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PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

JOHN J. COST
GENERAL MANAGER

Washington, D.C.
7 January 1962 .

HUdson 3-6000

Dr. Jonas Salk
School of Medecine
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Jonas:

When you called me last night you shifted the basis of the discussion from regular membership in the Institute to a status similar to that you are offering to Monod and Crick. You said that you would write me in order to make a concrete proposal along this particular line.

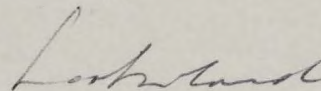
Having slept over this matter, I think I am now in a position to make a clear statement which is as follows:

If you were to offer me, in the foreseeable future, the kind of status you are offering to Monod and Crick, plus an option to regular membership, I would promptly accept. On the other hand, if you are not in a position to add such an option, then I would have to decline.

My plane leaves in a few hours and if I manage to do my packing in time, I shall call you over the telephone in order to advise you in advance of your receiving this letter through the mail.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

18 January 1962

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle and
New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Leo:

Time has been so very short before leaving that I have deferred sending to you the letter about which we talked on the phone until I return from Europe during the first week in February.

I was pleased to have your letter of 7 January which in essence confirms our understanding.

I hope your visit out west was profitable and I will communicate with you upon my return.

Sincerely,

Jonas Salk

lf

Today, mankind for the first time is emerging as a communicating and potentially cooperating society. This process creates great opportunity as well as great danger. To help exploit the one and avert the other, the Committee proposes to study human society as a whole and to stimulate re-thinking of concepts and values in terms of the future of that society.

COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF MANKIND

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*Professor of Philosophy
and Greek
The University of Chicago*

*Member, Executive Committee

VIEWS AND IDEAS ON MANKIND

Bulletin No. 13

December, 1962

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*Member, Executive Committee

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN WILL APPEAR UNDER THE NAME, COUNCIL FOR THE STUDY OF MANKIND. When the former name was adopted ten years ago, the members were not sure whether and how the study group would develop. They chose the more flexible term "Committee." Now that a definite and expanding program has been under way for some time, and the work of the group been consolidated, the members feel that the name Council is more indicative of the permanent character of the organization. The members have approved the change unanimously.

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- JAMES WORTHY
Chicago, Illinois

C O N F E R E N C E SNationalism

The report on the Serbelloni conference on "Nationalism and Mankind", sponsored by The Rockefeller Foundation, in September, 1961, has now been completed and is being mailed to the participants and other interested parties. The report consists of the proceedings (39 pp.), a commentary by Gerhard Hirschfeld (54 pp.), and a paper on "Education and Nationalism" by Professor Hans Thirring (10 pp.), a total of 54 pages. If you would like to obtain a copy, please write us.

History

The corrections of the summary have been received from all the participants in the conference. "History and the Idea of Mankind"; the final summary covering the five sessions and running to about 100 pages will be prepared and distributed shortly.

Technology

The three-day conference on "Technology and the Idea of Mankind", co-sponsored by the Corning Glass Works Foundation and Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology, has been tentatively scheduled for March 15-17, 1963. About twenty-five noted scholars in technology and related fields are expected. The proposed agenda will give special attention to the impact of technology on:

- (1) Economic Productivity - (the changing relationship between the haves and the have-nots)
- (2) Cultural Change - (the individual and his environment)
- (3) Law and Government - (democracy and communism; the interpretation of the concept of freedom)
- (4) Education - (the broader understanding)

Anthropology

An exploratory meeting, attended by Professors Margaret Mead, Sol Tax, and others, was held in Chicago on December 15, to consider further study of anthropology in relation to the idea of mankind. The proper approach might be to give anthropologists the problem of developing a model for mankind organization. Working on the assumption that all present sub-

divisions are gone, the problem would be to decide what forms of segmentation might be used in structuring the model in light of such problems as:

- 1) A mankind system would be an "island-type" system in that there would be no competing system at the same level
- 2) A mankind system must be structured in such a way as to both insure stability and allow for change (i.e., it must be "open-ended")
- 3) A mankind system must draw from the types of existing (or possible) loyalties those which would be compatible with a viable system.

In this way a series of papers may be obtained to be published and used in the Committee's educational program.

Mental Health

On the same day a meeting was held to discuss the desirability of arranging a two-day conference on "Mental Health and the Idea of Mankind." Apart from Professors Mead and Tax, it was attended by Professors Frank Fremont-Smith, American Institute of Biological Sciences, Ralph Gerard, University of Michigan, Roy Grinker, Michael Reese Hospital, Mark Krug, University of Chicago, and others. It was decided that a conference might deal with questions such as these:

- 1) What are the mental health implications for the individual of his lack of understanding of the functional whole of which he is a part?
- 2) To what extent is the individual's conception of himself as a member of mankind a condition to good mental health?
- 3) What are the contributions (actual or potential) of the human sciences to an understanding of the ways in which the individual develops and can develop in relation to mankind?

B O O K S

Education

The volume, Education and the Idea of Mankind consisting of eleven papers has now been completed under the direction of Professor Robert Ulich. It has been submitted to several publishers who have expressed an interest in this book. If published, it would constitute the first in what we hope will be a series of books in various disciplines, all dealing with the concept of mankind as a whole.

Economics

This is the second volume in the series, now being prepared under the direction of Professor Bert Hoselitz. It consists of seven papers which we hope to have ready for the publisher by the spring of 1963, with publication tentatively scheduled for autumn release.

Law

On the occasion of the annual meeting of the Association of American Law Schools, a breakfast meeting was held on December 29 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago. It was attended by Professors

Auerbach, Carl	University of Wisconsin
Davitt, S.J., Thomas E.	Marquette University
Hazard, John N.	Columbia University
Jones, Harry W.	University of Chicago
Jones, William C.	Washington University
McDougal, Myres S.	Yale University
McWhinney, Edward	University of Toronto, Canada
Mentschikoff, Soia	University of Chicago
Noonan, John T.	University of Notre Dame
Rheinstein, Max	University of Chicago

The program of the Law group was reviewed and new ideas considered. It will be remembered that following the conference on "Law and the Idea of Mankind" held at the University of Virginia in May, 1960, the Committee continued its efforts to relate to the idea of mankind. It sought to arrange a

series of articles by noted jurists for publication in legal periodicals. It was hoped that out of this would grow both the necessary interest and background material to warrant a world conference on "Law and the Idea of Mankind." To date, Professors Harry W. Jones and Quincy Wright have prepared articles.

In view of the response he had received to his own article, "Law and the Idea of Mankind" (62 Columbia Law Review 753), Professor Jones suggested it might be more productive to have a few key articles. These would be distributed to legal scholars representing different points of view in order to elicit comments suitable for publication along with the major article. The participants agreed that, if this procedure were adopted, the series would be of greater interest, be easier to arrange, and better serve as "pleadings" to define issues for a world conference.

Professor Mentschikoff suggested that two main lines of inquiry might be covered; the first line would set out some of the fundamental values which would be involved in relating law and mankind. The second line would be that of exploring dispute settlement mechanisms.

Professor Rheinstein suggested two major articles: one dealing with the extreme western view; the other, with the extreme eastern view. Comments on this confrontation might then be sought from scholars having more mediate views of the possibilities for mankind law--e.g., from scholars in Western Europe, in Poland, and Yugoslavia.

Several variations of these proposals were discussed, among them the advisability of holding an intermediate conference in the United States. It was also proposed to set up a planning committee in Chicago to help guide the further development of the program. Professors Thomas Davitt, Harry Jones, Soia Mentschikoff and Max Rheinstein agreed to serve.

History

On the same day, an afternoon meeting was held on the occasion of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago. It was attended by Professors

Black, Cyril	Princeton University
Gottschalk, Louis	University of Chicago
Krug, Mark M.	University of Chicago
Morse, Richard	Yale University
Muller, Herbert	University of Indiana
Stavrianos, Leften	Northwestern University

The planning of the proposed book on history and the idea of mankind was discussed in some detail and the following tentative division of chapters was agreed upon:

HISTORY AND THE IDEA OF MANKIND

Part A: The Idea of Mankind in the Past

- Chapters 1 The Idea of Mankind in the Ancient World
 2 The Idea of Mankind in the Classical World
 3 The Idea of Mankind in the Medieval World
 4 The Idea of Mankind in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution
 5 Retrospect and Transition to the Twentieth Century

Part B: The Idea of Mankind Today

- 6 The Idea of Mankind: Science and Technology
 7 The Idea of Mankind: Ideologies
 8 The Idea of Mankind: Religion
 9 The Idea of Mankind: Race
 10 Mankind and History: Universalism and Diversity

E D U C A T I O N

Social Studies Pamphlets

We have engaged the services of experts to prepare educational materials for the use of high school Social Studies teachers. A pamphlet (20 to 30 pp.) will be prepared on each of the conferences held so far, i.e., on Philosophy, Education, Law, Science, Economics, and History, or six pamphlets altogether.

Recently, a dinner meeting of Social Studies teachers in the Chicago area was held. It was attended by:

Mr. Edgar Bernstein, Social Studies teacher,
 Laboratory High School, University of Chicago.

Mr. Norman Britain, Chairman, Social Studies
 Department, Southeast Branch, City of Chicago
 Junior College.

Mrs. Charlene Castori, Chairman, Social Studies Department, Hyde Park High School.

Mr. Jack Ellison, Chairman, Social Studies Department, Francis Parker School.

Mr. Robert Hanvey, Assistant Principal, Laboratory High School, University of Chicago.

Mr. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Executive Director, Committee for the Study of Mankind.

Miss Stella Kern, President-elect, National Council for Social Studies.

Professor Mark M. Krug, Academic Consultant to the Committee for the Study of Mankind; Associate Professor of Education, University of Chicago; Chairman, Social Studies Department, Laboratory High School, University of Chicago.

Mr. Saul Mendelsohn, Chairman, Social Studies Department, DuSable High School.

Mr. Philip Montag, Associate Chairman, Social Science Department, Laboratory High School, University of Chicago.

Mr. Carl Myrent, Head-teacher, Mather High School branch in the Boone Public School.

Mr. Ernest Poll, Chairman, Freshman Project; Science teacher, Laboratory High School, University of Chicago.

****Miss Nadine Clark**, Chairman, Social Studies Department, Evanston High School. (Mr. Krug informed the group that she was unable to attend, but that she wished to be included in the membership of the committee.)

It was agreed to set up a committee for the purpose of examining the pamphlets as they are completed and to suggest desirable changes. When revised, the pamphlets are to be printed and distributed among Social Studies high school teachers here and abroad. It is hoped that they will enable teachers to give some attention in their courses to the idea of mankind. In brief, the

committee is to act as an editorial board for the publication of these and related materials. The members agreed to try out the materials in their respective schools.

Following are some interesting suggestions made at the dinner meeting: Miss Stella Kern stated her belief that the National Council for Social Studies would be interested in the work of the Committee and might be willing to devote a section meeting at its next annual conference to the idea of mankind; the organ of the Council might consider the publication of articles on the same subject.

Mr. Jack Ellison suggested that the concept of mankind would be very useful in the study of world history. He added, however, that in some schools Social Studies teachers might encounter some difficulty in the dissemination of the idea of mankind.

Mr. Robert Hanvey suggested that the idea of mankind and the materials of the Committee should be introduced, not only in the high schools, but also in the elementary schools.

Lexington High School Experiment (See Bulletin No. 11, p. 11)

Professor Theodore Brameld, School of Education, Boston University, has sent in the report (40 pp.), "A Pilot Project in the Study of Mankind." The project was conducted over a period of fourteen weeks (four sessions per week of 50 minutes each) during the second semester of the 1961-62 academic year at Lexington Senior High School, Lexington, Massachusetts, with 29 high school juniors, all or most of whom were college-bound, participating. The report was written chiefly by three doctoral candidates for the Ph.D. degree in the Philosophy of Education at Boston University. Based upon the use of anthropological ideas, it seems that the project produced a substantial degree of broader understanding of the idea of mankind among the participating students as well as among the staff. The Lexington School Board recognized the positive results of the pioneer venture and voted a grant for the continuation of the project.

Discussion Group

The November 14 meeting of the Chicago academic group, which continued the series of six meetings started in January, 1962 dealt with Anthropology and the Idea of Mankind. The discussion was led by Professor Lloyd Fallers;

the meeting was attended by Professors

Anderson, C. Arnold	Education
Barth, Markus	Theology
Bettelheim, Bruno	Psychology
Braun, Rudolf	History
Fallers, Lloyd	Anthropology
Grinker, Roy R.	Psychiatry
Krug, Mark M.	Education
Mentschikoff, Soia	Law
Meyer, Gerhard	Economics
Schultz, Theodore W.	Economics
Tax, Sol	Anthropology
Taylor, Joshua C.	Fine Arts

We are now in the process of setting up a long-range program with a view to establish better coherence among the different subjects and to give the entire program a cumulative value. Later, we hope to present a summary of the contents of the series of discussions. Among the subjects to be discussed at future meetings are: Education, Fine Arts, International Relations, Law, Mental Health, Religion, Sociology, and Technology.

A D M I N I S T R A T I V E

We are pleased to announce the election to the

Board of Directors of Dr. Leonard Reiffel, Director of Physics Research, Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology

and to the
Board of Advisors Dr. A. K. Brohi, formerly Minister of Law and ex-Pakistani High Commissioner to India

Professor Sol Tax, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago

Dr. Robert Watson-Watt, at the present time associated with the Center for Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California

E U R O P E A N S E C T I O N

We have been informed by our friends of the European Section, The Hague, that grants have now been obtained from the Prins Bernhard Foundation and the Fondation Européenne de la Culture for its first conference on the idea of mankind. The conference, which has for its subject, "Is the Future Unity of Mankind a Justifiable Expectation?" will be held at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague on April 4, 5, and 6, 1963. It is expected that the conference will be attended by about twenty-five noted scholars from different countries. Professor Robert Ulich and Mr. Gerhard Hirschfeld have been invited to attend the conference as representatives of the American Committee.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS

I have read with enlightenment Dr. Jones' article "Law and the Idea of Mankind" and have had it bound and placed on the shelves in the Center's work area, where, thanks to the new building into which Duke Law School moved at the beginning of the present academic year, we have improved facilities for research. We are also having bound for this purpose the 239 page summary of the 1960 conference on Law and Mankind. The work of your Committee is always a stimulating example.

Professor Wallace McClure, School of Law
Duke University

Thank you for a copy of Bulletin No. 12. It is really good reading material. But, as you know by now, I am an incorrigible Hindu who must go beyond the verbal level to the root cause or aspect of every problem. My own feeling is that our emphasis on Mankind as one integrated entity, educationally, culturally, psychologically, politically and even philosophically, runs the risk of remaining a mere concept, at best, leavened with certain amount of humanistic religiosity, unless and until man has been helped to discover his own inner reality where he can feel and know his fellowman as his own self! When such a realization has been possible, then he stands on

an unshakable rock and his sensitiveness will be heightened to a point where plucking a leaf or a flower will cause in the physical and psychic anatomy of his being the same pain as he would feel if some one were to chop off a finger from his hand. Perhaps, in this day and age when a tidal wave of barbarism and ruthlessness is blowing over the world, to talk of things such as these is futile. Realization of unity of mankind is a matter of the heart, as I see it. But all effort to awaken fellowmen to such an urgency is good and is worthy of best wishes and prayers for success. You have both of these from me.

Dr. Kewal Motwani, Jabalpur, M.P., India

It was good of you to send me the materials relating to the objectives and activities of the Committee. They are among the most interesting and thought-provoking studies and plans that I have ever encountered. Although the Committee was not unknown to me, I must confess ignorance of its impressive record of activities. To Mark Krug goes my gratitude for taking the time to convey my request to you.

If it is at all possible to keep me informed of your deliberations and publications, I promise to do my phase in publicizing among my colleagues and students your important work. The mankind dimension as a concept in a fearful world is an effective compass in approaching what seem today to be insoluble problems to teacher and student alike.

Professor Isadore Starr, Department of Education
Queens College

I might say that, since attending the Lake Como Conference, I have had occasion to emphasize the importance of looking at world developments from the standpoint of mankind as a whole with a confidence and conviction I did not have before, for all of which I wish to thank the Committee for the opportunity given me.

