

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

September 20, 1945

Dear Mr. Szilard:

I really did my best for you. I definitely saved the last hour of the afternoon for you the two days you were to be in Washington, and I was very sorry that Mrs. Robertson couldn't find you anywhere, though she tried to locate you.

I did want to get to Chicago but I cannot. Could you make everything right with me by acting as my personal emissary, and by sending me a revision of that memorandum of yours, together with any other papers or reports that you think may interest me and illuminate me? I need instruction and illumination.

Very sincerely yours,

William Benton Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leo Szilard Metallurgical Laboratory University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois Mr. William Benton,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Benton:

In the following I have summarized for your convenience some of the points which were made during the confidential discussion at the University of Chicago.

- l. The aim of our policy might be to create a situation in which no atomic bombs are available and ready for instant use. If we would reach an arrangement with Bussia that would give us assurance in this respect (under conditions in which we could be that violations would be detected and would become known to the world as further discussed below) we would be in a much better position than if we were engaged in an armament race.
- 2. From 1919 to 1933 it was reasonable to think of sanctions by an organization like the League of Nations as a possible means of enforcing of arrangements which had been agreed upon between nations. Today with Russian and the United States in a dominating position it is difficult to think of methods of enforcement. It appears therefore advisable to think of arrangements with Russia as agreements which could be legally abrogated by either party at any time.
- 3. In these circumstances the following question appears to be pertinent: Let us assume that some such arrangement is made with Bussia, that this arrangement is extended to all other nations and let us now envisage the possibility that this arrangement is abrogated say seven or ten years from now, during which time there were no secret violations of the arrangement. If at the time of the abrogation there have been large-scale atomic power installations in operation on the territory of Russia and other countries, how long would it take to convert these installations into factories for atomic bombs and how long would it be until atomic bombs become available in quantity ready for instant use? The answer to this question can be given only very tentatively on the base of certain guesses. The answer is six months to a year on the assumption that certain specific restrictions had been applied previously to the development of atomic power installations. These restrictions would slow down but would not completely inhibit the development of atomic power installations.
- 4. The abrogation of such an arrangement seven or ten years from now might thus lead within a year to the accumulation of large quantities of atomic bombs which would threaten the sudden annihilation of all of our major cities. The very large concentration of our population in the cities 20,000,000 people live here in cities of over 250,000 makes this country particularly vulnerable.

An arrangement with Bussia which can be abrogated legally or otherwise are therefore to be supplemented by something like a ten-year plan for the relocation of 30 to 70,000,000 people. It is estimated that this would involve an expense of fifteen billion dollars per year for ten years and it appears likely that after the relocation we will still have cities between 100,000 and 500,000, but

they might have to be built in certain shapes. Cities one mile wide and fifty miles long with a built-up area of fifty square miles have been discussed and are to be further considered.

6. Perhaps the most serious danger that faces us is the danger of a war which would arise more or less automatically if, in continuation of the present trend; the United and Russia were to compete in piling up large stockpiles of atomic bombs. A war might break out then which neither country really wants.

The suggested arrangement could serve to avoid this danger. The arrangement would not prevent a war if either Russia or the United States actually wanted to go to war with the other. It may be hoped, however, that if for a number of years the arrangement has worked satisfactorily and if there are no strong international tensions there would be no desire on the part of Russia to abrogate the arrangement, knowing that by doing so she would precipitate a race in bomb production which might lead to war at once or within a few years.

7. If we consider seriously entering into such an arrangement, we ought to know in advance what assurances we shall ultimately require within the frame-work of the arrangement in order to be sure that secret violations would be detected. Clearly, for this purpose the arrangement would have to include provisions for inspection of mining operations and certain key points in industry. It may be doubted, however, that inspection carried out by agents of some international agency or by American and Russian agents could offer sufficient assurance.

It would be highly desirable to create conditions in which the native engineers and scientists would be put in a position to act as guardians of the international arrangement and would report violations if they occurred. For the scientists and engineers to play this role, it would be necessary that the various espionage acts insofar as they relate to scientific or technical information, be revoked so that scientists and engineers can be pledged perhaps in the form of a new Hippocratic oath to report violations.

8. If the arrangement would provide for conditions under which practically every Russian scientist or engineer would at least twice a year find himself on a visit in some country outside of Russia together with his family, he would be in a position to report a violation and would then be freed by the international agency from his obligation to return to Russia. Assuming international collaboration in the field of atomic power and assuming that ten or even one percent of the Russian engineers or scientists would live up to their oath, we could be fairly sure that violations of arrangements would be detected and would become known to the world. Keeping track of the scientists and engineers inside Russia appears to be more effective method of inspection than keeping track of the movements of prantum ores.

Very sincerely yours,

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

October 12, 1945

Dear Mr. Szilard:

I have been pondering your letter. With the help of Harold Lasswell, I am in process of preparing a memorandum for Secretary Byrnes and perhaps, through him, for President Truman. That seems to be the most logical move for me at the present time.

I want you to know how greatly the people here in the State Department enjoyed meeting you at my home. I have had innumerable comments on the evening. You have stimulated much talk and much thought. Whether any of this can be interpreted along constructive lines, in the near future, remains to be seen.

If the proposed conference is held in the East, I hope to sit in with you, at least for a few hours.

I very much admire the way you are feeling responsibility, and taking upon your shoulders the job of illumination of the rest of us.

