fraser _____	3 MacGregor _____
4 Karth _____	2 Nelsen _____
6 Olson _____	1 Quie _____

## MISSISSIPPI

1 Abernethy \_\_\_\_\_  
5 Colmer \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Whitten \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Williams \_\_\_\_\_  
4 Winstead \_\_\_\_\_

## MISSOURI

5 Bolling _____	2 Curtis _____
9 Cannon _____	7 Hall _____
6 Hull _____	
8 Ichord _____	
10 Jones _____	
1 Karsten _____	
4 Randall _____	
3 Sullivan _____	

Democrats

Republicans

## MONTANA

1 Olsen \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Battin \_\_\_\_\_

## NEBRASKA

1 Beerman \_\_\_\_\_  
2 Cunningham \_\_\_\_\_  
3 Martin \_\_\_\_\_

## NEVADA

AL Baring \_\_\_\_\_

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

2 Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Wyman \_\_\_\_\_

## NEW JERSEY

14 Daniels _____	3 Auchincloss _____
13 Gallagher _____	1 Cahill _____
8 Joelson _____	6 Dwyer _____
11 Minish _____	5 Frelinghuysen _____
15 Patten _____	2 Glenn _____
10 Rodino _____	9 Osmer _____
4 Thompson _____	12 Wallhauser _____
	7 Widnall _____

## NEW MEXICO

AL Montoya \_\_\_\_\_  
AL Morris \_\_\_\_\_

Democrats

Republicans

## NEW YORK

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 41 Dulski _____   | 25 Barry _____      |
| 29 O'Brien _____  | 5 Becker _____      |
| 1 Pike _____      | 3 Derounian _____   |
| 35 Stratton _____ | 38 Goodell _____    |
|                   | 2 Grover _____      |
|                   | 36 Horton _____     |
|                   | 31 Kilburn _____    |
|                   | 30 King _____       |
|                   | 40 Miller _____     |
|                   | 37 Ostertag _____   |
|                   | 39 Pillion _____    |
|                   | 32 Pirnie _____     |
|                   | 26 Reid _____       |
|                   | 34 Riehlman _____   |
|                   | 33 Robison _____    |
|                   | 27 St. George _____ |
|                   | 28 Wharton _____    |
|                   | 4 Wydler _____      |

## New York City

- |                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 7 Addabbo _____    | 24 Fino _____    |
| 23 Buckley _____   | 6 Halpern _____  |
| 15 Carey _____     | 17 Lindsay _____ |
| 10 Celler _____    |                  |
| 9 Delaney _____    |                  |
| 19 Farbstein _____ |                  |
| 22 Gilbert _____   |                  |
| 21 Healey _____    |                  |
| 12 Kelly _____     |                  |
| 11 Keogh _____     |                  |
| 13 Multer _____    |                  |
| 16 Murphy _____    |                  |
| 18 Powell _____    |                  |
| 14 Rooney _____    |                  |
| 8 Rosenthal _____  |                  |
| 20 Ryan _____      |                  |

Democrats

Republicans

## NORTH CAROLINA

- |                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 Bonner _____    | 9 Broyhill _____ |
| 4 Cooley _____    | 8 Jonas _____    |
| 2 Fountain _____  |                  |
| 3 Henderson _____ |                  |
| 6 Kornegay _____  |                  |
| 7 Lennon _____    |                  |
| 5 Scott _____     |                  |
| 11 Taylor _____   |                  |
| 10 Whitener _____ |                  |

## NORTH DAKOTA

- |                 |
|-----------------|
| 1 Nygaard _____ |
| 2 Short _____   |

## OHIO

- |                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 9 Ashley _____   | 10 Abele _____       |
| 20 Feighan _____ | 17 Ashbrook _____    |
| 18 Hays _____    | 14 Ayres _____       |
| 19 Kirwan _____  | 8 Betts _____        |
| 15 Secrest _____ | 22 Bolton (F.) _____ |
| 21 Vanik _____   | 11 Bolton (O.) _____ |
|                  | 16 Bow _____         |
|                  | 7 Brown _____        |
|                  | 2 Clancy _____       |
|                  | 12 Devine _____      |
|                  | 6 Harsha _____       |
|                  | 5 Latta _____        |
|                  | 4 McCulloch _____    |
|                  | 23 Minshall _____    |
|                  | 13 Mosher _____      |
|                  | 1 Rich _____         |
|                  | 3 Schenck _____      |
|                  | AL Taft _____        |

Democrats

Republicans

OKLAHOMA

- |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 3 Albert _____     | 1 Belcher _____ |
| 2 Edmondson _____  |                 |
| 5 Jarman _____     |                 |
| 4 Steed _____      |                 |
| 6 Wickersham _____ |                 |

OREGON

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 4 Duncan _____ | 1 Norblad _____ |
| 3 Green _____  |                 |
| 2 Ullman _____ |                 |

PENNSYLVANIA

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 25 Clark _____    | 18 Corbett _____    |
| 21 Dent _____     | 8 Curtin _____      |
| 11 Flood _____    | 9 Dague _____       |
| 20 Holland _____  | 27 Fulton _____     |
| 14 Moorhead _____ | 23 Gavin _____      |
| 26 Morgan _____   | 19 Goodling _____   |
| 6 Rhodes _____    | 16 Kunkel _____     |
| 15 Walter _____   | 10 McDade _____     |
|                   | 7 Milliken _____    |
|                   | 22 Saylor _____     |
|                   | 17 Schneeblei _____ |
|                   | 13 Schweiker _____  |
|                   | 24 Weaver _____     |
|                   | 12 Whalley _____    |

Philadelphia

- |                 |
|-----------------|
| 1 Barrett _____ |
| 3 Byrne _____   |
| 5 Green _____   |
| 2 Nix _____     |
| 4 Toll _____    |

Democrats

Republicans

## RHODE ISLAND

- 2 Fogarty \_\_\_\_\_
- 1 St. Germain \_\_\_\_\_

## SOUTH CAROLINA

- 4 Ashmore \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 Dorn \_\_\_\_\_
- 5 Hemphill \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 McMillan \_\_\_\_\_
- 1 Rivers \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 Watson \_\_\_\_\_

## SOUTH DAKOTA

- 2 Berry \_\_\_\_\_
- 1 Reifel \_\_\_\_\_

## TENNESSEE

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 6 Bass _____    | 2 Baker _____   |
| 9 Davis _____   | 3 Brock _____   |
| 8 Everett _____ | 1 Quillen _____ |
| 4 Evins _____   |                 |
| 5 Fulton _____  |                 |
| 7 Murray _____  |                 |

Democrats

Republicans

## TEXAS

- |                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 3 Beckworth _____   | 5 Alger _____    |
| 2 Brooks _____      | 16 Foreman _____ |
| 17 Burleson _____   |                  |
| 22 Casey _____      |                  |
| 7 Dowdy _____       |                  |
| 21 Fisher _____     |                  |
| 20 Gonzalez _____   |                  |
| 15 Kilgore _____    |                  |
| 19 Mahon _____      |                  |
| 1 Patman _____      |                  |
| 11 Poage _____      |                  |
| AL Pool _____       |                  |
| 13 Purcell _____    |                  |
| 4 Roberts _____     |                  |
| 18 Rogers _____     |                  |
| 6 Teague _____      |                  |
| 8 Thomas _____      |                  |
| 9 Thompson _____    |                  |
| 10 Thornberry _____ |                  |
| 12 Wright _____     |                  |
| 14 Young _____      |                  |

## UTAH

- |                |
|----------------|
| 1 Burton _____ |
| 2 Lloyd _____  |

## VERMONT

- |                   |
|-------------------|
| AL Stafford _____ |
|-------------------|

Democrats

Republicans

## VIRGINIA

4 Abbitt _____	10 Broyhill _____
1 Downing _____	6 Poff _____
3 Gary _____	
2 Hardy _____	
9 Jennings _____	
7 Marsh _____	
8 Smith _____	
5 Tuck _____	

## WASHINGTON

3 Hansen _____	5 Horan _____
	4 May _____
	1 Pelly _____
	7 Stinson _____
	6 Tollefson _____
	2 Westland _____

## WEST VIRGINIA

4 Heckler _____	1 Moore _____
5 Kee _____	
3 Slack _____	
2 Staggers _____	

## WISCONSIN

9 Johnson _____	8 Byrnes _____
2 Kastenmeier _____	7 Laird _____
5 Reuss _____	10 O'Konski _____
4 Zablocki _____	1 Schadeberg _____
	3 Thompson _____
	6 Van Pelt _____

## WYOMING

AL Harrison \_\_\_\_\_

HOUSE COMMITTEES,  
88TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Agriculture

D 21 - R 14

Harold D. Cooley (D N.C.), Chairman

W. R. Poage (Texas)	Charles B. Hoeven (Iowa)
George M. Grant (Ala.)	Paul B. Dague (Pa.)
E. C. Gathings (Ark.)	Page Belcher (Okla.)
John L. McMillan (S. C.)	Clifford G. McIntire (Maine)
Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.)	Charles M. Teague (Calif.)
Watkins M. Abbitt (Va.)	Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Paul C. Jones (Mo.)	Don L. Short (N.D.)
Harlan Hagen (Calif.)	Catherine May (Wash.)
Lester R. Johnson (Wis.)	Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)
D. R. (Billy) Matthews (Fla.)	Ralph Harvey (Ind.)
Frank A. Stubblefield (Ky.)	Paul Findley (Ill.)
Ralph R. Harding (Idaho)	Robert Dole (Kan.)
G. Elliott Hagan (Ga.)	Ralph F. Beermann (Neb.)
Graham Purcell (Texas)	Edward Hutchinson (Mich.)
James H. Morrison (La.)	
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)	
Robert B. Duncan (Ore.)	
Alec G. Olson (Minn.)	
Robert L. Leggett (Calif.)	
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)	

Appropriations

D 30 - R 20

Clarence Cannon (D Mo.), Chairman

George H. Mahon (Texas)	Ben F. Jensen (Iowa)
Harry R. Sheppard (Calif.)	Walt Horan (Wash.)
Albert Thomas (Texas)	Gerald R. Ford (Mich.)
Michael J. Kirwan (Ohio)	Harold C. Ostertag (N.Y.)
Jamie L. Whitten (Miss.)	Frank T. Bow (Ohio)
George W. Andrews (Ala.)	Charles Raper Jonas (N.C.)
John J. Rooney (N. Y.)	Melvin R. Laird (Wis.)
J. Vaughan Gary (Va.)	Elford A. Cederberg (Mich.)
John E. Fogarty (R. I.)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.)
Robert L. F. Sikes (Fla.)	John J. Rhodes (Ariz.)
Otto E. Passman (La.)	John R. Pillion (N.Y.)
Joe L. Evins (Tenn.)	William E. Minshall (Ohio)
John F. Shelley (Calif.)	Robert H. Michel (Ill.)
Edward P. Boland (Mass.)	Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)
William H. Natcher (Ky.)	William H. Milliken Jr. (Pa.)
Daniel J. Flood (Pa.)	Earl Wilson (Ind.)
Winfield K. Denton (Ind.)	Odin Langen (Minn.)
Tom Steed (Okla.)	William Henry Harrison (Wyo.)
Joseph M. Montoya (N.M.)	Ben Reifel (S.D.)
George E. Shipley (Ill.)	Louis C. Wyman (N.H.)
John M. Slack Jr. (W. Va.)	
John Lesinski (Mich.)	
John J. Flynt Jr. (Ga.)	
Neal Smith (Iowa)	
Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.)	
Julia Butler Hansen (Wash.)	
Edward R. Finnegan (Ill.)	
Charles S. Joelson (N.J.)	
Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)	

## Armed Services

D 21 - R 16

Carl Vinson (D Ga.), Chairman

L. Mendel Rivers (S.C.)	Leslie C. Arends (Ill.)
Philip J. Philbin (Mass.)	Leon H. Gavin (Pa.)
F. Edward Hebert (La.)	Walter Norblad (Ore.)
Arthur Winstead (Miss.)	William H. Bates (Mass.)
Melvin Price (Ill.)	Alvin E. O'Konski (Wis.)
O. C. Fisher (Texas)	William G. Bray (Ind.)
Porter Hardy Jr. (Va.)	Bob Wilson (Calif.)
Clyde Doyle (Calif.)	Frank C. Osmer Jr. (N.J.)
Charles E. Bennett (Fla.)	Charles S. Gubser (Calif.)
Richard E. Lankford (Md.)	Frank J. Becker (N.Y.)
George Huddleston Jr. (Ala.)	Charles E. Chamberlain (Mich.)
James A. Byrne (Pa.)	Alexander Pirnie (N.Y.)
Samuel S. Stratton (N.Y.)	Durward G. Hall (Mo.)
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)	Donald D. Clancy (Ohio)
Victor Wickersham (Okla.)	Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)
Otis G. Pike (N.Y.)	Ed Foreman (Texas)
Joe M. Kilgore (Texas)	
Richard H. Ichord (Mo.)	
Lucien N. Nedzi (Mich.)	
Clarence D. Long (Md.)	

## Banking and Currency

D 18 - R 13

Wright Patman (D Texas), Chairman

Albert Rains (Ala.)	Clarence E. Kilburn (N.Y.)
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)	William B. Widnall (N.J.)
William A. Barrett (Pa.)	Eugene Siler (Ky.)
Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.)	Paul A. Fino (N.Y.)
Henry S. Reuss (Wis.)	Florence P. Dwyer (N.J.)
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	Seymour Halpern (N.Y.)
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)	James Harvey (Mich.)
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)	Oliver P. Bolton (Ohio)
Robert G. Stephens Jr. (Ga.)	William E. Brock III (Tenn.)
Fernand J. St. Germain (R.I.)	Robert A. Taft Jr. (Ohio)
Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas)	Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)
Claude Pepper (Fla.)	Sherman P. Lloyd (Utah)
Joseph G. Minish (N.J.)	Burt L. Talcott (Calif.)
Charles L. Weltner (Ga.)	
Richard T. Hanna (Calif.)	
Bernard F. Grabowski (Conn.)	
Charles H. Wilson (Calif.)	

## District of Columbia

D 15 - R 10

John L. McMillan (D S.C.), Chairman

Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.)	Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)
Howard W. Smith (Va.)	James C. Auchincloss (N.J.)
William L. Dawson (Ill.)	William L. Springer (Ill.)
John Bell Williams (Miss.)	Ancher Nelsen (Minn.)
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)	Alvin E. O'Konski (Wis.)
John Dowdy (Texas)	William H. Harsha Jr. (Ohio)
George Huddleston Jr. (Ala.)	Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)	Fred Schwengel (Iowa)
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)	Frank J. Horton (N.Y.)
Fernand J. St. Germain (R.I.)	Vacancy
James W. Trimble (Ark.)	
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)	
Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)	
G. Elliott Hagan (Ga.)	

## Education and Labor

D 19 - R 12

Adam C. Powell (D N.Y.), Chairman

Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (N.J.)
Phil M. Landrum (Ga.)	William H. Ayres (Ohio)
Edith Green (Ore.)	Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)
James Roosevelt (Calif.)	Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.)
Elmer J. Holland (Pa.)	Donald C. Bruce (Ind.)
John H. Dent (Pa.)	John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)
Roman C. Pucinski (Ill.)	Dave Martin (Neb.)
Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.)	Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)
John Brademas (Ind.)	M. G. (Gene) Snyder (Ky.)
James G. O'Hara (Mich.)	Paul Findley (Ill.)
Ralph J. Scott (N.C.)	Rbt. Taft, Jr. (Ohio)
Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)	
Carlton R. Sickles (Md.)	
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)	
Thomas P. Gill (Hawaii)	
Geo. E. Brown (Calif.)	

## Foreign Affairs

D 20 - R 13

Thomas E. Morgan (D. Pa.), Chairman

Clement J. Zablocki (Wis.)	Frances P. Bolton (Ohio)
Omar Burleson (Texas)	E. Ross Adair (Ind.)
Edna F. Kelly (N.Y.)	William S. Mailliard (Calif.)
Wayne L. Hays (Ohio)	Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (N.J.)
Armistead I. Selden Jr. (Ala.)	William S. Broomfield (Mich.)
J. L. Pilcher (Ga.)	Robert R. Barry (N.Y.)
Barratt O'Hara (Ill.)	J. Irving Whalley (Pa.)
L. H. Fountain (N.C.)	H. R. Gross (Iowa)
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)	E. Y. Berry (S.D.)
Leonard Farbstein (N.Y.)	Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)
Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)	F. Bradford Morse (Mass.)
Lindley Beckworth (Texas)	James F. Battin (Mont.)
Harris B. McDowell Jr. (Del.)	Vernon W. Thomson (Wis.)
William T. Murphy (Ill.)	
Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.)	
Robert N.C. Nix (Pa.)	
John S. Monagan (Conn.)	
Donald M. Fraser (Minn.)	
Ronald Brooks Cameron (Calif.)	

## Government Operations

D 19 - R 12

William L. Dawson (D Ill.), Chairman

Chet Holifield (Calif.)	R. Walter Riehlman (N.Y.)
Jack Brooks (Texas)	George Meader (Mich.)
L. H. Fountain (N.C.)	Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)
Porter Hardy Jr. (Va.)	Florence P. Dwyer (N.J.)
John A. Blatnik (Minn.)	Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)
Robert E. Jones (Ala.)	George M. Wallhauser (N.J.)

Edward A. Garmatz (Md.)  
John E. Moss (Calif.)  
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)  
Henry S. Reuss (Wis.)  
John S. Monagan (Conn.)  
Richard E. Lankford (Md.)  
Torbert H. Macdonald (Mass.)  
J. Edward Roush (Ind.)  
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)  
Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.)  
Wm. J. Randall (Mo.)  
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)

John B. Anderson (Ill.)  
Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)  
Frank J. Horton (N.Y.)  
Robert McClory (Ill.)  
Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.)  
K. William Stinson (Wash.)

## House Administration

D 15 - R 10

Omar Burleson (D Texas), Chairman

Samuel N. Friedel (Md.)	Paul F. Schenck (Ohio)
Robert T. Ashmore (S.C.)	Robert J. Corbett (Pa.)
Wayne L. Hays (Ohio)	John B. Bennett (Mich.)
Paul C. Jones (Mo.)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.)
George M. Rhodes (Pa.)	Charles E. Chamberlain (Mich.)
Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.)
Watkins M. Abbitt (Va.)	John H. Kyl (Iowa)
Robert A. Everett (Tenn.)	Willard S. Curtin (Pa.)
John J. McFall (Calif.)	Joe Skubitz (Kan.)
Joe D. Waggoner Jr. (La.)	Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)
Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	
John H. Dent (Pa.)	
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)	
Vacancy	

## Interior and Insular Affairs

D 19 - R 14

Wayne N. Aspinall (D Colo.), Chairman

Leo W. O'Brien (N.Y.)	John P. Saylor (Pa.)
Walter Rogers (Texas)	J. Ernest Wharton (N.Y.)
James A. Haley (Fla.)	E. Y. Berry (S.D.)
Ed Edmondson (Okla.)	Jack Westland (Wash.)
Walter S. Baring (Nev.)	Craig Hosmer (Calif.)
Thomas G. Morris (N.M.)	J. Edgar Chenoweth (Colo.)
Ralph J. Rivers (Alaska)	John H. Kyl (Iowa)
Roy A. Taylor (N.C.)	Hjalmar C. Nygaard (N.D.)
Harold T. Johnson (Calif.)	Homer E. Abele (Ohio)
Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.)	Joe Skubitz (Kan.)
Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)	Charlotte T. Reid (Ill.)
Elizabeth Kee (W. Va.)	Laurence J. Burton (Utah)
Ray Roberts (Texas)	Rogers C. B. Morton (Md.)
Robert B. Duncan (Ore.)	Patrick Minor Martin (Calif.)
Compton I. White Jr. (Idaho)	
John O. Marsh Jr. (Va.)	
Edward R. Roybal (Calif.)	
Thomas P. Gill (Hawaii)	

## Interstate and Foreign Commerce

D 20 - R 13

Oren Harris (D Ark.), Chairman

John Bell Williams (Miss.)	John B. Bennett (Mich.)
Kenneth A. Roberts (Ala.)	William L. Springer (Ill.)
Harley O. Staggers (W. Va.)	Paul F. Schenck (Ohio)
Walter Rogers (Texas)	J. Arthur Younger (Calif.)
Samuel N. Friedel (Md.)	Milton W. Glenn (N.J.)
Torbert H. Macdonald (Mass.)	Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)
George M. Rhodes (Pa.)	Ancher Nelsen (Minn.)
John Jarman (Okla.)	Hastings Keith (Mass.)
Leo W. O'Brien (N.Y.)	Willard S. Curtin (Pa.)
John E. Moss (Calif.)	Abner W. Sibal (Conn.)
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	Glenn Cunningham (Neb.)
Paul G. Rogers (Fla.)	James T. Broyhill (N.C.)
Robert W. Hemphill (S.C.)	Donald G. Brotzman (Colo.)
Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)	
James C. Healey (N.Y.)	
Horace R. Kornegay (N.C.)	
W. R. Hull Jr. (Mo.)	
Gillis William Long (La.)	
Lionel Van Deerlin (Calif.)	

## Judiciary

D 21 - R 14

Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.), Chairman

Frances E. Walter (Pa.)	William M. McCulloch (Ohio)
Michael A. Feighan (Ohio)	William E. Miller (N.Y.)
Frank Chelf (Ky.)	Richard H. Poff (Va.)
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	William C. Cramer (Fla.)
Peter W. Rodino Jr. (N.J.)	Arch A. Moore Jr. (W. Va.)
E. L. Forrester (Ga.)	George Meader (Mich.)
Byron G. Rogers (Colo.)	John V. Lindsay (N.Y.)
Harold D. Donohue (Mass.)	William T. Cahill (N.J.)
Jack Brooks (Texas)	Garner E. Shriver (Kan.)
William M. Tuck (Va.)	Clark MacGregor (Minn.)
Robert T. Ashmore (S.C.)	Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)
John Dowdy (Texas)	James E. Bromwell (Iowa)
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)	Carleton J. King (N.Y.)
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)	Pat Minor Martin (Calif.)
Herman Toll (Pa.)	
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.)	
Jacob H. Gilbert (N.Y.)	
James C. Corman (Calif.)	
William L. St. Onge (Conn.)	
George F. Senner Jr. (Ariz.)	

## Merchant Marine and Fisheries

D 19 - R 12

Herbert C. Bonner (D. N.C.), Chairman

Edward A. Garmatz (Md.)	Thor C. Tollefson (Wash.)
Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.)	William K. Van Pelt (Wis.)
T. Ashton Thompson (La.)	William S. Mailliard (Calif.)
Frank M. Clark (Pa.)	Thomas M. Pelly (Wash.)
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	Milton W. Glenn (N.J.)

John D. Dingell (Mich.)  
 L. Mendel Rivers (S.C.)  
 Alton Lennon (N.C.)  
 Thomas N. Downing (Va.)  
 Bob Casey (Texas)  
 James A. Byrne (Pa.)  
 Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)  
 Harlan Hagen (Calif.)  
 Edith Green (Ore.)  
 Paul G. Rogers (Fla.)  
 Frank A. Stubblefield (Ky.)  
 John M. Murphy (N.Y.)  
 Jacob Gilbert (N.Y.)

Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)  
 George A. Goodling (Pa.)  
 Stanley R. Tupper (Maine)  
 Charles A. Mosher (Ohio)  
 James A. Grover Jr. (N.Y.)  
 Rogers C. B. Morton (Md.)  
 Hastings Keith (Mass.)

## Post Office and Civil Service

D 14 - R 11

Tom Murray (D Tenn.), Chairman

James H. Morrison (La.)	Robert J. Corbett (Pa.)
Thaddeus J. Dulski (N.Y.)	H. R. Gross (Iowa)
David N. Henderson (N.C.)	Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)
Arnold Olsen (Mont.)	August E. Johansen (Mich.)
Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)	Glenn Cunningham (Neb.)
Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.)	George M. Wallhauser (N.J.)
Lindley Beckworth (Texas)	Robert R. Barry (N.Y.)
Harley O. Staggers (W. Va.)	Katharine St. George (N.Y.)
Robert N. C. Nix (Pa.)	Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)
Everett G. Burkhalter (Calif.)	Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)
W. Donlon Edwards (Calif.)	Homer E. Abele (Ohio)
Joe R. Pool (Texas)	
Albert W. Watson (S.C.)	

## Public Works

D 20 - R 14

Charles A. Buckley (D N.Y.), Chairman

George H. Fallon (Md.)	James C. Auchincloss (N.J.)
Clifford Davis (Tenn.)	William C. Cramer (Fla.)
John A. Blatnik (Minn.)	John F. Baldwin Jr. (Calif.)
Robert E. Jones (Ala.)	Fred Schwengel (Iowa)
John C. Kluczynski (Ill.)	Howard W. Robison (N.Y.)
T. Ashton Thompson (La.)	William H. Harsha Jr. (Ohio)
James C. Wright Jr. (Texas)	James Harvey (Mich.)
Kenneth J. Gray (Ill.)	John C. Kunkel (Pa.)
Frank M. Clark (Pa.)	James R. Grover Jr. (N.Y.)
Ed Edmondson (Okla.)	Robert T. McLoskey (Ill.)
John J. McFall (Calif.)	James H. Quillen (Tenn.)
John Young (Texas)	Carl W. Rich (Ohio)
Harold T. Johnson (Calif.)	James C. Cleveland (N.Y.)
W. J. Bryan Dorn (S.C.)	Don H. Clausen (Calif.)
David N. Henderson (N.C.)	
Arnold Olsen (Mont.)	
Harold M. Ryan (Mich.)	
J. Russell Tuten (Ga.)	
John M. Murphy (N.Y.)	

## Rules

D 10 - R 5

Howard W. Smith (D Va.), Chairman

William M. Colmer (Miss.)	Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)
Ray J. Madden (Ind.)	Katharine St. George (N.Y.)
James J. Delaney (N.Y.)	H. Allen Smith (Calif.)
James W. Trimble (Ark.)	Elmer J. Hoffman (Illinois)
Homer Thornberry (Texas)	William H. Avery (Kan.)
Richard Bolling (Mo.)	
Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.)	
Carl Elliott (Ala.)	
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)	

## Science and Astronautics

D 18 - R 13

George P. Miller (D Calif.), Chairman

Olin E. Teague (Texas)	Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.)
Joseph E. Karth (Minn.)	James G. Fulton (Pa.)
Ken Hechler (W. Va.)	J. Edgar Chenoweth (Colo.)
Emilio Q. Daddario (Conn.)	William K. Van Pelt (Wis.)
J. Edward Roush (Ind.)	R. Walter Riehlman (N.Y.)
Thomas G. Morris (N.M.)	Charles A. Mosher (Ohio)
Bob Casey (Texas)	Richard L. Roudebush (Ind.)
William J. Randall (Mo.)	Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)
John W. Davis (Ga.)	Thomas M. Pelly (Wash.)
William Fitts Ryan (N.Y.)	Donald Rumsfeld (Ill.)
Thomas N. Downing (Va.)	James D. Weaver (Pa.)
Joe D. Waggoner Jr. (La.)	Edward J. Gurney (Fla.)
Edward J. Patten (N.J.)	John W. Wydler (N.Y.)
Richard H. Fulton (Tenn.)	
Don Fuqua (Fla.)	
Neil Staebler (Mich.)	
Carl Albert (Okla.)	

## Un-American Activities

D 5 - R 4

Francis E. Walter (D Pa.), Chairman

Clyde Doyle (Calif.)	August E. Johansen (Mich.)
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	Donald C. Bruce (Ind.)
William M. Tuck (Va.)	Henry C. Schadeberg (Wis.)
Joe R. Pool (Texas)	John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)

## Veterans' Affairs

D 15 - R 10

Olin E. Teague (D Texas), Chairman

W. J. Bryan Dorn (S.C.)	William H. Ayres (Ohio)
Elizabeth Kee (W. Va.)	E. Ross Adair (Ind.)
James A. Haley (Fla.)	Paul A. Fino (N.Y.)
Walter S. Baring (Nev.)	John P. Saylor (Pa.)
Robert A. Everett (Tenn.)	Charles M. Teague (Calif.)
Thaddeus J. Dulski (N.Y.)	Seymour Halpern (N.Y.)
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)	Henry C. Schadeberg (Wis.)
Harris B. McDowell Jr. (Del.)	Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)
Horace R. Kornegay (N.C.)	Vacancy
Ray Roberts (Texas)	Vacancy
Robert T. Secrest (Ohio)	
W. Donlon Edwards (Calif.)	
John O. Marsh Jr. (Va.)	
George E. Brown Jr. (Calif.)	

## Ways and Means

D 15 - R 10

Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.), Chairman

Cecil R. King (Calif.)	John W. Brynes (Wis.)
Thomas J. O'Brien (Ill.)	Howard H. Baker (Tenn.)
Hale Boggs (La.)	Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.)
Eugene J. Keogh (N.Y.)	Victor A. Knox (Mich.)
Frank M. Karsten (Mo.)	James B. Utt (Calif.)
A. Sydney Herlong Jr. (Fla.)	Jackson E. Betts (Ohio)
William J. Green Jr. (Pa.)	Bruce Alger (Texas)
John C. Watts (Ky.)	Steven B. Derounian (N.Y.)
Al Ullman (Ore.)	Herman T. Schneebeli (Pa.)
James A. Burke (Mass.)	Harold R. Collier (Ill.)
Clark W. Thompson (Texas)	
Martha W. Griffiths (Mich.)	
Ross Bass (Tenn.)	
W. Pat Jennings (Va.)	

## Select Small Business

D 7 - R 6

Joe L. Evins (D Tenn.), Chairman

Wright Patman (Texas)	Wm. M. McCulloch (Ohio)
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)	Arch A. Moore (W. Va.)
Tom Steed (Okla.)	Wm. H. Avery (Kan.)
James Roosevelt (Calif.)	H. Allen Smith (Calif.)....
John C. Kluczynski (Ill.)	Howard B. Robison (N.Y.)
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	Ralph Harvey (Ind.)

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS OF SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY  
COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
APRIL 19, 1964

#### ETHICAL ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy presents one of the most difficult tests of integrity and of moral judgment.

The moral necessity to cooperate in international society today raises increasingly difficult problems of international common good and what appears to be conflict between demands of international common good and of national interest. The areas of conflict and of confusion are many. We are challenged in ways and places which do not permit decisive response.

Politics is a part of the real world. In politics the simple choice between that which is wholly right and that which is wholly wrong is seldom given; the ideal is not often realized and in some cases cannot even be advocated. It has happened in history that political leaders, in what Jacques Maritain describes as a "regressive or barbarous society," may have their freedom of choice reduced to the point where they take a position which is morally questionable, rather than the alternative which is simply and wholly bad. The choice involved is not one of the lesser of two evils, really, but the choice of that course which has some good in it, or promise of good, no matter how limited. Prudence may require the toleration of a measure of evil in order to prevent something worse.

We have never accepted that national interest can ultimately and completely override considerations of right and wrong. Witness to this position was our participation in the Nuremberg trials and our concurrence in the judgment which was passed upon those who were brought to trial. Morality does not stop at the water's edge, or at the entrance to the Pentagon or the CIA.

As long as man lives with his conscience, there is an area in which he can exercise free choice. Even, if we may judge from reports, in the nightmare of society--in the concentration camp political order of Buchenwald--an area of free and responsible choice remained.

MORE

Politics is dependent on ethics for the determination or definition of the ends and purposes of political action, and dependent on it too for standards by which to judge its methods and means.

The basic question that must be answered is this: whether man is a subject of history or simply an object of it, controlled by economics, or by common will, or by some other irrational force. If man is the subject of history--intelligent, responsible, creative--then he can give history some form and some direction.

The alternative is that we live on the edge of disaster unless or until civilization is destroyed and mankind returned to primitive conditions, and ignorance and false fears replace present knowledge and civilization.



# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036, Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D.C.

OFFICERS

BERNARD T. FELD	<i>President</i>
ALLAN FORBES, JR.	<i>Vice-President</i>
DANIEL M. SINGER	<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>
H. ASHTON CROSBY	<i>Executive Director</i>
JOHN SILARD	<i>Counsel</i>

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Co-Chairmen:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD  
Chicago, Ill.

May 26, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO: Board of Directors

FROM: H. Ashton Crosby  
Executive Director

Enclosed are four items for your information.

1. A copy of Senator Burdick's letter returning checks to supporters.
2. A copy of Senator Burdick's letter to me disassociating himself from the views of Dr. Szilard.
3. A copy of our letter to supporters re Senator Burdick's action.
4. A copy of Dr. Feld's reply to Senator Burdick.

The above letters should be treated as confidential and closely held or destroyed. Holmes Alexander could have a field day publishing these if he ever gets hold of them.

We are not yet out of the woods, although things appear to be in better shape--relatively. Alexander is hard at work spreading stories about the Council by word of mouth. Most of what he is saying verbally is too libelous to print. As a consequence, a number of Senators have been called by other reporters about the Council. All seem to have brushed off the queries with distinction and aplomb. In addition, many of the supporters who had checks returned by Burdick have written to us endorsing Burdick's check to the Council. Others understandably are perplexed and worried. It is hoped that our letter of explanation will overcome doubts.

RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.  
BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.  
ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
Cambridge, Mass.  
MAURICE S. FOX  
Cambridge, Mass.  
JEROME D. FRANK  
Baltimore, Md.  
MARGARET BRENNAN GIBSON  
Stockbridge, Mass.  
MORTON GRODZINS  
Chicago, Ill.  
MATTHEW MESELSON  
Cambridge, Mass.  
JAMES G. PATTON  
Denver, Colo.  
ARTHUR PENN  
New York, N.Y.  
CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
DANIEL M. SINGER  
Washington, D.C.

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE

May 7, 1964

---

Col. H. Ashton Crosby  
Executive Director  
Council for a Livable World  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Col. Crosby:

I have been impressed with some of the fine people who have supported the Council for a Livable World. However, the views of Dr. Leo Szilard, expressed at various conferences have recently come to my attention. Since his name appears on your letterhead as Co-Chairman of the Board, clarification of views is now necessary.

I do not ascribe to many of his views expressed at the conferences and particularly I cannot agree that we should uni-laterally disarm nor can I agree with his concept of a U.N. Peace Court that would have legal jurisdiction over American citizens.

My view is that this country's goal should be, of course, world peace, but as we strive toward it, we must provide for the common defense. Disarmament should come through a step by step process with proper guarantees. It is my strong belief it would not be in the best interest of this country to engage in any disarmament program that is not multi-lateral in nature.

Sincerely,

/s/

Quentin N. Burdick

QNB/its

cc: James Patton

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE

May 7, 1964

Col. H. Ashton Crosby  
Executive Director  
Council for a Livable World  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C.

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Sincerely,

/s/

Quentin N. Burdick

QNB/its

cc: James Patton

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

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## OFFICERS

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ALLAN FORBES, JR. *Vice-President*  
DANIEL M. SINGER *Secretary-Treasurer*  
H. ASHTON CROSBY *Executive Director*  
JOHN SILARD *Counsel*

25 May 1964

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Co-Chairmen:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD  
Chicago, Ill.

RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.

BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.

ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
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MAURICE S. FOX  
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Cambridge, Mass.

JAMES G. PATTON  
Denver, Colo.

ARTHUR PENN  
New York, N.Y.

CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.

DANIEL M. SINGER  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Supporter:

We understand that you have received a check from Senator Burdick, returning the contribution which you made to him in 1963. Unfortunately, we were only recently informed of this move on Senator Burdick's part, or you would have heard from us sooner. The Council very much regrets that Senator Burdick thought this move necessary.

As you may be aware, the Council has recently come under sharp attack from two conservative publicists: Alice Widener and Holmes Alexander. Mr. Alexander has already devoted six columns to attacking the Council. Both these individuals are well-known in Washington, and such attacks are not entirely unexpected. Our friends have responded in gratifying fashion, in fact magnificently, as witnessed by the enclosures. As a result, the main effect of these newspaper articles has been to give us substantial publicity which we would not otherwise have achieved and to attest to the growing effectiveness of the Council's operation.

However, another effect has been the decision of Senator Burdick. We believe that the aims and means of the Council have been misrepresented to Senator Burdick and that, in particular, one unpublished paper of Dr. Szilard's, delivered at a private Pugwash conference in 1961, has been misunderstood by the Senator and its purposes misinterpreted by him.

Under the circumstances, we have felt it prudent to appraise the other individuals on the Council's recommended priority list of the attacks on the Council. We are gratified to report that they have all expressed satisfaction with the Council and its aims and are pleased to remain on our recommended list.

We sincerely regret the delay in bringing these facts to your attention, and we shall be pleased to answer any further questions you may have. As to your 1963 contribution, returned by Senator Burdick, we hope that you will consider re-submitting it as a political contribution for the Council to use at its discretion this fall in certain crucial and key elections--unless you have a strong personal preference for another of the candidates on our list.

In any event, the first part of your 1964 contribution should still be made in accordance with the suggestions contained in our letter of 5 May (copy attached).

Sincerely,

*Bernard T. Feld*

Bernard T. Feld,  
President

*William Doering*  
William Doering  
Co-Chairman

*H. Ashton Crosby*  
H. Ashton Crosby,  
Executive Director



# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

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H. ASHTON CROSBY *Executive Director*  
JOHN SILARD *Counsel*

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Co-Chairmen:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD  
Chicago, Ill.

May 25, 1964

Honorable Quentin N. Burdick  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Senator Burdick:

I would like personally to reply to your letter to Colonel Crosby of 18 May in which you inform him that you are returning contributions which came to you as the result of the Council's recommendations to its supporters.

I gather that you are particularly anxious to disassociate yourself from the views expressed by Dr. Szilard in a paper presented by him at a private Pugwash Conference in 1961. This paper has never been published and was prepared by Dr. Szilard with a very specific purpose in mind: to convince the delegates at that Conference from Eastern Europe, and most particularly the Russian scientists there, that despite all doubts and misgivings different techniques could be developed which would insure that inspection would work in a disarmed world. I think that a reading of that paper with this in mind leads to a very different impression from the one which can be obtained by quoting selected paragraphs without consideration of the general context.

Since you have seen the action program of the Council, and other material which we have circulated, I am sure that you are well aware that the Council, far from favoring unilateral disarmament, is pressing for agreements towards arms limitation and reduction which will not only enhance the security of the United States but that of all the other signatory nations as well.

Of course, we still hope that you will be successful in your campaign for reelection.

Sincerely,

/s/ Bernard T. Feld

Bernard T. Feld

Enclosure  
BTF:mb

PS: I am enclosing a copy of the letter which we have sent to those to whom you returned checks.

RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.  
BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.  
ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
Cambridge, Mass.  
MAURICE S. FOX  
Cambridge, Mass.  
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Washington, D.C.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

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## OFFICERS

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✓ ALLAN FORBES, JR.      *Vice-President*  
✓ DANIEL M. SINGER      *Secretary-Treasurer*  
✓ H. ASHTON CROSBY      *Executive Director*  
✓ JOHN SILARD      *Counsel*

July 29, 1964

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Co-Chairmen:*  
✓ WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD (1898-1964)  
Chicago, Ill.

✓ RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.  
✓ BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.  
✓ ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
Cambridge, Mass.  
✓ MAURICE S. FOX  
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CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
✓ DANIEL M. SINGER  
Washington, D.C.

## MEMORANDUM

To: Board of Directors  
Advisors

From: Washington Office

in re: August Meeting Agenda

The agenda for the August meeting (August 21-23) as thus far proposed is as follows:

(Executive Committee Meeting - August 21 - p.m.)

1. Financial Report
2. Administrative Report

(Board of Directors' Meeting - August 22-23)

1. Administrative and Miscellaneous
2. Support of Candidates
3. Implementation of the Action Program

Would you please forward additional--and more specific--items so that a more complete outline may be circulated prior to the meeting. A copy of the Action Program as printed for distribution is enclosed.

Encls: Action Program  
For your information: Washington Post MLF story  
War/Peace Reports editorial on Leo Szilard  
Albuquerque Journal story  
Labor story  
July 12 Executive Committee Meeting Minutes

# Politics Can Buffet Nuclear Fleet

By Murrey Marder  
Staff Reporter

OUT OF THE Cow Palace last week came a theme that will reverberate in discord against some of the most sensitive strings of United States foreign policy, including its nuclear strategy.

That was the intention of Sen. Barry M. Goldwater: to present an alternative to "me-tooism" in both domestic and foreign affairs.

No matter how American voters react in November to the Republican choice for President and his determination to launch a bolder, more-risk-taking brand of foreign policy, Sen. Goldwater's nomination itself may have some effect on the current policies of America's allies.

Since World War II, American political nominations have little impact on the world's foreign policies. Even after the subsequent election, because of "me-tooism," or what others prefer to call "bipartisanship," friend and foe alike usually expect no drastic upsets if the White House changes hands. That assumption is now gone.

## The Long View

NO MATTER how convinced they may be that President Johnson will win reelection, foreign offices around the world now are obliged to take a more serious look at Sen. Goldwater's candidacy. They may well conclude that his nomination alone will have no great impact on American policy but they undoubtedly will be re-examining their positions on ventures that would take years to develop.

A current major project fits that classification, although few Americans have more than the haziest notion of it. One simple reason is its official name, Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF), which opponents deride as a multilateral nuclear "farce."

Despite the bureaucratically obscure title, the plan touches the nerve ends of West Germany's nuclear future; Britain's, Italy's and other European nations' political and military evolution; the development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the struggle between the United States

## Target Date for Multilateral Force Puts Maneuvering Between Europe And U.S. in Thick of Campaign

and French President de Gaulle over the shape of Western Europe and its relationship to the United States, and the prospects for East-West arms control and disarmament.

### 25 Nuclear Warships

ALL THIS is imbedded in a debate that has been going on for four years in Allied foreign offices over the creation of a fleet of 25 surface ships armed with 200 nuclear-tipped Polaris missiles, to be jointly financed, manned, controlled and operated by those Allied nations that can be induced to join. It would be assigned to NATO's defense.

Its cost would be about \$2.5 billion to launch, about \$160 million a year to operate, with the United States and West Germany as the main contributors.

It is a "first step" plan. On that one point, its supporters and critics agree. They disagree totally on what it is a first step toward.

Its advocates now have the positive support of President Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and all the machinery of the United States Government, plus the backing of many of the leaders of Western Europe. They see it as a force for Atlantic unity and as a way of checking the spread of nuclear weapons by assuaging any German military appetite for a greater voice in the use of nuclear power. They believe that it will accomplish other long-range gains without risk to other nations.

Its critics, here and abroad, are not organized and are relatively weak, but they are counting on British and Italian hesitation over the plan and they hope affirmatively to build a backfire on Capitol Hill that will cause President Johnson at least to delay it.

To these opponents, who include foreign policy, scientific and military

specialists and political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic, including Johnson Administration officials who are now in a distinct minority, the mixed-manned nuclear fleet could do exactly the opposite of what its supporters claim.

They say that it is more likely to intensify than diminish German and other nuclear ambitions, to hasten the fragmentation of the Atlantic Alliance, to damage arms control and disarmament prospects, to impede the growth of national independence inside the Soviet bloc and to cause other harm.

What makes this backstage Allied debate of special consequence now is the time factor.

Originally a mere suggestion by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, the plan got more active Kennedy backing after the 1962 Anglo-American conference at Nassau and de Gaulle's subsequent rejection of British entry into the Common Market.

As one American critic puts it, the MLF "made the long leap from the technical to the policy level" when, "to counter de Gaulle, the United States felt obliged to assert its leadership, especially in the ultrasensitive politico-military area where de Gaulle himself might move."

Last month, the communique issued after President Johnson's meeting with West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard set an official target date: to try to get the MLF pact ready for signature "by the end of the year" so it might be presented to Congress in 1965 as a treaty or in other legislative form.

### Less Than a Solution

SINCE OCTOBER, 1963, a working group representing the United States, West Germany, Britain, Italy, Holland, Greece and Turkey has been

examining the plan in Paris. Additional political talks have gone on in Washington and other capitals.

None of these nations is officially committed to it but support for it is growing steadily, not as a cure-all but, as one critic-turned-supporter described it, "as the least damaging way of mitigating the absence of a solution."

Some would join, notably West Germany, because of deep belief in it. Others, like Britain, might join only to avoid missing the boat. They would want to prevent Germany from being its dominant European partner. Still others are interested for a combination of these reasons.

This creates what amounts to an international squeeze play on joining. If Britain does not join, or if Italy does not, the plan will go ahead anyway, American planners maintain. They also would like to raise the ante in this diplomatic poker game by suggesting that the United States might go ahead without both Britain and Italy. But that is not official policy.

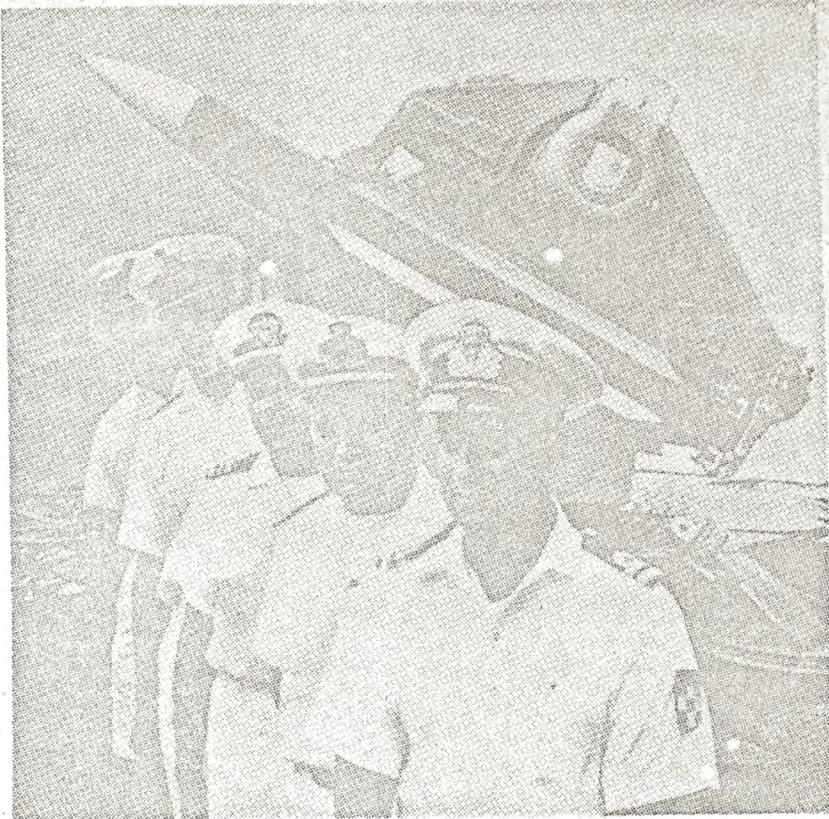
The critical maneuvering period between now and the end of the year will parallel the presidential election campaign, and this coincidence is important because the ultimate shape of the mixed-manned fleet depends on long-range American foreign policy.