Dr. Tatsuji Takeuchi, Kwansai Gakuin University
Japan

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JOHN J. COST
GENERAL MANAGER

HUDSON 3-6000

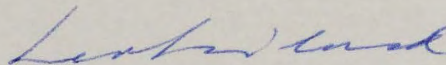
20 March 1962

Jonas Salk
Medical School
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Jonas:

I wonder whether you had your executive Board Meeting and whether the issue of the by-laws is now settled. Do you now have the unqualified acceptance of the nucleus of your staff or is there still a major hurdle in this respect, or in some other respect, to be overcome before you can turn your attention to staffing? I might be able to devote some attention to the staffing problem, as far as the very young are concerned, after 10 May if I know ahead of time that this problem will be ripe by that time. Incidentally, Fox, who could be very useful as a scout, is about to receive an offer from MIT.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

Call for
A.M. 9:27 A.
Friday 10 A.M.

18 April 1962

Dr. Leo Szilard
The DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle & New Hampshire Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doctor Szilard:

Dr. Salk is away but asked that the enclosed be sent to you.
He hopes to be in touch with you shortly if, in fact, he
hasn't reached you prior to your receipt of this letter.

Sincerely,

Secretary to
Jonas Salk

lf

Enc. - By-Laws

7 August 1962

Dr. Leo Szilard
c/o The DuPont Plaza
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doctor Szilard:

The confusion of vacations has resulted in this inordinate delay of getting the enclosed to you. I hope from now on we can be much more prompt.

Sincerely,

Secretary to
Jonas Salk

lf

Enc. Bulletin No. 2

27 September 1962

Dear Charles:

Enclosed please find a note to me from Leo Szilard in regard to reimbursement for two trips from Washington to New York on Institute business.

The February meeting referred to was for the purpose of discussing, with Dr. Salk, the development of the Institute By-Laws. The other was the 19 May meeting at which the Fellows formally accepted their appointments in the Institute.

I am sorry that I caused you so much trouble with my various and sundry expense vouchers. In the future, should I use my Air Travel Card, for personal travel, I will reimburse you with my own check before the transaction becomes involved on your books.

Best regards,

William Glazier

Enc.

La Valencia Hotel
La Jolla, California
19 October 1962

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Du Pont Plaza
Washington, D.C.

Dear Leo:

The Fellows Meeting on Thursday,
25 October, will be held at the Hotel Gotham,
New York, beginning 8:30 A.M.

To make the most of the day, we
plan to remain in session through lunch.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Jonas Salk

JS
Jh

C
O
P
Y

5 February 1963

Dear Leo:

LIFE Magazine has just published a piece on The Institute. As you know this was done with our knowledge and cooperation. Originally it was to be a lead article in a Special Supplement on Science. The Special Supplement plan has been temporarily shelved for magazine reasons and the decision was made to reduce the article plus pictures from sixteen pages in the Supplement to about one-half that amount in a regular issue.

I need not tell you that this sort of thing is always fraught with danger because the magazine has its own purposes. They tend to personalize anything they do in a way that the rest of us do not find congenial. Much to my displeasure this turned out to be more personal than I was led to believe. We made strong requests for changes, not all of which were granted.

On the more productive and pleasanter side, more real progress has been made since my arrival on 21 December than for a long time. You will, very soon, learn about The Education of JES and about what if I knew then I would have done differently. But, it is nice to have so much behind us, so much solidity under us now, and so much to which to look forward.

A great deal more very soon. Until then

Dr. Leo Szilard
The DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle
Washington, D. C.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



WASHINGTON BULLETIN 2

JANUARY - FEBRUARY 1963

National office: 301 Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington 6. D.C.

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FEB 11 1963

Change of Name:

At its December meeting, the Board of Directors voted to change the name of the Council from COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR to COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD. This decision was taken because a certain amount of confusion and misunderstanding had been occasioned by the original name. Abolishing war is a necessary step in establishing a LIVABLE WORLD, but it is not sufficient. A LIVABLE WORLD requires universal minimum standards of individual freedoms and of economic well-being. The Council's new name serves to make its long-range goals explicit.

Role of the Council in the 1962 Congressional Elections

The role played by the Council and membership in helping to bring about the victory of George McGovern has received considerable comment and attention in many parts of the country and particularly in Washington. Although McGovern trailed in the public opinion polls by a narrow margin throughout the campaign, he won the election by a 500-vote margin following a precinct canvass which ended in December. The \$20,091.55 contributed by the membership and the \$2,000 given in the closing stages directly by the Council from its General Funds represented a substantial fraction of the total campaign expenditures and was a critical factor in the election. McGovern is the first Democratic Senator from South Dakota in 26 years. His victory was a remarkable personal triumph against extremely heavy odds which included not merely a traditionally Republican electorate but a 3-week period of hospitalization at the height of the campaign.

1963 Operational Program of the Council for a Livable World

a) Accrual of Campaign Funds for the 1964 Congressional Elections

In order that the Council and the membership may have the maximum possible impact on the 1964 Congressional elections, it will undoubtedly be necessary to accrue campaign contributions during off-election years as well as in election years. The Directors believe that a certain proportion of 1963 contributions should be set aside and earmarked for use in the 1964 elections. The Council will shortly send out a questionnaire detailing two possible methods of accruing funds during 1963.

b) Washington Legislative and Policy Program

A number of organizations with objectives similar to those of the Council operate a legislative program (lobby) in Washington. The Council's program differs from the usual one in three fundamental respects. 1) It is concerned at least as much if not more, with policy rather than with legislation. 2) It must devote as much time to

discussions with the Administration as it does to members of Congress. 3) The "lobbying" will be done primarily by individuals brought to Washington by the Council rather than by full-time, paid legislative representatives.

The Council is currently conducting discussions with key members of Congress and the Administration. Plans are being formulated to develop continuing relationships with concerned individuals.

c) Joint Russian-American Non-Governmental Disarmament Studies

At the present time the Council is examining the possibility of initiating a program of Joint Studies to be conducted by Russian and American scholars and scientists. As soon as practicable further information will be made available. One of the studies under consideration is the proposed study on securing the peace in a disarmed world.

d) Publication of Position Papers, Study Papers and Defense Analyses

During 1963 the Council will commission at least twelve papers by outstanding scholars on various aspects of disarmament, national security, nuclear strategy and foreign policy. Many of these will clarify and define specific points in the ACTION PROGRAM. Others will deal with more general issues of national importance in the same areas.

The first of these papers is an analysis of current nuclear strategy and the U.S. military posture. It is written by Michael J. Brower, School of Industrial Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and will be published on February 25, 1963. These papers will receive limited distribution. They will be sent to all members of the Council, and to a number of Senators, Congressmen and members of the Administration.

Organizational Report of the Council

a) Advisers

At the December meeting, the Directors replaced the "Political Advisory Committee" with a number of "Advisers to the Council." Advisers are to be consulted individually on matters relating to their respective fields of specialization--Government and Political Science, Economics, Military Strategy, Disarmament, Arms Control, National Security, etc.

The following have agreed to serve as Advisers:

Richard J. Barnet Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C.
Author of Who Wants Disarmament, (Beacon, 1960). (Appointment effective as of 1 March, 1963.)

Roger Fisher Professor of Law, Harvard University. . Frequent contributor of articles on international law, world order, in New Republic, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and in anthologies, Preventing World War III (Simon & Schuster, 1962) and Legal and Political Problems of World Order (Fund for Education Concerning World Peace through World Law, 1962).

Robert Gomer Professor of Chemistry, Institute for the Study of Metals,
University of Chicago; Contributor to Preventing World War III
(Simon & Schuster, 1962).

Hans J. Morgenthau Professor of Political Science, Center for the Study of American
Foreign Policy, University of Chicago. Author of Politics in
the 20th Century (University of Chicago, 1962).

b) Appointment of Executive Committee

The Board of Directors in December formed an Executive Committee consisting of the Co-Chairmen - William Doering and Leo Szilard; the Officers - Bernard Feld, Allan Forbes, Jr., Daniel M. Singer; and Ruth Adams. The Executive Committee is to meet once a month in Washington. The first meeting was held on January 11 and 12; the second is scheduled for February 7.

c) Executive Director

The Board of Directors authorized the Executive Committee to engage at the earliest possible date an Executive Director to be in charge of the Legislative and Policy Program. He will be responsible also for the intellectual and substantive aspects of the Council's operations.

1963 Organizational Program

The Board of Directors authorized the following Organizational Program and instructed the national staff to prepare detailed proposals for approval by the Executive Committee. Listed below are the operations approved by the Executive Committee on 11 and 12 January.

a) Direct Mail Campaign

A Direct Mail test consisting of ten lists of 1,000 names each will start in late February. A number of different techniques will be tried out. Those which appear promising will then be used for a large-scale campaign as part of a continuing membership drive.

b) Advertising Campaign

A limited advertising campaign will commence at approximately the same time as the Direct Mail Test. A single advertisement placed in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (December, 1962) proved successful in securing new members; an expanded effort, therefore, appears worthwhile.

c) Contributions for the First Half of 1963

In late February the Council will send to all members and to those who have pledged contributions, a mailing with details of the Council's 1963 Operational Program. It will be accompanied by a questionnaire soliciting members' preferences as to the specific parts of the program to which they wish to allocate their contributions.

d) Membership Activities of Local Groups

Local groups have been formed or are now being formed in many areas--Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Denver, Honolulu, New York, Boston, Portland (Ore.), Coral Gables (Fla.), Philadelphia, Princeton (N.J.), Greenville (N.C.). If you might be interested in joining a local group or in helping to form one, please write to the National Office for a copy of the Memorandum on Forming Local Groups.

A major function of local groups is concerned with enrolling new members. The local group in Manhattan has tentatively designated itself a "Membership Committee". It will establish a Speakers' Bureau, will arrange for meetings in the New York area and will conduct seminars.

e) Membership Activities of Individuals

Although many members live in areas where no local group exists, this does not mean they are not in a position to play an important role in helping to further the Council's objectives. They can secure new members and can give public currency in their community to the Council's policies and objectives. There is no more powerful and effective method of finding new members than through direct contact by enthusiastic members.

The National Office has prepared a memorandum expressly for members who wish to work for the Council as individuals rather than with a local group. It may be obtained by writing to the National Office.

f) Cooperation Between the Council and Other Organizations

Discussions are currently taking place between the Council and other organizations which have similar objectives and programs with a view to establishing the basis for close cooperation, eliminating duplication of effort and strengthening the groups concerned. The Council hopes to be able to announce the results of these discussions in the next Bulletin. As a continuing part of its organizational program, the Council will seek to establish liaison and cooperation with other groups which have closely related programs.

LITERATURE AVAILABLE: The documents listed below are available to all local groups and to all members in any desired quantity without charge.

Action Program

1963 Operations Program (Publication date - February 20)

Washington Bulletin No. 1 (1962 Congressional Election Results)

Washington Bulletin No. 2

"Are We On the Road to War?" by Leo Szilard

Defense Study Paper No. 1 (Publication Date - February 25)

Membership Forms

Memorandum on Forming Local Groups

Memorandum on Activities for Individual Members

Editor:

Allan Forbes, Jr.
National Director

HOTEL
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FEB 14 1963

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

HUdson 3-6000

February 11, 1963

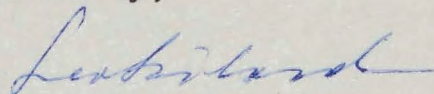
Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
La Jolla, California

Dear Jonas:

Upon receipt of your letter I looked at Life magazine. It seems to me that they have handled the matter as well as one can expect them to do. The article will do no harm and it might be of help in the raising of funds.

Your postscript, "I know I owe you a letter", I found somewhat disturbing, because it has been my experience that those of my friends who kept reminding me, each time they saw me, that they owed me money, rarely paid their debts.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

FEB 14 1963

TD address 5
W. G.
11 March '63

HUDSON 3-6000

February 11, 1963

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
La Jolla, California

W

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Sincerely,

14/Feb/63

Leo Szilard

JES-

This is worth a phone call to Leo when you are in New York.

Bill.

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.

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FRANKLIN W. STAHL
Eugene, Oregon

Letter to the Editor

It would seem that the Administration finds itself in a corner on the issue of Cuba; if it doesn't extricate itself from it, rumors that Russian rockets are being re-introduced into Cuba will keep on recurring and may each time be exploited for domestic political purposes. In the end, such rumors might force the President to choose between again risking war over Cuba or risking losing the next elections.

It is hardly practicable for the Secretary of Defense to refute such rumors, again and again, by going each time before the American people and showing aerial photographs of Cuba. Also, it is one thing to take aerial photographs of Cuba in an emergency and quite another thing to continue the aerial surveillance of Cuba indefinitely, in violation of international law, and by courtesy of the Russians who restrain the Cubans from shooting down our aircraft.

During the Cuban crisis, the U.S. asked for U.N. inspection of Cuba and offered in return to guarantee Cuba against a U.S. supported invasion. At that time U Thant conveyed that Cuba would accept U.N. inspection provided it would cover not only Cuba but also the adjacent Caribbean areas, including Florida, from which an invasion against Cuba might be staged.

U.N. inspection of Cuba on a continuing basis might solve the problem which currently plagues us. The Secretary General of the United Nations could then take appropriate action whenever it becomes necessary to refute new rumors about Russian rockets being in Cuba and he would be immune to the charge of having a domestic political axe to grind, a charge which can be levelled against any spokesman of the Administration. Year after year, America has been prodding Russia to accept measures of reciprocal inspection which America deemed to be necessary; by accepting the kind of United Nations' inspection of Florida which would offer assurances to Cuba against a surprise invasion, America would set just the precedent that is needed. It seems to us that if another opportunity were to present itself to obtain United Nations inspection of Cuba, on the terms described by U Thant, America ought not to let it slip by again.

It is a foregone conclusion that nationalistic sentiments opposed to United Nations' inspection of Florida would be exploited for domestic political purposes also. This would not be as dangerous, however, as pressure for a blockade of Cuba which is likely to recur if there is no inspection of Cuba.

Council for a Livable World

William Doering
Bernard T. Feld
Allan Forbes, Jr. James G. Patton
Leo Szilard

Washington, D. C.
February 22, 1963

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

To. W.G.

February 25, 1963

HUdson 3-6000

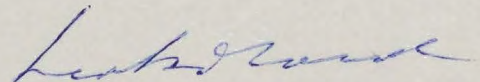
Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

Attached is a Letter to the Editor which might interest you.

Jim Patton, President of the Farmers' Union, whom you met in *your Council* Denver, had a long visit with me yesterday afternoon. He saw the LIFE magazine article and he told me that David Lloyd had gotten him interested in your Institute. The general conception appeals to his imagination and he asked me whether I thought the Farmers' Union ought to get into the act of helping you raise funds for the Institute. Manifestly, Patton is quite interested in the Institute so that he would go on the Board of Trustees if you were to ask him to do so. Whether or not this would serve any useful purpose, I don't know.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

Replied by
B. G.
16/IV/63

MAR 19 1963

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



STUDY PAPER 2

National office: 301 Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington 6. D.C.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: *Co-Chairmen*, WILLIAM DOERING, LEO SZILARD; *Officers*: BERNARD T. FELD, *President*; ALLAN FORBES, JR., *Vice-President*; DANIEL M. SINGER, *Secretary-Treasurer*;
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March 6, 1963

This Study Paper consists of important excerpts from the STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT S. McNAMARA BEFORE THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, THE FISCAL YEAR 1964-68 DEFENSE PROGRAM AND 1964 DEFENSE BUDGET. The bracketed commentary is by Professor Bernard T. Feld.

On June 16, 1962, Secretary McNamara, in a speech at Ann Arbor, Michigan, enunciated the Administration's nuclear strategy; its essence was the "counterforce", "no-cities" doctrine: "The U.S. has come to the conclusion that to the extent feasible, basic military strategy in a possible general nuclear war should be approached in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been regarded in the past. That is to say, principal military objectives, in the event of a general nuclear war stemming from a major attack on the Alliance, should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not of his civilian population...In other words, we are giving a possible opponent the strongest imaginable incentive to refrain from striking our own cities."