Very sincerely yours,

Gell Beulon
William Benton

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Gene Meyer. The bried to

get you by phone all day.

Mr. Leo William

Mr. Leo Szilard.

University of Chicago. Chicago 37, Illinois.

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1155 East 57th Street Chicago, Ill.

November 3, 1947

Mr. Ernest Gross Legal Advisor to the Department of State Wepartment of State Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gross:

Mr. Marshall MacDuffie informed me that he had informally submitted to you copy of a letter which I sent to the Secretary of State on October 25th, 1947. I am therefore enclosing, for your information, a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, dated November 3rd, 1947, which relates to the same subject matter.

The kind interest which you are taking in this matter is greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

November 8, 1947

Mr. Ernest Gross
Advisor to the State Department
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gross:

Pursuant to the letter which I sent to the Secretary of State on October 25, I am enclosing a copy of a letter with which I am forwarding to the Secretary of State a copy of the letter sent today to the Attorney General.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

June 20th. 1960.

Mr. Ernest A. Gross, Lawyer, 63 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gross,

I read your letter to the editor in yesterday's Times and I sent a reply to the Times of which you will find a copy attached.

I personally believe that both our approach and the Russian approach to the disarmament issue is wrong and if you are interested in my views, you can get a glimpse of them by reading the enclosed draft of an article which I wrote for LOOK magazine.

Incidentally, do you think that accusing a scientist with offallacious reasoning may be actionable on the ground that if a scientist reasons in a fallacious manner he can be no good in his profession?

You may call me, if you wish, at your convenience anytime between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. at ext. 133, at Memorial Hospital, TRafalgar 9 - 3000.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard.

Enclosures:

1155 East 57th Street Chicago 27, Ill. November 3, 1947 The Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C. My dear Mr. Secretary: Pursuant to my letter of the 25th of October, I am enclosing a letter addressed to the Attorney General, dated November 3rd, 1947, for your information. Very truly yours, Leo Szilard

November 8, 1947

The Honorable George C. Marshall Secretary of State Department of State Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Pursuant to my letter addressed to you on October 25, I am enclosing, for your information, a copy of a letter which I am sending today to the Attorney General.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

Encl.

November 12, 1947

The Honorable George C. Marshall Secretary of State Department of State Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Enclosed is for your information a copy of a letter which I sent today to the Attorney General and also copies of the enclosures.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

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1155 East 57th Street Chicago 37, Illinois May 6, 1949

Dr. Philip C. Jessup United States Department of State Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Jessup:

I wonder whether it would be possible for meu to see me in the next two or three weeks.

As you perhaps know, I lived in Germany for thirteen years, and observed at close range its gradual transformation from Streseman to Hitler. Somehow we shall have to solvetthe problem of having a Germany which is presperous and yet not dangerous. To achieve this will remain difficult, even if an over-all settlement with Russia is achieved; yet this is a problem which ultimately will have to be solved.

In the course of the last year I have given this problem some thought, and should like to talk to you about some of its aspects. It might be too early to talk about such long-range goals concerning Germany, but later on it may be too late.

I know of course that you must be exceedingly busy at this time with problems which are immediately at hand, yet I would appreciate an opportunity to see you before you leave for Europe. Perhaps you may find that you have an evening which you can spare. I could come to Washington or New York almost at any time at forty-eight hours notice during this month.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. George Kennan
Cdunsellor
Department of State
Room 5146, New State Building
21st Street and Virginia Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Dear Mr. Kennan:

I have asked the Editors of The American Scholar to send you the autumn and winter issue of their publication, in which you will find a discussion of American foreign policy with a small contribution by myself.

May I avail myself of the opportunity of calling your attention to Professor Leo Szilard, one of the leading atomic scientists of the University of Chicago. Through his intervention with Einstein in 1939, he has been instrumental in bringing the atomic energy program of the United States underway. The other day I discussed with him the problem of the international control of atomic energy. I was greatly impressed with the originality and force of Professor Szilard's arguments, and it occurred to me that you might be interested in listening to him. He is probably going to write to you, and I did not want to fail telling you that he is really worth listening to. This is more than one can say of some of his colleagues in the natural sciences, who try to apply their gadgets to international affairs.

Sincerely yours,

Hans J. Morgenthau Professor of Political Science

HJM/dh

1155 East 57th Street Chicago 37, Illinois December 9, 1949

Mr. George Kennan Counsellor Department of State Room 5146. New State Building 21st Street and Virginia Avenue N.W. Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kennan:

As a result of the Russian possession of the bomb, the public discussion of atomic energy control has taken a trend which is rather disturbing. If you can spare the time for a not too hurried discussion of the problem, I would be very happy to see you sometime it your convenience.

Clearly the problem cannot be discussed except in context with the general problem of Western Europe. The problem of Germany is an important part of it. I understand that you have lived in Germany for sometime; I lived there for about ten years, the greater part of which I was associated with the University of Berlin, and this accounts perhaps for my particular concern for the German problem.

I shall be in New York Monday, December 11, and expect to be through the rest of the week, partly in New York, partly in Washington. In New York I shall stay at the Kings Crown Hotel, 420 West 116th Street, University 4-2700, where your secretary might contact me. Before leaving New York, I shall call your secretary to find out if you have time to see me, and if you had been able to set a tentative date. If you are free at all, and if it makes no difference to you, the second half of the week would be slightly better for me than the first half.