### The Question of a Veto

INITIALLY, at least, the United States would have a veto over the use of the fleet's nuclear weapons, because they could be fired only by unanimous agreement. But Mr. Johnson said as Vice President that "evolution of this fleet toward European control, as Europe marches toward unity, is by no means excluded."

Administration officials have assured congressional leaders, however, that ultimate surrender of the American veto has never been even implied. There are other ways of widening European control without touching the veto, they have noted.

Now with Sen. Goldwater a nominee, political charges that he is "irresponsible" and "shoots from the hip" tend to underline, among Europeans de



Posed against the background of a Tartar missile are officers representing five of the seven nationalities manning the guided missile destroyer USS Biddle, now visiting New York. Front to rear: Lt. (j.g.) A. Chatzakis, Greece; Lt. Renato Sicurzza, Italy; Lt. Cmdr. Frederick J. Reeg, United States, the skipper; Lt. Uwe Marxen, West Germany, and Lt. Robert K. Dibble, Britain.

Gaulle's charges that American foreign policy is unpredictable. This reaction is bothering Administration officials.

Senator Goldwater has made some criticism of the MLF concept of a nuclear force with mixed crews, but he has not yet been briefed on it by MLF proponents. He advocates a direct NATO nuclear force under NATO's Supreme Commander in Europe, who is an American. Nevertheless, his variable comments about giving NATO greater authority to fire tactical nuclear weapons, and his remark that Germany might have won

both world wars with stronger military leadership, frighten Europeans, even some who want more authority over nuclear weapons.

It is not odd that Sen. Goldwater's position on the MLF is not well known. One Congressman who has followed it closely estimates that not more than a dozen members in both Houses have more than a superficial knowledge of the plan, although Administration officials say that congressional leaders and members of key committees have been briefed on it, along with a num-

See FORCE, Page E7, Column 1

## Politics Can Buffet MLF

**FORCE, From Page E1**  
ber of other Senators and Representatives.

Critics charge that a small, determined "cabal of fanatics" pushed the plan through the Government. It is a fact that the MLF "enthusiasts" were spanked by the White House for "overselling" the plan last spring. But in April, President Johnson gave the MLF the go ahead. He overrode the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's concern about its effect on arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. On balance, the President ruled, those misgivings were outweighed by political and military arguments for trying to create the force.

**INSTEAD OF** being "slipped" through the Government by the State Department, its proponents insist, the plan received unusual study by three Administrations. Its original formulators or advocates included three former or present members of what is now the State Department Policy Planning Council: Robert R. Bowie, now director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University; Gerard C. Smith, now in charge of MLF negotiations; and Walt W. Rostow, present head of the policy staff.

In addition, prime movers included Henry D. Owen, deputy to Rostow; Livingston T. Merchant, former special negotiator for MLF; Foy D. Kohler, now Ambassador to Moscow; J. Robert Schaetzel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; and Under Secretary of State George W. Ball.

At the Defense Department, the principal early advocate was the late Adm. Claude V. Ricketts. His name soon will be given to the U.S.S. Biddle, the Navy's non-nuclear guided missile destroyer. The ship is being used to demonstrate the

feasibility of manning vessels with crews of several nations, overcoming the complexities of differing food, training and other national characteristics.

**THE IDEA** of a mixed-manned nuclear fleet developed because of a military problem, but its motivation was and is mainly political. The concept arose from a request by the then Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, Gen. Lauris E. Norstad, for medium-range nuclear missiles to counter Soviet nuclear missiles aimed at Europe.

Instead of agreeing to that request by extending the "two key" system under which tactical, or smaller battlefield, nuclear weapons are operated by NATO members, with the United States controlling the nuclear warheads, the MLF seaborne fleet was conceived.

The real American military preference was, and still is, on purely military grounds, to meet the Soviet medium-range missile challenge with the huge American strategic nuclear arsenal. However, to offset what American diplomats foresaw as inevitably rising protests against United States military domination of the Alliance, the political palliative of MLF was offered.

**WITH ITALY** interested in joining it, but preoccupied with internal political woes, the MLF's future can turn on the outcome of the British election in October. Britain's Labor Party, favored to win, is on record as opposed to continuing the British nuclear force or joining the MLF. It advocates combining Britain's nuclear strike capacity in a NATO force.

But American officials believe that Labor Party leader Harold Wilson may change his position after exploring other choices. Britain's Con-

servative government has suggested expanding the MLF by adding to it land-based American Pershing missiles now in NATO and the proposed British TSR-2 and American TFX supersonic nuclear strike planes.

The United States has agreed to a joint study of the offer but there are strong suspicions here that London may be engaged in a delaying action.

**ONE SPECIALIST** in this political-military-psychological maze, Henry A. Kissinger, an MLF opponent, recently wrote: "The novelty of modern weapons systems gives the disputes a metaphysical, almost-theological, cast."

The Washington-based Council for a Livable World, campaigning against the MLF, charged in a paper by John Silard that the MLF "goes too far" to "meet the present concern of our allies" while it is "inadequate" to meet their long-term aspirations.

On the powerful pro-MLF side, however, the influential Action Committee for the United States of Europe, headed by Jean Monnet, a leader in transatlantic unity, has lauded the MLF as a major contribution to the present "confused and difficult" situation in Europe.

Despite the metaphysical or theological nature of the arguments, if the proposal is sent to Capitol Hill by a re-elected President Johnson, the odds will be with it. But first it must weather the political uncertainties on both sides of the Atlantic.

## EDITORIALS

### The Fire in Vietnam

**T**rying to organize peace might be likened to dealing with fires in a community. When a fire breaks out, the community deals with it as best it can. Between fires, if the community has foresight, it will endeavor to improve its fire-fighting ability and, more importantly, develop programs of fire prevention.

In the world community, the fire-fighting apparatus is still in the bucket-brigade stage. The volunteers are trying to hold the flames in check in Cyprus, and are going home from the Congo afraid that the blaze there may arise again. But the great fear is that a fire may be ignited in Southeast Asia—a fire so huge that all the volunteers will be helpless before it.

The world community should be devoting most of its effort to improving its fire department—developing better dispute-settling techniques, building a United Nations with just and practical political control, providing adequate U.N. financing, creating a permanent U.N. police force, reaching new agreements on arms control and disarmament. The world should also be working harder on fire prevention—building a more stable and prosperous world through education, economic development, international cooperation, health improvement, and other positive programs. But all too often future progress everywhere seems to depend on the world being able to put out the fire at hand.

Today's fire is in Indochina. We have set forth our editorial position on that problem before (March), and have presented three articles (April, May and this issue) seeking to discern the main forces operating there. Our conclusion has been that negotiations should be undertaken among all the powers involved in an effort to take the area out of the Cold War through some formula of neutralization.

**T**he roadblock to opening up negotiations on Indochina is the U.S. election. The American politician has a deeply-ingrained feeling that the way to win an election is to be more anti-Communist than his opponent. But there are strong indications that the politicians are misreading voter sentiment. Despite all the cant about "saving Asia for freedom" that appears in the press, the fact that the U.S. is fighting on the unpopular side in a civil war appears to be getting through to most Americans. A poll by Louis Harris made in March showed that more Americans are in favor of neutralization of South Vietnam than are opposed to it. (35 per cent favored neutralization, 28 per cent were opposed, 37 per cent did not know.) Yet, except for a few lonely voices like Senators Morse and Gruening, there is no public call for a more reasonable policy toward Southeast Asia.

The reason for this unfortunate silence seems to be that the American political panorama has assumed such a bizarre shape. Many Republicans, who do not have the responsibility of office, engage in the demogogy of calling for an impossible "victory" in Southeast Asia. This leaves the Administration in the position of saying, "We too want victory, but not at the price of a major war." There is no

need, politically, for the Administration to curry the favor of those who favor neutralization. What could these voters do—choose the even more bellicose policy of the Republicans?

If the situation in Southeast Asia can be kept from deteriorating until after Nov. 3 (as the Administration hopes), the U.S. may afterwards display more flexibility in its policy. But it is too dangerous to wait. The world could be embroiled in a major war by Nov. 3. The plurality of Americans who favor ending this wrong war must speak out now to avert the possibility of catastrophe.

### The Loss of Szilard

**T**he death of Leo Szilard was an irreplaceable loss to his friends, the scientific community, and the forces of reason in the world.

Few men have been so caught up in the history of our times. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Szilard left Germany for Austria. A year later he moved to London, where he began his work in nuclear physics. In 1938, after what he considered to be the betrayal of Czechoslovakia by Britain in the Munich pact, he left for the U.S.

In 1939 he took part in drafting a letter which Einstein signed urging President Roosevelt to authorize research for an atomic bomb. And in 1942, with Enrico Fermi, he carried out man's first sustained nuclear reaction, which made nuclear weapons possible.

But even before atomic bombs could be used—in March, 1945—Szilard and other scientists began to work for international control of atomic energy. He continued these efforts to the day of his death.

Although Szilard was at home in the academic world, where he was credited with many brilliant discoveries, he stepped out of his ivory tower in 1961 to launch a novel idea in the political arena. The essence of it was that a concerned group of individuals give one or two per cent of their income as contributions to worthy candidates for Congress. The proposal was first presented in print in *War/Peace Report* in March, 1962. Later that year the idea became reality, and it exists today as the Council for a Livable World. At least one senator, George McGovern of South Dakota, credits his election to help from the Council.

At a luncheon meeting of the recent Scientists on Survival Congress in New York, many of Szilard's friends recalled his wit as well as his brilliance. Bernard T. Feld, M.I.T. physicist who is president of the Council, noted that his longtime friend had died of a heart attack in his sleep. Knowing of Szilard's self-supervised and successful struggle against cancer, Feld observed: "They never would have got him if he had been awake." A Soviet friend, Vasilis Emelyanov, vice chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Commission for Atomic Energy, told a story that Mrs. Szilard later said was her husband's favorite. A Russian and an Austrian met just after the war ended, and both instinctively reached for their guns. But the Russian suddenly decided to salute instead, and the Austrian, on reflex, immediately snapped one back. Chairman Harold Taylor closed the moving eulogies with the appropriate comment: "If Leo were here, he'd want us to get down to work."

WAR/PEACE REPORT

To Kemp - e.

MA

LABOR

SAT JULY 16 - 1964

# Liberals Target of Drive In Thinly Populated States

Ultra-conservative Republicans are shaping up an elaborately organized attack on liberal Democrats who are up for election or re-election this year, particularly from states small in population.

In such states, relatively moderate right-wing slush funds can yield strategic political prizes in an election year.

An indication of the nature of the attack came recently when a group of GOP senators took the Senate floor with a coordinated assault on Senator George S. McGovern (Dem., S. D.). It was led by Senator Peter H. Dominick, reactionary from Colorado.



McGovern

Dominick's starting point was to assail McGovern for having criticized a series of articles written by right-wing columnist Holmes Alexander. These articles sought to

smear McGovern as a "radical" because of his friendliness to the Council for a Livable World, an organization working for peace and for controlled disarmament, with safeguards.

Dominick particularly objected to McGovern's charges that Alexander "is married to the John Birch Society and spouts the Birch line." McGovern had pointed out that Alexander "wrote a series of 12 articles for the magazine American Opinion, edited by Robert Welch, head of the Birch Society." Also, "Welch copyrighted these articles and published them in a book."

Other Republicans who joined Dominick in the offensive were Senators Wilward Simpson (Wyo.), Gordon Allott (Colo.), Wallace F. Bennett (Utah), Bourke Hickenlooper (Iowa) and Jack Miller (Iowa), plus right-wing Democrat Strom Thurmond (S. C.).

Bennett dragged in the names of five Democratic candidates who, he claimed, are supported by the Council. He listed them as Senators Frank Moss (Utah) and Gale McGee (Wyo.), running for re-election; Congressman Montoya (Ariz.) and Congressman Harding (Idaho), who are candidates against incumbent GOP senators, and finally Senator Muskie (Me.).

### Who's Buying Elections?

Ironically, Bennett raised the point that in these sparsely populated states, "it is possible to elect a senator with a smaller investment of the Council's funds." He thus inferred that a poorly-financed peace organization was trying to "buy" elections in states where voters are few and money goes a long way.

This amused other senators who held that a reverse situation was true. It is in just such small states, they recalled, that Texas oil magnates and other wealthy rightists have poured funds during past years and are doing so again this year.

### McGovern Fires Back

McGovern didn't wilt under the concentrated attack. He replied that he had endured Alexander's violent articles for a long time, but fired back only after the articles were put into the Congressional Record repeatedly by Congressman E. Y. Berry (Rep., S. D.).

The articles, McGovern told the Senate, were full of errors. As an example, he said, "Alexander referred to the Council as a pacifist lobby and a unilateral disarmament group. Some senators have repeated those charges here today."

"They are totally false," McGovern asserted. "There is no basic difference between the aims of the Council and the aims of the Eisenhower Administration, the Kennedy Administration and the Johnson Administration."

"All those administrations," McGovern declared, "have been dedicated to reduction of unnecessary armaments, not only in our own country, but in the enemy camp."

## Johnson Hailed On Appointments

Liberals expressed gratification this week when President Johnson appointed Manuel F. Cohen, a career government official, as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Cohen served on the staff of the SEC for 20 years before President Kennedy, in 1961, appointed him a member of the commission. He earned a reputation as a firm but fair regulator of the stock markets.

Cohen will succeed retiring chairman William L. Cary. The New York Times commented that "Cohen is regarded as likely to continue the same strong enforcement policies which Cary followed," and added:

"Speculation had arisen about the kind of men the President would appoint to regulatory agencies, partly because of Johnson's appointment of Homer H. Budge, a conservative former Idaho congressman, to a Republican vacancy on the SEC.

"It is now known," the Times said, "that the President simply accepted the recommendation of the Republican congressional leaders, and it did not signify any intention to his part to seek a 'softer' regulation policy."

The law which created the SEC requires that its membership be divided between Republicans and Democrats. To fill a Democratic vacancy on the commission, Johnson announced he will appoint Francis M. Wheat, a prominent San Francisco lawyer who has specialized in the securities field. Reports quoted Wheat as saying he favors the strong regulatory policies the SEC has followed under Chairman Cary.

McGovern

RECEIVED JUL 20 1964

good man  
July 6, 1964

Albuquerque  
Journal

## Action Group Promoting Peace May Become Issue In Fall Political Races

By PAUL R. WIECK of the Journal's Washington Bureau  
WASHINGTON — The aims of a political action group which seeks to find what it calls "practical" means of halting the arms race and promoting peace seems destined to become an issue in a half-dozen or more important races this fall.

It is the Council for a More Liveable World, the brainchild of the late and often-eulogized Dr. Leo Szilard, nuclear physicist and molecular biologist.

Its sparkplug today is Col. Henry Ashton Crosby, a veteran of 22 years in the Army and recipient of a host of military honors — among them four Purple Hearts, three Silver Stars and a Croix de Guerre in World War II.

But the real issue is money. The council has had nota-

ble success in raising funds among its upwards of 2000 backers and this, as can be expected, has upset the opponents of its chosen candidates.

Dr. Szilard, the man who persuaded Albert Einstein to write President Roosevelt urging development of the A-bomb and, along with Enrico Fermi, produced the chain reaction that led to the bomb, conceived the idea of the CMLW in 1962.

The response in the scientific fraternity was enthusiastic and, by November of 1962, the CMLW had raised \$80,000.

It aided 18 candidates — 15 Democrats and three Republicans — and 12 were elected, including all the GOP candidates.

### Program More Ambitious

This year, its program is more ambitious and it could well account for contributions running into six figures.

One of the candidates it has selected is Rep. Joseph M. Montoya, D-N.M., who is seeking to unseat Sen. Edwin L. Mechem, R-N.M., in the state's hotly contested Senate race.

But, meanwhile, critics have zeroed in on some of the statements of the late Dr. Szilard, whose fertile and imaginative mind often produced ideas that even his cohorts could not support.

Col. Crosby, who touches base with top military and civilian authorities in all fields before endorsing a course of action as "practical," insists that the CMLW does not advocate "unilateral disarmament."

### "Where Do You Stop"

But, on the other hand, he maintains he "never felt building more and more thermonuclear weapons was the way to build peace."

The question is, he said, "where do you stop."

As executive-director of the CMLW and an architect of its crusade for peace, he is now seeking answers to that question without endangering U. S. Security.

His group lent strong support to the nuclear test ban and to the Arms Control and Disarmament Act.

Sen. George McGovern, D-S. Dak., who received substantial support (\$22,000) from the CMLW in his 1962 race, is an example of the type of member the council is seeking to elect.

### Exploring "Reconversion"

The freshman senator from South Dakota has taken a lead in recent months in exploring means of "reconversion" to a peacetime economy and has urged closer study of defense spending.

His work illustrates Col. Crosby's claim that the CMLW is "not a protest organization" that marches on the street with placards but is "interested in doing only those things which are possible."

The CMLW has a unique way of apportioning funds.

Each supporter is asked to contribute two per cent of his income (most of the appeal is to what are regarded as middle income persons) or, if this is not possible, one per cent.

### Three Senators Picked

Early in the year, three candidates for the Senate were selected for support, including two Westerners, Gale McGee (D) of Wyoming and Frank Moss (D) of Utah.

The membership list was divided three ways and each group was asked to make out checks to a specific candidate.

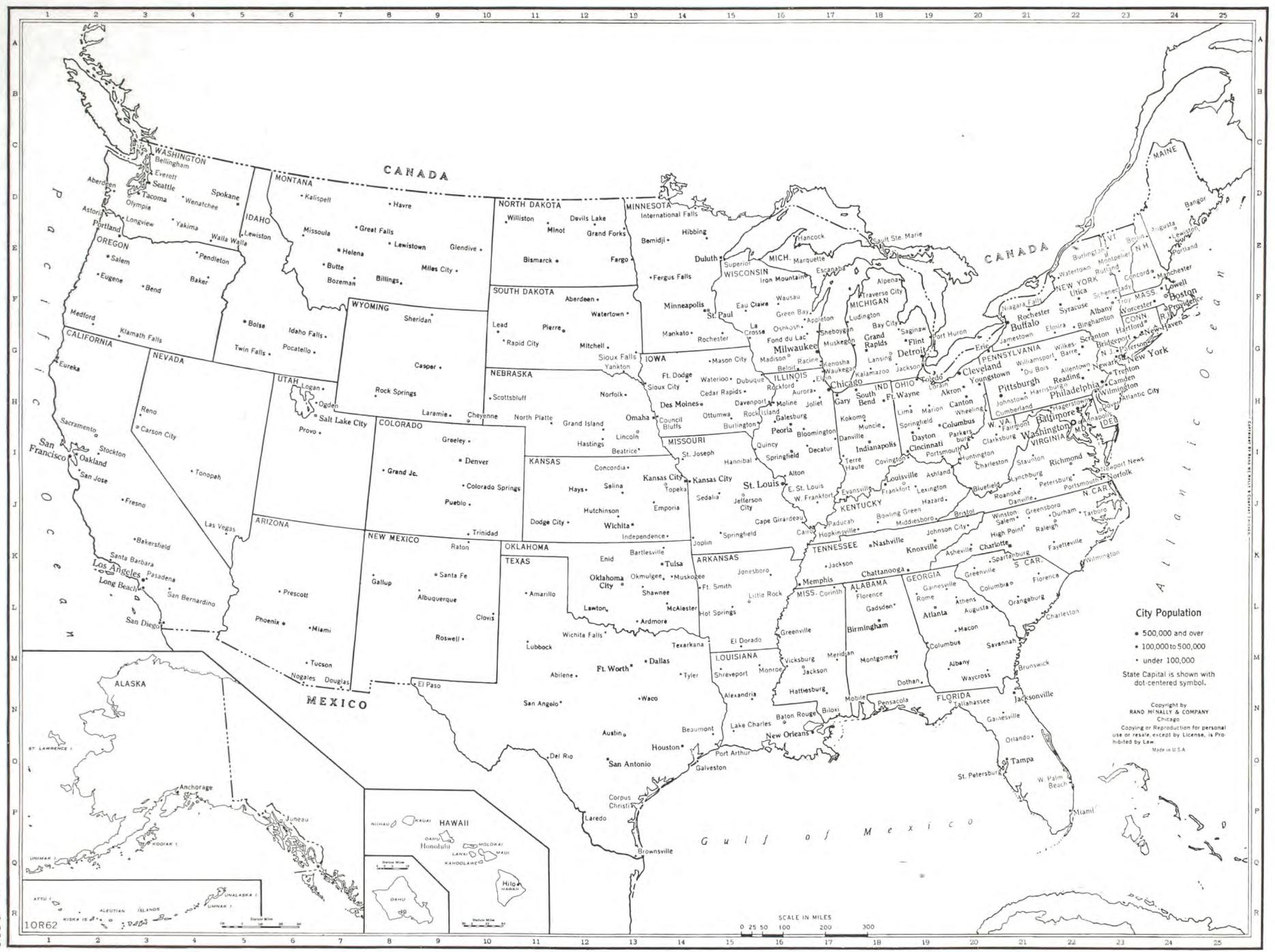
The CMLW's Washington office acts as the clearing house.

Both McGee and Moss received \$7000 in a short time. Seminars Conducted

In addition to action programs and the support of individual candidates, the CMLW holds seminars for members of Congress and their staffers, often inviting prominent members of their own group to speak on specific topics.

A brief look at the board of directors indicates the scientific bent of the group.

Co-chairman with the late Dr. Szilard was William Doering, professor of chemistry at Yale; its president is Bernard T. Felt, professor of physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; board members include Ruth Adams, manager editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; Maurice Fox, associate professor of biology at MIT; Jim Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; and Morton Grodzins, chairman of the Political Science Dept. at the University of Chicago.



City Population

- 500,000 and over
- 100,000 to 500,000
- under 100,000

State Capital is shown with dot-centered symbol.