That speech touched off a wide-ranging controversy. Criticism centered mainly on the apparent attempt to downgrade the differences between nuclear and "conventional" war and on the implication that, beyond our readiness to be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into possible conflicts (First-Use), we might choose to introduce them in a massive, surprise attack on our opponent's forces (strategic First-Strike). In answer, it has been contended that a first-strike requires more than the mere ability to carry it off, for which we were admittedly striving; it also requires the doctrine (intent), which Secretary McNamara firmly denied [Stewart Alsop, Saturday Evening Post, December 1, 1962]. Furthermore, it was pointed out, the Ann Arbor speech was aimed mainly at our NATO Allies, with the intent to dissuade them from attempting to develop independent nuclear capabilities and to convince them of the importance of strengthening the NATO conventional war capacity.

The controversy over U.S. strategic nuclear policy continues [for excellent summaries, see Michael Brower, "Nuclear Strategy of the Kennedy Administration," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, October, 1962 and, same author, Study Paper No. 1, Council for a Livable World, March 4, 1963]. In this debate, the recent testimony of Secretary McNamara before the House Armed Services Committee has been widely cited as signaling a significant change in the direction of Administration thinking, in that it clearly recognizes the impossibility of success of a strategic nuclear First-Strike and rejects any serious consideration of a First-Strike doctrine. (But not, it should be emphasized, of the First-Use of nuclear weapons in certain circumstances -- e.g., in response to an attack on West Berlin). Since recognition of the futility of trying to attain effective nuclear striking superiority is the necessary first step towards serious consideration of nuclear disarmament, the statement could be of far-reaching importance.

A number of excerpts from this testimony, mainly bearing on the controversy over nuclear strategy, are given below. Secretary McNamara's testimony contains much more, including a wealth of factual information. From its great length (163 pages) only a few

passages can be quoted here. Unfortunately, except for a very few paragraphs which have appeared in some newspapers, it is not generally available, a situation aggravated by the non-publication of the New York Times. It is hoped that the quotations to follow will give some of the flavor. The words are those of Secretary McNamara, except for occasional commentary by B. T. Feld, always contained within brackets []; underlined passages whenever used, are due to the commentator.

1. NATO

[Nuclear Sharing, Conventional War Forces, Berlin]

In view of [its] growing strength, some basic changes in our present arrangements with our NATO partners would be very much in order. We have no desire to dominate NATO. In fact, we would be very happy to share more equitably the heavy burdens we now carry in the collective defense of the Free World. But as long as we do carry so great a share of the total burden, we cannot escape carrying a proportionately large share of the responsibility for leadership and direction.

This is particularly true with regard to the strategic nuclear forces, the great bulk of which is provided by the United States for the defense of NATO. NATO is founded on the concept of collective defense. We have all agreed that an attack upon one would be considered an attack against all. Therefore, a decision to invoke the use of strategic nuclear weapons...against another nuclear power would almost inevitably involve all the members of the Alliance in a global nuclear war.

Moreover, the targets against which such weapons would be used must, as a practical matter, be viewed as a single system. Because of the speed at which such an exchange would take place -- and as missiles become the predominant part of the strategic nuclear forces on both sides, the time would be reduced to minutes -- decisions must be made and executed promptly. Targets must be allocated to weapons in advance (of course, with options) and in a very carefully planned manner.

Clearly, under these conditions, a partial and uncoordinated response could be fatal to the interests of all the members of NATO. That is why we have consistently stressed the importance of a single, integrated strategic nuclear force responsive to a single chain of command, to be employed in a fully integrated manner against what is truly an indivisible target system.

The essential point here is not that this force must be under exclusive U. S. control but that we must avoid the fragmentation and compartmentalization of NATO's nuclear power, which could be dangerous to us all. If our European NATO partners wish to create a European strategic nuclear force, we certainly should have no objections. But we should insist that that force be closely integrated with our own so that it could be jointly targeted and directed in a coordinated fashion.

Furthermore, we are convinced that such a force could be successfully built only as a collective European undertaking and not on the basis of separate national efforts. We well know the heavy costs involved in creating and maintaining a strategic nuclear force. Our own nuclear forces cost us about \$15 billion a year, almost as much as all of our European allies, together, spend on their total defense programs. Even assuming a continued high rate of economic growth, it would take the combined resources of all of them to create a truly significant nuclear capability with which to face the Soviet threat. That is why I said last year at Ann Arbor that weak "national" nuclear forces operating independently would be very costly and of questionable effectiveness.

The United States does not oppose a nuclear capability for our NATO partners. In fact, we have for many years been providing them with tactical nuclear capable weapon systems, although the nuclear warheads are retained, in accordance with our laws, under U.S. control. We have provided training in the use of these weapons to a large number of allied military personnel. We are making every possible effort to keep our NATO partners fully informed of the problems of nuclear war and the measures we are taking to deal with them. And last year we announced that we had earmarked a fully operational POLARIS force to the NATO Command.

It was in this same spirit of mutual confidence and support that we recently entered into a new series of agreements on nuclear armaments with the United Kingdom at Nassau.

The United States will not only sell to the United Kingdom the POLARIS missiles and associated equipment but will also provide technical assistance and such other support as may be later agreed upon. The ballistic missile submarines constructed under the agreement will be assigned as part of a NATO nuclear force and targeted in accordance with NATO plans. The U.S., on its part, will assign at least equal forces to the NATO Command. And, except where supreme national interests are at stake, these forces will be used solely for purposes of international defense of the Western Alliance.

To make a start in the development of a multilateral NATO nuclear force, it was agreed that some part of the U. S. and U. K. nuclear forces already in existence could be assigned to NATO and targeted in accordance with NATO plans.

The President also decided that the United States should invite France, the only other NATO nuclear power, to participate in this multilateral force on terms similar to those offered the United Kingdom. It is also contemplated that other NATO nations will be invited to participate in such a force, although the specific method of participation has not been decided upon.

But the creation of a multilateral NATO nuclear force will not lessen the need for sizeable conventional forces in Europe, and this fact was clearly recognized at Nassau. The possibility that we may have to fight non-nuclear wars in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other areas of the world is accepted, generally, without argument, but not so with regard to Europe. Many people would believe that any military action in Europe, short of a very minor probe, would require the immediate use of nuclear weapons, and I stress the word "immediate". Certainly, a massive attack on Western Europe would have to be met with whatever weapons are required to counter it. That has always been the policy of the Western Alliance. And, I have repeatedly stated before this Committee that even in limited war situations we should not preclude the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

However, we may well be faced with situations in Europe where it would not be to the advantage of ourselves or our Allies to use even tactical nuclear weapons initially -- provided we had the capability to deal with them through non-nuclear means. Nuclear weapons, even in the lower kiloton ranges, are extremely destructive devices and hardly the preferred weapons to defend such heavily populated areas as Europe. Furthermore, while it does not necessarily follow that the use of tactical nuclear weapons must inevitably escalate into global nuclear war, it does present a very definite threshold, beyond which we enter a vast unknown.

This does not mean that the NATO forces can or should do without tactical nuclear weapons. On the contrary, we must continue to strengthen and modernize our tactical nuclear capabilities to deal with an attack where the opponent employs such weapons first, or any attack by conventional forces which puts Europe in danger of being overrun. We mean to defend Europe with every kind of weapon needed.

But we must also substantially increase our non-nuclear capabilities to foreclose to our opponent the freedom of action he would otherwise have, or believe he would have, in lesser military provocations. We must be in a position to confront him at any level of provocation with an appropriate military response. The decision to employ tactical nuclear weapons should not be forced upon us simply because we have no other way to cope with a particular situation. The NATO powers have all the resources, the talents and the skills needed to match our opponent at any level of effort in Europe.

The most critical problem at issue between East and West in Europe continues to be the fate of Berlin. Our sharp confrontation of the Soviets in the Caribbean no doubt upset their agenda for Berlin. Their stationing of nuclear armed ballistic missiles in Cuba was directly related to that agenda. The psychological if not the military threat that these missiles would have posed to our own homeland was apparently the trump card which Mr. Khrushchev intended to play in the next round of negotiations on the status of Berlin.

The set-back dealt Soviet plans in Cuba may have postponed an incipient crisis in Berlin, but did not remove the latent danger in that area. East Germany is still in dire straits, both economically and politically. The freedom and prosperity of West Berlin still stand in stark contrast to the oppression and misery behind the wall. Notwithstanding the wall, the barbed wire and the bullets of the VOPO's, East Berliners still almost daily take the desperate gamble of trying to and sometimes succeeding in escaping to freedom. Although, from our point of view, the obvious solution would be to improve the political, social, and economic conditions in East Berlin and for that matter in all of East Germany, the Communists instead still hope to solve the dilemma by obliterating freedom in West Berlin.

This we cannot permit. The United States, England, and France as the occupying powers, have a legal and moral responsibility to the two million people in West Berlin. We cannot abdicate that responsibility without casting grave doubts on our determination and ability to defend freedom in Europe, or -- for that matter -- anywhere else in the world. Thus, Berlin has become for us and our Allies the test of our resolve to forestall any further encroachment of Communism upon the Free World.

[It appears that our fears and problems associated with maintaining the status quo in West Berlin are responsible, in largest measure, for our continued ambiguity regarding the first-use of nuclear weapons.]

2. Arms Control and Disarmament

[Although this section is extremely short, and ends on a rather negative note, it is hopefully a straw in the wind that the Secretary of Defense regards it as necessary to raise the issue at all. This section is quoted in full.]

Although the balance of my statement will be concerned with the specific measures we are proposing to increase our military strength and enhance our security, we should not lose sight of the fact that the central objective of our national policy is, in President Kennedy's words, a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system as long as it does not threaten the freedom of others.

As the events of last October have so forcefully demonstrated, the expanding arsenals of nuclear weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain have created an extremely dangerous situation not only for their possessors but also for the entire world. As the arms race continues and the weapons multiply and become more swift and deadly, the possibility of a global catastrophe, either by miscalculation or design, becomes ever more real.

More armaments, whether offensive or defensive, cannot solve this dilemma. We are approaching an era when it will become increasingly improbable that either side could destroy a sufficiently large portion of the other's strategic nuclear force, either by surprise or otherwise, to preclude a devastating retaliatory blow. This may result in mutual deterrence but it is still a grim prospect. It underscores the need for a renewed effort to find some way, if not to eliminate these deadly weapons completely, then at least to slow down or halt their further accumulation, and to create institutional arrangements which would reduce the need for either side to resort to their immediate use in moments of acute international tension. The United States and the Soviet Union, as the two great nuclear powers, are the nations most directly endangered by these weapons and therefore have a great mutual interest in seeing to it that they are never used. But until we can find a safe and sure road to disarmament, we must continue to build our own defenses.

3. Strategic Retaliatory Forces

[This section contains the statements and data of greatest interest; it is therefore quoted extensively. To aid the reader to keep in mind the accounting of present and projected numbers of various kinds of weapons and systems, our own summary table is included at the end.]

The Strategic Retaliatory Forces are designed to carry out the long-range strategic mission and to carry the main burden of battle in general nuclear war. They include the long-range bombers, the air-to-ground and decoy missiles and refueling tankers; the land-based and submarine-based strategic missiles; and the systems for their command and control. They do not include certain other U. S. nuclear forces capable of reaching targets deep inside the Communist bloc - namely, the deployed tactical air units and carrier-based attack aircraft.

The major mission of the Strategic Retaliatory Forces is to deter war by their capability to destroy the enemy's war-making potential, including not only his nuclear strike forces and military installations, but also his urban society, if necessary.

One of the major uncertainties is, of course, the size and character of our opponent's strategic forces and defensive systems -- now, and more importantly, in the future. Because of the long leadtimes involved in making these weapon systems operational, we must plan for our forces well in advance of the time when we will need them and, indeed, we now project our programs at least five years ahead of the current budget year. For the same reason we must also project our estimates of the enemy's forces at least five years into the future, and for some purposes, even beyond.

Last year I told this Committee "there is no question but that, today, our Strategic Retaliatory Forces are fully capable of destroying the Soviet target system, even after absorbing an initial surprise attack." This statement is still true. We have a total of about 650 manned bombers on 15-minute ground alert and over 200 operational ATLAS, TITAN, and MINUTEMAN missiles on launchers and about 144 POLARIS missiles in submarines. And this force is rapidly expanding as additional MINUTEMAN and POLARIS enter our operational inventory.

Allowing for losses from an initial enemy attack and attrition enroute to target, we calculate that our forces today could still destroy the Soviet Union without any help from the deployed tactical air units or carrier task forces or THOR or JUPITER IRBM's.

In my statement a year ago, I pointed out that "as the Soviet Union hardens and disperses its ICBM force and acquires a significant number of missile launching submarines

(as we must assume that they will do in the period under discussion) our problem will be further complicated." There is increasing evidence that this is the course the Soviet Union is following. Thus, it is even more important today than it was last year that we concentrate our efforts on the kind of strategic offensive forces which will be able to ride out an all-out attack by nuclear-armed ICBM's or submarine-launched missiles in sufficient strength to strike back decisively.

A very large increase in the number of fully hard Soviet ICBM's and nuclear-powered ballistic missile-launching submarines would considerably detract from our ability to destroy completely the Soviet strategic nuclear forces. It would become increasingly difficult, regardless of the form of the attack, to destroy a sufficiently large proportion of the Soviet's strategic nuclear forces to preclude major damage to the United States, regardless of how large or what kind of strategic forces we build. Even if we were to double and triple our forces we would not be able to destroy quickly all or almost all of the hardened ICBM sites. And even if we could do that, we know no way to destroy the enemy's missile launching submarines at the same time. We do not anticipate that either the United States or the Soviet Union will acquire that capability in the foreseeable future. Moreover, to minimize damage to the United States, such a force would also have to be accompanied by an extensive missile defense system and a much more elaborate civil defense program than has thus far been contemplated. Even then we could not preclude casualties counted in the tens of millions.

What we are proposing is a capability to strike back after absorbing the first blow. This means we have to build and maintain a second strike force. Such a force should have sufficient flexibility to permit a choice of strategies, particularly an ability to: (1) Strike back decisively at the entire Soviet target system simultaneously or (2) Strike back first at the Soviet Bomber bases, missile sites and other military installations associated with their long-range nuclear forces to reduce the power of any follow-on attack -- and then if necessary, strike back at the Soviet urban and industrial complex in a controlled and deliberate way.

Now the foregoing is not to say that we can forecast the nature of a nuclear attack upon the United States. In talking about global nuclear war, the Soviet leaders always say that they would strike at the entire complex of our military power including government and production centers, meaning our cities. If they were to do so, we would, of course, have no alternative but to retaliate in kind. But we have no way of knowing whether they would actually do so. It would certainly be in their interest as well as ours to try to limit the terrible consequences of a nuclear exchange. By building into our forces a flexible capability, we at least eliminate the prospect that we could strike back in only one way, namely, against the entire Soviet target system including their cities. Such a prospect would give the Soviet Union no incentive to withhold attack against our cities in a first strike. We want to give them a better alternative. Whether they would accept it in the crisis of a global nuclear war, no one can say. Considering what is at stake, we believe it is worth the additional effort on our part to have this option.

In planning our second strike force, we have provided, throughout the period under consideration, a capability to destroy virtually all of the "soft" and "semi-hard" military targets in the Soviet Union and a large number of their fully hardened missile sites, with an additional capability in the form of a protected force to be employed or held in reserve for use against urban and industrial areas.

We have not found it feasible, at this time, to provide a capability for ensuring the destruction of any very large portion of the fully hard ICBM sites, if the Soviets build them in quantities, or of missile launching submarines. Fully hard ICBM sites can be

destroyed but only at great cost in terms of the numbers of offensive weapons required to dig them out. Furthermore, in a second strike situation we would be attacking, for the most part, empty sites from which the missiles had already been fired.

The value of trying to provide a capability to destroy a very high proportion of Soviet hard ICBM sites becomes even more questionable in view of the expected increase in the Soviet missile launching submarine force. Our ability to destroy these submarines before they fire their missiles will be limited once the Soviet Union places any large number of them on station. Neither do we have any significant ability to intercept the missiles once they have been launched from a submarine. And, I might point out, neither does the Soviet Union.