Very truly yours,

1155 East 57th St. Chicago 37, Ill.

December 16, 1949

Mr. George Kennan Counsellor Department of State Room 5146, New State Building, 21st St. and Virginia Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Kennan:

Before leaving New York I called your secretary who told me that you will not be able to see me this week, and suggested that I contact you some other time when I am east.

Enclosed you will find a manuscript which touches upon the points that I should have liked to discuss with you. It is not, however, the specific points of the tentative proposal contained in the manuscript, but rather the general point of view which leads to this type of proposal that seems to require an examination at this time.

If you should find the leisure to read this manuscript, I would appreciate your letting me know that you read it. I would then contact your office when I am east to find out whether you think that a discussion would be useful and whether you can find the time for it.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE COUNSELOR WASHINGTON

January 9, 1950

Dear Professor Szilard:

I have read carefully the text of the speech which you were kind enough to enclose with your letter of December 16. This was not the first contact I had had with your thinking on these subjects, as we have noted others of your statements which have appeared in print.

I shall be in this country this winter only up to the middle of February. During this period I shall have to be away from Washington on at least four different occasions, and the times when I am here will be heavily loaded with advance engagements. I would be happy to see you, if you come to Washington; but I would really require a week or ten days' notice to be able to make the appointment.

Are you quite sure that it is myself that you wish to see? I am only in an advisory staff capacity to the Secretary, and have no operational responsibility or authority.

Very truly yours,

Professor Leo Szilard, 1155 East 57th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

1155 East 57th Street Chicago 37, Illinois January 30, 1950

Mr. George F. Kennan Department of State The Counselor Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kennan:

I wish to thank you for your very kind letter of January 9. I certainly would like to see you if this could be arranged, but because of my uncertain schedule, it is difficult for me to know ahead of time when I will be in Washington; so I shall just take a chance and call your secretary if I should happen to be in New York between now and the middle of February when you are scheduled to go abroad.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

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No 722 181 aug 25 1/52

University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois April 7, 1955

Department of State Washington, D. C.

Att: Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

I hereby apply for a new passport having the usual two-year validity.

I plan to leave on April 28 and plan to visit the following countries: Fruscherland

Canada, England, Belgium, Holland, West Germany, France, Italy, Deapret take livet ku

Israel, Greece, Spain, Portugal

My last visit abroad was to Bolivia and Peru during the last week of August and the first week of September of 1952.

The purpose of the trip is to visit various Universities and research institutions and scientific meetings, and vacation during the summer months. I plan to pick up my passport in Washington when ready and would appreciate your advising me at 420 W. 116th Street, New York, Telephone: University 4-2700.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley Department of State Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

The last time I applied for a passport I received it back with the attached communication. This was entirely my own fault because I left the State Department only ten days before my scheduled departure. However, I found the 5 months limitation so onerous that I cancelled my trip.

I now plan again to go abroad and the time again is short. I should much appreciate your having an accelerated check made this time so that a new passport can be issued with the usual two years validity.

I should like to leave in April as early as possible, but I gave my scheduled departure as April 28, so as to leave a reasonable amount of time for a check-up. I shall much appreciate any attention you might be able to give to this matter.

It is with sincere personal regret that I heard that you have decided to retire from the Department.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

July 30, 1957

Office of the Secretary of State Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

It would be very much appreciated if you would kindly send to Professor Leo Szilard, in care of the address on this letterhead, a copy of the speech given by the Secretary of State on July 22, 1957.

With thanks for your attention to this re-

quest,

Very truly yours,

Norene Mann (Mrs.) Secretary to Dr. Szilard



SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

April 12, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I very much appreciate your sending me a copy of your suggestions which might come out in The New York Times. We are always glad of any ideas, particularly those bearing on the troublesome question of Germany and Berlin, and while I would wish to study this very carefully from all angles before commenting on it, I assure you I am glad to get it.

I had hoped to be up in New York before now and have an opportunity to see you, but unfortunately I have been held in Washington and am off next week for a visit to Moscow and Europe. It is possible on my way back I will stop off in New York in which case I will certainly get in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Bohlen

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Dr. Leo Szilard,
Room 812, Memorial Center,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N. Y.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

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April 27, 1960

Dear Mrs. Adames

On behalf of Mr. Farley I wish to thank you for your letter of April 22, 1960 in which you enclosed a set of reprints of Dr. Leo Smilard's recent article, "How to Live with the Bomb and Survive". We very much appreciate your courtesy in making the reprints available.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Gehron,
Office of Special Assistant to the Secretary
for Disarmament and Atomic Energy

Mrs. Ruth Adams,
Associate Editor,
Bulletin of the
Atomic Scientists,
1100 East 58th Street,
Chicago 37,
Illinois.

June 9th. 1960.

Ambassador Charles Bohlen, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bohlen,

I have an opportunity to send a communication to

Khrushchev, through the good offices of a visiting Russian colleague

with whom I became very friendly. Attached you will find the text

of the communication that I propose to send. I should appreciate

any comment that you or anyone else in the State Department might

wish to make.

I expect to transmit this letter to my Russian colleague in about 10 days.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard.

Enclosure:



SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

June 14, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I found your letter of June 10 upon my return from the University of Michigan and just a few hours before I am leaving Washington to go to Harvard. Accordingly, I have not had an opportunity to study your proposed letter in detail. However, I have asked some officials of the Department connected with Russian affairs to let you have their comments.