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SCALE IN MILES  
0 25 50 100 200 300

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY STATE AND DISTRICT NUMBER

Democrats — 258 — Republicans — 177

## ALABAMA

AL GEORGE W. ANDREWS  
 AL CARL ELLIOTT  
 AL GEORGE M. GRANT  
 AL GEORGE M.  
 HUDDLESTON JR.  
 AL ROBERT E. JONES  
 AL ALBERT RAINS  
 AL KENNETH A. ROBERTS  
 AL ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN JR.

## ALASKA

AL RALPH J. RIVERS

## ARIZONA

1. John J. Rhodes  
 2. MORRIS K. UDALL  
 ✓ 3. GEORGE F. SENNER JR.

## ARKANSAS

1. E. C. GATHINGS  
 2. WILBUR D. MILLS  
 3. JAMES W. TRIMBLE  
 4. OREN HARRIS

## CALIFORNIA

✓ 1. Don Clausen  
 2. HAROLD T. JOHNSON  
 3. JOHN E. MOSS  
 ✓ 4. ROBERT L. LEGGETT  
 5. JOHN F. SHELLEY  
 6. William S. Mailliard  
 7. JEFFREY COHELAN  
 8. GEORGE P. MILLER  
 ✓ 9. W. DONLON EDWARDS  
 10. Charles S. Gubser  
 11. J. Arthur Younger  
 ✓ 12. Bert L. Talcott  
 13. Charles M. Teague  
 14. John F. Baldwin, Jr.  
 15. JOHN J. McFALL  
 16. B. F. SISK  
 17. CECIL R. KING  
 18. HARLAN HAGEN  
 19. CHET HOLIFIELD  
 20. H. Allen Smith  
 ✓ 21. AUGUSTUS (GUS) HAWKINS  
 22. JAMES C. CORMAN  
 23. CLYDE DOYLE  
 24. Glenard P. Lipscomb  
 ✓ 25. RONALD B. CAMERON  
 26. JAMES ROOSEVELT  
 ✓ 27. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER  
 28. Alphonzo Bell  
 ✓ 29. GEORGE E. BROWN JR.  
 ✓ 30. EDWARD R. ROYBAL  
 ✓ 31. CHARLES H. WILSON  
 32. Craig Hosmer  
 33. HARRY R. SHEPPARD  
 ✓ 34. RICHARD T. HANNA  
 35. James B. Utt  
 36. Bob Wilson  
 ✓ 37. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN  
 ✓ 38. Minor C. Martin

## COLORADO

1. BYRON G. ROGERS  
 ✓ 2. Donald G. Brotzman  
 3. J. Edgar Chenoweth  
 4. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

## CONNECTICUT

✓ AL BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI  
 1. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO  
 ✓ 2. WILLIAM ST. ONGE  
 3. ROBERT N. GLAIMO  
 4. Abner W. Sibal  
 5. JOHN S. MONAGAN

## DELAWARE

HARRIS B. McDOWELL JR.

## FLORIDA

1. ROBERT L. F. SIKES  
 2. CHARLES E. BENNETT  
 ✓ 3. CLAUDE PEPPER  
 ✓ 4. DANTE B. FASCCELL  
 5. A. S. HERLONG JR.  
 6. PAUL G. ROGERS

7. JAMES A. HALEY  
 8. D. R. MATTHEWS  
 ✓ 9. DON FUQUA  
 ✓ 10. SAM M. GIBBONS  
 ✓ 11. Edward J. Gurney  
 12. William C. Cramer

## GEORGIA

1. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN  
 2. JOHN L. PILCHER  
 3. E. L. FORRESTER  
 ✓ 4. JOHN JAMES FLYNT JR.  
 ✓ 5. CHARLES L. WELTNER  
 6. CARL VINSON  
 7. JOHN W. DAVIS  
 ✓ 8. J. RUSSELL TUTEN  
 9. PHIL M. LANDRUM  
 10. ROBERT G. STEPHENS JR.

## HAWAII

✓ AL THOMAS P. GILL  
 ✓ AL SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

## IDAHO

✓ 1. COMPTON I. WHITE JR.  
 2. RALPH R. HARDING

## ILLINOIS

1. WILLIAM L. DAWSON  
 2. BARRATT O'HARA  
 3. WILLIAM T. MURPHY  
 4. Edward J. Derwinski  
 5. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI  
 6. THOMAS J. O'BRIEN  
 7. ROLAND V. LIBONATI  
 8. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI  
 9. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN  
 10. Harold R. Collier  
 11. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI  
 ✓ 12. Robert McClory  
 ✓ 13. Donald Rumsfeld  
 ✓ 14. Elmer J. Hoffman  
 ✓ 15. Charlotte T. Reid  
 ✓ 16. John B. Anderson  
 17. Leslie C. Arends  
 18. Robert H. Michel  
 ✓ 19. Robert T. McLoskey  
 20. Paul Findley  
 21. KENNETH J. GRAY  
 22. William L. Springer  
 23. GEORGE L. SHIPLEY  
 24. MELVIN PRICE

## INDIANA

1. RAY J. MADDEN  
 2. Charles A. Halleck  
 3. JOHN BRADEMANS  
 4. E. Ross Adair  
 5. J. EDWARD ROUSH  
 6. Richard L. Roudebush  
 7. William G. Bray  
 8. WINFIELD K. DENTON  
 9. Earl Wilson  
 10. Ralph Harvey  
 11. Donald C. Bruce

## IOWA

1. Fred Schwengel  
 2. James E. Bromwell  
 3. H. R. Gross  
 4. John H. Kyl  
 5. NEAL SMITH  
 6. Charles B. Hoeven  
 7. Ben F. Jensen

## KANSAS

1. Bob Dole  
 2. William H. Avery  
 3. Robert F. Ellsworth  
 4. Garner E. Shriver  
 ✓ 5. Joe Skubit

## KENTUCKY

1. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD  
 2. WILLIAM H. NATCHER  
 ✓ 3. M. G. (Gene) Snyder  
 4. FRANK CHELF  
 5. Eugene Siler  
 6. JOHN C. WATTS  
 7. CARL D. PERKINS

## LOUISIANA

1. F. EDWARD HEBERT  
 2. HALE BOGGS  
 3. EDWIN E. WILLIS  
 4. JOE D. WAGGONNER JR.  
 5. OTTO E. PASSMAN  
 6. JAMES H. MORRISON  
 7. T. ASHTON THOMPSON  
 ✓ 8. GILLIS W. LONG

## MAINE

1. Stanley R. Tupper  
 2. Clifford G. McIntire

## MARYLAND

✓ AL CARLTON R. SICKLES  
 ✓ 1. Rogers C. B. Morton  
 ✓ 2. CLARENCE D. LONG  
 3. EDWARD A. GARMATZ  
 4. GEORGE H. FALLON  
 5. RICHARD E. LANKFORD  
 6. Charles McC. Mathias  
 7. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

## MASSACHUSETTS

1. Silvio O. Conte  
 2. EDWARD P. BOLAND  
 3. PHILIP J. PHILBIN  
 4. HAROLD D. DONOHUE  
 5. F. Bradford Morse  
 6. William H. Bates  
 7. TORBERT H. MACDONALD  
 8. THOMAS P. O'NEILL JR.  
 9. JOHN W. MCCORMACK  
 10. Joseph W. Martin Jr.  
 11. JAMES A. BURKE  
 12. Hastings Keith

## MICHIGAN

✓ AL NEIL STAEBLER  
 1. LUCIEN N. NEDZI  
 2. George Meader  
 3. August E. Johansen  
 ✓ 4. Edward Hutchinson  
 5. Gerald R. Ford Jr.  
 6. Charles E. Chamberlain  
 7. JAMES G. O'HARA  
 8. James Harvey  
 9. Robert P. Griffin  
 10. Elford A. Cederberg  
 11. Victor A. Knox  
 12. John B. Bennett  
 13. CHARLES C. DIGGS JR.  
 14. HAROLD M. RYAN  
 15. JOHN D. DINGELL  
 16. JOHN LESINSKI  
 17. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS  
 18. William S. Broomfield

## MINNESOTA

1. Albert H. Quie  
 2. Ancher Nelsen  
 3. Clark MacGregor  
 4. JOSEPH E. KARTH  
 ✓ 5. DONALD M. FRASER  
 ✓ 6. ALEC G. OLSON  
 7. Odin Langen  
 8. JOHN A. BLATNIK

## MISSISSIPPI

1. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY  
 2. JAMIE L. WHITTEN  
 3. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS  
 4. ARTHUR WINSTEAD  
 5. WILLIAM M. COLMER

## MISSOURI

1. FRANK M. KARSTEN  
 2. Thomas B. Curtis  
 3. LEONOR KRETZER  
 SULLIVAN  
 4. WILLIAM J. RANDALL  
 5. RICHARD BOLLING  
 6. W. R. HULL JR.  
 7. Durward G. Hall  
 8. RICHARD H. ICHORD  
 9. CLARENCE CANNON  
 10. PAUL C. JONES

## MONTANA

1. ARNOLD OLSEN  
 2. James F. Battin

## NEBRASKA

1. Ralph F. Beermann  
 2. Glenn Cunningham  
 3. David T. Martin

## NEVADA

AL WALTER S. BARING

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

✓ 1. Louis C. Wyman  
 ✓ 2. James C. Cleveland

## NEW JERSEY

1. William T. Cahill  
 2. Milton W. Glenn  
 3. James C. Auchincloss  
 4. FRANK THOMPSON JR.  
 5. Peter Frelinghuysen Jr.  
 6. Florence P. Dwyer  
 7. William B. Widnall  
 8. CHARLES S. JOELSON  
 9. Frank C. Osmer Jr.  
 10. PETER W. RODINO JR.  
 ✓ 11. JOSEPH G. MINISH  
 12. George M. Wallhauser  
 13. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER  
 14. DOMINICK V. DANIELS  
 ✓ 15. EDWARD J. PATTEN JR.

## NEW MEXICO

AL JOSEPH M. MONTOYA  
 AL THOMAS G. MORRIS

## NEW YORK

1. OTIS G. PIKE  
 ✓ 2. James R. Grover Jr.  
 3. Stephen B. Derounian  
 ✓ 4. John W. Wydler  
 5. Frank J. Becker  
 6. Seymour Halpern  
 7. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO  
 8. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL  
 9. JAMES J. DELANEY  
 10. EMANUEL CELLER  
 11. EUGENE J. KEOGH  
 12. EDNA F. KELLY  
 13. ABRAHAM J. MULTER  
 14. JOHN J. ROONEY  
 15. HUGH L. CAREY  
 ✓ 16. JOHN M. MURPHY  
 17. John V. Lindsay  
 18. ADAM C. POWELL  
 19. LEONARD FARBERSTEIN  
 20. WILLIAM FITZS RYAN  
 21. JAMES C. HEALEY  
 22. JACOB H. GILBERT  
 23. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY  
 24. Paul A. Fino  
 25. Robert R. Barry  
 ✓ 26. Ogden R. Reid  
 27. Katharine St. George  
 28. J. Ernest Wharton  
 29. LEO W. O'BRIEN  
 30. Carleton J. King  
 31. Clarence E. Kilburn  
 32. Alexander Pirnie  
 33. Howard W. Robison  
 34. R. Walter Riehlman  
 35. SAMUEL S. STRATTON  
 ✓ 36. Frank J. Horton  
 37. Harold C. Ostertag  
 38. Charles E. Goodell  
 39. John R. Pillion  
 40. William E. Miller  
 41. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

## NORTH CAROLINA

1. HERBERT C. BONNER  
 2. L. H. FOUNTAIN  
 3. DAVID N. HENDERSON  
 4. HAROLD D. COOLEY  
 5. RALPH J. SCOTT  
 6. HORACE R. KORNEGAY  
 7. ALTON LENNON  
 8. Charles Raper Jonas  
 ✓ 9. James T. Broyhill  
 10. BASIL L. WHITENER  
 11. ROY A. TAYLOR

**NORTH DAKOTA**

1. Hjalmar C. Nygaard
2. Don L. Short

**OHIO**

- ✓ AL Robert Taft Jr.
- ✓ 1. Carl W. Rich
- 2. Donald D. Clancy
- 3. Paul F. Schenck
- 4. William M. McCulloch
- 5. Delbert L. Latta
- 6. William H. Harsha Jr.
- 7. Clarence J. Brown
- 8. Jackson E. Betts
- 9. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
- ✓ 10. Homer E. Abele
- 11. Oliver P. Bolton
- 12. Samuel L. Devine
- 13. Charles A. Mosher
- 14. William H. Ayres
- 15. ROBERT T. SECREST
- 16. Frank T. Bow
- 17. John M. Ashbrook
- 18. WAYNE L. HAYS
- 19. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
- 20. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
- 21. CHARLES A. VANIK
- 22. Frances P. Bolton
- 23. William E. Marshall

**OKLAHOMA**

1. Page Belcher
2. ED EDMONDSON
3. CARL ALBERT
4. TOM STEED
5. JOHN JARMAN
6. VICTOR WICKERSHAM

**OREGON**

- 1. Walter Norblad
- 2. AL ULLMAN
- 3. EDITH GREEN
- ✓ 4. ROBERT B. DUNCAN

**PENNSYLVANIA**

1. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
2. ROBERT N. C. NIX
3. JAMES A. BYRNE
4. HERMAN TOLL
5. WILLIAM J. GREEN JR.
6. GEORGE M. RHODES
7. William H. Milliken
8. Willard S. Curtin
9. Paul B. Dague
- ✓ 10. Joseph M. McDade
11. DANIEL J. FLOOD
12. J. Irving Whalley
13. Richard S. Schweiker
14. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
15. FRANCIS E. WALTER
16. John C. Kunkel
17. Herman T. Schneebeli
18. Robert J. Corbett
19. George A. Goodling
20. ELMER J. HOLLAND
21. JOHN H. DENT
22. John P. Saylor
23. Leon H. Gavin
- ✓ 24. James D. Weaver
25. FRANK M. CLARK
26. THOMAS E. MORGAN
27. James G. Fulton

**RHODE ISLAND**

1. FERNAND J. ST. GERMAIN
2. JOHN E. FOGARTY

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

- ✓ 1. L. MENDEL RIVERS
- 2. ALBERT W. WATSON
- 3. W. J. BRYAN DORN
- 4. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
- 5. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
- 6. JOHN L. McMILLAN

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

1. Ben Reifel
2. E. Y. Berry

**TENNESSEE**

- ✓ 1. James H. Quillen
- 2. Howard H. Baker
- ✓ 3. William E. Brock III
- 4. JOE L. EVINS
- ✓ 5. RICHARD FULTON
- 6. ROSS BASS
- 7. TOM MURRAY
- 8. ROBERT A. EVERETT
- 9. CLIFFORD DAVIS

**TEXAS**

- ✓ AL JOE POOL
- 1. WRIGHT PATMAN
- 2. JACK BROOKS
- 3. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
- 4. RAY ROBERTS
- 5. Bruce Alger
- 6. OLIN E. TEAGUE
- 7. JOHN DOWDY
- 8. ALBERT THOMAS
- 9. CLARK W. THOMPSON
- 10. HOMER THORNBERY
- 11. W. R. POAGE
- 12. JAMES C. WRIGHT JR.
- 13. GRAHAM PURCELL
- 14. JOHN YOUNG
- 15. JOE M. KILGORE
- ✓ 16. Ed Foreman
- 17. OMAR BURLESON
- 18. WALTER ROGERS
- 19. GEORGE H. MAHON
- 20. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
- 21. O. C. FISHER
- 22. BOB CASEY

**UTAH**

- ✓ 1. Laurence J. Burton
- ✓ 2. Sherman P. Lloyd

**VERMONT**

AL Robert T. Stafford

**VIRGINIA**

1. THOMAS N. DOWNING
2. PORTER HARDY JR.
3. J. VAUGHAN GARY
4. WATKINS M. ABBITT
5. WILLIAM M. TUCK
6. Richard H. Poff
- ✓ 7. JOHN O. MARSH JR.
8. HOWARD W. SMITH
9. W. PAT JENNINGS
10. Joel T. Broynhill

**WASHINGTON**

1. Thomas M. Pelly
2. Jack Westland
3. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
4. Catherine May
5. Walt Horan
6. Thor C. Tollefson
- ✓ 7. K. William Stinson

**WEST VIRGINIA**

1. Arch A. Moore Jr.
2. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
3. JOHN M. SLACK JR.
4. KEN HECHLER
5. ELIZABETH KEE

**WISCONSIN**

1. Henry C. Schadeberg
2. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
3. Vernon W. Thompson
4. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
5. HENRY S. REUSS
6. William K. Van Pelt
7. Melvin L. Laird
8. John W. Byrnes
9. LESTER R. JOHNSON
10. Alvin E. O'Konski

**WYOMING**

AL William Henry Harrison

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

BY STATE

Democrats 67 — Republicans 33

**ALABAMA**

LISTER HILL  
JOHN J. SPARKMAN

**ALASKA**

E. L. (Bob) BARTLETT  
ERNEST GRUENING

**ARIZONA**

CARL HAYDEN  
Barry Goldwater

**ARKANSAS**

J. W. FULBRIGHT  
JOHN L. McCLELLAN

**CALIFORNIA**

CLAIR ENGLE  
Thomas H. Kuchel

**COLORADO**

✓ Peter H. Dominick  
Gordon Allott

**CONNECTICUT**

THOMAS J. DODD  
✓ ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

**DELAWARE**

John J. Williams  
J. Caleb Boggs

**FLORIDA**

SPESSARD L. HOLLAND  
GEORGE A. SMATHERS

**GEORGIA**

RICHARD B. RUSSELL  
HERMAN E. TALMADGE

**HAWAII**

✓ DANIEL K. INOUE  
Hiram L. Fong

**IDAHO**

FRANK CHURCH  
Len B. Jordan

**ILLINOIS**

PAUL H. DOUGLAS  
Everett McKinley Dirksen

**INDIANA**

R. VANCE HARTKE  
✓ BIRCH BAYH

**IOWA**

Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
Jack Miller

**KANSAS**

Frank Carlson  
James B. Pearson

**KENTUCKY**

John Sherman Cooper  
Thruston B. Morton

**LOUISIANA**

ALLEN J. ELLENDER  
RUSSELL B. LONG

**MAINE**

EDMUND S. MUSKIE  
Margaret Chase Smith

**MARYLAND**

J. Glenn Beall  
✓ DANIEL B. BREWSTER

**MASSACHUSETTS**

✓ EDWARD M. KENNEDY  
Leverett Saltonstall

**MICHIGAN**

PHILIP A. HART  
PAT McNAMARA

**MINNESOTA**

EUGENE J. McCARTHY  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

**MISSISSIPPI**

JOHN STENNIS  
JAMES O. EASTLAND

**MISSOURI**

STUART SYMINGTON  
EDWARD V. LONG

**MONTANA**

MIKE MANSFIELD  
LEE METCALF

**NEBRASKA**

Roman L. Hruska  
Carl T. Curtis

**NEVADA**

HOWARD W. CANNON  
ALAN BIBLE

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Norris Cotton  
✓ THOMAS J. McINTYRE

**NEW JERSEY**

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS  
Clifford P. Case

**NEW MEXICO**

✓ Edwin L. Mechem  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON

**NEW YORK**

Kenneth B. Keating  
Jacob K. Javits

**NORTH CAROLINA**

B. EVERETT JORDAN  
SAM J. ERVIN JR.

**NORTH DAKOTA**

QUENTIN N. BURDICK  
Milton R. Young

**OHIO**

STEPHEN M. YOUNG  
FRANK J. LAUSCHE

**OKLAHOMA**

✓ J. HOWARD EDMONDSON  
A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

**OREGON**

WAYNE MORSE  
MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Hugh Scott  
JOSEPH S. CLARK

**RHODE ISLAND**

JOHN O. PASTORE  
CLAIBORNE PELL

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

OLIN D. JOHNSTON  
STROM THURMOND

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

✓ GEORGE McGOVERN  
Karl E. Mundt

**TENNESSEE**

ALBERT GORE  
ESTES KEFAUVER

**TEXAS**

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH  
John G. Tower

**UTAH**

FRANK E. MOSS  
Wallace F. Bennett

**VERMONT**

Winston L. Prouty  
George D. Aiken

**VIRGINIA**

HARRY FLOOD BYRD  
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

**WASHINGTON**

HENRY M. JACKSON  
WARREN G. MAGNUSON

**WEST VIRGINIA**

ROBERT C. BYRD  
JENNINGS RANDOLPH

**WISCONSIN**

WILLIAM PROXMIRE  
✓ GAYLORD A. NELSON

**WYOMING**

GALE McGEE  
✓ Milward L. Simpson

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 7

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose a check for one-half of my 1963 contribution to be used in support of the Washington Operations of the Council. (If you have already sent an initial contribution, please deduct it from this check).

I do not enclose a check at this time but I intend to become a regular or contributing supporter of the Council at a later date.

I wish to be billed monthly in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ <sup>one dollar</sup> and I do (do not) ~~enclose my first monthly installment.~~

\* \* \* \* \*

I understand that the Council intends to set up a bank account in trust for three of the seven Senators listed below who are coming up for re-election in 1964, and I am prepared to consider making in the fall a campaign contribution in the amount of about one-half of my total contribution for this year. *to one of the three.*

*including*

I have a marked personal preference for: (check one or two!)

- |                                     |                    |                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Quentin N. Burdick | - North Dakota |
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Albert Gore        | - Tennessee    |
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Philip A. Hart     | - Michigan     |
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Frank E. Moss      | - Utah         |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Gale W. McGee      | - Wyoming      |
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Edmund S. Muskie   | - Maine        |
| <input type="checkbox"/>            | Eugene J. McCarthy | - Minnesota    |

I am not prepared to make a campaign contribution in 1963 and would prefer instead to support some other project which the Council may have in preparation at present, provided that project meets with my approval.

*at this time*

I am not in a position to contribute substantially to the support of the Council, but I wish to remain on your mailing list, and I enclose \$10 to cover the expenses of the Council's mailings.

in cash       in check

*Enclosures: Speech  
Editorial  
Study paper*

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD - 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose a check for one-half of my 1963 contribution to be used in support of the Washington Operations of the Council. *(If you have sent a check this year deduct ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~already~~ amount on this occasion)*

*3 months to be billed monthly and I do not want in the amount of \$1000, are coming up monthly installment*

I understand that the Council intends to set up bank accounts in trust for three of the Senators listed below who are running for re-election in 1964, and I am prepared to consider making, in the Fall of this year, a campaign contribution in the amount of about one-half of my total contribution for 1963.

I have a marked personal preference for: (check one or two!)

\_\_\_\_\_ Quentin N. Burdick - North Dakota

\_\_\_\_\_ Albert Gore - Tennessee

\_\_\_\_\_ Philip A. Hart - Michigan

\_\_\_\_\_ Frank E. Moss - Utah

\_\_\_\_\_ Gale W. McGee - Wyoming

\_\_\_\_\_ Edmund S. Muskie - Maine

\_\_\_\_\_ Eugene J. McCarthy - Minnesota

I am not prepared to make a campaign contribution in 1963 and would prefer instead to support some other project which the Council may have in preparation at present, provided that project meets with my approval.