Although we are investing very large sums in research and development in the ASW [Anti-Submarine Warfare] and anti-ballistic missile areas, it is not very likely that our efforts will produce enough of an increase in our capabilities during the period under consideration to change the prospects significantly.

[Summary of Planned Delivery Systems]

DELIVERY SYSTEM	NUMBER NOW	END OF '63*	PROJECTED '68	REMARKS
I. <u>Manned bombers**</u>	about 1,500 total (about 50% on 15 min.alert)	same	723 total	B-47 "phased out" in next few years.
B-47 (subsonic)	750	"	none	
B-52 (supersonic)	630	"	630(14 wings)	
B-58 (supersonic)	90	"	90(2 wings)	
RS-70	none	none	3	Not intended for procurement.
<hr/>				
II. <u>ICBM's</u> (Total Forces)	354	about 760	1774	
<hr/>				
ATLAS	126	same	60	"Soft" missiles being "phased out."
<hr/>				
TITAN	54	108	108	
<hr/>				
MINUTEMAN	30	about 300	950	Raised projected 800 to 950 in this budget.
<hr/>				
POLARIS	144 (9 subs)	224(14 subs)	656(41 subs)	

[* There is the usual confusion between the end of 1963 and the end of fiscal 1964 (June, 1964), which I have not especially tried to clear up.]

[**Not counting about 1200 tactical and 1000 carrier-based aircraft capable of transporting thermonuclear weapons.]

[It is in this section that the Administration's "new look" is most clearly expressed. What is emerging is still ambiguous in that our present and planned strategic delivery capacity, especially when compared with the Russians', still appears to be geared to a first-strike capability, despite the clear statement of second-strike doctrine. But the realization of the futility of dependence on superior numbers may represent the beginning of the wisdom of negotiated reduction.

The task of the Secretary of Defense in preparing his Department's budget, and in presenting it, is admittedly a difficult one. The pressures of the various services, of their lobbies and Congressional defenders and of their industrial beneficiaries, must be extraordinarily strong -- and conflicting. What results is obviously a compromise. Too often in the past, this compromise has consisted in continuing all programs for which there was any substantial pressure -- which meant almost all -- and adding new programs on top. Although the incumbent Secretary has demonstrated a laudable ability to turn off occasionally obsolete systems or unpromising projects, this ability has been applied only very partially, if at all, to the most important military system -- the rapidly burgeoning strategic nuclear striking force. Perhaps the political realities are such that no unilateral slowing of the rate of arms accumulation, except as determined by budgetary considerations, is possible in the U. S. today. In this case, a Secretary of Defense who ponders seriously his responsibility for the long-range, as well as short-range security of our country must inevitably be driven to active advocacy of a negotiated treaty of substantial disarmament.]

[There follow a number of short quotes on a range of subjects.]

The Soviets could, over the next few years, build a large force of hardened second generation ICBM's; they could develop and deploy an ICBM delivery system for the large yield nuclear warheads they have been testing since 1961; they could expand and improve their MRBM/IRBM systems; they could continue to maintain and improve their active defenses against manned bomber attack; they could maintain a large and modernly-equipped army; they could develop and deploy some sort of a system of active defense against ballistic missile attack; they could modernize and improve their large fleet of submarines including ballistic missile-firing types; they could continue the space race; they could expand both military and economic aid to the non-aligned nations; they could make the great investment needed to create an efficient agricultural economy; they could continue to push the development of heavy industry; or they could increase the standard of living of the Soviet people -- but they cannot do them all at the same time.

Although we cannot predict with any degree of precision how the Soviet leadership will solve its resources allocation problem, it may be that the strain of so many competing claims on the Soviet economy will tend to limit the size and help determine the character of the Soviet military program, at least over the next few years.

Communist China will most likely follow an independent policy designed to expand its own influence in the Communist Camp and among the unaligned nations, resorting to armed aggression to satisfy its ambitions only where this can be done without a direct confrontation of U. S. military forces.

The size and character of the military effort of both countries will be tempered by the pressures of other demands on their available resources.

[A consistent theme in the Kennedy Administration has been that an intensification of the arms race will impose such large strains on the Soviet economy as to lead to strong internal pressures to settle outstanding problems with the U.S.]

Latin America:

It is not an overt-armed Communist attack that is the real danger in this part of the world, or even Communist sabotage and subversion -- the real danger lies in the discouragement, disillusionment and despair of the people as a result of the relatively slow rate of economic and social progress.

Vietnam:

In Vietnam we are continuing to support the Government in its undeclared war against the Communist guerrillas. In addition to large-scale economic and military assistance, we are also maintaining a very substantial training mission in that country. Including the Military Assistance Advisory Group, there is now a total of more than 11,000 U. S. military personnel in Vietnam, providing training, airlift, communications and advice to Vietnamese forces, and administering the Military Assistance Program.

[On defense]:

Our principal concern in the years ahead must be the dangers of an ICBM and submarine-launched missile attack, and the main thrust of our efforts should be redirected to meet these rising threats.

Although the Soviet Union may now have, or soon achieve, the capability to place in orbit bomb-carrying satellites, there does not appear to be any logical reason for them to do so, since there are much more efficient ways of delivering nuclear warheads. But we cannot ignore the possibility of that kind of a threat arising in the future.

The most urgent problem confronting us in the Continental Air and Missile Defense Forces Program is defense against ICBM attack. In this area we are in better shape with respect to warning than active defense.

During the past year we have gained a much broader understanding of the technical problems involved in developing an effective system of ballistic missile defense. It is now generally agreed that the NIKE-ZEUS system currently being tested would not be effective against a sophisticated threat in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Space:

All in all, we estimate that about \$1,650 million of our 1964 budget request is for space, about \$50 million more than 1963 and almost \$400 million more than 1962. [This] military space program accounts for more than 20 percent of the total 1964 research and development program. It is the largest single program grouping in the Research, Development, Test and Evaluation category, exceeding, for example, our total expenditures for the development of strategic weapons.

Civil Defense:

In the light of the critical reception accorded this program by the Congress last year, we have again thoroughly examined its concepts, requirements, costs and phasing. Our conclusion is that fallout shelters for the population are absolutely essential to enable us to face the consequences of a nuclear war which might be forced upon us. One might argue with the pace of the program, the type of shelters to be provided, or how they should be financed, but we believe there should be no argument as to their need. Accordingly, we are now proposing a revised program which is essentially the same in character but different in phasing and emphasis.

ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL

	<u>End Fiscal Year</u>		
	<u>1962 Actual</u>	<u>1963 Est.</u>	<u>1964 Planned</u>
ARMY	1,065,718	980,000	975,000
NAVY	665,977	664,413	670,000
MARINE CORPS	190,962	190,000	190,000
AIR FORCE	<u>883,330</u>	<u>868,931</u>	<u>860,000</u>
Total DOD	2,805,987	2,703,344	2,695,000

Financial Summary:

The programs proposed for fiscal year 1964 including Military Assistance, Military Construction, Military Family Housing and Civil Defense, aggregate \$55,183,537,000 in total obligational authority.

18 March 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle and New Hampshire Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Leo:

Jonas left for the East before replying to your recent note about Jim Patton. He thinks the idea of having Patton on the Institute Board of Trustees is splendid. He plans to discuss this with Piel and Weaver.

Sincerely,

William Glazier

jp

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

APR 1 1963

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

HUdson 3-6000

March 29, 1963

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

I presume that when this reaches you your meeting of the weekend of the thirtieth will have been over and matters will have begun to quiet down. My reason for writing to-day is as follows:

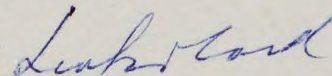
Washington, D.C. is not the best place for me to work in biology, and I need to re-examine at this time how long to plan to stay here. There are a number of factors which enter into this re-examination and this letter relates to one of them.

Because I became 65 in February, I am free to retire from active service at the University of Chicago on October 1st. I can, if I wish, continue beyond that date on active service, working as a retired professor, under a research grant.

One of the things that I need to consider at this time is whether I would want to exercise my option of becoming a resident fellow at the Institute and move to La Jolla at an early date. Before deciding whether or not to pick up the option, I would have to know, however, what the terms of this option are.

When I saw you last Summer, we were agreed that even though the Institute may not have a fixed retirement age, it would seem sensible that the requirements for space and budget of a resident fellow who gets to be past 65 should be less than the requirements of the younger resident fellows, which have been standardized at a rather high level. You wanted to determine how this principle should apply to my case and then write me the terms that would apply. If you should wish to discuss this matter with me further, before committing yourself to a concrete proposal, I should be glad to meet you at a time convenient to you, as soon as this can be arranged.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

APR 3 1963

**SCIENTIFIC
AMERICAN**

Established 1845

415 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 8-3900

April 1, 1963

Dear Leo:

Thank you for your two communications of March 29th. I am interested to have the historical background on La Jolla. And I am sure you and Jonas will be able to arrange for a better place for you to work in biology than Washington, D. C.

Warmest regards,



Gerard Piel

GP:wd

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle and New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

bcc--Jonas Salk

?
What was
his?

PROPR

April 8, 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel Dupont Plaza
Dupont Circle and New
Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Leo:

Jonas asked that I write you a brief note in regard to the decisions taken at the meeting of the Resident Fellows which was held here on 30-31 March. You will receive a copy of the minutes within ten days or two weeks.

The group decided to take up residence here as soon as possible in temporary laboratory space which is being constructed on the Institute site. Present plans would have Benzer, Cohn, Dulbecco, Lennox and Salk operating in temporary laboratories here by September or October. As things look now, the Institute's permanent laboratory buildings will probably not be completed and equipped before mid-'64. Meanwhile, we are already at work preparing for the activation of the Institute within a few short months.

On the basis of these developments, Jonas is preparing a letter in reply to yours of 29 March outlining a series of ideas for you to explore. His own plans are to be in the East during the week of 5-11 May. If it is convenient for you, a meeting sometime around the middle of the week would be fine.

Sincerely yours,

William Glazier
Assistant to the Director

*Fuli - Island
Wangly*



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.

March 25, 1963

APR 8 1963

Dr. Joneas E. Salk
Virus Research Laboratory
University of Pittsburgh-School of Medicine
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Dear Doctor Salk:

I am writing to report to you my personal views on the work of the Council and the situation with which the Council is faced.

During the last election the Council did fairly well. We concentrated on the Senate and recommended to members of the movement to send us a check made out either to George McGovern, who was running in South Dakota, or Senator Joseph Clark, who was running for re-election in Pennsylvania. We received and transmitted to George McGovern checks totaling over \$20,000 and to Senator Clark over \$10,000.

McGovern was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes and it is generally recognized here that the Council was instrumental in his election. His maiden speech, which concerned itself with Cuba, was very impressive as you may judge yourself from the enclosed copy.

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 all those who, in a questionnaire previously sent to them, had expressed a marked personal preference in his favor. 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 intends to run 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 and also in the enclosed questionnaire. If you are willing to make such a campaign contribution this year and if you have any marked personal preference in favor of one of these seven senators, you are asked to check the enclosed questionnaire accordingly for the guidance of the Council.

The seven senators named in the questionnaire 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.

They 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 L. 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.

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 and Disarmament Agency, foreign aid and foreign trade.

If you are not prepared to make a campaign contribution later this year you will have an opportunity to make a contribution to one of the special projects of the Council which are at present in preparation.

* * *

The Council would be grateful if you would make out a check at this time for one-half of your contribution to the Council, which will be used for the operations of the Council's National Office, which include expanding the membership and also the political activities of the Council in Washington.

If you are one of those who have asked to be billed bi-monthly then your contribution automatically goes to the general funds of the Council, this would not bar you, however, from indicating your personal preferences in the enclosed questionnaire.

President Kennedy has assembled a remarkably large number of capable men in his Administration but they have so far not made much headway towards solving the problem that the bomb poses to the world. The President will be able to make substantial progress in this regard only if his Administration can, before long, reach a consensus on what the desirable objectives may be that would be attainable by the end of his second term.

Because some of these objectives involve other nations, one would have to explore which of the desirable objectives may be negotiable, before one can state the desirable objectives which are likely to be attainable.

Moreover, the attainable objectives would not be attainable unless public opinion in America were prepared for their acceptance. Only the President of the United States can carry out the education of the public that is needed and he can do it only if there is a clear picture of the objectives that the Administration is going to pursue. If the Administration knew ahead of time the path along which it would be moving and if it were able to assess how fast it would be able to move, then the President would be in a good position to prepare public opinion for what is to come.

The Council intends to maintain contact with about twelve senators and about an equal number of men within the Administration and it is at present actively exploring in what manner it would best assist in catalyzing a consensus in Washington on what the "attainable" national objectives might be.



Leo Szilard

Szilard

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

April 25, 1963

APR 29 1963 HUDSON 3-6000

William Glazier
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your note of April 9th. I talked with Dulbecco at the meeting of the National Academy in Washington, and with Monod at the Federation meeting in Atlantic City, and thus I am fairly well-informed about the state of affairs.

I have not received thus far Jonas's letter in reply to mine of March 29th, which you said was in preparation and I am looking forward to receiving it.

I might spend the weekend of May 4th and 5th in Boston, might be in New York on the 6th and back in Washington on the 7th. Your letter does not say whether Jonas would want to see me in Washington or whether he is not going to Washington on this trip and would want to see me in New York.

A letter from you would reach me in Washington until Thursday, May 2nd. I might fly to Boston in the afternoon of Thursday May 2nd, if I do not cancel the trip to Boston.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

Leo Szilard

SIG ONLY

1763
SALK INSTITUTE

2/8 B.M.
1 POS.

26 April 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle and New Hampshire
Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Leo:

I am enclosing a draft of a letter for your consideration.

I'll be in the east the week of 29 April and the first of the following week. I'll be at the Hotel Haddon Hall on 30 April-1 May and in New York at the Carlyle the evening of 1 May. Perhaps we could talk further at that time.

Sincerely,

Jonas Salk

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

April 30, 1963

HUdson 3-6000

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
P. O. Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

I have your letter of the 26th. It seems to me that what we need to do is first to formalize my relationship to the Institute and thereafter, to explore the various alternatives which I might pursue. The simplest way to formalize my relationship with the Institute would be for you to write me a letter which should contain no extraneous material, since your letter and my acceptance is meant to formalize a contractual relationship.

I have, on the basis of the draft which was enclosed with your letter, prepared another draft which I am attaching for your consideration. I believe the attached version would adequately formalize my relationship with the Institute if the figures, which are left open, are put in. I would have to await the receipt of some such letter before I can begin to make decisions.

This does not mean, of course, that in the meantime we cannot discuss matters of substance.

For ^{me} the first and biggest decision is whether or not I should move to La Jolla. Perhaps the most important factor in this decision is what work Trude could find there for herself. She is at present working both for the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and for the National Institutes of Health and she would not be happy in La Jolla unless she could find there, or in San Diego, work in her own field. Even though I have no trouble and no symptoms, this does not mean that I may expect to live forever and I would want Trude to continue being active in her profession.

If I decide to move to La Jolla, this does not necessarily mean that I have to switch over to being a Resident Fellow. For a while at least I might want to work at La Jolla while remaining on "active service" with the University of Chicago under the current arrangement.

If I change over to be a Resident Fellow at the Institute there are two alternatives, depending on whether or not I assume responsibility not only for the planning, but also for the carrying out of experiments.

Whether I would want to set up an experiment ^{salk} group of my own may depend on whether I would be able to recruit a team of really first-class co-workers.

Dr. Jonas Salk
Page two
April 30, 1963

Sometime within the predictable future, I may want to explore this point and at that time I would need to know what amount of laboratory space and what salary budget for co-workers would be allotted to me.

I believe we are all agreed that in the end most of the salaries can and should come from grants and that the main purpose of allotting a salary budget is to enable the Resident Fellow to make commitments to co-workers prior to applying for grants. Further, it seems to me that even though there is no retirement age at the Institute, there ought to be a phasing out of requirements for space and salary budget as a Resident Fellow gets older. It might be reasonable to assume that on the average the space requirement between the age of 65 and 72 of a Resident Fellow might be set at half of that of the younger Resident Fellows and the salary budget might also be about one-half. Above the age of 72, these requirements might drop by another factor of two.