I would, however, strongly urge you not to send this letter to Mr. Khrushchev at the present time. In general, it is questionable that a private citizen should be communicating with a foreign head of government on general relations and on subjects which are under negotiation between the two countries. While I am not an expert on this, I believe there is a law, the Logan Act, which specifically deals with this subject. At this time this is particularly true, in view of Khrushchev's present attitude toward the United States and in particular towards the President.

My first suggestion, therefore, would be that if you wished to pursue this matter further, it would be more appropriate in every way if you would address a letter on this general subject to your Russian scientific colleague rather than to the head of the Soviet Government. Even if so addressed, I would omit the parts in which you speak of United States Government restrictions as the reason why a previous informal gathering of this nature could not come about.

My colleagues in the Department of State dealing with Soviet affairs will have further comments in regard to the contents of this letter and, in addition to the suggestion I made above, I would certainly withhold the letter until you have heard from them.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Bohlen

Charles ESahlen

Dr. Leo Szilard,
Room 812, Memorial Center,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N. Y.

June 16th. 1960.

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bohlen,

Many thanks for your letter of June 11th. I shall give your suggestions serious considerations and I am looking forward to hearing further from your colleagues in the Department, in the next few days. When all the information is in I shall make up my mind what to do and how to do it.

Incidentally, I can be reached over the telephone at ext. 133 at Memorial Hospital, TRafalgar 9 - 3000, at anytime between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. and I would want you, and your colleagues, to feel free to call me, if there is an occasion to do so.

On three different occasions since 1945 I have attempted to arrange for informal discussions between politically knowledgeable American and Russian scientists. Two of these attempts collapsed because the American Government frowned on them and one of them collapsed because the Russian Government frowned on it. If such conversations had been held in 1945 they might have been of very great value. It is more difficult to appraise the value that such conversations may have today.

In 1958 it was definitely my impression that our Russian colleagues were encouraged by their government to enter into the kind of informal conversations with us that some of us had envisaged. At the Baden Meeting in June of that year, I gained the impression, however, that a change has taken place in Russia and that it will not be possible to go much beyond just continuing to hold

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen.

June 16th. 1960.

Pugwash Meetings, unless the Mussian Government can be convinced at the highest level, that politically more knowledgeable Russian scientists ought to participate in such informal discussions. This impression was further strengthened by the experiences of several American colleagues who visited Russia in the course of the current year.

LOOK Magazine asked me to write an article for them and I sent them a draft which they have accepted for publication. The article was initially scheduled to appear in July but now I am not sure when it will appear. In the meantime I am circulating it privately and I am enclosing a copy for your information. A copy seems to have reached Senator Kennedy, judging from the letter attached. A Russian colleague assures me that he can get this article printed in Russia. There is no doubt about his sincerity, but I keep my fingers crossed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard.

Enclosures:



SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

July 12, 1960

Personal + Confudential

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I regret that the rapid and serious developments of recent weeks have delayed my colleagues in the Department concerned with Soviet affairs from forwarding their comments on the proposal contained in your letter of June 10. But your letter has received their most thorough consideration, and their opinion wholly supports my initial advice to you of June 14 that the time is not propitious for suggesting informal discussions between US and Soviet scientists on matters of nuclear policy. I think that in the light of such developments as the Soviet refusal to consider the new Western plan and their Geneva walkout you will agree with this view.

In any case I express once more my appreciation of sharing your thoughts with me on this vitally important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Bohlen

Dr. Leo Szilard,
Room 812, Memorial Center,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

September 13, 1960.

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. The U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Bohlen.

I have your letter of July 12, which is marked "Personal and Confidential", in which you express the opinion that the time is not propitious for suggesting informal discussions between American and Soviet scientists on matters of nuclear policy.

For some time now I have held the view that informal discussions between American and Soviet scientists, focused on the issue of what it would take to avoid a war that neither Russia ner America want, might be productive because they could clarify what the <u>real</u> issues and the <u>real</u> difficulties are that block the way to progress. This view is shared by all of my colleagues with whom I have recently discussed the subject.

Such informal discussions can be productive, however, only if the Government of the Soviet Union understands, at its highest level, their true nature and real purpose. The draft of the letter addressed to Khrushchev, which I sent you, was written with this in mind.

At issue is not whether or not there should be a conference between

American and Russian scientists in the near future. Clearly, what we need is not one
conference but rather continued informal conversations between American and Russian
scientists aimed at the clarification of the problems involved.

We need therefore a clear and enduring recognition on the part of the U.S. Government, as well as the Government of the Soviet Union, that, once such discussions get under way, they must not be postponed or interrupted on account of some setback in negotiations conducted at the governmental level or because governmental negotiations

on some important problem appear to be imminent or might actually be in progress. Clearly, such discussions would have to continue throughout the term of the next President.

It is not my function to set the date or make any other concrete arrangements with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. for informal discussions between American and Russian scientists. This would be done by others.

There have been some developments in connection with the matter which was the subject of my letter of June 9, and I should be very glad to discuss these with you, if you are interested. I am well enough new to leave the Hospital for limited periods of time and I could meet you at a time and place convenient to you when you are in New York.