I would like to receive a copy of the Council's 1963 Action Program.

*I do not enclose a check at this time but I intend to be a regular or contributing supporter of the Council*

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Phone: 265-3800, ac 202

Dr. Sziland: I did not catch the error "who  
are running" until Questionnaire No. 1 was  
printed. Senators do not announce they are running



With the compliments of the Council.

for re-election until August of election  
year in order to retain their right to free  
time on radio + tv which they are not  
entitled to once they have become candidates.

*Lift* ↑ COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD - 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. ↑

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

*Insert  
9A* →

I enclose a check for one-half of my 1963 contribution to be used in support of the Washington Operations of the Council.

I enclose a check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_. I would like to be billed  $\frac{\text{bi-monthly}}{\text{monthly}}$  in this amount.

I do not enclose a check but would like to be billed  $\frac{\text{bi-monthly}}{\text{monthly}}$  in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

\* \* \*

I understand that the Council intends to set up a bank account in trust for three of the Senators listed below who ~~will be running~~ *come up* for re-election in 1964, and I am prepared *never* to consider making, in the fall, a campaign contribution in the amount of about one-half of my total contribution for this year.

I have a marked personal preference for: (check one or two!)

- |       |                    |                |
|-------|--------------------|----------------|
| _____ | Quentin N. Burdick | - North Dakota |
| _____ | Albert Gore        | - Tennessee    |
| _____ | Philip A. Hart     | - Michigan     |
| _____ | Frank E. Moss      | - Utah         |
| _____ | Gale W. McGee      | - Wyoming      |
| _____ | Edmund S. Muskie   | - Maine        |
| _____ | Eugene J. McCarthy | - Minnesota    |

I am not prepared to make a campaign contribution in 1963 and would prefer instead to support some other project which the Council may have in preparation at present, provided that project meets with my approval.

I am not in a position to contribute substantially to the support of the Council, but I wish to remain on your mailing list and I enclose \$10 to cover the expenses of the Council's mailings.

in cash       in check

Please take me off your mailing list.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 7

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose a check for one-half of my 1963 contribution to be used in support of the Washington Operations of the Council. (If you have already sent an initial contribution, please deduct it from this check).

I do not enclose a check at this time but I intend to become <sup>either</sup> a regular or contributing supporter of the Council at a later date.

I wish to be billed monthly in the amount of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

\* \* \* \* \*

I understand that the Council intends to set up ~~bank accounts~~ bank accounts in trust for three of the seven Senators listed below, who are coming up for re-election in 1964, and I am prepared to consider making a campaign contribution, in the Fall, to one of the three, in the amount of about one-half of my total contribution in support of the Council for 1963.

I have a marked personal preference for: (check one or two!)

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Quentin N. Burdick | - North Dakota |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Albert Gore        | - Tennessee    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Philip A. Hart     | - Michigan     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frank E. Moss      | - Utah         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gale W. McGee      | - Wyoming      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Edmund S. Muskie   | - Maine        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Eugene J. McCarthy | - Minnesota    |

I am not prepared to make a campaign contribution in <sup>the fall of</sup> 1963 and would prefer instead to support some other project which the Council may have in preparation at present, provided that project meets with my approval. [Signature]

\* \* \* \* \*

I am not in a position to contribute substantially to the support of the Council at this time, but I wish to remain on <sup>in</sup> ~~your~~ <sub>the</sub> mailing list.

1. I would like to become a Supporter of the Council.
2. I would like to become a Supporter of the Council and I enclose my initial contribution.
3. I am interested in the objectives of the Council. Please send me further information.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

*National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Phone: 265-3800, ac 202*



- I would like to become a Supporter of the Council.  
My initial contribution is enclosed.
  
- I am interested in the objectives of the Council.  
Please send me further information.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

Playboy (4.5 million)

Esquire (650,000)

Hobby day 600,000

25 x 75,000

250,000 Nat News x

300,000 Sci News

Nat News

Nat News (no)

United Federalist (16,000)

Same 15,000

Great Irons Discussion IV (25,000)

Committee for Correspondence

Same (19,000)

100,000

Hobby day



24

750 00

24 | 000

50 | 000

Grabstein  
Kornberg

*Importkont*

Hoguess

Holman

Lederberg

Hofstadter

Meyerhof

Finn

Spaeth

Schiff

---

Rickey's , 12:30, Thursday.

*Important*

NATIONAL COUNSEL ASSOCIATES

SUITE 309

1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

MAURICE ROSENBLATT

SENIOR PARTNER

GAEL M. SULLIVAN

Bill Clayton

Lawrence R.

Mrs Kampelman

Francis Fayer

Robert Hiskungh

Davenport Fortune

Flanders

Summer Pike

Hans J. Worgutha

Kistly

Braunpfeffer

[Braunman]

Barry Bingham

Lloyd Garrison

*Arthur T. Baker Alexander  
Thomas B. Watson Jr  
Advised*

*Goldwasser*

The attached transcript of a speech by Leo Szilard has recently come to our attention. We have read the speech with great interest, and have found in his proposals an idea which we feel merits careful consideration and possibly support. We have had his speech duplicated on our own initiative in order that his ideas be made more generally available at this time.

If, like ourselves, you feel inclined to probe further the possibility of a Movement of the kind envisaged by Szilard, we urge you to write to Szilard at Hotel Dupont Plaza, Washington, D. C.

E. L. Goldwasser  
David Pines

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



## WASHINGTON BULLETIN

January-February 1964

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: *Co-Chairmen*, WILLIAM DOERING, LEO SZILARD; *Officers*: BERNARD T. FELD, *President*; ALLAN FORBES, JR., *Vice-President*; DANIEL M. SINGER, *Secretary-Treasurer*; *DIRECTORS*: RUTH ADAMS, MAURICE S. FOX, JEROME FRANK, MARGARET BRENNAN GIBSON, MORTON GRODZINS, MATTHEW MESELSON, JAMES G. PATTON, ARTHUR PENN, CHARLES PRATT, JR.

### Toward a Meaningful Agreement on Arms Control: The "Minimal" Deterrent

A "Minimal" missile deterrent to replace the condition of "saturation parity" between the United States and the Soviet Union which is expected to exist in a few years is proposed in a new paper by Leo Szilard. The paper is being circulated among a number of key officials in the Administration (including the State Department, the Department of Defense, the White House) and a few selected Senators for comments and recommendations; the Council hopes to further press the issue by a variety of means. Advance copies are being provided to Supporters of the Council for their information, and the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists will publish the paper as an article in their March issue.

Dr. Szilard summarizes his paper as follows:

"Unless a decisive step is taken towards arms control, Russia might deploy before long anti-missile missiles around her rocket-launching sites and around her cities. This could lead to a new arms race in which the Administration might find itself forced to double, or triple, the number of Minutemen scheduled to be built, to deploy anti-missile missiles around our cities, and to embark on a fall-out shelter program for the protection of the inhabitants of our cities, at a cost of about \$50 billion.

"Economic considerations may slow Russia's build up of her anti-missile defenses sufficiently to make it possible for us as yet to avoid such a new arms race, by reaching an agreement with Russia on a cut-off in the production of bombs and rockets.

"Russia might perhaps agree to a production cut-off, as a first step, if America and Russia were to reach a meeting of the minds on reducing their strategic striking forces, step by step, to a 'minimal' level, just sufficient to inflict 'unacceptable damage' in a counterblow, if an atomic attack were extended to their territory.

"We have now reached the point when we can no longer use our strategic striking forces any longer as a deterrent, except as a deterrent against 'nuclear blackmail.' Moreover, we would be more secure if both Russia and we reduced these striking forces to a minimal level, provided that the measures of inspection adopted would be sufficient to give us assurance that Russia would not secretly retain a strategic striking force large enough to be capable of destroying a significant portion of the minimal striking forces we retain.

"In the course of the last year the Soviet Union has accepted our notion that America, as well as Russia, may retain a 'minimal' strategic striking force, for a period of years to be agreed upon, and that inspection shall not be limited to equipment which is to be destroyed, but be extended also to equipment which is being retained.

"We would have to explore whether the Russians mean the same thing as we do when they appear to accept the principle of the minimal deterrent. But before we can do this we must clarify our own minds on what we ourselves mean when we speak of this principle....

"An agreement based on the concept of the 'minimal deterrent' would provide for a step-by-step reduction of Russia's as well as America's strategic striking forces to a 'minimal level.' At this minimal level the Russians would be left in the legitimate possession of perhaps twelve rockets and bombs, up to three megatons each, which could reach their target. This would make it possible for them to demolish, in a counter-blow, twelve of our largest cities, totaling 25 million inhabitants. We would need to retain about forty bombs and rockets which could reach their target, in order to be capable of demolishing Russian cities totaling the same number of inhabitants.

"The Agreement ought to limit the size of the tactical bombs retained by America and Russia, to one kiloton and their number to about three hundred, on each side."

"The current superiority of our strategic striking forces is a rapidly vanishing asset. In a year or two Russia could absorb an all-out American attack, directed against her strategic air bases and missile bases of known location, and still retain a 'residual striking capacity' sufficient to demolish all of our cities of over 100,000. In other words, within a few years, the strategic striking forces of Russia may reach 'saturation parity' with those of America.

"Many people within the Administration know that we would be far more secure if both America and Russia agreed to reduce their strategic striking forces to the minimal level. Russia might agree if she could be assured that Germany will not have atomic bombs and that China would not build a substantial strategic striking force. Conceivably, China might be willing to cooperate if we were willing to create a de-nuclearized zone in the Far East and Southeast Asia.

\* \* \*

"We cannot have general disarmament without having a far-reaching political settlement, but the conclusion of an agreement based on the concept of the minimal deterrent need not await a political settlement in Europe, or elsewhere. Moreover, in view of the current estimates of Russia's conventional armies, such an agreement could be negotiated between America and Russia without including limitations on conventional arms which would involve other nations in a major way.

"Russia might agree to a production cut-off in bombs and rockets, in time to avert a nuclear arms race, if we reach a meeting of the minds with them on the concept of the minimal deterrent at an early date. If the conversations were carried far enough to convince them that an agreement could be negotiated without running into any major hitches, then the Russians might accept a production cut-off, even before an agreement based on the minimal deterrent is spelled out, with the i's dotted and the t's crossed.

\* \* \*

"What the Russians would accept and also what the Congress would accept depends on whether the Administration can make them understand the need to avoid a new arms race, the perils which we face in the current situation and the advantages that an agreement based upon the concept of the minimal deterrent would hold for all concerned.

"Unless it becomes possible somehow to arrange for greatly improved communications between the Administration and the Soviet Government, on the one hand, and between the Administration and the Congress, on the other hand, no decisive progress towards a meaningful agreement on arms control is going to be made. Instead, we may be taking a number of little steps, like the test ban, for instance. These little steps improve the international climate, but if nothing decisive is done before long, the climate may keep on improving and improving until there is a new crisis and, then we shall be back where we started from. To make progress is not enough, for if the progress is not fast enough, something is going to overtake us."

#### The 1964 Senatorial Elections

The response from Supporters to the Council's recommendations for the 1963 pre-elections support of incumbent candidates was exceptionally generous. The Council has transmitted (as of January 15) approximately \$13,000 to Senator Burdick, \$6,800 to Senator McGee, and \$6,700 to Senator Moss. In addition, approximately \$1,000 was received and transmitted for the other Senators suggested, and substantial contributions were made to the general funds of the Council. It is considered unusual for such sizable contributions to be made to candidates so far in advance of the election, and, needless to say, the recipients are highly gratified. (The Senators are writing personal letters to all donees.)

The Council will recommend additional candidates to support with 1964 contributions, but these recommendations cannot be made until late spring, when candidates declare themselves and election situations crystallize.

#### Assistance to Senators

The program of seminars for Senators and their aides continues. The Council has also volunteered to provide assistance to some Senators in preparing speech materials, and several requests for such help have been received.

#### Assistance to the President

The Council wrote to President Johnson shortly after he took office, offering its help and calling attention to its program and objectives. The Council has since also volunteered its services to President Johnson to prepare material for speeches during the 1964 presidential campaign.

#### Enlarging the Council's Support: Major Public Addresses

The Council hopes to sponsor major addresses, some by Senators, during the spring of 1964. Such addresses can bring the views of thoughtful persons as well as the activities of the Council to wider public attention. Several Senators have agreed to speak under the auspices of the Council, and speeches in certain major cities are now being planned.

The Hearings on Disarmament and the Economy

The hearings on the economic impact of arms reduction on the U.S. economy, which the Council was instrumental in initiating, were held from November 6 through December 5 by the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower (Joseph Clark, Chairman). Some interest within the government has thus been generated on the economics of reconversion of defense industries to civilian production and the problem of automation, and further government action--namely, empowering a federal council to consider the subject--is expected. John Silard (General Counsel of the Council for a Livable World) acted as special consultant to Senator Clark; his report to the Board of Directors of the Council on the hearings, together with an analysis of the hearings and some excerpts from the testimony, will be provided to Supporters.

No Tax Deduction

There have recently been a number of inquiries to the Council on the status of contributions for federal income tax purposes. The Council for a Livable World is a non-profit organization, but it is a political rather than an educational organization, and, therefore, contributions to its fund, just as those to political candidates, are not deductible from the federal income tax.

Council for a Livable World  
301 Dupont Circle Building  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

# **COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD**

*National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Phone: 265-3800, ac 202*

Drew Pearson  
1313 29th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

AD. 2-4321

Holmes Alexander

# Cold War Comes Into Wyoming

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Wyoming is only one of 35 states to elect a Senator in 1964, but a case can be made to call it a microcosm, an America-in-miniature.

This is true because the incumbent, Sen. Gale McGee (D), has run up distress signals, claiming himself under attack by the John Birch Society. He has gotten some mileage out of this claim—it has attracted the sympathetic attention of liberal columnists and of the anti-extremists.

That in itself could not make the Wyoming election a national incident, but McGee's candidacy is now being backed with his avowed approval by an extremist outfit on the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, the Council for a Liveable World.

For perfect laboratory conditions of the test case, it would help if McGee, who's a professional rather than political type, were further identified. For example, at President Johnson's first "live" television press conference, the question arose as to whether reporters should give their names before asking questions.

## Good Guy or Bad Guy

It was jokingly proposed among us that the questioner, instead of botching with his name, should merely say whether he was a Good Guy or a Bad Guy. So, as a true word, though spoken in jest, let us say the outset that McGee is a Good Guy, whose worthiness is a local issue. But the head-on clash in Wyoming between the Birch Society and the Liveable World Council should be some wide examination.

The society is headed by Robert Welch, whose ideas are too well known to need explanation here. The council is headed by Dr. Leo Szilard, actually its co-chairman, who is not less outspoken than Welch but who has yet to become a household word for polemic politics. Yet a candidate who accepts Welch's backing should not, in my view, be held more responsible for the company he keeps than one who accepts Szilard's backing.

Leo Szilard, Hungarian-born, is one of many intellectuals who were refugees from Hitler. Like others of his bent, Szilard participated in making the A-bomb to incinerate Fascists, but he doesn't feel the same way about incinerating Communists. While the Axis was intolerable to Dr. Szilard and to others holding his views they are willing to tolerate a worse evil in communism. They aim to make the world not free, but "liveable." They are among the first to condemn anti-Communists for asserting that any "means" are justified if they achieve the "end" of exposing and defeating the Red menace. But some of the "means" by which Dr. Szilard would make the world "liveable" with communism will leave Americans aghast.

*aghast.*

Specifically, there is the Disarmament plan that Dr. Szilard put before the so-called Pugwash Conference of Free World and Communist scientists, which met in September, 1961, at Stowe, Vt. Among his ideas for policing a nuclear peace are these:

1. An informer system among Americans: The President would post a \$1 million tax-free award to any American who reported nuclear treaty violations to a U.N. Control Commission. To enable the squealer to become happily adjusted Szilard adds that "the recipient of such an award who wishes to enjoy . . . a life of leisure and luxury abroad . . . would not be hampered by currency restrictions . . ."

2. A head-hunt system: A U.N. Peace Court, following a barbaric precedent of the Middle Ages, would pass the death sentence upon any American citizen or government official deemed guilty of violating "peace." In almost incredible savagery Szilard told this international group, which included some vicious enemies of America that:

"The court could deputize any and all Americans to try and execute the sentence. An American citizen killing an 'outlaw' could not be legally tried for murder in an American court, inasmuch as the treaty . . . would be 'law of the land'."

## Situation Can Be Remedied

Whether this sort of gabble comes from an unbalanced mind, or from a kindly scientist talking of matters out of a field, or from a genuine "hater" of the American Constitution and people, or from a gargantuan hoaxster, it is about to be injected into the Wyoming campaign.

The situation could be remedied if McGee would repudiate the support of Dr. Szilard and the Council, just as many candidates have repudiated the support of the Society and Robert Welch. This McGee has declined to do in an interview with me. Or, if the Council members could publicly dissociate themselves from Dr. Szilard, just as many Birch members have done in regard to Mr. Welch.

But in the absence of such repudiation and dissociation, Wyoming will show what could happen (and, under the surface, may be happening) in many states where the desperate conflict of the Cold War has come home to America.

*appears for his part*

**Holmes Alexander**

# Nuclear Fears For Safeguards

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, a skeptical supporter of the test-ban-treaty, has been visiting our nuclear laboratories to check up on our nuclear vigilance in the wake of the treaty which the Senate ratified last autumn.

## Wants Full-Scale Investigation

Jackson is asking the Preparedness Subcommittee, of which he is a member, to follow up his check with a full-scale investigation of the Four Safeguards which the Kennedy-Johnson Administration is pledged to observe. In convenient shorthand, the safeguards are:

1. Stepped up underground testing to compensate for the ban against atmospheric testing.
2. Maintenance of high efficiency and morale among scientists entrusted with our nuclear armament.
3. Readiness to resume atmospheric testing if the national interests require it.
4. Improved detection to insure against Soviet cheating on the treaty.

Jackson, a member of both the Armed Services and Atomic Energy committees, has "majored" in atomic legislation since coming to the House of Representatives in 1940, with time out for wartime Army service. His skepticism is that of an informed and concerned patriot who believes that the USA should keep a definite superiority, not a parity, in nuclear arms.

Here are some of the factors that are wrinkling his studious brow:

Coming from Washington State, where much of the employment depends upon the defense industries, Jackson is up for re-election with no strong opposition, except from the various peace-mongering organizations which like to tag him as a minion of the munitions lobby.

In 1962, one of these unilateral disarmament groups, The Council for A Liveable World, endorsed and financially supported the election of two Democratic senators, McGovern (S.D.) and Clark (Pa.). The Liveable (with Communism) Worlders, I am told by their executive director, Col. Henry Ashton Crosby, have endorsed four other Democrats for re-election this year: McGee (Wyo.), Burdick (N.D.), Moss (Utah) and McCarthy (Minn.). The Liveable Worlders have also supported the liberal Republicans, Javits (N.Y.) and Kuchel (Calif.). Thus there is in the Senate a perceptible and respectable nucleus of men who are beholden to a group that favors disarmament in the face of the enemy.

## Warning by Noted Physicist

Specifically, Dr. Leo Szilard, chairman of the Liveable Worlders and a noted pacifist-physicist, has testified on Capitol Hill against making the Safeguards too safe. He told the Foreign Relations Committee that "an extensive program of underground bomb testing" (Safeguard Number One) would not be "furthering the cause of peace," but that it would "be likely to do just the opposite."

Again, as part of the background for Jackson's skepticism, are charges by Congressman Craig Hosmer (R-Calif.) that the Defense Department is spending only "peanuts" in keeping up the Safeguards. Hosmer has peppered both JFK and LBJ with demands for hard

information, but up till now is not satisfied either with the general or detailed material that has been sent him.

Hosmer has a set of figures which show that the Four Safeguards require a round figure investment of one billion dollars, plus annual operating outlays of about \$250 million. Secretary McNamara has asked for a total Safeguard investment of only \$279.2 million for the coming fiscal year—far below Hosmer's calculation of what is required.

At the moment the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee is going into Senator Goldwater's charges that our long-range missiles are unreliable. After that, says Jackson, the Safeguards.

APR 9 1964

*By Miller*  
**Holmes Alexander Says:**

## Scientists Seeking More Power In Government

Washington

Back in 1959, Senator Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) debated Dr. Pasqual Jordan, a physics professor, on the subject whether scientists should go into politics.

The senator expressed what is probably a widely-held public opinion when he said of scientists in general: "They have often contributed, not to the enlightenment, but to the confusion of free men everywhere."

Like all generalizations, this one is subject to many exceptions, but it does point out a paradox of our times. Scientists seem to be more useful in a disciplined society than in a free one. A reason that applies only to this generation may be that so many of our top scientists are immigrants or refugees. They have brought with them—and have passed along to their students—either an unrealistic vision that intellectual liberty means license, or an idea that scientific eminence gives them a loyalty to "humanity" above that to this country.

In any event, we've had too many post-war examples of scientists who held themselves, and their judgments, superior to our national security laws. If there is a distrust in the political soundness of scientific thinking, it is not entirely unjustified. But as a result of this distrust, and exclusion from political positions of power, we now find scientists who feel themselves, or their ideas rejected, pressing for acceptance.



Alexander

### *Oppenheimer Gets Award*

It was this sort of pressure, brought upon President Kennedy, which caused him, and later President Johnson, to assist in the rehabilitation of J. Robert Oppenheimer, the atomic physicist who was removed from government work as a security risk. The Kennedy inner circle arranged for Oppenheimer to receive the coveted Fermi Award.

In another thrust for power, Hungarian-born physicist Leo Szilard has spearheaded the Council for a Livable World in its backing of "peace-minded" political candidates. With the use of about \$12,000 in 1962 the council helped Democrat George McGovern win a 200-vote margin victory in the Republican state of South Dakota. Senator McGovern has since offered a bill for unilateral disarmament.

Also in 1962 the council backed Stuart Hughes, a "peace" candidate, for the Senate seat now held by Ted Kennedy. This year a protege of Szilard, Dr. Bernard Feld, is heading a drive to raise \$10 million to finance a slate of national candidates. It would aid the cause of scientists whose ideas have been excluded from national policy.

Thus, while the country at large would keep scientists on call, there is this movement to lift them, or their deputies, into more commanding positions, as is the case in Russia.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036, Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D.C.

## OFFICERS

BERNARD T. FELD *President*  
ALLAN FORBES, JR. *Vice-President*  
DANIEL M. SINGER *Secretary-Treasurer*  
H. ASHTON CROSBY *Executive Director*  
JOHN SZILARD *Counsel*

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Co-Chairmen:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
New Haven, Conn.  
LEO SZILARD  
Chicago, Ill.