It would be my present estimate that in order to set up a major experimental program, I might need about 2500 square feet laboratory space (net) and salary budget between \$35 - \$50,000 for a period ending October 1, 1970.

I am not asking for a commitment in this regard right now and the attached draft would not bind the Institute in this regard.

Sincerely yours,



Leo Szilard

P. S. I shall try to reach you over the telephone in Atlantic City. I could see you ~~at the hotel~~ in New York ~~on~~.
~~My car is in the shop.~~
I am not going to Boston this weekend, but must be in Washington on Saturday.
P. T. O.

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

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I am writing to confirm your appointment as a Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute. This appointment is for 6 years and the starting date is set as 1 July 1963. As a Non-Resident Fellow you will be compensated as follows: \$3,000 per annum paid monthly and reimbursement of reasonable expenses incurred in travel for the Institute not to exceed a total of \$3,000 per year.

Further, I am writing to confirm that you may resign as a Non-Resident Fellow and become a Resident Fellow at your option at any time prior to 1 July 1965 on 90 days notice. If you exercise this option and become a Resident Fellow of the Institute, you will be on equal footing with all the other Resident Fellows except with respect to laboratory space and salary budget for your co-workers.

The term "Resident Fellow" obviously connotes residence at the place and location of the Institute. If you should exercise this option which would require your residing in or about San Diego, the matter of residence is one which you personally would have to arrange subject to whatever assistance is provided for Residence Fellows.

In line with the current policy of the Institute, your annual salary as a Resident Fellow would amount to \$25,000 and continue for life except that there would be deducted from this salary your retirement annuity and social security annuity.

Your budget for secretary, travel and other incidental expenses in connection with your duties as a Resident Fellow would be \$10,000 per annum, the unspent balance of which would accumulate and continue to be available for five years, at the end of which time 20% of the balance would revert to the Endowment Fund.

If at any time after you have exercised your option, you wish to be in direct charge of experimental work, the amount of laboratory space and the salary budget for your collaborators would have to be determined by mutual agreement.

Sincerely yours,

Draft.

Date _____

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

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I am writing to confirm your appointment as a Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute. This appointment is for 6 years and the starting date is set as 1 July '63. As a Non-Resident Fellow you will be compensated as follows:

\$3000 ~~per annum~~ ~~per month~~
paid monthly + reimbursement of reasonable expenses incurred

Further, I am writing to confirm that you may resign as a Non-Resident Fellow to become a Resident Fellow at your option. This option terminates on 11/30/64

If you exercise this option and become a Resident Fellow of the Institute, you will be on equal footing with all the other Resident Fellows, except with respect to laboratory space and salary budget for your co-workers.

In line with the current policy of the Institute, your annual salary as a Resident Fellow would amount to \$25,000 and continue for life except that there would be deducted from this salary your retirement annuity and social security annuity.

Your budget for secretary, travel and other incidental expenses in connection with your duties as a Fellow would be \$ 10,000 per annum, the unspent balance of which would accumulate and continue to be available for five years, at the end of which time 20% of the balance would revert to the Endowment Fund.

If, at ^{any} (the) ^{after} time (when) you wish to exercise ^{have} this ^{d year} option, (or any time thereafter,) you (would want) to be in direct charge of experimental work, the amount of laboratory space and the salary budget for your collaborators would have to be determined by mutual agreement.

Sincerely yours,

Handwritten notes:
in hand by the President of the Institute
second a draft of 12/11/62

Handwritten notes:
4) The term "Res. F." obviously covers residence at the place & location of the Institute
X
10/11/62

Call him on Monday

> When option was voted was to be 6 years option
> Otherwise no comments
> I understand it.
> We like to come up + talk about scientific work.

> Best diff between what Fellows voted + this letter. Altho B7T can overrule Fellows because
> But for this point, letter passed
OK'd by
W W
3 May 63

A Sam
made
to come

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

Dear Dr. Szilard:

I am writing to confirm your appointment as a Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute. This appointment is for 6 years and the starting date is set as 1 July 1963. As a Non-Resident Fellow you will be compensated as follows: \$3,000 per annum paid monthly and reimbursement of reasonable expenses incurred in travel for the Institute, not to exceed a total of \$3,000 per year.

Further, I am writing to confirm that you may resign as a Non-Resident Fellow and become a Resident Fellow at your option, at any time prior to 1 July 1965 (on 90 days notice.) If you exercise this option and become a Resident Fellow of the Institute, you will be on equal footing with all the other Resident Fellows except with respect to laboratory space and salary budget for your co-workers.

The term "Resident Fellow" obviously connotes residence at the place and location of the Institute. If you should exercise this option which would require your residing in or about San Diego, the matter of residence is one which you personally would have to arrange subject to whatever assistance is provided for Resident Fellows.

In line with the current policy of the Institute, your annual salary as a Resident Fellow would amount to \$25,000 and continue for life except that there would be deducted from this salary ^{any} your retirement ~~annuity~~ and social security annuity.

Your budget for secretary, travel and other incidental expenses in connection with your duties as a Resident Fellow would be \$10,000 per annum, the unspent balance of which would accumulate and continue to be available for five years, at the end of which time 20% of the balance would revert to the ^{Capital or} Endowment Fund.

If at any time after you have exercised your option, you wish to be in direct charge of experimental work, the amount of laboratory space and the salary budget for your collaborators would have to be determined by mutual agreement.

Sincerely ~~yours,~~

The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego, California 92109

Phone: 453-4100

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

27 March 1964

Dr. Jonas E. Salk, Director of The Salk Institute for Biological Studies, San Diego, California, announced today that Dr. Leo Szilard, one of the world's most eminent scientists, has accepted appointment as a Resident Fellow of the Institute as of 1 April 1964.

Dr. Szilard's achievements as a theoretical and nuclear physicist have brought him international recognition and fame. His activities in this area were climaxed during the years 1939 to 1942 when Dr. Szilard and Enrico Fermi designed the chain reaction system of uranium and graphite used in the atomic pile. This was the first sustained chain reaction in history.

After World War II, Dr. Szilard turned from the problems of physics to the life sciences, becoming Professor of Biophysics at the University of Chicago. Dr. Szilard's work in recent years has centered on problems relating to induced enzyme formation in bacteria, antibody formation in mammals, the general problem of aging, and the molecular basis of memory. It is to

continue his own work in collaboration with the other Fellows of the Institute that Dr. Szilard has taken up residence in San Diego.

Dr. Szilard's achievements in the field of peaceful application of atomic energy were recognized by the award to him jointly with Dr. Eugene P. Wigner of the Atoms for Peace Award in 1959. This was the third time that this international prize, established by the Ford Motor Company and amounting to \$75,000, was awarded; the previous recipients of this award were the Nobel Prize laureates Niels Bohr and Georg Von Hevesy.

Dr. Szilard is the author of the widely read paperback, The Voice of the Dolphins, five stories of social and political satire. Contrary to what one might expect, the book is not about the intelligence of the dolphin, but about the stupidity of man.

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

File.

May 20, 1963

HUdson 3-6000

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

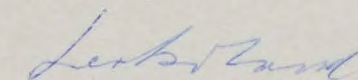
Since I talked with you over the telephone, I have been asked to attend a meeting at the end of June, jointly held by the World Health Organization and CERN on the possibility of setting up some work in molecular biology in Geneva. Victor Weisskopf, John Kendrew and Dr. Martin Kaplan are urging me to attend.

As a result of this, for the time being my schedule is entirely up in the air. If I should go to Geneva, I would want to do some things in Europe and these I would want to do in June, rather than in July. I was supposed to attend a small international meeting in Cold Springs Harbor from June 6th to 13th and it might even be that I might have to cancel that. As soon as I know what my schedule will be, I will write you and we can then see whether I can come out to La Jolla before I go to Europe or possibly meet you in New York after the Cold Springs Harbor meeting.

Last week I wrote a note to Bill Glazier reminding him that he was supposed to draft a letter for your signature that would formalize my relationship with the Institute. When he was in New York, he had read a draft over the telephone to me which seemed to me to cover all the points that needed to be covered.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

Do you have Azelaids reply to
this.

L.

Have not located as of 8-22-63

21 May 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Doctor Szilard:

I am writing to confirm your appointment as a Non-Resident Fellow at The Institute. This appointment is for six years and the starting date is set as 1 July 1963. As a Non-Resident Fellow you will be compensated as follows: \$3,000 per annum paid monthly and reimbursement of reasonable expenses incurred in travel for The Institute, not to exceed a total of \$3,000 per annum.

Further, I am writing to confirm that you may resign as a Non-Resident Fellow and become a Resident Fellow at your option, on ninety days notice, at any time prior to 1 July 1965. If you exercise this option and become a Resident Fellow of The Institute, you will be on equal footing with all the other Resident Fellows except with respect to laboratory space and salary budget for your co-workers.

The term "Resident Fellow" obviously connotes residence at the place and location of The Institute. If you should exercise this option which would require your residing in or about San Diego, the matter of residence is one which you personally would have to arrange subject to whatever assistance is provided for Resident Fellows.

In line with the current policy of the Institute, your annual salary as a Resident Fellow would amount to \$25,000 and continue for life except that there would be deducted from this salary any retirement and social security annuities.

Dr. Leo Szilard

Page 2

21 May 1963

Your budget for secretary, travel and other incidental expenses in connection with your duties as a Resident Fellow would be \$10,000 per annum, the unspent balance of which would accumulate and continue to be available for five years, at the end of which time 20% of the balance would revert to the Capital or Endowment Fund.

If at any time after you have exercised your option, you wish to be in direct charge of experimental work, the amount of laboratory space and the salary budget for your collaborators would have to be determined by mutual agreement.

Sincerely,

Jonas Salk
Director

28 May 1963

Dr. Leo Szilard
Hotel DuPont Plaza
DuPont Circle and New Hampshire
Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Leo:

I am very pleased to have your note of 23 May. I expect to be in the east for about a week from 7 June on. I will try to reach you then.

Sincerely,

Jonas Salk

sp

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

HUDSON 3-6000

May 23, 1963

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

Since I last wrote you, I have committed myself to attend the meeting in Geneva at the end of June. I shall now proceed to re-arrange my schedule and as soon as I know what it is I shall write you again.

In the meantime, if you know when you will be East during the month of June, would you be good enough to drop me a line?

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Leo Szilard

*For about
1 week before
7 June.*

Salk

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

HUDSON 3-6000

June 21, 1963

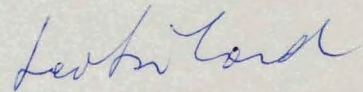
Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Jonas:

Crick and I thought that you might contact us in Cold Spring Harbor. If your time had permitted, it might have been worth your while spending an evening out there. Crick was westbound and has presumably contacted you in the meantime. I called the Hotel Carlyle when I got to New York on Friday, June 14th, and was told that you had checked out.

I am leaving, with Trude, for Europe this coming Monday, and shall be in touch with you upon my return.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

DUPONT CIRCLE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

July 24, 1963

HUDSON 3-6000

Dr. Jonas Salk
Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9, California

Dear Dr. Salk:

Your group letter of July 22 arrived while Dr. Szilard is still abroad. I do not, as yet, have a definite date for his return, though I expect it to be around the end of August.

I have to-day sent Dr. Szilard a copy of your July 22nd letter, and you may hear from him while he is still in Europe; if not, I am sure that he will be writing you as soon as he returns to Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Kay M. Shannon

Kay M. Shannon
Secretary to Dr. Szilard

Szilard
Ad

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



LEGISLATIVE REPORT

AUGUST 1963

National office: 301 Dupont Circle Building, 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., FRANKLIN W. STAHL

STATEMENT PRESENTED ON AUGUST 27, 1963, BY MATTHEW MESELSON

before

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

on the Test-Ban Treaty

Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Underwater

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

My name is Matthew Meselson. I am an associate professor of biology at Harvard University. I am here on behalf of the COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD, whose adherents lend their support and contribute one or two percent of their incomes to a program for reducing the risk of nuclear war. I believe that some of you are already familiar with the COUNCIL and with its founder, Dr. Leo Szilard, one of the initiators of the Manhattan Project and co-inventor with Enrico Fermi of the nuclear chain reactor. Copies of our program will be filed with the Committee.

I strongly support the test ban treaty. It will stop nuclear tests which seriously contaminate the atmosphere. The treaty will inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons and can act to slow the arms race itself.

Possibly most important of all, the treaty may open the way to far more satisfactory relations with other nations including our adversaries and our allies.

Because I am a biologist, I would like to begin by saying something about the health hazards of radiation from nuclear tests. To my knowledge, those of my colleagues who have attempted to evaluate the hazard have arrived at estimates similar to those I shall present. Nevertheless, and although our fundamental understanding of radiobiology has grown rapidly in the last decade, it is important to realize that our estimates of radiation hazards are still based on incomplete knowledge and therefore are subject to uncertainty. Bearing this in mind, a reasonable estimate for the number of children with gross mental or physical defects who will be born in the world because of the genetic effects of fallout from tests conducted to date is about 50,000. These defects include muscular dystrophy, blindness, dwarfism, and other major deformities. There could be considerably more, perhaps ten times as many children either with milder defects or with such very severe defects that they would

die as embryos or infants. About 2,000 of these 50,000 grossly defective children may be expected to be born to persons now alive and the rest will be born in the next few generations.

These estimates leave out the defects caused by radioactive carbon from bomb tests. Such defects may be at least ten times more numerous than those from fallout if no protective countermeasures can be devised against them. However, the radiation caused by radioactive carbon will be spread over hundreds of generations and in that time protective measures may be developed. The estimates I have given are in general agreement with the reports of the Federal Radiation Council and the U. S. National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council Committee on Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation and with similar British and United Nations reports. They are also in accord with the two most recent individual estimates of which I am aware: those of Dr. Linus Pauling and Dr. George Beadle.

The estimates I have presented refer to genetic health hazards and not to the possibility that bomb test radioactivity may induce malignant diseases such as leukemia or bone cancer. Because of a serious gap in our knowledge, the Federal Radiation Council in its 1962 report was able only to say that in the U. S. the risk to individuals now alive of developing leukemia or bone cancer due to all tests through 1961 lies between zero and one in 100,000.

The prevention of additional radioactive contamination of the atmosphere is an important reason for supporting the test ban treaty. To me, an even stronger reason is that after the test ban agreement is concluded we will be in a better position to solve some of the most urgent problems facing our species.

A second reason for supporting the test ban treaty is that it will act to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to other nations. I do not think that a nation yesterday bent on a nuclear weapons program will desist tomorrow, although that might happen later on. Rather, in undecided nations, the test ban treaty greatly strengthens the hands of those who argue against building nuclear bombs. And for nations who might build bombs because they fear their neighbors might build them, the test ban treaty can facilitate mutual restraint.

But the third, and possibly the most important, reason for supporting the test ban treaty is that it may open the way to a far more satisfactory military and political environment.

In the years since 1945, the rate of testing has grown geometrically, doubling approximately every three years. With continued testing, I see no reason to expect a halt in the accelerating arms race. Bombs would grow bigger. The fever of the arms race would stimulate the rapid development of forces even more destructive than those we have now. Some of the possibilities which can be foreseen, like giant bombs and mines or cheap missiles, could work powerfully to our disadvantage even if we should possess them ourselves. Vast anti-missile systems which would necessitate rigorous civil defense programs may come into being and societies would harden as a result. But the offense would almost certainly continue to outstrip all defensive measures. In my view, this could take the world beyond a point of no return in the arms race. It would be a gross distortion of the traditional search of nations for strength with which to offset the strength of others. There was a time when we could defend our citizens by our military strength. But great military strength no longer insures the defense of our nation. Although our strength has grown tremendously since the arms race began, so has the number of Americans grown who would be killed in a general nuclear war.

And in the years since World War II, the international scene also has changed profoundly. The principal communist nation is nearing the living standards of Western Europe and its society is opening. Meanwhile its satellites have recovered significant, even if partial, independence. Our allies have become less and less dependent upon us. Half the world's population has been reorganized under new national governments of great variety. The energetic people of China are unified under a government whose intentions concern both ourselves and the Soviet Union.