Further, if the present improvement in my condition should continue for weeks or a few months, I would be able to go to Washington and meet with you and your colleagues in your office, if you deem this desirable.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

P.S. I am enclosing a manuscript entitled "An Excerpt from The Voice of the Delphins" which might interest you.

September 15, 1960.

Walter Whitman, Office of the Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Dear Professor Whitman,

I am enclosing for your information and files an exchange of letters which I recently had with N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The attached memorandum dated September 8 gives the background of my letter to Khrushchev and describes the circumstances under which my letter was transmitted.

Enclosed is also an exchange of letters with Alexander Topchiev, General Secretary of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. This is a sequel to the exchange of letters with Khrushchev.

As you may see from this correspondence, it is not my function to make any concrete arrangements with the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. This would have to be done by others.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard Room 812, The Memorial Hospital, Lill East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.



SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

September 16, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I received your letter of September 13 and appreciate very much your writing me. Subsequent developments in our relations with the Soviet Union have reinforced the views that I expressed to you in my letter of July 12.

However, the purpose of this letter is not to go further into the matter but to tell you I expect to be in New York all next week and will call you at the hospital and we can arrange a time and place convenient to you to meet, as I would be most interested in hearing further your views on this and other matters.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Bohlen

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Dr. Leo Szilard,
Room 812, Memorial Center,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

October 6, 1960.

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Bohlen,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of September 16. I assume that you are kept very busy in New York just now; but I can meet you any time at your convenience. Something came up yesterday which I feel I ought to discuss with you some time. There is no hurry about this, however, and it can well wait until after the elections.

There is just one detail which I feel I ought to communicate to you without undue delay and I have therefore called you today at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and left a telephone message for you, asking you to call the back at extension 133, TRafalgar 9-300 if you return to your office before 4.30 p.m. If I do not hear from you today, I will call you again tomorrow morning.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

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October 6, 1960.

Walter Whitman, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Dear Professor Whitman,

I wrote you on September 15 a letter, with enclosures, which does not require an answer going beyond an acknowledgement of its receipt. Because I have received no such acknowledgement from your office, I am wondering whether my letter went astray or whether it has reached you.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Room 812, The Memorial Hospital, 444 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Tel: TRafalgar 9-3000, Ext. 133



DEPARTMENT OF STATE THE SCIENCE ADVISER

October 10, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I regret the delay in acknowledging your letter and enclosures of September 15. This was caused, in part, by the pressures of my new assignment as Science Adviser in the Department of State.

I have circulated your letter and enclosures of September 15 to the interested areas here in the Department.

With kind regards,

Sincerely.

Walter G. Whitman

Dr. Leo Szilard,

Room 812, Memorial Hospital,

444 East 68th Street,

New York 21, New York 4 3 30 18



- October 10, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

ment of State. new assignment as Science Adviser in the Departwas caused, in part, by the pressures of my letter and enclosures of September 15. This I regret the delay in acknowledging your

the Department. of September 15 to the interested areas here in I have circulated your letter and enclosures

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Walter G. Whitman

Dr. Leo Szilard,

New York 21, New York lilli East 68th Street, Room 812, Memorial Hospital,

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18 October 1960

Mr. Phillip J. Farley
Special Assistant to the
Secretary of State,
United States Department of State,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. Farley,

On October 5th I had an extended private conversation with N.S. Khrushchev in which we discussed what might be the real obstacles standing in the way of disarmament. As a result of this conversation, I have a better understanding of the difficulties than I had beforehand. If you, or those of your colleagues who are concerned with the problem of disarmament, were interested, I should be glad to give you a detailed oral report of the relevant parts of the conversation some time at your convenience when you are in New York.

The easiest way to get in touch with me is over the telephone at Extension 133 - TRafalgar 9-3000. If this extension does not answer, the hospital might offer to take a message but these are not reliably delivered. It is therefore better not to leave any message.

Yours sincerely,

LEO SZILARD

Memorial Hospital, Room 812 444 East 68th Street New York 21, New York.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

Your offer to inform us of relevant parts of your recent conversation with Chairman Khrushchev is most thoughtful. I do not expect to be in New York in the near future. In any case, responsibilities for disarmament have now been transferred in the State Department from my office to a new U.S. Disarmament Administration. I have spoken with Mr. Gullion, who is presently in charge of the new administration, and he has asked me to say that he or Mr. Spiers will look forward to taking advantage of your offer at some time when one of them is in New York.

I was delighted to learn that you expect to be physically able to go to Moscow next month for the Pugwash meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Philip J. Farley

Special Assistant to the Secretary for Atomic Energy and Outer Space

Dr. Leo Szilard,
Memorial Hospital, Room 812,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, New York.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

November 10, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

The President has asked me to express his appreciation for your letter of October 13 and to reply on his behalf.

Mr. William Hitchcock of our disarmament staff informs me that you are to be in Washington November 14. I have asked Mr. Charles Bohlen to discuss with you at that time the matters you raised in your letter, if it is convenient for you to do so.

I also understand that you intend to go to Moscow this month for a meeting and am pleased to know that you are physically able to undertake such a trip. I know that you will bear carefully in mind the fact that our negotiations on disarmament are a most serious matter, involving the basic national security of this country. It would, of course, be most unfortunate if the course of scientific discussions with the Soviets should undermine the carefully considered efforts of the Government to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on adequately safeguarded measures for limiting armaments.