May 10, 1964

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Readers of WAR/PEACE REPORT

We are sending you this memorandum on the assumption that you may be interested in joining with us in a concerted effort to halt the arms race and avoid nuclear war. About two years ago, when the Council was organized, the prospects seemed remote for agreement among the major powers on a limitation of nuclear armaments. At that time, a number of us joined with Dr. Leo Szilard--famed nuclear physicist and biophysicist, co-inventor with Enrico Fermi of the nuclear chain reaction and recipient in 1960 of the international Atoms for Peace award--in an active exploration of his proposals for an organization able to spark a new American initiative for negotiating nuclear disarmament and eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

The Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 served to remind us that the dangers of nuclear war are neither remote nor abstract. This realization has propelled the major nuclear powers into the first arms control agreements--the hot-line between Moscow and Washington and the partial test ban treaty. More recently, unilateral actions on both sides have resulted in a slowing down of the rate of accumulation of thermonuclear weapons and in minor cuts in our respective military budgets, with a detectable relaxation in the international atmosphere.

Today there is a wide spread feeling that the arms race is reaching "saturation"--that both we and the Russians are rapidly approaching a stalemate in nuclear destructiveness, where neither side could under any conceivable circumstances hope to "win" a nuclear war. However, this stalemate is not stable--in view of the inevitability that other nations will achieve independent nuclear weapons capabilities, and also because new technological developments are certain to lead to demands for new and different nuclear weapons and weapons systems--unless the major nuclear powers, followed by other nations, can arrive at a workable and verifiable agreement limiting the numbers and types of thermonuclear weapons.

The Council for a Livable World is set up for the purpose of supporting those enlightened members of the Administration and the Congress, and their number is by no means negligible, who want to work toward this goal.

RUTH ADAMS  
Chicago, Ill.  
BERNARD T. FELD  
Cambridge, Mass.  
ALLAN FORBES, JR.  
Cambridge, Mass.  
MAURICE S. FOX  
Cambridge, Mass.  
JEROME D. FRANK  
Baltimore, Md.  
MARGARET BRENNAN GIBSON  
Stockbridge, Mass.  
MORTON GRODZINS  
Chicago, Ill.  
MATTHEW MESELSON  
Cambridge, Mass.  
JAMES G. PATTON  
Denver, Colo.  
ARTHUR PENN  
New York, N.Y.  
CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
DANIEL M. SINGER  
Washington, D.C.

The Council's primary aim is to bring to Washington and to consult with and support an ever-increasing number of enlightened Senators who understand the consequences and needs of this nuclear age and are willing to exert continuing and effective pressure for the achievement of responsible measures of arms control and disarmament.

Our plan for accomplishing this aim is simple. It is based on the fact that 10,000 people, having an average income of \$10,000 and willing to devote one or two per cent of their income to political campaign contributions, could provide an amount of one million to two million dollars a year toward the election of good Senators and Representatives. Such amounts, if wisely spent, could have profound effects on the composition of Congress and on its attitudes as well as those of the Administration.

The Council for a Livable World with the help of a panel of political advisors in Washington, determines those political contests in which its supporters' contributions could have a significant effect toward the election of candidates whom we are prepared to support; it advises its supporters as to where their contributions would be most effective; and it then acts as an agent for transmitting checks from our supporters, made out directly to the candidate.

The Council also organizes seminars for Congressmen and their aids on the vital questions of the nuclear age, and brings to Washington scientists and other knowledgeable individuals to discuss these problems with Congressmen.

The Board of Directors of the Council contains eminent scientists, scholars and men well-versed in practical problems. It includes Leo Szilard; William Doering, Director of the Division of Sciences, Yale University; Dr. Matthew Meselson, Professor of Molecular Biology, Harvard University; and James G. Patton, President of the National Farmer's Union.

In the 1962 Congressional election the Council recommended to those who sought its advice to concentrate their campaign contributions on three Senatorial candidates. The Council transmitted over \$20,000 to George McGovern, former Director of President Kennedy's Food-For-Peace Program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years. To two other Senatorial candidates, the Council transmitted over \$10,000 and \$4,000 respectively, and both of them were elected.

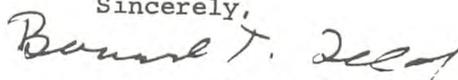
In the Fall of 1963 a total of \$30,000 was transmitted to three incumbent Senators, Burdick, Moss and McGee, to enable them to get an early start in their re-election campaigns. The newsletter enclosed, while not the most recent, illustrates Council activities in the political field. A newsletter to be issued about 1 May will contain further Council recommendations on Congressional candidates.

On the basis of the experience gained so far, we are inclined to believe that the Council could become the most effective public-interest lobby in Washington by the time the number of its supporters reaches 10,000.

We realize that we are asking for a substantial commitment, i.e., 2% of your annual income or 1%, or \$100, forwarded annually, semi-annually, bi-monthly or monthly as you prefer. We do this knowingly with the conviction that such contributions can have an important impact in Washington. We realize too that \$100 for many individuals is an impossibility. We ask these individuals to contribute what they can, with a minimum of \$10 per annum to remain on our mailing list and cover costs of preparation and mailing.

If you believe that you might be interested in becoming a supporter of the Council, please fill out the enclosed form and mail it to the Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. A pre-paid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,



Bernard T. Feld,  
President

## ALICE IN WONDERLAND

Mr. McGOVERN. Madam President recently I read an account in the Omaha World Herald, written by an Alice Widener, for a publication called U.S. Ingressional Record — SENATE have never heard of either Alice Widener or her publication, but after reading her article I believe it should be entitled "Alice in Wonderland."

Actually, her account as printed in the Omaha paper is entitled "How Lefties Aided McGOVERN."

The article then proceeds to attack the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and me because we had the campaign support of the Council for a Livable World.

The Senator from Pennsylvania, who first came to national prominence as the courageous, effective, and hard-hitting reform mayor of Philadelphia, needs no defense. For myself, I am proud of the confidence which the council demonstrated in my candidacy in 1962. Their membership is composed of some of the Nation's greatest and most respected scientists, including those who developed our nuclear defense capability. They happen to be scientists with a conscience who believe that they have a political responsibility as citizens along with the rest of us.

They have pledged a percentage of their income to be used to support those candidates that they believe will make a worthwhile contribution to the cause of peace. In my case their contributions were made through a committee of Washington friends.

Although "Alice in Wonderland" somehow imagines that anyone who favors a livable world must be a "lefty" or a "pacifist," to use her words, the members of the council are neither. They do not favor unilateral disarmament, as she falsely asserts, nor are they pacifists. Indeed, their executive director, Col. Ashton Crosby, has just completed a distinguished career as an officer in the U.S. Army. If the council members were pacifists, they would hardly have backed me—a World War II pilot with a record of 35 bombing missions.

Writing in reply to another groundless attack, Colonel Crosby has stated:

The council is not a pacifist organization, neither the directors nor I as a retired regular officer with the well-being and security of our country foremost in mind, would ever advocate pacifism or unilateral disarmament.

As the council becomes more effective in its operations—

Writes the colonel—

it will come under attack increasingly from those groups or individuals who for one reason or another are opposed to all measures leading to the easing of international tensions and arms limitations. The council recognizes this as a measure of its success.

One of the most ridiculous points raised by Alice Widener is her question: "Do the people of South Dakota know they have the Council for a Livable World to thank for their first Democratic Senator in 26 years?"

The answer to that silly question is that the people of South Dakota are not so easily fooled as Miss Widener. It is a cheap insult to the intelligence of South Dakota voters to suggest that their votes are for sale to anyone. South Dakotans are much better equipped, it seems to me, to evaluate their candidates for public office than is Miss Widener, scroung-

ing through her New York office for something to write about.

I was born in the State of South Dakota. I have lived there all my life. I believe the people of that State are fully capable of evaluating both my faults and my strengths.

I have waged four, hard, uphill campaigns in what is normally a Republican State, always with a much smaller campaign budget than any one of my opponents.

Although Miss Widener may find this hard to grasp from her vantage point in New York City, I have won three of those four campaigns.

I imagine that Miss Widener somehow feels that she is contributing to my political defeat as obliging Republican editors, such as the Omaha editor, reprint her material. But I suspect that the voters of South Dakota will again look carefully at my weaknesses as well as whatever strengths and merits I may possess. I hope that by 1968 they will find the merit list to be a little longer than the list of mistakes.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the Omaha World Herald, to which I have referred, and written by Miss Widener, a letter to me dated May 13, 1964, written by Colonel Crosby the executive director of the Council for a Livable World, as well as a letter to the editor of an Omaha paper written by Mr. H. V. Jorgensen, a contractor of Winner, S. Dak., may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### HOW LEFTIES AIDED McGOVERN

(By Alice Widener)

I thought I was relatively immune to political shock—but what I've just found out in a letter addressed "To Readers of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists" from a thingumajig called "Council for a Livable World" is the living end.

Hold your hats, hang on to your right senses, and let me tell you the tale of this Council for a Livable World which, according to its letter dated April 24, 1964, is a lobby for the election of "good" Senators and Representatives, and which "acts as an agent for transmitting checks from our supporters, made out directly to the candidate."

The confessed activities of this council ought to clear away any sentimental illusions about the intellectual independence of certain liberal Senators who call for thinking unthinkable thoughts and for the "reform" of Congress as an outdated hindrance to the executive and the intellectual elite.

Among the holler-than-thou critics of Congress has been Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, a strong supporter of the leftwing Fund for the Republic.

Here is what the lobbying Council for a Livable World says about Senator CLARK on page 4 of its January-February 1964 Washington bulletin that was mailed out to readers of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

"The hearings on the economic impact of arms reduction on the U.S. economy, which the council was instrumental in initiating, were held from November 6 through December 5 by the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower (JOSEPH CLARK, chairman) \* \* \* John Sillard (general counsel of the Council for Livable World) acted as special consultant to Senator CLARK."

The Council for a Livable World is all for banning the bomb, for a minimal nuclear deterrent, and for other pacifist programs leading to unilateral U.S. disarmament. Its board of directors includes such leftwingers as Dr. Leo Szilard, Bernard T. Feld, Jerome D. Frank, James G. Patton and others.

What shocks me is that this lobby not only initiated the hearings held by Senator JOSEPH CLARK, but also its paid counsel acted as special consultant to the Senator. What intellectual objectivity.

Can you imagine the howls of outrage among liberals if counsel for the American Medical Association were to act as special consultant to the chairman of the Senate committee studying medicare?

Here's more about the Council for a Livable World. Its April 24 letter to readers of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists states:

"In the 1962 congressional election, the council transmitted over \$20,000 to GEORGE McGOVERN, former Director of President Kennedy's food-for-peace program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years."

Do the people of South Dakota know they have the Council for a Livable World to thank for their first Democratic Senator in 26 years?

At any rate, if you read the council's letter and bulletin, you will quickly catch on to what its "peace" proposals are. Why not find out about this lobby for yourself? Its address is 301 Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD,

Washington, D.C., May 13, 1964.

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR McGOVERN: I have been asked by a number of Senators within the past few months as to what precisely the council stands for and what it is trying to do. Essentially the council is striving to further the development of interest between the scientific and political communities in the area of foreign affairs and, by recommending financial support to intelligent and thoughtful persons running for the Senate, contribute in some measure to constructive U.S. foreign and defense policies.

The council is an organization devoted to developing realistic and practical programs in the fields of arms control and the easing of international tensions, taking into consideration the national and international political climate. The council stresses the concept of responsibility and is well aware of the practicalities and limitations inherent in disarmament negotiations and the necessities of safeguarding our national security. Our programs are advanced within this context.

During the past few months the council has been under attack by columnist Holmes Alexander. His remarks have included the following statements:

That the council is an extremist group favoring unilateral disarmament.

That the council favors disarmament in the face of the enemy.

That the council backed Stuart Hughes in the 1962 Massachusetts Senate election.

The council never, at any time, recommended or solicited support for Mr. Hughes. The council has never at any time advocated unilateral disarmament or disarming in the face of the enemy.

The council is not a pacifist organization. Neither the directors nor I as a retired regular officer with the well-being and security of our country foremost in mind, would ever advocate pacifism or unilateral disarmament.

May 16  
1964

As the council becomes more effective in its operations, it will come under attack increasingly from those groups or individuals who for one reason or another are opposed to all measures leading to the easing of international tensions and arms limitations. The council recognizes this as a measure of its success.

Sincerely,

H. ASHTON CROSBY,  
Executive Director.

MAY 11, 1964.

EDITOR THE PUBLIC PULSE,  
Omaha World Herald  
Omaha, Nebr.

DEAR SIR: Just finished reading good old "Nightmare Alice" Widener's knife-thrusting article about GEORGE MCGOVERN. I am checking on the council, as it is the first time I ever heard of it, but I do feel that it is my duty to inform the readers of your paper that the Council for a Livable World did not elect our first Democratic Senator in 26 years, as she states.

The voters of South Dakota elected Mr. MCGOVERN, by going to the polls and casting their vote for the man of their choice. I realize that many of "Nightmare Alice's" group do not have much truck in this practice of letting the common man vote, as they do not consider the average citizen capable of self-rule, but fortunately they have not yet rewritten the Constitution of the United States of America.

Incidentally, you have a fine newspaper, and give excellent news coverage for the whole Midwest.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY V. JORGENSEN.

Mr. CLARK. Madam President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Madam President, I congratulate the Senator from South Dakota on the statement he has just made.

It occurs to me that Alice Widener, whom my friend the Senator from South Dakota so aptly compares to Alice in Wonderland, must have been spending quite a bit of time in her New York office talking to the Mad Hatter. I can think of no other way in which she could have become so grossly misinformed.

I share the admiration expressed by the Senator from South Dakota for the Council for a Livable World, and for their brilliant executive director, World War II veteran, Col. H. Ashton Crosby, who has an outstanding record in combat—as does the Senator from South Dakota.

I do not know whether I regret it or not. I never got into combat, but I spent 4 years in the Air Force in the China-Burma-India theater and was quite glad to get back with a whole skin.

This kind of cheap demagoguery indulged in in this column, I am happy to say, has no effect whatever in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

It was tried in my election of 1962, when I was accused by right wingers and Birchites, and indeed by some who cannot be fairly categorized, as being soft on communism, soft on Red Cuba, soft on Red China, and as the unilateral disarmament candidate, the effort being made to hold me up to contempt.

I am happy to recall to my colleagues in the Senate that while our Democratic candidate for the governorship in that

election was unfortunately defeated by some 450,000 votes, I was able to surmount this rightwing hate tide and still win by a majority of 103,000.

I am delighted to have had the support of so fine an organization as the Council for a Livable World, which favors general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law. I strongly join in such a program, as did President Kennedy, and President Eisenhower before him, under the leadership of Christian Herter, his Secretary of State, and as does President Johnson. It would indeed be a far more livable world if Miss Widener were to retire to private life and the program of the Council for a Livable World became a reality.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania for his helpful comment. I also thank the Senator from Mississippi for his courtesy in yielding to me.

#### "DISASTER AT HOME AND ABROAD"—"THE DOUBLE STANDARD" WHICH DISCRIMINATES AGAINST AMERICANS

During the delivery of Mr. EASTLAND's speech,

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield to me, with the understanding that my remarks will appear elsewhere, and that his parliamentary situation will not be prejudiced?

Mr. EASTLAND. I yield with that understanding.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, ever since the unprecedented earthquake disaster which struck my State of Alaska I have been urging the Federal agency which has the major share in making disaster loans to take advantage of the provisions of the Disaster Loan Act to give Alaskans economically ruined or seriously hurt the benefit of a low interest rate. The agency is the Small Business Administration. It is headed by a competent and dedicated public servant, Mr. Eugene Foley. I have the highest regard for him. He has been interested and active in his capacity as Disaster Loan Administrator ever since the March 22 earthquake and succeeding tidal waves, and for that I am appreciative and grateful.

However, we differ on one important policy question. He is making loans to disaster victims in Alaska at the maximum rate permitted by the act; namely, 3 percent. The act specifies that in cases of disaster, loans shall not exceed 3 percent. The act sets a maximum, but not a minimum. The Administrator could establish an interest rate at 2½ percent, 2 percent, 1½ percent, 1 percent, three-fourths of 1 percent, or no percent. He could make a loan without interest that would merely require repayment of principal.

Mr. Foley has admitted to me that he has that power. Moreover, it is clear from the text of the act that he has that power.

Furthermore, in a colloquy in which I engaged on the floor of the Senate last Wednesday with the distinguished senator Senator from South Carolina [Mr.

OLIN JOHNSTON], who was the author of the Disaster Loan Act, he made it clear that it was his intent and purpose that disaster loans be made at less than the maximum rate. His statement, which makes clear the legislative history, appears on pages 10479 and 10480 of the Record.

I have been urging Administrator Foley to give disaster-stricken Alaskans an interest rate of three-quarters of 1 percent. I have asked for that interest rate because that is the rate that our development loans to private industry are carrying in foreign countries. To date we have made loans totaling about \$1¼ billion to various private industries in Asia, Africa, South America, and indeed all over the world. We have made such loans to individuals and businesses that have suffered no disaster. It seems that we are going to continue to do so.

For only this week the House voted a \$312 million increase for the International Development Loan Association, which had previously been approved by the Senate. The House had rejected this earlier. But, in response to President Johnson's prodding, the House reversed its previous action and provided the additional millions for the so-called soft loans to be granted to private enterprise in foreign countries. Moreover, on these loans carrying interest at only three-quarters of 1 percent there is the additional bonanza of not requiring any repayment of principal for 10 years.

Now Mr. Foley has offered to give our Alaska disaster victims who want and need disaster loans in order to get back on their feet, a suspension of interest for 1 year and of capital repayment for 5 years. He has also offered to consolidate this loan with any previous loan made at a higher interest rate with the new one at 3 percent. So far, so good. But still these terms are obviously far less generous than those freely handed out abroad to enterprises which have suffered no disaster. I find this "double standard" incomprehensible. So I renew my request to Mr. Foley, and indeed to all the various Federal lending agencies which are being approached by our Alaska disaster victims. They, too, could establish interest rates lower than 3 percent.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GRUENING. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. I agree with the Senator. He says loans are made to Latin America at three-quarters of 1 percent. That is true. It is under the Alliance for Progress, and that is what it should be. That is what should be provided for Alaskans. But does the Senator realize that when the banks put their tab on it in Latin America and it gets to anybody's business or enterprise or home, the interest rate is 9 percent?

Mr. GRUENING. That is correct. The Senator may recall that in the earlier debate on foreign aid I sought to rectify that situation. I offered an amendment providing that when we loaned money at a certain rate of interest, the maximum rate of interest which could be added to it for reloaning to the

*File Council*

1 May 1964

*HAE*

CONFIDENTIAL

To: Board of Directors, Council for a Livable World  
From: B. T. Feld  
Re: Personal contacts with Senators

In connection with the last meeting of the Board, I had occasion to make a variety of personal contacts with Senators whom we are supporting or considering for support. I have been so impressed with the usefulness of such meetings that I propose to report briefly on my experiences, and to urge that all Directors should, if and whenever possible, make such personal contacts themselves. I must emphasize that I have not suddenly acquired any deep or intimate knowledge as a result of such a small effort. It will, of course, take considerable time before others can achieve the kind of working relationships with Senators as has been developed by Leo Szilard, Jim Patton and Ashton Crosby. But I am convinced that we must, all of us, assume more responsibility for personal acquaintance with the recipients of our support if we are to fulfill adequately our considerable responsibility in the disbursement of not insubstantial funds and political power. This conviction was reinforced by the obvious, and in most cases very genuine, welcome which was given me as a representative of the Council; a welcome, often expressed in words, reflecting the high regard and confidence in which our friends on the Hill hold us.

The first occasion was a session, in the Senate recording studio, at which Matt Meselson, Ashton Crosby and I engaged in a round-table discussion with Senators Church, McGee, McGovern, Nelson and Pell. The discussion ranged widely over a number of problems relating to disarmament and European settlement. It resulted in over an hour's worth of tape, out of which our Executive Director has made two half-hour broadcasts. These are very interesting tapes, and I urge all of you to listen to them and to consider how we can help Col. Crosby to have them widely broadcast. They will not only serve as propaganda for the Council, but they will have excellent educational value.

On another morning, Ruth Adams and I paid "courtesy calls" on Senators McGee, McGovern, Clark, McCarthy and Church. Our conversations ranged over a variety of subjects, political and substantive, and helped, I think, to establish or to maintain important contacts. It is, I think, vital that the Council should not become to the Senators a faceless organization.

Incidentally, on our visit to the office of Senator Clark we were innocent witnesses to a fascinating bit of political byplay, involving a last-minute attempt to prevent Judge Musmano from stealing the Pennsylvania primary for the Democratic Senatorial nomination from Mrs. Blatt, who was supported by Senator Clark. According to my present information, Mrs. Blatt won an unexpected victory by a very narrow margin. Just a few days before the primary, our Board decided to give Mrs. Blatt \$1000 for last-minute campaign expenses.

I also visited Senator Pell (R.I.) who had contributed impressively to the recording session discussion. Although he has not been previously associated with the Council, Senator Pell expressed real enthusiasm for our work.

I spent some time with Congressman Harding (Idaho) whose campaign for re-election to the House we are supporting. I was impressed with his interest in foreign policy issues and his knowledgeability in the fields of our interest. I believe we made a good choice in this candidate. If he wins, we will probably have a candidate for the Senate in 1966 whom we can enthusiastically support.

I also visited Congressman Montoya (New Mexico), opponent of Senator Mechem this year. In view of the fact that, if elected, he will be infinitely better than the incumbent, I do not feel we made a mistake in recommending his support; but we should not expect him to be another McGovern or Church or McGee. At best, he will be a mediocre Senator who can be expected to vote "right" on most issues of foreign policy supported by the present Administration.

Finally, Ashton Crosby and I visited Senator Prouty (Vermont), in order to acquaint him with the Council and to form an impression as to whether he might be a Republican whose election we could support. Mr. Prouty was not acquainted with the Council, though cautiously interested and willing to learn more about us. I got the impression of alertness and flexibility, and I think we should maintain this contact and consider him seriously for support, if he is interested.

My conclusion from the above is obvious: I regard activities of this type to be both educational and of immense importance to the future of the Council. It was a fascinating experience for me, and I strongly urge each of you to arrange a similar tour on your next trip to Washington.

CONFIDENTIAL

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

May 13, 1964

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: H. Ashton Crosby,  
Executive Director

SUBJECT: Senator Prouty

I called and spoke to Senator Prouty on May 13, 1964.

Senator Prouty stated that on the Senate floor he was shown a letter of the Council's which recommended support to Senator Prouty. This was a draft letter prepared in 25 copies and sent to the Board of Directors and Advisors prior to Dr. Feld's and my interview with Senator Prouty. As a result of our interview with Senator Prouty, his name was deleted from the letter which was dispatched to all supporters on 5 May. Consequently, the letter that Senator Prouty saw was one of the 21 dispatched unless the files of this office were rifled after hours, which is possible; somehow, I think imprctable. The leak is occurring scmeplace else.

We have now instituted here strict security procedures with bars and locks on our files and everything being put away at night. Hereafter all communications to you will be sent to your home and I would recommend that things be kept away from your offices for a while to see if we can dry up the source of these documents getting into the wrong hands.