Spread throughout this restless and varied international scene are American responsibilities and interests and also American troops. Ultimately those troops are backed up by nuclear arms which are widely deployed and of many types. Today wars could break out and become nuclear without premeditation by any of the nuclear powers. It is clear that this course is not taking us where we would like to go and that we must develop better alternatives.

Although deterrence is still needed, the arms race and a policy of simple containment of our adversaries would not only fail to meet today's great challenges, but would greatly aggravate them. When adversaries have the power to annihilate one another within hours and might be brought to do so by the force of unpremeditated events, they simply cannot afford isolation. In place of containment we must substitute growing inter-dependence even side-by-side with deterrence. Beneficial political changes we have been unable to bring about by containment and isolation may be fostered by new forms of cooperation and competition.

We might begin in this direction in Europe. A year ago, there seems to have been under discussion between ourselves and the Soviets some reasonable measures for securing greater stability in Europe. These measures appear to have included Soviet guarantees for the continued presence of American troops in Berlin and for insuring the continued viability of West Berlin, the exchange of non-aggression pledges between the NATO and the Warsaw pact nations, an agreement between the Soviet Union and the U. S. not to proliferate nuclear weapons, and the establishment of East German and West German technical commissions to discuss relatively non-controversial matters of common interest, such as trade and reunification of families.

It was clear at that time that discussion of these matters was opposed by some of our allies. Now the system of control posts which has been suggested as a possible step to follow the test ban treaty could provide an atmosphere of increased confidence in which a mutually satisfactory stabilization in Europe might be negotiated. Such control posts--located so as to prevent surprise attack--can help to alleviate the fears which feed an appetite for independent nuclear forces and which have greatly impeded agreements in Europe which could benefit both us and our allies.

There are many measures which could follow the test ban: the creation of nuclear-free zones, an arrangement to cut-off the production of fissionable isotopes, an agreement on the non-transfer of nuclear weapons. Still other efforts might hasten the further opening of Soviet society: an expanded exchange of persons, the expansion of East-West trade, an enlarged joint effort in peaceful scientific research.

But whatever the next steps might be, the step before us now is the nuclear test ban treaty. We have held it open to negotiation for six years and we have given it pre-eminence among those arms control measures which we have sought. If we should renounce it now or accede to it half-heartedly, we may find the next step unavailable to us. We would then have squandered the greatest benefits of the

treaty. I hope that the Senate will ratify the treaty wholeheartedly. I hope that you will then go on to provide leadership to a nation and a world which would very much like to try a next step.

Council For A Livable World
301 Dupont Circle Building
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



WASHINGTON BULLETIN

September 1963

National office: 301 Dupont Circle Building, 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., FRANKLIN W. STAHL

Executive Director

The Board of Directors of the Council for a Livable World is pleased to announce the appointment of an Executive Director of the Council: Henry Ashton Crosby, who is presently a colonel in the U.S. Army. Col. Crosby will assume his position with the Council effective upon his retirement from the Army on October 31. He is currently military advisor to Stuart Pittman, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense, and on his retirement he will have completed an Army career of twenty-two years of active commissioned duty, both in command and staff posts.

Additions to the Board of Directors

Jerome D. Frank and Matthew Meselson have accepted the invitation of the Fellows of the Scientists Committee for a Livable World to serve on the Board of Directors of the Council. Dr. Frank is Professor of Psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, has participated in the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, and is the author of numerous articles on psychological aspects of disarmament. Dr. Meselson is Associate Professor of Molecular Biology at Harvard University, has served as a consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and has also participated in the Pugwash Conferences.

After the Test Ban

Matthew Meselson testified on behalf of the Council before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the test-ban treaty on August 27. He discussed the health hazards of radiation from nuclear tests and the effect the treaty may have on halting the spread of nuclear weapons, but emphasized that "the third, and possibly the most important, reason for supporting the test-ban treaty is that it may open the way to a far more satisfactory military and political environment." Dr. Meselson specified some measures--especially for securing greater stability in Europe--that could follow the test ban, and urged that the Senate support the treaty wholeheartedly in order to make the next steps possible:

"We have held (the test ban) open to negotiation for six years and we have given it preeminence among those arms control measures which we have sought. If we should renounce it now or accede to it half-heartedly, we may find the next step unavailable to us. We would then have squandered the greatest benefits of the treaty. I hope that the Senate will ratify the treaty wholeheartedly. I hope that you will then go on to provide leadership to a nation and a world which would very much like to try a next step.

The problem of the response to the test-ban treaty was also clearly raised by Leo Szilard in a letter to the editor of The Washington Post, September 5:

"The test-ban agreement which the Administration has submitted to the Senate for ratification would advance the cause of peace if, subsequent to its ratification, the government were to propose to the Soviet Union an agreement providing for an adequate political settlement, which would serve their interests, and which the Soviet Union might rightly be expected to accept. If this were not done, however, and if the government proceeded with an extensive program of underground bomb testing, then, rather than furthering the cause of peace, the test-ban agreement would be likely to do just the opposite.

"By engaging in this type of testing on a large scale, the United States would force the Soviet Union to conduct numerous bomb tests also. The underground testing of bombs is very expensive, however, and since the Soviet Union is economically much weaker than the United States, it would in the long run be forced to abrogate the agreement. Such a turn of events would prove Dr. Edward Teller to have been right--for the wrong reasons.

"The problem of establishing peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union involves the rest of the world as much as it involves Europe. It is difficult to visualize a political settlement in which Russia would agree to coexist with parliamentary democracies located in its proximity which look to us for support, while at the same time the United States would continue to maintain its present position that it cannot coexist with a Communist country, located in this hemisphere, which looks for support to the Soviet Union. Any attempt on the part of the government to arrive at a political settlement with the Soviet Union on such a basis would be an attempt to "eat one's cake and have it too" and few people, if any, have ever accomplished this feat.

"If I were a member of the Senate, I think I would want to know at this point how the government proposes to follow up the conclusion of the test-ban agreement, before casting my vote for the ratification of the agreement.

"I am not speaking here as a scientist who can claim to have special knowledge of the atomic bomb, but rather as a citizen whose political judgment is not obscured by being in possession of 'inside information'."

Bernard Feld discussed the problem of our response to the treaty on behalf of the Council in War/Peace Report, September 1963:

"That the test-ban agreement is only a first step--and one which will be meaningless unless followed by further agreements aimed at reducing Cold War tensions and actually reducing nuclear armaments--has been emphatically pointed out both by President Kennedy and by Chairman Khrushchev.

"The first step is obviously the one of carrying out our part of the Moscow bargain--that of working out a detente in Central Europe which will, in a meaningful way, stabilize the political situation and provide the necessary guarantees for the continued independence of West Berlin. But the crucial test of the intentions of both sides will be whether we can continue along the road of significant

disarmament. Actually, there should be no serious difficulty--provided the technical, rather than political considerations are permitted to prevail--in extending the test ban agreement to include underground testing.

"More important, however, will be the working out of a first-stage disarmament agreement involving, on the one hand, the partial elimination of the means of long-range delivery of nuclear weapons and, on the other hand, the reduction of conventional forces in Europe to the point where the conventional defense of Western Europe could be guaranteed by the forces presently in the NATO countries. In addition, such an agreement should provide for a cessation in the production of fissionable materials of weapons grade, and for serious guarantees against the spreading of nuclear weapons technology by the major powers, as well as for certain mutually desirable measures aimed at protection against surprise attack.

"There are serious political difficulties involved in achieving the next step--the non-aggression pact between the Warsaw and the NATO powers. These involve, mainly, the accession of France and West Germany to such an agreement. It is important to recognize that President de Gaulle has hedged his intransigence with a condition which could provide the means of achieving, at the same time, the first-stage reduction of nuclear armaments and the European non-aggression pact. For he has clearly stated, as his condition for joining any East-West agreement, that France would only be interested in an agreement which would provide for the reduction of nuclear delivery systems to a low, 'minimum deterrent' level. This is obviously the item of highest priority in the next round of East-West negotiations.

"Whether we have any hope of embarking on this next round will depend on the degree of support which can be mustered in the U.S. Senate for ratification of the test-ban agreement.

"The Council for a Livable World will continue to lobby for this support, and the measures of the next round."

Initiating the Defense Debate

Senator George McGovern's forceful speech of August 2, in which he called for thorough and careful examination of "the assumptions upon which our military budget rests" has received considerable attention. The Washington Post devoted an editorial to the questions raised by the Senator on August 11: "Senator George McGovern of South Dakota has spoken for many troubled Americans in raising questions on the size of the defense budget and the wisdom of accumulating nuclear weapons at the present rate when an overkill capacity already exists. It may be that there are satisfactory answers to the Senator's questions. But to date at least, the Department of Defense has been reluctant to speak in any but the most general terms about this very specific problem....

"Congress has not only a right but also a duty to inquire into this possibility. It is also a legitimate--indeed, imperative--legislative function to consider the long-term impact of defense spending on the economy as a whole. Both questions would present matter for discussion if there were no prospect for disarmament whatever. But the fact that the test-ban treaty has offered a ray of hope

for future steps toward arms control makes responsible debate all the more important.

"The Senate leadership has not set a date for consideration of the defense budget. When the date is set, however, it would be appropriate for such qualified Senators as Richard Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, to respond to the questions raised by Mr. McGovern on the floor and by many others in books and articles. Too often in the past, Congress has abdicated its critical role in weighting defense appropriations. This time debate would not only be welcome; it would be highly in order."

The Council is looking forward to the informed discussion of the U.S. defense budget in the context of our defense strategy which may be forthcoming on the floor of the Senate, and has been holding a series of seminars for Senators and their aides on some of the problems involved. As a result of these continuing discussions, there is a developing feeling for focussing attention in the debate around intermediate range nuclear weapons which, tactically deployed but having strategic capacity, may be the most likely cause of an escalated nuclear conflict.

The Membership Drive

If the Council is to be effective in supporting congressional candidates in the 1964 elections, as well as in assuring a broad base of support for its ongoing activities, we must rapidly increase the numbers of our supporters. We are therefore undertaking a direct mail campaign for new supporters which will, over the course of the next two months, reach as many as 100,000 persons. Previous smaller mailings have been made during the past year to test the most fruitful means of reaching people by the mail, and on the basis of those tests, we look forward to the success of the present effort.

Council for a Livable World
301 Dupont Circle Building
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Soldier to Head Peace Group

Retiring Colonel Enlists in Drive To Limit Armament Race

By Phil Casey
Staff Reporter

A much-decorated military man who has never believed that bombs bring peace is about to resign to lead one of the Nation's prominent peace group's.

Col. Henry Ashton Crosby, military adviser to Stuart Pittman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense, will take over officially as executive director of the Council for a Livable World, an organization of scholars and scientists hoping to halt the race and promote peace by "practical" means.

Crosby, a slender, youthful-looking man at 50 and a veteran of 22 years in the Army, takes over officially Oct. 31,

the date of his retirement from the Army.

"I never felt that building more and more thermonuclear weapons was the way to build peace," he said. "The question is, where do you stop?"

Crosby, who was awarded four Purple Hearts, three Silver Stars and a Croix de Guerre in World War II for his service as commander of an armored battalion, said the Council for a Livable World seeks "ways and means of reducing tensions" and stopping the arms race without endangering U. S. security.

The Council, he said, hopes to influence Congress and initiate thought about the

perils of the arms race and ways of halting it.

Its aim is not merely the abolition of war but to figure ways for the Nation to convert from a defense to a peacetime economy and help to build a peaceful, "livable" world, he said.

Nearly a score of the country's top scholars and scientists are the officers of the Council, created about two years ago by Leo Szilard, the famed physicist credited with a vital role in the development of the atomic bomb.

Szilard persuaded Albert Einstein to write President Franklin D. Roosevelt urging development of the Bomb in World War II. Szilard, along with the late Enrico Fermi, produced the chain reaction that led to the bomb. For the past decade, he has been an articulate and persistent advocate of arms control to promote peace.

Lois Gardner, of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, who has been acting director of the Council for a Livable World, said the Council has about 5000 supporters contributing money.



The Washington Post

COL. HENRY A. CROSBY
... to join peace crusade

The money is used to support political candidates the Council believes will work to halt the arms race and support ways of promoting world peace and economic stability.

Council for a Livable World
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C., 20036

W. Weaver Dale
Today, mankind for the first time is emerging as a communicating and potentially cooperating society. This process creates great opportunity as well as great danger. To help exploit the one and avert the other, the Council proposes to study human society as a whole and to stimulate re-thinking of concepts and values in terms of the future of that society.

COUNCIL FOR THE STUDY OF MANKIND

1525 EAST 53RD STREET
ROOM 917
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS
DOrchester 3-7873 FAirfax 4-8301
AREA CODE 312

September, 1963

Chairman,
Board of Directors

*QUINCY WRIGHT
Professor of International Law
Woodrow Wilson Department
of Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia

ACTIVITY REPORT NO.2

Directors' Meeting and Civic Luncheon

Chairman,
Executive Committee

*ROBERT ULICH
Professor of Education
Emeritus
Harvard University

Some of our Directors, Advisors, and other friends will meet in the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago on November 6 and 7, 1963 to hear a detailed report on the Council's activities and to consider plans for the future. The participants will meet for dinner and an evening session on Wednesday November 6 and continue the discussion through the following day. A Civic Luncheon will be held on November 7 at which the Hon. Paul G. Hoffman will be our guest speaker. His subject will be, "The Future of Mankind in a Shrinking World." We expect a large attendance consisting of persons in the academic, business, and professional world.

Executive Director

*GERHARD HIRSCHFELD
Council for the Study
of Mankind

Board of Directors

HERBERT BLUMER
Director, Institute of
Social Sciences
University of California

CRANE BRINTON
Professor of History
Harvard University

HENRY DAVID
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New School for Social Research
New York, New York

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK
Professor of History
The University of Chicago

BERT HOSELITZ
Professor of Social Sciences
The University of Chicago

JOSEPH KAPLAN
Professor of Physics
University of California

* HANS KOHN
Social Science Foundation
University of Denver

HENRY MARGENAU
Professor of Physics
Yale University

CHARLES MORRIS
Professor of Philosophy
University of Florida

FOWLER McCORMICK
Chicago, Illinois

RICHARD P. McKEON
Professor of Philosophy
and Greek
The University of Chicago

LEONARD REIFFEL
Director of Physics Research
Armour Research Foundation of
Illinois Institute of Technology

*Member, Executive Committee

Conferences

"Technology and the Idea of Mankind"

The preliminary summary of the conference on "Technology and the Idea of Mankind," which was held last May at the Illinois Institute of Technology, has now been completed and sent to the participants for their corrections. Assuming that corrections will be returned promptly, we expect to have the final version ready in October for distribution to the participants and other interested persons. Those who want copies of the summary should write us at an early date as the supply is limited.

"Mental Health and the Idea of Mankind"

The conference on "Mental Health and the Idea of Mankind" is tentatively scheduled for February 15 and 16, 1964. Invitations have been sent to a number of eminent scholars in the field as well as in related disciplines. Sponsored by the Psychiatric Training and Research Authority of Illinois, the conference will be held at the Illinois State Psychiatric Institute of Chicago under the co-chairmanship of Dr. Roy R. Grinker, M.D., Director of the Psychosomatic and Psychiatric Institute

of Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, and Dr. Frank Fremont-Smith, M.D., Director, American Institute of Biological Sciences (Interdisciplinary Conference Program) in New York.

European Section

A summary of the conference which was held in The Hague last April 4 - 6, sponsored by our European Section, is now available. The subject of the conference was, "Is the Future Unity of Mankind a Justifiable Expectation?". Those who want to receive copies of the twelve-page summary should request them at an early date as the supply of this material also is limited. The various papers which have been completed, and others which are to be completed in the near future, are to be published in book form.

Discussion Groups

The Chicago discussion group is resuming its monthly meetings on the idea of mankind the middle of October. Papers will be prepared in advance, will be discussed at the meeting, and are to be revised afterwards. The chairman of the first meeting will be Professor Richard P. McKeon whose paper is to deal with the relationship of thought to action. The next two papers will be prepared by Professor Soia Mentschikoff on International Law and Dr. Leonard Reiffel on Technology.

The discussion group in Cambridge, Mass., also is going to resume its meetings in October. Here, too, the plan is to have papers prepared in advance.