Most sincerely,

Christian A. Herter

Christian L. Her

Dr. Leo Szilard,

Memorial Hospital, Room 812,

1444 East 68th Street,

New York 21, New York.

Copy November 11, 1960

Ambassador Charles Bohlen U.S. Department of State Washington D.C.

With reference to letter of Secretary of November 10 regret unable to visit Washington on No November 14 stop writing stop regards

Leo Szilard

NL William Hitchcock U.S. Department of State Washington, D.C.

Regret unable to visit Washington Monday November 14 stop writing

Leo Szilard

November 16, 1960.

Ambassador Charles Bohlen. U.S. Department of State. Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bohlen,

Upon receipt of a letter dated November 10 from Secretary Herter, I wired you to say that, to my regret, I had to cancel my trip to Washington scheduled for Monday, November 14. It turned out that a minor medical manipulation, which had become necessary, could not be performed over the week-end and had therefore to be scheduled for Monday.

Because it now looks as though I will have to leave for Moscow on Wednesday, November 23, two days ahead of schedule, I shall not be able to visit Washington until I return in December. I plan to contact you at that time, in order to see if we can work out a meeting at a time convenient to you.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the paper which I have submitted for the Moscow meeting scheduled to start on November 27. The only response I have so far is a letter from a distinguished Russian colleague, S. Bresler in Leningrad. I am enclosing the relevant passage of his letter.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Lec Szilard

Room 812, The Memorial Hospital, 444 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Telephone: TRafalgar 9-3000, Ext. 133

November 16, 1960.

William Hitchcock, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hitchcock.

I sent you a telegram last Friday to say that I had to cancel my visit to Washington, which was scheduled for Monday, November 14.

It turned out that the minor medical manipulation, which became necessary, could not be scheduled for the week-end and had to be performed on Monday.

I am now planning to leave for Moscow on the morning of Wednesday, November 23, two days ahead of schedule, and will not be able to visit Washington before that time. Upon my return in December, I intend to contact you and arrange for a visit to the Department at a time which is convenient to you and your colleagues.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely.

Leo Szilard

Room 812, The Memorial Hospital, 444 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Telephone: TRafalgar 9-3000 Ext.133

Passage from Letter of S. Bresler, dated Leningrad, October 24, 1960.

You make the U.S.S.R. change its opinion about disarmament and interchange places between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. This idea sheds doubt on Soviet dissymament policy. because it makes the general principle of policy without war a matter of expediency. Of course, it will arise sharp criticism here. And it is not motivated. Why the Union, who is for general disarmament new, being in minority in the U.N. and having better long range rockets, would object against disarmament at a time when it wins the majority of votes and has technically equal arms with U.S.A.? I see your point about protection of remote areas but I do not find it important. First of all without heavy arms there can not be a blitzkrieg. On the opposite, any war must involve big amounts of men, masses of soldiers. Even in a hypothetic war of U.S.A. against Cuba only with rifles and machine guns, there must be a big army involved. But in peace time it is not easy to organize and train a big army. It takes time, And with modern means of communications it would not take more time for Russian volunteers with rifles and machine guns to arrive on the spot and participate. So the equilibrium would establish by itself. Altogether I find this point in the "Dolphins" a mistake and it would be better to change.

UNITED STATES DISARMAMENT ADMINISTRATION



November 25, 1960

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of November 16, although I assume that you will have left for Moscow before this is received.

I was sorry we could not arrange a meeting before your scheduled departure, but I am looking forward to hearing from you on your return.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Well Sheetent

William K. Hitchcock

Dr. Leo Szilard,
Room 812,
The Memorial Hospital,
444 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

March 25, 1961

Personal

Dear Mr. Bohlen:

I stayed in Moscow after the Pugwash Conference and spent altogether a month there, but I cannot say that I learned anything substantial that I didn't know before I went there. I expect to stay for about a month in Washington, D. C., at the Hotel Dupont Plaza, and if you should wish to see me while I am here, I trust you will let me know.

In the meantime, I am attaching a copy of a memorandum which I gave Chairman Khrushchev in Russian translation when he last visited New York and which he read in my presence. Attached is also a report on my conversation with the Chairman, based on notes which I made immediately following the conversation.

In Moscow I found that an extended memorandum covering this conversation had been given to certain members of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Naturally, I would have liked to see the Soviet version of this conversation, but I couldn't very well ask to see it since I learned of its existence through an indescretion.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Ambassador Charles Bohlen Department of State Washington 25, D. C.

March 29, 1961 Mr. William K. Hitchcock United States Disarmament Administration Department of State Washington 25, D. C. Dear Mr. Hitchcock: Many thanks for your letter of November 25th, which I received after I returned from Moscow. I stayed there beyond the "Pugwash" meeting, remaining there for about a month and leaving at Christmas. Thereafter, I spent some time in Western Europe and did not immediately return to the States. At present I am in Washington, staying at the Hotel Dupont Plaza, where I expect to remain until the end of April. If you wish to see me during this period, we should have no difficulty in finding a convenient time. I am quite well at present and trust you will let me know if you think that any useful purpose might be served by our having a conversation. If the telephone in my room does not answer, you might have me paged in the lobby. If you can't reach me, please leave a message and I shall call your office when I return to the hotel. With best wishes, Sincerely yours, Leo Szilard



SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

April 3, 1961

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I am delighted to hear that you will be in Washington and I shall certainly give you a ring in the very near future as I would enjoy very much having a conversation with you.