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Commerce

May 12, 1964

Dr. Bernard T. Feld, President  
Council for a Livable World  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Doctor Feld:

You will recall that when you and Mr. Crosby spent a few minutes in my office a short time ago I stated quite specifically that I did not wish your organization to solicit campaign funds in my behalf.

Therefore, I was surprised to learn that in one of your recent circulars my name was mentioned as one to whom contributions might well be made.

While I am not unappreciative of this gesture, I do not feel it would be proper for me to accept contributions from members of any group unless I was fully conversant with its aims and objectives.

I shall, however, be very happy to receive any publications or pamphlets expressing your group's points of view on various major issues.

sincerely yours,

s/  
Winston L. Prouty  
United States Senator

May 15, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

MEMORANDUM

Holmes Alexander called again today and had a copy of the first draft of our Action Program from which he quoted me excerpts by page and paragraph. They were correct. He did not have the later revision of the draft. ~~which I forwarded to him.~~

He stated that he had been checking and that we had not filed under the Corrupt Practices Act but, fortunately, he slipped up on this because I had anticipated that this would be his next avenue of investigation and we had filed. He stated he was cross-checking membership names against the House Un-American Activities Subversive list and the FBI subversive list and had found names of our supporters on the 1962 list and still active members of the Communist party. He wanted to know if our list was published. When I said no, he said this made us out to be another secret organization equivalent to the Birchite organization. He said he was making a formal request for our membership list and that if we did not furnish it to him he would then so print.

I believe that we should have an Executive Committee meeting fairly quickly to decide what to do on this. If we don't furnish him a list and then he comes out with a few names who have contributed checks to us and who are active Communists, we are in serious trouble.

A second reporter called me today (reporter for a Salt Lake City newspaper based here in Washington). He stated that Alexander had written three columns in the past week on the Council and he wanted to know the facts. He was sympathetic and told me that there was a definite leak on Council materials because he had been in a Senator's office who had a copy of the draft Action Program, plus the Rodberg speech. I don't know whether this Senator's office is supplying Alexander with the information or vice versa.

I urge you again to really check carefully every piece of paper that comes from me that is marked "draft" or "Confidential" until we run this down. Until we do, I am afraid our activities will be severely circumscribed.

CONFIDENTIAL

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

May 13, 1964

TO: Board of Directors and Advisors

FROM: H. Ashton Crosby,  
Executive Director

SUBJECT: Conversation with Holmes Alexander

On 12 May Mr. Holmes Alexander telephoned me in response to the letter I had written him, a copy of which was sent to the Board of Directors.

Mr. Alexander stated that he thought that what the Council was doing was essentially dangerous in that we had a bunch of scientists and professors politically naive and unaware of the pitfalls of foreign policy trying to interject themselves into the formulation of U.S. foreign policy through the election of senators who, by and large, knew nothing of foreign policy themselves and due to the seniority system would not for a long time be in any position to learn anything about foreign policy. He thought that our giving of sums to those individuals was far out of line, that the amount of money we were giving was quite enormous and that the giving of this money definitely entailed an obligation on the part of the recipient. He also stated that in one instance he thought we had really picked one of the more stupid individuals possible: to wit, Burdick.

I asked Mr. Alexander where he had gotten his information on the Council and that we had contributed to Stuart Hughes, etc., and he said from a book written by Donald W. Cox, Chilton Book Company in Philadelphia, which lists all of the so-called peace organizations, and what they are doing.

I asked him how he knew that Mr. Rodberg had prepared a speech for Senator Burdick to be given in Syracuse. He somehow had a copy of the speech and he stated after reading it, he smelled a rat in the ACDA and after a day and a half of questioning in that organization he traced it to Rodberg. How he got a copy of the speech in the first place I do not know. I also asked him how he had gotten a copy of a letter that Senator Burdick had written us and he stated that he never did have a letter but that he had told Burdick he had a letter and showed him another letter which Burdick did not bother to read as he was so frightened that he simply accepted what Alexander had said. Alexander further said that he was going to continue writing about the Council.

*Sent to John Sillard 5/18/64*  
*Sent to Mr. Leo Szilard*  
*Please return*  
*Fill copy*  
*3/20/64*

From  
**THE MCNAUGHT SYNDICATE, INC.**  
60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

For release Tuesday, May 12, 1964

DISARMAMENT PROPAGANDA AT A PRICE - I

By Holmes Alexander

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Dr. Leonard S. Rodberg, a physicist, is employed by the State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency -- and thereby hangs a detective story.

As a suspicious reporter, I have worked up some curiosity about an outfit in Washington known as the Council For A Liveable World. The Council began life under the name of the Council to Abolish War. Its founder and co-chairman is Dr. Leo Szilard, a noted Hungarian-born physicist. He made a splash at the Pugwash Conference of 1961 by proposing his personal nuclear peace treaty. Under its terms, any American who violated the treaty would be declared an "outlaw" to be shot on sight, and any American who informed on an "outlaw" would be given a \$1 million tax-free award.

*Council not formed when Leo gave Pugwash speech*

After this extravagant keynote, the Council in 1962 set about to pour money into the campaigns of Senators who would support its program, among other things, to reduce Defense spending and "to work toward bringing (Red) China into the family of nations." The amount of \$22,000 was given by Council members to finance the South Dakota campaign of George McGovern (D) who had lost the 1960 Senate race to Senator Karl Mundt. This time McGovern, with the Council supplying 20 per cent of his funds, won by 600-odd votes, and he soon began introducing unilateral disarmament legislation.

*This is a quote from the draft program. It may not be in final version. It is not yet*

I recently discovered that the Council membership in 1963-64 had donated \$14,351.84 (thus far) to the campaign of another little-known Western Senator -- Quentin Burdick (D., N. D.), and that Burdick was expected by the Council to make a speech to its (Syracuse chapter) on May 5th.

*not be in final version. It is not yet course Council policy until action program approved.*

*We have no Syracuse chapter.*

Burdick tells me that he did not actually accept the Syracuse engagement, but that the Council sent him around a speech manuscript on approval. I managed to acquire a draft of the manuscript. Since it

*Field's copy visited Prouty → 10 May - Field*

read like a disarmament tract, I surmised that it had been prepared by the State Department, or its Disarmament Agency.

When I called the Disarmament Agency to ask if somebody there had prepared a speech entitled, "Prospects For Controlling the Arms Race", I received a flat denial. But after some sleuthing, I called again and, with some choice remarks on "managed news," I disclosed my information that the speech had indeed been prepared by the man whose name leads this column -- Dr. Leonard Rodberg. This time, the State Department's Disarmament Agency followed through and asked Dr. Rodberg. He admitted he'd written the speech at home in his private capacity, at the request of the Council.

There is my detective story, or part of it. When Senator Burdick declined to make the speech, although under a campaign fund obligation of better than \$14,000, [Senator McGovern (a \$22,000 beneficiary) contacted Senator Edmund Muskie (D., Maine) to whose re-election campaign the Council members have thus far given \$372.30. Muskie's name was substituted on the speech draft, but he declined to use it -- and ended up making a speech of his own at the Syracuse meeting.

*This is not so.*

*I asked Don Michel at Dan's through suggestion*

Well, what goes on here? A disarmament lobby is getting Senators on the financial hook. It is offering them prepared propaganda that is written by a State Department employee who is "moonlighting" for the Council. Do the Senators who take this campaign money know their sponsors?

"I hereby dissociate myself from Dr. Szilard," Burdick told me after thinking it over. "And I am making inquiries which may lead to renouncing the Council's support. I don't want to be unfair. I want to give the Council a chance to reply to my questions."

This seems a good note on which to end a chapter of the strange story on the Council, which wants us to inhabit a "liveable" world with Communism.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

*Please return*

From  
**THE MCNAUGHT SYNDICATE, INC.**  
60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

For release Wednesday, May 13, 1964

DISARMAMENT PROPAGANDA AT A PRICE -- 2

By Holmes Alexander

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Propaganda shops are all over Washington, and most of them are self-supporting -- but not so the State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which is tax-supported.

In a previous installment of this column series, I reported on a speech entitled, "Prospects For Controlling the Arms Race." It took some gumshoeing for me to discover that its author was Dr. Leonard Sidney Rodberg, who works in the Science and Technology division of this State Department Agency. The speech was offered first to Senator Burdick (D., N. D.) and later to Senator Muskie (D., Maine) for delivery before a Syracuse (N. Y.) chapter of the Council For A Liveable World, which is a Ban the Bomb outfit.

Dr. Rodberg assures me that he wrote the speech on his own time. Senators Burdick and Muskie both, to their credit, declined to use the tailored document, which is full of the hair-raising horrors of nuclear war and calculated to scare Americans into pacifism.

I will take Dr. Rodberg's word that he moonlighted the ghost-written speech, but I hope to find out whether other speeches for other campaigning politicians (both Burdick and Muskie are up for re-election) have been written in the Disarmament Agency at the taxpayers' expense. Meanwhile, there is plenty of hard evidence that this State Department Agency is using public money to peddle special pleading that could very well serve the purposes of those who would like to see America stand naked to her enemies.

Congressman Glenard Lipscomb (R., Calif.), in a House speech, pinpointed 127 speaking trips made by Disarmament Agency personnel between July '62 and January '64. Of these, 23 were on an expense account basis for which the taxpayer coughed up \$3,138.71. Another 84 trips were not charged to the taxpayer, but the personnel were away from their desks while on government salaries.

*no chapter in Syracuse*

5/13/64

One of the ways in which propaganda shops operate is by flinging parties at which the guests, often influential writers or politicians, are softened up on charm and entertainment. This State Department Agency, which is supposed to explore the practicalities of international control of weapons and of disarmament, has requested -- although denied -- \$4000 for "official reception and representation expenses." When questioned on these aspects of his job, the Agency Director, William C. Foster, said:

"Mr. Chairman, this is consistent with one of the four functions with which our Agency is charged; namely, of disseminating information about arms control."

In its Budget request for 1965, the Agency asked for \$11 million, an increase of 46 per cent over its last year's stipend, but the amount requested does not reflect additional sums for arms control and disarmament that are "hidden" in other departmental budgets such as Defense, Atomic Energy, Space and the U. S. Information Agency, the last-named having recently gone in for subsidizing propaganda books issued by commercial publishers.

Lipscomb gets a figure of \$150 million of "hidden" money that is going into various projects for controlling and reducing American armament. How much of all this is <sup>a</sup>wise and responsible effort? An unnamed spokesman for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaking before the House Appropriations Committee in a recorded statement, said this about proposals made by the Disarmament Agency:

"As a matter of fact...quite a sizable portion of the proposals they have sent over have not been looked on with much favor by the Joint Chiefs."

Taken together, the doings of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, plus those of the Council For A Liveable World, seem to add up to a Pacifist Lobby. Some of it is supported by the taxpayer, some of it is being huckstered around the country by reelection-seeking politicians who know not what they do.

5/13/64

At the risk of being disrespectful, I note that the majority of Senators and Representatives who take campaign money from the Liveable World outfit are men who have not "majored" in the complexities and dangers of Cold War disarmament. I would be surprised if anyone recognized Senators Burdick, Muskie, Hart (Mich.) McGee (Wyo.), and Moss (Utah), or Representatives Montoya (N. Mex.) and Harding (Idaho) as knowledgeable persons in this field, although competent in other fields.

Why have these men been politically subsidized by the Pacifist Lobby? Their colleagues in the Congress, and their constituents back home, ought to ask these men if they know what the score is.

(To be cont'd.)

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

*How come  
Pacifist.*

Please return

From  
**THE MCNAUGHT SYNDICATE, INC.**  
60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

For release Thursday, May 14, 1964

DISARMAMENT PROPAGANDA AT A PRICE -- 3

111

By Holmes Alexander

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- On February 27, 1964, Senator McGovern (D., S. D.) who took \$22,000 in campaign funds from a Ban the Bomb group called Council For a Liveable World, introduced an amendment to cut \$17 million out of Defense Department funds for aircraft, missiles, research, tests and evaluation of military weaponry.

Without going into the usefulness of the items which the McGovern Amendment would abolish (a near impossibility for a layman), I note that 4 of the 20 Senators who supported the Amendment are financially beholden for campaign funds donated by the membership of the Liveable World Council. They are Clark (D., Penna.), Burdick (D., N. D.), McGee (D., Wyo.) and McGovern himself.

Of these four, not one is on either the Armed Services or Joint Atomic Energy Committees, which study military affairs and the nation's need for weapons. But among the 64 Senators who opposed and defeated the McGovern Amendment are all the ones which most of us reporters use as check points on these complex matters of military readiness: Senators Russell, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Cannon, the Byrds of Virginia and West Virginia, and Margaret Chase Smith.

I am very slow to attach wrongful motives to men in responsible office, and I don't believe for a moment that any of these four Senators for the McGovern Amendment would willfully cast a vote that he believed to be harmful. Clark is cantankerous (his new book is sarcastically entitled, "Congress: The Sapless Branch"), and he enjoys twitting the Senate Establishment with contrary votes. Burdick, a country lawyer, admittedly has very little knowledge or experience in military matters. McGee, a former history professor, has a hungry, searching mind which loves to savor "ideas," and he has reached an intellectual and creditable conclusion about experimental disarmament. McGovern, a World War II bomber pilot and a thoughtful idealist,

deeply believes that the USA should take a chance, and take the lead, on world disarmament.

But, giving them full credit for sincerity and singularity (in Clark's case), I see these Senators and some others as the nucleus of a Peace Party in Congress, backed by a Pacifist Lobby, the Liveable World. Other Democratic Senators whom the Liveable World commends to its membership are McCarthy of Minnesota, Moss of Utah, Hart of Michigan and Gore of Tennessee. The Republican Prouty of Vermont seems to have been added as a gesture of bipartisanship. Two Representatives, both Democrats, are on the recommended list. They are Harding of Idaho and Montoya of New Mexico.

*He was only on private draft sent to Board of Directors not on list that went out*

Just to see how other analysts than myself would rate these men whom the Liveable World appears to be collecting into a Peace Party, I have checked their ratings in the voting index compiled by Americans For Constitutional Action on the subject of National Sovereignty. The ACA says it is "FOR strengthening our National Sovereignty and AGAINST surrendering control of our foreign or domestic affairs or our National Security to any other nation or to any International Organization." I don't regard these ratings as infallible, but they do provide an arbitrary either/or indication of overriding philosophy. They show, in aggregate, how much importance a member of Congress puts on National Sovereignty as against "peace," internationalism and concern for the "world" instead of for this country.

Astonishingly, I think, Muskie, Hart, McCarthy, Burdick, Moss, Clark and McGee get zero in this rating. Gore gets 6 per cent, and Prouty gets 50 per cent. In the House, Harding gets zero and Montoya gets 43 per cent.

As a footnote, I think it worth adding that the Liveable World has sent out a memorandum to its membership urging support of Harding as "the logical choice of the Democratic party to run for the Senate against...Senator Jordan...in 1966." In striking contrast to Harding's zero rating on National Sovereignty, ACA rates Jordan (R., Idaho) at 100 per cent.

Unless I'm wrong, the Pacifist Lobby is trying to build up a Peace Party in the Senate, where foreign relations are decided. Respectability, of course, is an essential in an undertaking of this sort, and it's pertinent to note that the Liveable World has as its Executive Director, in charge of the Washington office, a genuine war hero in Colonel Ashton Crosby, U. S. Army, Retired. His standard answer to criticisms of the Liveable World is to write or say:

"I have 14 combat decorations, including 3 silver stars, a croix de guerre in lieu of a 4th silver star, and four Purple Hearts."

This seems a bit of a non sequitur, but Col. Crosby told me in a telephone interview that he was sticking with the Liveable World chiefly to keep its membership from going off the deep end. Maybe he'll soon leave the Liveable World and dedicate his patriotism to a concern for freedom rather than to cohabitation with our enemies.

(End of series)

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

*Said*

*Membership? of J. Birch Society?  
Why no Republicans?  
Follow up these ideas  
More from "Sovietland"  
& Brazil?*

*These are  
Alexander's notes -  
Possible future columns?*

*Never said  
this. This was  
said by John  
McClung in  
a press release  
of his own.  
~~plus~~*

UNOFFICIAL

# United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Prepared under the direction of Felton M. Johnston, Secretary of the Senate,  
by Wm. H. Wannall, Printing Clerk

## SENATORS IN THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

### 1963 CLASS 3

#### DEMOCRATS (19):

Bible, Alan.....Reno, Nev.  
Carroll, John A.....Denver, Colo.  
Church, Frank.....Boise, Idaho  
Clark, Joseph S.....Philadelphia, Pa.  
Ervin, Sam J., Jr.....Morganton, N.C.  
Fulbright, J. W.....Fayetteville, Ark.  
Gruening, Ernest.....Juneau, Alaska  
Hayden, Carl.....Phoenix, Ariz.  
Hill, Lister.....Montgomery, Ala.  
Johnston, Olin D.....Spartanburg, S.C.  
Lausche, Frank J.....Cleveland, Ohio  
Long, Edward V.<sup>1</sup>.....Bowling Green, Mo.  
Long, Oren E.....Honolulu, Hawaii  
Long, Russell B.....Baton Rouge, La.  
Magnuson, Warren G.....Seattle, Wash.  
Monroney, A. S. Mike.....Oklahoma City, Okla.  
Morse, Wayne.....Eugene, Oreg.  
Smathers, George A.....Miami, Fla.  
Talmadge, Herman E.....Lovejoy, Ga.

#### REPUBLICANS (15):

Aiken, George D.....Putney, Vt.  
Bennett, Wallace F.....Salt Lake City, Utah  
Bush, Prescott.....Greenwich, Conn.  
Butler, John Marshall.....Baltimore, Md.  
Capehart, Homer E.....Washington, Ind.  
Carlson, Frank.....Concordia, Kans.  
Case, Francis.....Custer, S. Dak.  
Cotton, Norris.....Lebanon, N.H.  
Dirksen, Everett McKinley.....Pekin, Ill.  
Hickenlooper, Bourke B.....Cedar Rapids, Iowa  
Javits, Jacob K.....New York, N.Y.  
Kuchel, Thomas H.....Anaheim, Calif.  
Morton, Thruston B.....Glenview, Ky.  
Wiley, Alexander.....Chippewa Falls, Wis.  
Young, Milton R.....La Moure, N. Dak.

### 1965 CLASS 1

#### DEMOCRATS (25):

Burdick, Quentin N.<sup>2</sup>..... Fargo, N. Dak.  
Byrd, Harry Flood.....Berryville, Va.  
Byrd, Robert C.....Sophia, W. Va.  
Cannon, Howard W.....Las Vegas, Nev.  
Chavez, Dennis.....Albuquerque, N. Mex.  
Dodd, Thomas J.....West Hartford, Conn.  
Engle, Clair.....Red Bluff, Calif.  
Gore, Albert.....Carthage, Tenn.  
Hart, Philip A.....Lansing, Mich.  
Hartke, Vance.....Evansville, Ind.  
Holland, Spessard L.....Bartow, Fla.  
Jackson, Henry M.....Everett, Wash.  
Mansfield, Mike.....Missoula, Mont.  
McCarthy, Eugene J.....St. Paul, Minn.  
McGee, Gale W.....Laramie, Wyo.  
Moss, Frank E.....Salt Lake City, Utah  
Muskie, Edmund S.....Waterville, Maine  
Pastore, John O.....Providence, R.I.  
Proxmire, William.....Madison, Wis.  
Smith, Benjamin A. II<sup>3</sup>.....Gloucester, Mass.  
Stennis, John.....DeKalb, Miss.  
Symington, Stuart.....Creve Coeur, Mo.  
Williams, Harrison A., Jr.....Westfield, N.J.  
Yarborough, Ralph.....Austin, Tex.  
Young, Stephen M.....Shaker Heights, Ohio

#### REPUBLICANS (8):

Beall, J. Glenn.....Frostburg, Md.  
Fong, Hiram L.....Honolulu, Hawaii  
Goldwater, Barry.....Phoenix, Ariz.  
Hruska, Roman L.....Omaha, Nebr.  
Keating, Kenneth B.....Rochester, N.Y.  
Prouty, Winston L.....Newport, Vt.  
Scott, Hugh.....Philadelphia, Pa.  
Williams, John J.....Millsboro, Del.

### 1967 CLASS 2

#### DEMOCRATS (20):

Anderson, Clinton P.....Albuquerque, N. Mex.  
Bartlett, E. L.....Juneau, Alaska  
Douglas, Paul H.....Chicago, Ill.  
Eastland, James O.....Doddsville, Miss.  
Ellender, Allen J.....Houma, La.  
Hickey, J. J.<sup>3</sup>.....Cheyenne, Wyo.  
Humphrey, Hubert H.....Minneapolis, Minn.  
Jordan, B. Everett.....Saxapahaw, N.C.  
Kefauver, Estes.....Chattanooga, Tenn.  
Kerr, Robert S.....Oklahoma City, Okla.  
McClellan, John L.....Camden, Ark.  
McNamara, Pat.....Detroit, Mich.  
Metcalf, Lee.....Helena, Mont.  
Neuberger, Maurine B.....Portland, Oreg.  
Pell, Claiborne.....Newport, R.I.  
Randolph, Jennings.....Elkins, W. Va.  
Robertson, A. Willis.....Lexington, Va.  
Russell, Richard B.....Winder, Ga.  
Sparkman, John.....Huntsville, Ala.  
Thurmond, Strom.....Aiken, S.C.

#### REPUBLICANS (13):

Allott, Gordon.....Lamar, Colo.  
Boggs, J. Caleb.....Wilmington, Del.  
~~Bridges, Styles.....Concord, N.H.~~  
Case, Clifford P.....Rahway, N.J.  
Cooper, John Sherman.....Somerset, Ky.  
Curtis, Carl T.....Minden, Nebr.  
Dworshak, Henry.....Burley, Idaho  
Miller, Jack.....Sioux City, Iowa  
Mundt, Karl E.....Madison, S. Dak.  
Saltonstall, Leverett.....Dover, Mass.  
~~Schoepfel, Andrew B.....Wichita, Kans.~~  
Smith, Margaret Chase.....Skowhegan, Maine  
Tower, John G.<sup>4</sup>.....Wichita Falls, Tex.

DEMOCRATS		REPUBLICANS		TOTALS	
1963.....	19	1963.....	15	DEMOCRATS.....	64
1965.....	25	1965.....	8	REPUBLICANS.....	36
1967.....	20	1967.....	13		
Total.....	64	Total.....	36	Total.....	100

<sup>1</sup> Elected Nov. 8, 1960, to serve unexpired term.

<sup>2</sup> Elected June 28, 1960, to serve unexpired term.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed by Governor to fill vacancy and to serve until next election as provided by law.

<sup>4</sup> Elected May 27, 1961, to serve unexpired term.