From these and other groups we hope to obtain substantial discussion materials which we shall make available to our friends here and abroad. We are inquiring into the possibility of organizing similar academic discussion groups in New York City, Bloomington, Ind., Minneapolis, Minn., Denver, Col., Seattle, Wash., where the Executive Director found encouraging interest. Those who would like to consider a similar activity, please write us in Chicago so that we can provide them with material they may find helpful in the discussion of the idea of mankind as it relates to different problems and issues.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Social Studies Teachers' Committee for the Council for the Study of Mankind

Monograph on "Economics and Mankind"

Professor Bert Hoselitz has undertaken the writing of a monograph on "Economics and Mankind" intended for high school teaching.

This will be, when published, the fourth monograph prepared by the Council. The others are: "The Teaching of the Concept of Mankind in World History," "Education and the Idea of Mankind," and "Science and the Idea of Mankind."

Pilot Teaching in Secondary Schools

Plans are under way to arrange for the teaching of selected problems affecting mankind as a whole on the basis of the monographs for social studies teachers, published by the Council. It is expected that three high schools in Greater Chicago will participate in this pilot project. A planning conference of participating social studies teachers will be held in the Fall, under the leadership of Professor Mark M. Krug.

Session of the Concept of Mankind in the Social Studies at the N.C.S.S. Conference

The program of the annual conference of the National Council for Social Studies in Los Angeles will include a session to be held on November 30, 1963, on the topic, "The Concept of Mankind in the Social Studies." The participants in the session will include Professors John I. Goodlad, Herbert Blumer, Mark M. Krug, and Mr. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Executive Director of the Council for the Study of Mankind.

Plans for Social Studies Teachers' Committees in Bloomington, Ind., and Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.

With the help of Professors Jack Baranson and John P. Lunstrum of the University of Indiana, we plan to organize an Indiana Committee of Social Studies Teachers. Professor Mark M. Krug and Mr. Gerhard Hirschfeld will participate in a planning meeting in Bloomington on Monday, October 21. Mr. Hirschfeld will go to Minneapolis at the end of September to discuss a similar project for the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

Program Guide for Adult Education Courses on the Idea of Mankind

Mr. Peter Siegle of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Professor Mark M. Krug, and Mr. Terence J. Anderson of the Council are preparing a guide for an adult education study group on the idea of mankind. The guide will deal with the impact of modern science and technology on the problems facing mankind today.

Radio and Television

In the Fall of 1961, radio station WRVR in New York broadcast the six taped lectures originally given at the New School for Social Research. Since then, three FM stations, WBZ (Boston), KYW (Cleveland), and KDKA (Pittsburgh) have aired these lectures. Also in the latter part of 1961, WBGH-TV in Cambridge agreed to produce a series of television programs on the idea of mankind in cooperation with the Council. Unfortunately, WGBH's facilities were destroyed by fire before production began. The series still remains in the planning stage. In 1962, WMVS-TV in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, showed a film made at the conference on "History and the Idea of Mankind." With the exception of scattered appearances by members of the Council, this has been the extent of our radio and television activities to date.

While exploratory efforts have been made from time to time, the Council has hesitated to make substantial efforts in the use of these media during the early stages of its work. The lack of financial resources has also been a factor. However, with the continued development of our materials and the expansion of our educational activities to the secondary school level, the Council has begun serious exploration of how it may best utilize these materials through radio and television.

At present, we are working with Mr. Marvin Lurie, Station Manager of WXFM Radio Station Studio in Chicago on increasing the technical quality of our tapes. Helped by his suggestions, we are also exploring possible means of making broadcasters aware of what we have available. While some of the materials have not been adaptable for radio use, we expect to have a series of programs ready for use and distribution early in 1964.

The Council is also planning to contact educational television stations in the Midwest in an effort to initiate some sort of program in the near future. While the grant obtained for the production of the original series will be reserved for use in conjunction with WGBH, the Council hopes that administrative convenience and the accessibility of our scholars may enable us to proceed more rapidly in the Midwest.

Chicago and the Salk Institute

The Salk Institute for Biological Studies was founded in 1947 by Dr. Jonas E. Salk. The Institute is a non-profit organization dedicated to the study of biological sciences. It is located in San Diego, California. The Institute has a long history of research and discovery. It is one of the leading research institutions in the world. The Institute has a reputation for excellence in research and education. It is a place where scientists from all over the world come to work and learn. The Institute is a source of pride for the city of San Diego and the state of California. It is a place where the future of biological science is being shaped.

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Dr. Jonas E. Salk
The Salk Institute for
Biological Sciences
P.O. Box 9499
San Diego 9, Calif.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

MEMO TO: Supporters of the Council for a Livable World

FROM: H. Ashton Crosby, Executive Director

The Council is at present actively engaged in increasing membership, since, as you know, our effectiveness (especially in the 1964 Senatorial elections) will be directly proportional to the number of our Supporters and the amount of their financial contributions.

With this in mind, we ask your help. We ask Supporters to designate individuals who might well be interested in the aims of the Council. We will then send these persons information kits explaining our activities. Or, we would be glad to place people on our mailing list to receive all of our materials for one year. We ask, in this case, as you know, a contribution of \$10.00 for such a "subscription" to cover our preparation costs. In 1964, the Council hopes to distribute to all Supporters and persons on its "subscription" list special policy studies as well as bulletins, legislative reports, and study papers.

The reverse side of this letter will serve as a form with which to provide us with these names. A return envelope is enclosed.

(Please see reverse side for further information)

Return to: Council for a Livable World-1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

I would like to provide the following persons with all literature and information from the Council for a Livable World for one year. I enclose \$10.00 to cover the cost of each "subscription."

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Street & Number</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip Code</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

I understand that the Council has prepared Information Kits containing a selection of documents which explain to prospective Supporters the program and objectives of the Council. I list below the names and addresses of individuals who might be interested in receiving such a kit, which will be sent by the National Office (without charge).

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Street & Number</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip Code</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
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7.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

I enclose a check for \$ _____ to cover the cost of the one-year subscription(s).

You may use my name when contacting the above persons.

Please do not use my name when contacting the above persons.

Please send me _____ Information Kits which I will distribute myself.

(signature)

Name _____

Address _____



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1963

No. 175

NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONVERSION COMMISSION

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, for myself and Senators BAYH, CLARK, GRUENING, LONG of Missouri, MORSE, NELSON, RANDOLPH, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and YOUNG of Ohio, a bill to establish a National Economic Conversion Commission to develop plans for economic adjustments to changes or reductions in our defense expenditures.

This legislation recognizes that the Nation has found it necessary during the cold war years since World War II to make a heavy economic commitment for defense.

The act declares that our security requires a capacity to adjust our defense establishment to changing military and international conditions. Such a capacity includes preparation for the conversion of any part of our military plant to civilian purposes.

This legislation offers one means by which the people of the United States can safely embrace reasonable opportunities for converting the instruments of war to the tools of peace. It should add to the flexibility, the efficiency, and the strength of our entire security system.

The bill seeks to accomplish these purposes as follows:

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

A National Economic Conversion Commission would be established in the Executive Office of the President. The Commission, headed by the Secretary of Commerce, would include the Secretaries of Defense, Agriculture, Labor, and Interior, the Chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Directors of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The Commission would have responsibility for drafting a blueprint of appropriate actions by departments and agencies of the Federal Government to facilitate conversion. This should include preparation of schedules of possible private and public investment patterns resulting from various degrees of economic conversion and the employment and income effects that may be expected therefrom. This analysis would be submitted to the President and to Congress

within 1 year after the enactment of the act.

The Commission would convene, within the next 12 months, a National Conference on Industrial Conversion and Growth to focus nationwide attention on these problems and to encourage appropriate study and programing for economic conversion in all relevant parts of the Nation's economy.

The Commission would counsel with the Governors of the States to encourage appropriate and timely preparation in support of conversion capability.

In addition to the National Economic Conversion Commission, the bill provides that defense plants under contract to the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, or the Space Agency shall have in their managements an operating conversion committee. Such committees would be required in all plants engaged in defense work for 1 year or more and whose personnel are 25 percent or more so engaged.

Each industry committee would be charged with planning for the conversion of the facility from military to civilian work, as required in the event of contract changes owing to terminations, cutbacks, or stretchouts.

Many firms will find it possible to make appropriate plans for coping with conversion problems on their own, but others will be unable to plan with their own competence and will need the counsel and assistance of Government.

UNCERTAINTIES OF THE DEFENSE ECONOMY

As the Members of the Senate know, I have previously expressed the conviction that we have reached a point when we can make careful reductions in arms expenditures without in any way endangering the security of the Nation. Regardless of whether this view prevails, we can anticipate a leveling off of numerous defense projects, and significant shifts in the character of defense spending. Plans to make economic adjustment to such changes should be prepared by both Government and private industry. The bill which I introduce today establishes the machinery to inaugurate such planning.

Uncertainties, many of which depend upon factors beyond our control, provide the backdrop for the proposed legislation. The proposal is designed to ease the conversion or modification of our arms industries and installations to ci-

vilian purposes. If we are to avoid painful economic dislocations and loss of job opportunities resulting from reductions or changes in our defense system, we must develop procedures now for anticipating and meeting these problems.

The New York Times of July 12, 1963, reported that Defense Secretary McNamara foresees a leveling off of defense spending. As a result of cost-efficiency achievements, Mr. McNamara has indicated that annual savings of \$4 billion may be reached by 1964. This does not necessarily mean a reduction in combat forces or overall military spending, but it does point up the changing character of defense operations.

An earlier report, in the Times for June 30, indicated that administration officials are giving serious consideration to a substantial cut in the weapons acquisition program of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Congress has recently reduced by more than a billion dollars the requested Defense Department appropriations for fiscal 1964.

The changing demands of our security in the 1960's necessarily involve a constantly shifting and changing Defense Establishment. For example, during the past 2 years, we have been allocating increased billions of dollars to our conventional warfare and mobile force capability. Simultaneously, we have been phasing out B-47 strategic bombers and modifying our missile system. Secretary McNamara has recently blocked construction of nuclear aircraft carriers.

These and other anticipated changes in defense allocations point up the uncertainty of any existing weapons system or military installation.

THE CHANGING COLD WAR SCENE

Even more fundamental changes may occur in our military forces and defense-related industries if the pattern of the cold war should shift substantially. There are new indications that Russia may be changing the direction of her cold war tactics. Mr. Khrushchev's disavowal of the moon race, his sharp differences with the Chinese Communists, his expenditure of large sums for food, ought to be viewed with healthy skepticism, but they are indications, nonetheless, of a possible change in Soviet tactics.

It is possible that our rivalry with the Soviets may move more and more into an economic, cultural, and ideological conflict in which military weapons would serve an increasingly secondary role. If the President's hope for the test ban as "a first step" to peace is fulfilled by additional steps to peace, then surely we can anticipate a change in military spending by the great powers. Any significant success in the long effort to reach agreement on disarmament would, of course, sharply affect the level of defense spending.

In August 1963 the monthly survey of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. reported that even though it might be premature to hope for a thaw in the cold war, the time has come to prepare for a reduction and shifts in defense spending. It commented:

Well before the Moscow [test ban] accord, a number of developments were suggesting the possibility of a break in the pattern of steadily increasing outlays for national security. Even clearer have been the signs that the composition of defense expenditure is likely to shift. Either event—reduction or restructuring—would impose economic adjustments on individuals, companies, and communities. The prospect, therefore, ought to be receiving consideration in the private sector of the economy, where adjustment would chiefly fall. Thus far, it appears to have been rather broadly neglected.

U.S. ECONOMY CAN THRIVE DURING CONVERSION

Marxist critics of the United States have long contended that however burdensome, heavy arms spending is a necessary evil designed to prevent the collapse of U.S. capitalism. According to this view, were it not for booming defense industries and military forces to stimulate the economy and absorb our manpower, chronic depression would grip the Nation. Many Americans, including industrialists, labor leaders, and public officials tend to accept this assumption.

I believe this to be a false view of the American economy. It is my conviction that with proper planning by both private and public officials on community, State and Federal levels, our economy can expand and prosper while undergoing substantial shifts or reductions in our Defense Establishment.

I agree with the distinguished assistant leader of the majority, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], who said in an address to the Senate more than a year ago:

If we discuss the economic impact of disarmament on our economy, we shall reach the conclusion that not only is it possible to make such a conversion without serious dislocation, but it is possible to have a vastly improved economy, one in which economic expansion moves rapidly, and in which the production of goods and services increases for the common good.

In that spirit, I suggest the following propositions:

First. The United States clearly demonstrated at the end of World War II that we could move quickly and successfully from a wartime to a peacetime economy at a time when a much larger share of our total resources were devoted to armaments than is now the case.

Second. Our present level of military spending—far from strengthening the

economy—is actually distorting and restricting the economy, weakening the competitive position of our civilian industries in both domestic and international trade, and seriously aggravating our balance-of-payments problem.

Third. While our overall economy can absorb shifts in production patterns with comparative ease, certain industries, communities and manpower groups would be seriously affected by sudden shifts or cutbacks in the military system. These special problems can be minimized with sufficient advance planning.

During World War II, U.S. defense expenditures claimed over 40 percent of our gross national product in contrast to 10 percent today. Within a year of the war's end in 1945 we had reduced defense spending by 80 percent. This reduction represented three times the present percentage of our national production devoted to defense expenditures. In the same 12-month postwar period, over 9 million servicemen were released from the Armed Forces—more than triple our present total military personnel. Yet, despite this rapid demobilization and reduction of defense spending, the economy boomed and unemployment remained below 4 percent.

The satisfactory transfer to a civilian economy after 1945 was made possible partly because of the pent-up demand for civilian goods and partly by our material assistance to European recovery. It was also greatly assisted by intelligent industry planning and government action, including tax reduction, veterans benefits, concessions to industry, and a policy of monetary ease. All of these tested devices could be readily employed again should major arms reduction become feasible.

ARMS SPENDING DISTORTS ECONOMY

Both the encouraging post-World War II experience and analysis of our present economic problems point to the conclusion that a planned transfer to civilian production can be a boon rather than a drag on our economy. Arms spending is not the unmixed economic blessing that some citizens believe it to be.

As William C. Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has said:

Defense spending of the type we now have has no intrinsic merit in terms of its ability to create production and income as compared to other forms of demand.

A costly nuclear warhead resting in the arsenal has little or no impact on the economy, whereas a similar investment in updated machine tools or classrooms or scholarships pays compound dividends.

Furthermore, arms spending is narrowly concentrated in a few giant corporations rather than being evenly spread across the Nation.

Most disturbing of all, we are presently starving a number of crucial sectors of American society to keep the military animal well fed.

In recent years we have been allocating approximately three-fourths of our precious scientific and engineering talent to military research and development. This, plus the concentration of

capital in arms production, has led to a painful decline in the modernization of our civilian industries. The United States, once the envy of the world in machine tool production has today slipped to fourth or fifth rank among the world's machine tool producing nations. Few Americans realize that the gleaming new civilian plants of West Germany, Japan, and Italy—the hapless Axis powers of 18 years ago—have left the United States with the distinction of operating the most outdated metal-working machinery of any major industrial country.

Many of our once top-rated civilian industries are losing their competitive edge both at home and abroad with serious consequences to our balance of payments and our economic growth. The balance-of-payments problems is further aggravated by the cost of maintaining large numbers of American troops in Germany and by our military aid operations in Vietnam, Korea, and Formosa.

Even more difficult to measure is the loss to society from the diversion of much of our best brainpower—especially potential teachers—to military research and development. The shortage of talented, dynamic teachers and professors takes a heavy toll in American classrooms.

Every American should ponder the words of former President Eisenhower:

The Military Establishment, not productive of itself, necessarily must feed on the energy, productivity, and brainpower of the country, and if it takes too much, our total strength declines.

SPECIAL AREAS OF STRESS DURING ARMS REDUCTION

Having contended that the arms budget is a restricted and sometimes damaging method of bolstering the economy, I nevertheless believe that it is so intertwined with the economic life of some of our communities, industries and vocations that a military shift without advance planning would set off an understandable panic.