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the memorandum which you gave Mr. Khrushchev when he was in New York last Fall, which I shall read with great interest.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Bohlen

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Dr. Leo Szilard The University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

June 4, 1961

Mr. William K. Hitchcock United States Disarmament Adminstration Department of State Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hitchcock:

On March 29, I wrote you a letter but received no acknowledgment of its receipt. I wonder if you ever got it. A copy of my letter is attached.

Enclosed I am sending you a book which was recently published and which might perhaps interest you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

LS:ck encs.



June 16, 1961

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I called you some days ago to apologize for my failure to respond to your earlier letter to me that you mentioned in your note of June 4. I am sending you this letter in case you failed to get my message. Incidentally when I recall the history of the last seven or eight months, it would seem that the fates are conspiring to prevent us from getting together.

As you conjectured in your letter of June 4, I had never seen your earlier letter. Nevertheless, I am aware of your contacts in the interim with Ambassador Bohlen, Mr. Gullion, and Mr. Barnet, the latter of whom is on my staff at the Disarmament Administration. I have also seen a memorandum which I believe you sent Ambassador Bohlen on your conversation of last October, which was the subject on which I initially called you in New York last November. For these reasons I would see no reason why I would need to impinge on your valuable time despite the fact that I would be most pleased to have an excuse for meeting you on an appropriate occasion.

I appreciate your helpfulness, and I am also grateful to you for sending me a copy of "The Voice of the Dolphins" which I have read with much interest.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

William K. Hitchcock

we shine

Studies and Projects Office

Dr. Leo Szilard,
Hotel Dupont Plaza,
Dupont Circle,
Washington, D. C.

October 18, 1961

Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr. U.S. Department of State Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Last December I stayed, after the end of the so-called Pugwash meeting, in Moscow until Christmastime in order to try to find out through private conversations what I could not find out during the official meetings. I tried to see you before I left and called you at your office, but I was told that you were away from your office, suffering from a cold.

Enclosed is a copy of a recent issue of The New Republic which contains on the marked page an article that I wrote on the so-called Berlin issue. I am somehow convinced that the key to arriving at a solution of this issue that could lead to a politically stable situation in Eastern Europe is in the hands of the Soviet Union and consists of making a free city not only of West Berlin but also of East Berlin and to confer on each of these two free cities a neutral status, similar to that of Austria. Rightly or wrongly, I believe that I might be able to convince Khrushchev to make use of this key if I saw him in circumstances which are conducive to a dispassionate examination of the problem involved. My optimism in this regard is in part based on a rather good conversation which I had with him, in which I raised this point, on October 5 of last year in New York.

I am at present staying in Washington at the Hotel Dupont Plaza and if you should care to discuss this or any other issue, please don't hesitate to let me know by telephone.

With best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

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



THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy, Moscow, November 27, 1961.

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

Dear Professor Szilard:

Your letter of October 18 apparently missed me in Washington by one day and was forwarded on here. I regret that we were unable to have the discussion which you suggested. I have read with interest your article in the New Republic. I shall not comment in detail on your proposals but will address myself to your interest in discussing the Berlin problem with Mr. Khrushchev. First of all let me say that I know enough about you not to question in any way your sincerity or selflessness in this matter. Quite frankly, however, while it is not only proper but useful for informed citizens of a democracy like ours to discuss such matters both privately and in print, I feel deeply that it is wrong for any private citizen to take it upon himself to discuss such matters with the head of a foreign government, quite apart from its questionable legality. You apparently believe that such a conversation could do no harm and might do some good. I believe in fact that if you should present your ideas to Mr. Khrushchev it would do harm in that it would probably encourage him to think that some of your proposals, which I am certain could never be accepted by us, could be achieved if he would only keep pushing for them. This is quite apart from the fact that some of the proposals in your suggested package would, I am sure, be unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

I hope you will forgive and understand my writing to you so bluntly but, I can assure you, sincerely. I hope that at some time we may have an opportunity to discuss these matters.

With best wishes I am,

Sincerely,

Llewellyn Thompson

Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson American Embassy Moscow, Russia

Dear Ambassador Thompson:

I wish to thank you for your kind letter of November 27. Even though the question of my discussing with Mr. Khrushchev the Berlin issue would seem to be a rather academic one at the present time, I should like to respond to the remarks contained in your letter.

The package which I described in my article in the New Republic was meant to show what kind of a settlement it would take to leave the door open in Europe for a political XXXXXX development that might lead to a stable situation in Eastern Europe. The issue of whether some elements in this package are acceptable to the United States and whether some other elements in the package are unacceptable to the Soviet Union is, in a sense, beside the point, for it is not my function to negotiate a settlement. If America and the Soviet Union negotiate with each other, they may have to compromise with each other. But when XMX it comes to the issue of what kind of a settlement could lead to political stability in Eastern Europe, then we are dealing with the question of substance and one cannot compromise with the truth.

I gladly concede that if I were to talk with Mr. Khrushchev and he did not understand that I am analyzing what it would take to make Eastern Europe as stable as possible, but rather believed that I am expressing what the second segment of public opinion would appear to be acceptable, the conversation could do, I would be guilty of misleading Khrushchev this indeed could do considerable harm. I believe, however, that you would be underestimating Mr. Khrushchev's equality of perception and my ability to be clear, if you think that Khrushchev would be misled by what I would be saying to him. Only if there were a time limit set which would make for a hurried conversation would there, I believe, be a danger of misunderstanding.