# The United States Senate

## EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE  
 CARL HAYDEN, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE  
 FELTON M. JOHNSTON, SECRETARY ROBERT G. BAKER, SECRETARY FOR THE MAJORITY  
 JOSEPH C. DUKE, SERGEANT AT ARMS J. MARK TRICE, SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY  
 EMERY L. FRAZIER, CHIEF CLERK REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, D.D., CHAPLAIN

NAME	RESIDENCE	TERM		NAME	RESIDENCE	TERM	
<i>George D. Aiken</i>	Putney, Vt.	Jan. 10, 1941	Jan. 2, 1963	Olin D. Johnston	Spartanburg, S.C.	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Gordon Allott</i>	Lamar, Colo.	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	B. Everett Jordan	Saxapahaw, N.C.	Apr. 19, 1958	Jan. 2, 1967
Clinton P. Anderson	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	<i>Kenneth B. Keating</i>	Rochester, N.Y.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
E. L. Bartlett	Juneau, Alaska	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1967	Estes Kefauver	Chattanooga, Tenn.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>J. Glenn Beall</i>	Frostburg, Md.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	Robert S. Kerr	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>Wallace F. Bennett</i>	Salt Lake City, Utah	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	<i>Thomas H. Kuchel</i>	Anaheim, Calif.	Jan. 2, 1953	Jan. 2, 1963
Alan Bible	Reno, Nev.	Dec. 2, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	Frank J. Lausche	Cleveland, Ohio	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>J. Caleb Boggs</i>	Wilmington, Del.	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967	Edward V. Long <sup>1</sup>	Bowling Green, Mo.	Sept. 23, 1960	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Styles Bridges</i>	Concord, N.H.	Jan. 3, 1937	Jan. 2, 1967	Oren E. Long	Honolulu, Hawaii	Aug. 21, 1959	Jan. 2, 1963
Quentin N. Burdick <sup>2</sup>	Fargo, N. Dak.	Aug. 8, 1960	Jan. 2, 1965	Russell B. Long	Baton Rouge, La.	Dec. 31, 1948	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Prescott Bush</i>	Greenwich, Conn.	Nov. 5, 1952	Jan. 2, 1963	Warren G. Magnuson	Seattle, Wash.	Dec. 14, 1944	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>John Marshall Butler</i>	Baltimore, Md.	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Mike Mansfield	Missoula, Mont.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965
Harry Flood Byrd	Berryville, Va.	Mar. 4, 1933	Jan. 2, 1965	Eugene J. McCarthy	St. Paul, Minn.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Robert C. Byrd	Sophia, W. Va.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	John L. McClellan	Camden, Ark.	Jan. 3, 1943	Jan. 2, 1967
Howard W. Cannon	Las Vegas, Nev.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	Gale W. McGee	Laramie, Wyo.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
<i>Homer E. Capehart</i>	Washington, Ind.	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Pat McNamara	Detroit, Mich.	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>Frank Carlson</i>	Concordia, Kans.	Nov. 29, 1950	Jan. 2, 1963	Lee Metcalf	Helena, Mont.	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
John A. Carroll	Denver, Colo.	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	<i>Jack Miller</i>	Stoux City, Iowa	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>Clifford P. Case</i>	Rahway, N.J.	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	A. S. Mike Monroney	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Francis Case</i>	Custer, S. Dak.	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Wayne Morse	Eugene, Oreg.	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963
Dennis Chavez	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	May 11, 1935	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Thruston B. Morton</i>	Glenview, Ky.	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
Frank Church	Boise, Idaho	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Frank E. Moss	Salt Lake City, Utah	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Joseph S. Clark	Philadelphia, Pa.	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	<i>Karl E. Mundt</i>	Madison, S. Dak.	Dec. 31, 1948	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>John Sherman Cooper</i>	Somerset, Ky.	Nov. 7, 1956	Jan. 2, 1967	Edmund S. Muskie	Waterville, Maine	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
<i>Norris Cotton</i>	Lebanon, N.H.	Nov. 8, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	Maurine B. Neuberger	Portland, Oreg.	Nov. 9, 1960	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>Carl T. Curtis</i>	Minden, Nebr.	Jan. 1, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	John O. Pastore	Providence, R.I.	Dec. 19, 1950	Jan. 2, 1965
<i>Everett McKinley Dirksen</i>	Pekin, Ill.	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Claiborne Pell	Newport, R.I.	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Thomas J. Dodd	West Hartford, Conn.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Winsto L. Prouty</i>	Newport, Vt.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Paul H. Douglas	Chicago, Ill.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	William Proxmire	Madison, Wis.	Aug. 28, 1957	Jan. 2, 1965
<i>Henry Dworshak</i>	Burley, Idaho	Oct. 14, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	Jennings Randolph	Elkins, W. Va.	Nov. 5, 1958	Jan. 2, 1967
James O. Eastland	Doddsville, Miss.	Jan. 3, 1943	Jan. 2, 1967	A. Willis Robertson	Lexington, Va.	Nov. 6, 1946	Jan. 2, 1967
Allen J. Ellender	Houma, La.	Jan. 3, 1937	Jan. 2, 1967	Richard B. Russell	Winder, Ga.	Jan. 12, 1933	Jan. 2, 1967
Clair Engle	Red Bluff, Calif.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Leverett Saltonstall</i>	Dover, Mass.	Jan. 4, 1945	Jan. 2, 1967
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	Morganton, N.C.	June 5, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	<i>Andrew F. Schoepfel</i>	Wichita, Kans.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
<i>Hiram L. Fong</i>	Honolulu, Hawaii	Aug. 21, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Hugh Scott</i>	Philadelphia, Pa.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
J. W. Fulbright	Fayetteville, Ark.	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	George A. Smathers	Miami, Fla.	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Barry Goldwater</i>	Phoenix, Ariz.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	Benjamin A. Smith II <sup>3</sup>	Gloucester, Mass.	Dec. 27, 1960	Jan. 2, 1965
Albert Gore	Carthage, Tenn.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Margaret Chase Smith</i>	Skowhegan, Maine	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
Ernest Gruening	Juneau, Alaska	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1963	John Sparkman	Huntsville, Ala.	Nov. 6, 1946	Jan. 2, 1967
Philip A. Hart	Lansing, Mich.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	John Stennis	DeKalb, Miss.	Nov. 5, 1947	Jan. 2, 1965
Vance Hartke	Evansville, Ind.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	Stuart Symington	Creve Coeur, Mo.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965
Carl Hayden	Phoenix, Ariz.	Mar. 4, 1927	Jan. 2, 1963	Herman E. Talmadge	Lovejoy, Ga.	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Bourke B. Hickenlooper</i>	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Strom Thurmond	Aiken, S.C.	Nov. 7, 1956	Jan. 2, 1967
J. J. Hickey <sup>3</sup>	Cheyenne, Wyo.	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967	<i>John G. Tower</i> <sup>4</sup>	Wichita Falls, Tex.	June 15, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Lister Hill	Montgomery, Ala.	Jan. 11, 1938	Jan. 2, 1963	<i>Alexander Wiley</i>	Chippewa Falls, Wis.	Jan. 3, 1939	Jan. 2, 1963
Spessard L. Holland	Bartow, Fla.	Sept. 25, 1946	Jan. 2, 1965	Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	Westfield, N.J.	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
<i>Roman L. Hruska</i>	Omaha, Nebr.	Nov. 8, 1954	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>John J. Williams</i>	Millsboro, Del.	Jan. 3, 1947	Jan. 2, 1965
Hubert H. Humphrey	Minneapolis, Minn.	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	Ralph Yarborough	Austin, Tex.	Apr. 29, 1957	Jan. 2, 1965
Henry M. Jackson	Everett, Wash.	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	<i>Milton R. Young</i>	La Moure, N. Dak.	Mar. 12, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963
<i>Jacob K. Javits</i>	New York, N.Y.	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Stephen M. Young	Shaker Heights, Ohio	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965

<sup>1</sup> Elected Nov. 8, 1960, to serve unexpired term.<sup>2</sup> Elected June 28, 1960, to serve unexpired term.<sup>3</sup> Appointed by Governor to fill vacancy and to serve until next election as provided by law.<sup>4</sup> Elected May 27, 1961, to serve unexpired term.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036, Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D. C.

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CHARLES C. PRICE  
Philadelphia, Pa.

September 1968

To Concerned Americans:

Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King lie assassinated; Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern have been rejected; Senator Gruening of Alaska has been defeated for renomination; Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay and younger Republican liberals have been driven into the shadows. We can only guess how you feel after the fiascoes at Miami and Chicago where the two major parties engineered the nomination of Presidential candidates who offer little hope for the achievement of foreign or domestic peace.

Where do we go from here? Shall we sit this one out? With our country mired in a costly and purposeless war, with the mounting power of right-wing elements, with the growing disorder and difficulties in the United States, is there any way for Americans who are deeply concerned to take effective action?

The widespread dismay over these events must not be allowed to obscure the encouraging fact that 1968 presents concerned Americans with an extraordinary opportunity of guaranteeing a vital United States Senate. Up for re-election is a corps of veteran Senators -- men such as George Aiken in Vermont, Frank Church in Idaho, Joseph Clark in Pennsylvania, J. William Fulbright in Arkansas, Jacob Javits in New York, George McGovern in South Dakota, Wayne Morse in Oregon, and Gaylord Nelson in Wisconsin -- who have consistently fought the Administration's policy in Vietnam.

Extremely promising new men have a good chance to win Senate seats in California, Maryland, Missouri and Ohio. All of them -- Alan Cranston, Charles Mathias, Thomas Eagleton and John Gilligan, respectively -- face difficult races against conservative opponents, one of them a right-wing extremist: Rafferty in California.

In a year in which the tide of reaction is running high, these candidates urgently need the help of all concerned Americans. Their election will have an enormously significant influence on the future of this country -- now confronting awesome crises at home and abroad. The prospect of a strong and independent Senate should quicken our energies and give us hope.

The Council for a Livable World -- whose history, program and methods are explained in the enclosed brochure -- is an organization through which frustrated voters can participate directly in shaping national policy by providing vital assistance to the most distinguished Senatorial candidates. Please read this brochure carefully. It spells out the specific objectives of the Council, its method of operation, and gives the impressive results it has achieved.

Will you join us in these exciting and fateful elections by making a campaign contribution to elect courageous and forthright Senators? Please make your check payable to the Council for a Livable World and send it to Washington in the enclosed envelope.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "William Doering". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

William Doering  
Chairman, Board of Directors

MEMORANDUM

September 18, 1968

To Iowa Supporters of the Council for a Livable World:

The Senate race in Iowa between Harold Hughes and David Stanley places in opposition two outstanding men, both eminently qualified on many counts to serve with distinction as United States Senator. Harold Hughes has shown himself to be an extraordinarily capable Governor who, if elected to the Senate, clearly would become a major figure there while David Stanley entered politics with a deep dedication to the principles for which the Council for a Livable World was founded and for which it still stands.

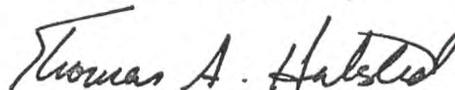
But the issue of most vital concern to Council Supporters today is the Vietnam War and its corrosive impact on every aspect of American life. In the Council's view, the overriding reasons for recommending candidates for support this year has been their Vietnam position, in particular their position with respect to ending the bombing. On this paramount issue David Stanley has shown throughout the campaign that he is unwilling to break with the conservative, old-guard line. Like President Johnson, he responds to calls for a bombing halt by quoting General Abrams' dire warnings of increased American casualties if the bombing should stop.

Governor Hughes has time and again called for a complete and unconditional halt to the bombing, has pointed out that it has not accomplished what it intended, and has asserted that as long as it continues there will be no meaningful negotiations to bring the war to an end.

We are therefore suggesting to our Iowa Supporters that they make their contributions to Governor Hughes in place of the candidates recommended in the accompanying Council letter. Checks should be made payable to Hughes for Senator and mailed to the Council for transmittal to the Governor.

We would certainly have recommended Governor Hughes for major support if he were not prohibited by Iowa law from using campaign contributions from non-residents. The Council is not prohibited, however, from recommending that Iowa residents contribute to his campaign and we enthusiastically do so now.

Sincerely yours,



Thomas A. Halsted  
National Director



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JOHN SILARD	<i>Counsel</i>

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*Chairman:*  
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Cambridge, Mass.

September 18, 1968

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Dear Council Supporter:

Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King lie assassinated; Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern have been rejected; Senator Gruening of Alaska has been defeated for renomination; Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay and younger Republican liberals have been driven into the shadows. We can only guess how you feel after the fiascoes at Miami and Chicago where the two major parties engineered the nomination of Presidential candidates who offer little hope of the achievement of foreign or domestic peace.

The one heartening factor which alters this otherwise bleak political prospect is the 1968 Congressional election. Not for a decade has there been such an extraordinary number of courageous and intelligent candidates for the Senate. Up for re-election is a corps of veterans -- men such as George Aiken, Frank Church, Joseph Clark, J. William Fulbright, Jacob Javits, George McGovern, Wayne Morse, and Gaylord Nelson -- who have consistently fought the Administration's policy in Vietnam.

In four states -- California, Maryland, Missouri and Ohio -- extremely promising challengers have a good chance to win Senate seats. These men -- Alan Cranston, Charles Mathias, Thomas Eagleton and John Gilligan -- face difficult races against conservative opponents, one of whom -- Max Rafferty in California -- is an extreme right-winger.

In Ohio, John Gilligan has shown himself a powerful campaigner by defeating the incumbent, Frank Lausche, an old-line cold warrior, in the Democratic Senate Primary. Gilligan is opposed by the Republican Attorney General, William Saxbe, who reportedly has enormous funds at his disposal. A similar situation exists in Missouri where Thomas Eagleton won over the incumbent Edward Long in the August 6 Primary. He is now in a hard campaign against a conservative congressman, Thomas Curtis.

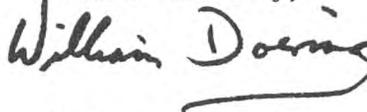
No one can predict today how far to the right the next Administration will go. One thing is certain: should there be a repressive, reactionary Executive the only effective restraint will be a strong Senate. The distinguished men who have been its leaders must be returned to office and the promising new men must win their races.

As you know, the Council generally limits its recommendations to candidates who are running in smaller states where the contributions of Supporters can have a significant impact. The Council is staying out of the New York Senate race for two reasons: campaign expenses are enormous and both candidates are well qualified. In California the Council strongly endorses Alan Cranston against Rafferty but is not recommending Cranston for campaign assistance because of the astronomically high cost of a Senate campaign in this state.

Council Supporters are encouraged to follow Council recommendations unless they have an overriding personal preference for another candidate. If any Supporter desires to contribute to the campaign of a candidate other than those we are recommending, he is urged to mail his contribution to the Washington office of the Council for direct transmittal. In this way, your contribution will help to increase the effectiveness of the Council in Washington.

Council Supporters have already contributed unprecedentedly large amounts to the campaigns of many of the incumbent Senators running for re-election. Now we are asking you to help elect new men to the Senate. We are recommending enthusiastically for your support John Gilligan of Ohio and Thomas Eagleton of Missouri. Both have a good chance of election and would be notable additions to the Senate. This is the major opportunity Council Supporters will have this election year to help bring new blood to the Senate. From our experience in previous elections we have found it essential to make last-minute direct contributions to key races in the Senate as well as to several very important House races. For this purpose some of you are being asked to contribute directly to the Council.

Yours sincerely,



William Doering  
Chairman

P.S., The Council is conducting a very large mailing in order to attract additional supporters. Should you receive a copy of a Council mailing "To Concerned Americans", please help the Council by using it to convince a friend to become a patron of the U.S. Senate and a Supporter of the Council for a Livable World.

September 18, 1968



COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD -- 1968 SENATORIAL ELECTIONS

RACE NO. 1: OHIO -- JOHN J. GILLIGAN (D) vs. WILLIAM B. SAXBE (R)

John J. Gilligan

John J. Gilligan, 47, the Democratic nominee for Senate in Ohio, surprised the party professionals by trouncing incumbent Senator Frank Lausche in the May 7 Democratic primary. He was a prominent member of a group of "Young Turk" freshman Congressmen in the 89th Congress, responsible for the House passage of some of the most significant and humane legislation in health, education, and housing. He lost his seat in 1966 when his district was redrawn by a Republican Legislature. He then won a seat on the Cincinnati City Council, from which he launched his Senate campaign against the veteran cold warrior, Lausche.

Gilligan's opposition to the war in Vietnam has been long-standing. In 1966, when a member of the House of Representatives, he joined a small handful of Congressmen who signed a letter to the President asking him to extend the moratorium on bombing then in effect.

From the beginning of his Senatorial campaign he has repeatedly called for a complete halt to all the bombing of North Vietnam, a reduction of search and destroy missions in the South, and a return to the 1954 Geneva accords as a basis for negotiations. "The alternative," he has said, "will be virtually endless bloodshed and carnage with the principal burden in blood and treasure borne by America alone, and, of course, the civilian population of South Vietnam."

Gilligan has forcefully pointed out the impact of the war on American society: "Overriding all issues is war and peace in the world and quite literally, war and peace at home. For whether the dateline is Hue or Hough, Da Nang or Watts, the stories remind us that we are fighting battles in the wrong places against the wrong enemies. We must decide whether we want to 'free' a nation by destroying it or free 20 million Americans by guaranteeing them their right to full and dignified lives."

Gilligan was a key member of the Platform Committee at the 1968 Democratic Convention. Council supporters will remember the leading role he played in drafting and pressing for adoption of the Minority Vietnam plank.

William B. Saxbe

Gilligan's opponent, Ohio Attorney General William B. Saxbe, takes an opposite view on Vietnam. While proclaiming that there must be no more Vietnams, he believes that resolution of the present struggle should be left in the hands of the generals and diplomats. As to the immediate question of the bombing of North Vietnam, he has stated that it cannot be halted as long as the commanders in Vietnam believe it is necessary to protect the troops in the field. One of Saxbe's television campaign films portrays a group of peace demonstrators, draft-card burners, "hippies", and others whom the audience is apparently expected to view as undesirable; the implication seems to be that dissent is equated with disloyalty.

Financing will be an important factor in the campaign. Saxbe is reported to have nearly \$2 million available for the race. Gilligan has had great difficulty obtaining support from the Democratic Party because of his refusal to support the Administration's Vietnam position.

(Council supporters whose names begin with the letters A through E are asked to make their checks payable to Gilligan for Senate.)

RACE NO. 2: MISSOURI -- THOMAS F. EAGLETON (D) vs. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R)

Thomas F. Eagleton

Thomas F. Eagleton, 38, is one of the most vigorous and enlightened public figures in Missouri. He was elected City attorney of St. Louis in 1956, Attorney General of Missouri in 1960 and Lieutenant Governor in 1964, at the age of 35. He was the youngest man ever elected to these offices in the state.

In opening his campaign for the Senate in September 1967, Eagleton made it clear that his opposition to the war in Vietnam was to be his principal theme. In a speech in March 1968 he warned that "before we escalate ourselves into the bloody nightmare of a war with Red China we should ask ourselves certain questions as to our objectives, our motives, and our purposes." A military victory, he has said, "is not feasible. Any military achievement which might realistically be called a solution could be accomplished only in the course of invading North Vietnam, invading Laos, blockading and bombing Haiphong Harbor, pursuing the enemy into the Chinese sanctuary and, ultimately, nuclear devastation. It is a situation which defies military solution and cries out for a political and diplomatic solution."

Eagleton has called for a halt to the bombing of the North, a commitment to self-determination in the South and a return to the 1954 Geneva accords.

He has advocated a complete rethinking of outmoded foreign policies, and a strengthening of the United Nations to permit the substitution of collective efforts toward international peacekeeping for United States unilateral action as world policeman.

He has been a bold critic of the military-industrial complex, warning that the United States "need not and should not become a garrison state with an economy based on armaments."

Thomas B. Curtis

By contrast, Eagleton's opponent, conservative nine-term Republican Congressman Thomas B. Curtis, has been a constant advocate of business-as-usual in defense and foreign policy. He has sided with the Hawks on Vietnam, concluding that the War is the result of "virulent Communist aggression" and not essentially a civil war in the South in which North Vietnam has become increasingly involved. Similar doctrinaire anticommunism has marked his other foreign policy positions.

In 1965 Curtis voted in favor of the Selden Resolution calling for unilateral United States intervention in the Western hemisphere whenever a Communist threat is perceived.

Curtis has opposed expansion of East-West Trade and the exploration of means of "building bridges" to Eastern Europe, both because he sees little economic advantage to the United States and because he believes it accomplishes little in encouraging liberalization of Eastern European regimes. He reportedly sees the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as vindication of this view.

The choice between Eagleton and Curtis is clearly one between a new and enlightened outlook on world affairs and tired, traditional cold war thinking.

(Council Supporters whose names begin with the letters R through Z are asked to make their contributions payable to Eagleton for Senator Committee.)

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New York, N.Y.  
CHARLES C. PRICE  
Philadelphia, Pa.

September 20, 1968

Mrs. Helen Carlson  
10 Amherst Drive  
Hastings-On-Hudson  
New York 10706

Dear Helen:

The Board of Directors of the Council for a Livable World wish to share with you their gratification on the achievement of representative status at the United Nations for the Council. It is the result exclusively of your efforts that led to this accomplishment and the Board wishes you to know of its deep appreciation for the ease, grace and skill with which you brought about this beneficial result.

Through the opening of these new avenues, the Board looks forward to a marked acceleration in progress toward those of the Council's goals that demand mutually acceptable agreement between the United States and other countries.

The Council for a Livable World would like to have you accept a consultative position to assist in the development of its relationship with the United Nations beginning retroactively on 1 July 1968 under the following terms:

a) That you will attend the weekly Wednesday morning briefings for NGO at the U. N. as often as possible in the company of CLW Representative Charles Pratt, 242 East 68th Street [(212) 988-6188];

b) That you will assist the Council through him and William Doering, the Alternate Representative, in selecting from the myriad of meetings, conferences, briefings, and publications those that are of greatest interest to the Council's ten thousand supporters;

c) That you will assist Pratt and Doering in establishing contacts within the United Nations by identifying persons whom they should meet and, after obtaining a firm date from Pratt or Doering or both, as the case may be, by arranging meetings with the persons selected;



d) That, as a consultant to the Council for a Livable World, you will make no commitment as to the views or position of the Council on any substantive matter without having obtained the views of the Council in writing from Pratt or Doering (even as to procedural points, luncheons, or other meetings you should be careful not to commit the Council or its officers in any way without having first obtained their explicit and clear authority);

e) That you will be paid a retainer fee of \$250 per month, payment to begin retroactively as of 1 July 1968;

f) That the consultation relationship may be terminated by either party on two months' notice, the Council guaranteeing to continue payment of the retainer for two months after notice of termination if that notice is requested by the Council;

g) That the Council will make available to you expenses not to exceed \$100 a month for telephone, telegraph, stationery and the like, \$25 a month for garaging expenses in New York, and \$25 a month for your entertainment at lunch of U. N. personnel.

Yours sincerely,

William Doering  
Chairman

WD:ejr