On the basis of my past experience I found my conversations with Mr. Khrushchev not only enlightening but also very useful. In the conversation which I had with him last October, I found that he grasped important points to which he had apparently never been exposed before with great . At one point I tried to explain to him that if it ever came to serious negotiation on general disarmament so that the problem of inspection became the relevant issue a major roadblock could perhaps be removed if the Soviet Union were to create complications, where we could rely on the Soviet citizens in general and Soviet engineers and scientists in particular to report secret violations to an international XXXXXX control commission. Khrushchev responded quite positive to this, which, in itself, of course would not mean very much, however, when I got to Moscow to attend the sixth Pugwash meeting last year I found that a number of key members of the heralded Soviet Academy of Sciences were given a XXXXXXXX detailed report of my XXX conversation with Khrushchev and in this report was quoted of having said that if America were willing to seriously consider general disarmament the Soviet Union would give serious consideration to the possibility of having violations reported by Soviet citizens.

The willingness of the Soviet Union to seriously consider these topics do not of course mean that it is an easy solution to the questions involved but at least it becomes possible to discuss and find out how likely it might be that adequate solutions could be found.

9 3 5 4

I do not regard discussing disarmament with our Russian colleagues as a first order of business at present. We have other more immediate things to worry about. But I wanted to say, for the record, that I cannot concede either that talking to Khrushchev last October has done any harm or that my talking to him, if there were some occasion in the future to do so, would be likely to do any harm. Still, I can understand, of course, if you are uneasy about such private conversations, just as I was uneasy when I learned that the President is going to have conversations with Mr. Khrushchev in Vienna. Temperamentally I am compatible with Mr. Khrushchev, but I doubted that President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev would be temperamentally compatible. In the retrospect one may wish the meeting had not taken place.

to file



UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS WASHINGTON

April 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Szilard:

It was a pleasure to meet you at Agnes Meyer's dinner party recently and I much enjoyed the opportunity to talk with you.

I have read your proposal on Cuba, contained in the memorandum dated February 18, with interest. Not being directly concerned with Cuban affairs, I have transmitted your letter and attachment to our Coordinator of Cuban Affairs for his study.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

W. Averell Harriman

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

May 9, 1963

The Hon. W. Averell Harriman U. 8. Department of State Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Harriman:

A few days ago, I phoned your secretary to ask whether it might be possible for us to have a leisurely conversation some time at your convenience.

Enclosed is a carbon of a memorandum for your information.

I have not made up my mind as yet just how to get the matter to the President's attention, but I am inclined to think that I may want to go through the Attorney General.

I would like to discuss with you when your time permits some of the problems upon which this memorandum touches.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

To the Secretary of State Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I am enclosing a draft of a letter which I thought of sending to the Belgian Ambassador, being of the opinion that it is in the interest of this country as well as in the interest of Belgium and other pacific xxxxxixx nations to draw the attention of the Belgian Government to a potential danger which has arisen in connection with the new development in physics. I am informing you of this in order to ask you whether your Department would care to receive information on the subject, and whether it would be willing to approach the Belgian Government, or whether tou feel that I had better approach the Belgian government through its ambassador, by sending the letters a draft of which I am enclosing.

I am, Sir, yours very truly,

To depress I doller passel a to freeh a ecuding to the Belgian tand spinings off to paked tebesses -vetal and at as flow as groups stat to secretar eat at at at the word of emotion management of from radio has sufficient to tes - confidence the Administrativity and publican to repeased the state of the sentence of the sent weather to a total to that a total To the Honorable Ambassador of Belgium Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I feel that I ought to draw your attention to certain new discoveries in nuclear physics which may affect the welfare of your country as well as that of the United States and other nations.

It appears not only possible but a very likely that it will be possible to make a powerful source of energy out of an element called uranium, the chief source of which at present is Belgian Congo. Recent publications which appeared in the scientific periodicals point already in this direction, and more information is contained in some unpublished work which has been done at Columbia University and of which I have received information through Dr. L. Szilard, New York, and Dr. E.P. Wigner, Princeton. It is to be expected that, if it becomes known that uranium can be made to release energy on a large scale, certain powers will attempt to secure large stocks of this element or its ore. There is a possibility, though this point is not yet certain, that explosive bombs can be constructed from uranium, the destructive power of which would be beyond imagination.

Important deposits of uranium are present in that part of Germany that belonged formerly to Czechoslovakia, in Canada and in Belgian Congo. **Semendeposits**exarexalsaxpresent** Of these deposits the German is estimated to be about 1000 to 1500

tons, the Canadian about 3000 tons, and the Belgian deposit is supposed to be considerably larger. About 3000 tons in the form of very poor ore are available in the United States, and rather unimportant deposits may be found in the possessions of other nations.

It is conceivable that certain powers, who are potential enemies both of Belgium and the United States, will in the near future attempt to secure a stock of this potentially so dangerous element, and in the circumstances it seems to me necessary to take precautions to inhibit the delivery of any stocks of this material to such potential enemies. I understand that Germany, which has offered some uranium for sale immediately after taking over the Ckechoslovakian mines, is no longer prepared to export this material.

I am, Sir, yours, very truly,