A significant factor in America's defense spending is its highly uneven distribution geographically and industrially. Areas such as southern California, Boston, Seattle, Wichita, and a number of our States including Hawaii, Alaska, Georgia, New Mexico, and Utah are heavily dependent on defense industries and installations.

In the aircraft industry over 93 percent of the employees are engaged in manufacturing warplanes; in the shipbuilding industry, 60 percent of the employees are involved in defense production, and in radio and communications equipment production the percentage is 38 percent. These areas and industries along with the technical personnel in related defense production will be hardest hit by arms reduction or shifts in production patterns.

REASONS FOR CONVERSION PLANNING

There are various reasons why we must take steps to free ourselves from the fear of economic dislocation stemming from changes in our defense forces.

First, our military security requires that our defense planners be permitted a considerable degree of flexibility in

weapons production and modification. As matters now stand, necessary changes or reductions in weapons systems or defense installations are often vigorously resisted by the affected communities and their political spokesmen. Such political and economic pressures which freeze unneeded plants or installations into the Defense Establishment weaken our overall strength.

The Morgan Guaranty Survey observes, in connection with the inertia or resistance to change in defense expenditure patterns:

With about one-tenth of gross national product devoted to military purposes year after year, there has developed a reluctance, both public and private, toward cutting back so sizable a sector of economic activity. Thus, the very fact that makes it important to prepare for the possibility of a reduction in defense outlays—that is, the economy's heavy involvement in defense—could also make it more difficult to achieve reduction.

But, Mr. President, in the absence of alternative plans, who can blame a community, or a labor leader, or a Congressman, for vigorous opposition to the loss of a valuable payroll or dividend?

A second reason for planning conversion is that we have an obligation to protect our citizens in the Armed Forces and defense industries against an economic calamity. We need to replace uncertainty and anxiety with the assurance that conversion to civilian production can actually be a hopeful opportunity for the American people.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] discussing the work of his Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower has said:

Certainly, it is a matter of direct congressional and national concern to inquire whether practical alternatives exist for the employment of defense industries and their work forces outside the defense program for the fulfillment of other community and individual needs.

We cannot possibly leave great defense industries and millions of their workers in so vulnerable a position that they constitute an independent obstacle to the achievement of a stable peace * * *

OUR CIVILIAN NEEDS CAN ABSORB ARMS CUT

There is a wide range of American domestic needs which can easily absorb large public and private investment for new employment and economic growth. The Nation's needs for resources development projects, particularly involving water, and for construction of schools, hospitals, mental health facilities, urban transit systems, outdoor recreation facilities, and rural development would more than absorb any likely reductions in defense spending.

There are many untapped opportunities in the civilian sector to which our defense industries might convert their capacity. For example, the airframe industry has competence for producing lightweight, high-strength structures useful for prefabricated housing.

In the medical field there are dramatic uses for electronic devices to which part of our defense capacity could be diverted. Also, traffic signals in our cities could be controlled by computers to improve the control and flow of traffic.

Countless other examples could be cited and there are scores of ideas yet

to be formulated for converting war production to civilian uses.

Scores of small communities have developed at the side of defense installations. We will have to make an imaginative effort to conserve the human and the capital resources of these satellite towns. For example, many bases include extensive facilities that could be converted into vocational schools and junior college use. The instructional staffs of some training bases are readily convertible into the teaching staffs of technical institutes. Indeed, such use of military training sites and personnel would help us to overcome at the junior college level the national shortage of technicians. This, in turn, can prove to be a major contribution to the technological renewal of many of our industries.

We should anticipate the possibility that a type and degree of specialization highly specific to military functions has developed in various occupations. Some electronics and missile engineers may thus discover that as specialists in aspects of missile guidance, there is no nearby civilian technology for which they are suited. For such men, there will be problems for retraining. This can be an opportunity for them and for our country. We all know that we must upgrade the function of educating our youth. Many of our defense industry experts could be attracted to the teaching profession with proper financial and professional incentives.

What is needed is a coordinated effort between private industry and government to smooth the transition. The bill which I have proposed will help to meet that need.

Its combination of required industry conversion planning and State and Federal supporting activity will help generate the confidence and direction needed for conversion capability.

With such a design, we will begin to relieve the concern which many feel, lest conversion from war production be the occasion of unreasonable hardship for Americans. In turn, the development of competence for conversion will make possible more realistic appraisals of defense spending, for then decisions on the termination of contracts or the closing of installations to meet legitimate efficiency and security requirements need not be blunted by concern for economic dislocation. This is bound to improve both the short- and long-term design and administration of our security policies. It will also add new force to disarmament discussions by removing fear of the economic consequences.

These proposed steps can help give our people a solid basis for confidence in their own and our Nation's future. With other related efforts, they can demonstrate that the best path to American prosperity and economic growth lies not in a constantly expanding arms race but in carefully gauged steps toward peace.

GROWING INTEREST IN ECONOMIC CONVERSION

Mr. President, I want to clarify my purpose in introducing legislation at this time.

This is not a newly recognized issue, arising out of the apparent thaw in East-

West relationships. The problem was recognized in the report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament made by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in March of 1962.

It was recognized by our very able colleague the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], in 1962, when he proposed a Senate Select Committee on the Economic Impact of National Defense, which was to study procurement policies and take into consideration the effect that termination or modification of procurement contracts would have on the economy.

It was recognized by the New York Times financial and business editors some weeks ago when they made a survey of conversion planning by our 25 major corporations which handle 50.8 percent of all defense work. They reported on August 16, 1963, that very little planning for conversion has been done by industry and that "many defense contractors simply refuse to consider a sizeable cutback in arms production as any kind of a possibility in the foreseeable future."

It was recognized by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament in the study so ably reported to us by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] on October 5 last year, to which I have referred. The Minnesota Senator has established himself nationally and internationally as a leader in the field of disarmament and especially its related economic impact.

We have been approaching the problem of conversion with increasing frequency and interest. We have some rather broad ideas about how it may be undertaken.

It seems to the cosponsors of the proposed National Economic Conversion Act, which I have introduced, that it is time to launch more specific planning for possible reductions or changes in our military programs. We urgently need a blueprint, in the language of the bill, "of the appropriate policies and programs to be carried out by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government * * * which study shall include possible schedules of public and private investment patterns resulting from various degrees of economic conversion."

Also, it is time to stimulate and assist private industry and State and local communities in undertaking the planning job, as provided in the bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the bill, the Morgan Guaranty Survey article on conversion problems, and the New York Times article of August 16, entitled "Defense Industry Lacks Plans for Civilian Production," and other editorials and articles in support of the proposal.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, editorials and articles will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2274) to establish a National Economic Conversion Commission, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MCGOVERN (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by

its title, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Economic Conversion Act".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress finds and declares that in the last decade the cold war has required the United States to make a heavy military and economic commitment for defense; that it is the policy of the United States to maintain a fully adequate national defense and to regulate expenditures for such defense in accordance with changing requirements of American security; that economic ability to adjust to changing security needs is in the interest of the general welfare of the United States; that preparation for a consequent transition to a civilian economy is necessary; and that such an economic conversion presents a great challenge and opportunity to the American people.

It is the purpose of this Act to provide the means by which the United States can prepare for the challenge and opportunity of such an economic conversion.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established, in the Executive Office of the President, the National Economic Conversion Commission (hereafter referred to as the "Commission"), which shall be composed of—

- (1) The Secretary of Defense;
- (2) The Secretary of Agriculture;
- (3) The Secretary of Commerce, who shall be chairman of the Commission;
- (4) The Secretary of Labor;
- (5) The Secretary of Interior;
- (6) The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission;
- (7) The Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;
- (8) The Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and
- (9) The Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

(b) The Secretary of Commerce shall preside over meetings of the Commission; except that in his unavoidable absence he may designate a member of the Commission to preside in his place.

(c) The Commission shall have a staff to be headed by an executive secretary who shall be appointed by the President, and who shall receive compensation at the rate of \$ — a year.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Commission to—

(1) institute a study, a report of which shall be submitted to the President and to the Congress within one year after the enactment of this Act, of the appropriate policies and programs to be carried out by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government for economic conversion capability, which study shall include possible schedules of public and private investment patterns resulting from various degrees of economic conversion, and the anticipated effects upon income and employment of such patterns;

(2) convene a National Conference on Industrial Conversion and Growth, within one year after the enactment of this Act, to consider the problems arising from a conversion to a civilian economy, and to encourage appropriate planning and programing by all sectors of the economy to facilitate the Nation's economic conversion capability;

(3) consult with the Governors of the States to encourage appropriate studies and conferences at the State, local, and regional level, in support of a coordinated effort to improve the Nation's economic conversion capability;

(4) promulgate regulations for the appropriate departments and agencies of the Federal Government, which shall specify the character and duties of the Industrial Conversion Committees established pursuant to section 5 of this Act;

(5) make such recommendations to the President and to the Congress as will further the purposes of this Act.

INDUSTRIAL CONVERSION COMMITTEES

SEC. 5. (a) Under such regulations as the Commission shall prescribe, each defense contract or grant hereafter entered into by the Department of Defense or any military department thereof, or by the Atomic Energy Commission, shall contain provisions effective to require the contractor to set up an Industrial Conversion Committee which shall be charged with planning for conversion to civilian work arising from possible curtailment or termination of such contract or grant.

(b) As used in this section, the term "defense contract or grant" means any contract or grant—

(1) Which involves—

(A) the research, development, production, maintenance, or storage of any weapons systems, arms, armament, ammunition, implements of war, missiles, machinery, tools, clothing, food, fuel, or any articles or supplies, or parts or ingredients of any articles or supplies; or

(B) the construction, reconstruction, repair, or installation of a building, plant, structure, or facility; which the Secretary of Defense or his designee, or the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission or his designee, certifies to be necessary to the national defense;

(2) which requires that the number of employees engaged in work under such defense contract or grant, together with employees engaged in work under any other such contract or grant, exceeds twenty-five per centum of the total number of employees of the contractor awarded such contract or grant; and

(3) which requires at least one year to complete.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. (a) The Commission shall have the power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Commission may also procure, without regard to the civil-service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates not to exceed \$50 per diem for individuals.

(b) The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality, information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this Act, and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality, is authorized and directed to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Commission upon request made by the Chairman.

SEC. 7. Such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act are hereby authorized to be appropriated.



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ECONOMIC PREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE—PROPOSED AUTHORITY FOR SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE TO MEET DURING SENATE SESSIONS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on page 12 of the Legislative Calendar there is listed, under the heading "Resolutions and Motions Over Under the Rule," Senate Resolution 209, of which I am the sponsor. It would authorize the Subcommittee on Manpower and Employment, of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to hold meetings during the sessions of the Senate during the remainder of October and all of November.

As the result of some quite complicated parliamentary maneuverings and as the result of a ruling on rule VIII made by the Vice President—a ruling which I do not understand, and with which I am completely out of sympathy, my resolution has been held over, and has been placed on the calendar until such time as, in its infinite wisdom, the leadership decides to have the Senate adjourn, rather than take a recess.

Mr. President, in due course, Senate Resolution 209 will be called up for action under the somewhat peculiar procedure required by the ruling of the Vice President a week or so ago.

My purpose today in obtaining the floor is to explain to Senators and to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the importance of granting the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare the right to sit, notwithstanding the fact that the Senate may be in session, during the remainder of October and all of November.

The hearings which we contemplate holding come under the general heading of "Economic Preparedness for Peace."

Our major national failure on the domestic scene over the past decade has been our inability to match the growing capacity to produce goods with corresponding increases in job opportunities for an expanding work force.

For 10 years we have been plagued by nagging, chronic, and persistent unemployment.

Even today, in the midst of the longest lived period of business expansion since the 1920's, unemployment levels have refused to come unstuck.

I submit, Mr. President, that the Nation cannot tolerate this tragic waste of priceless manpower much longer. It corrodes the confidence of hundreds of American communities. It gives rise to serious questions concerning the operation of our superb free enterprise system. It is a cancer on the economy which cannot be allowed to grow malignant.

And, like a cancer, there is no simple cure, no panacea, no wonder drug which can remove it overnight. It is a complicated disease.

No body of Congress is more aware of this at the moment than the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Ever since the end of May, this subcommittee has been hard at work, week in and week out, exploring the dismal depths of national unemployment. It is searching hard for answers to this nagging problem. We have held more than 30 days of hearings, and heard nearly 70 witnesses.

During the remainder of October and November, the subcommittee hopes to conclude this year's investigations and prepare its recommendations for the next session of Congress.

Yet in view of what looms ahead, the subcommittee may not be able even to meet, because of the pending filibuster on the civil rights bill, which it now appears may occur in the Senate within the next 2 weeks.

Is the national interest to be sacrificed to some quaint and antiquated custom which says the Senate of the United States will not be permitted to vote to determine whether a committee can continue to work on matters of great national concern? Does anyone think floor attendance during the filibuster will be improved by this action? No Senator can seriously believe that a single member of this subcommittee will sit and listen to the weeks and weeks of dreary discussions which will have as their purpose the frustration of intelligent legislation.

During the remaining weeks of this month, the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower will be concerned with the techniques which can be employed by management and labor to adjust to technological advances. It will be concerned with chronic depression in certain regions of America, and what we can do to cure it at the Federal level.

Then in November it will turn its attention to the many difficult questions dealing with the impact of the defense effort upon our national employment and manpower problems.

This matter of great national concern, I suggest, should not be given second priority to that exercise in Senate futility and frustration known as the filibuster. I suggest that the subcommittee to which I have referred and, for that matter, a score of our committees and subcommittees, should be permitted to continue the work which they are doing, in an attempt to bring meaningful legislation to the floor, instead of being told that the duty of Members is to stay on the floor and listen to the filibuster, which we all know they are not going to do anyway.

Twice within the recent history of the United States, we have found ourselves engaged in major wars at a time when we were not adequately prepared to wage those wars. In December 1941, and again in June 1950, we were overtaken by world conflagrations for which we had not made adequate preparation. Of course, in due time, our great technological and manpower potential met the military challenge and ultimately the enemy was contained. But in the interim there was tragic and unnecessary loss of lives and territory which adequate national preparation might have forestalled.

Today, after 15 years of the cold war and the arms race, we are presented with the paradox that we may now be as unprepared for peace as formerly we were unprepared for war. Currently 10 percent of our gross national product is concentrated upon national defense. Millions of men and women in the Armed Forces and in the defense industries are engaged in work related solely to the Military Establishment. Whole communities are dependent on such enterprise. The employment of millions and economies of whole cities rest on the shoulders of the Secretary of Defense—an able and effective man, the finest Secretary of Defense, in my opinion, we have ever had, on whose shoulders rests a precarious economic foundation at best.

Each month a defense contract is canceled or expires. Weapons become obsolete. International conditions alter. Yet little anticipation, little foresight has been brought to bear upon the economic effects of defense shifts, or even the possible eventuality of defense cutbacks or

disarmament.

This is a critical question of interest to those who concern themselves with our national manpower. What plans do we have, what concrete alternatives may we afford as a nation for the employment of those who are engaged in the defense effort but who may be affected by changes in its structure or size?

Can we not take the tremendous energies and latent potentials bottled up in defense and put them to constructive use on the many unmet domestic needs of the country we have been bypassing for over two decades?

What are the alternative prospects for the industries today absorbed in the defense sector—particularly those in the highly technical missiles and electronic fields? Have these companies planned for alternative enterprise should defense demands reduce the need for their services in the defense production area? An excellent study of this question by two staff writers appeared in the New York Times of last August 16. This analysis tended to indicate that many of the most vulnerable defense industries have no alternative plans for the employment of their skills, resources, and manpower forces, should they no longer be required to engage themselves in the defense effort.

Mr. President, it may be that this survey is unduly pessimistic and that defense industries have in fact tangible plans for alternative production activity outside the defense sector. Certainly it is a matter of direct congressional and national concern to inquire whether practical alternatives exist for the employment of defense industries and their workforces outside the defense program for the fulfillment of other national community and individual needs.

I believe I express the views of many of my colleagues in saying that there exists a national obligation to assure realistic alternative utilization of defense involved industries with their advanced technologies and superior research and production facilities. Reasonable redeployment of those industries and their workforces is something that, as a nation, we owe first of all to the industries and the workers themselves.

We cannot possibly leave great defense industries and millions of their workers in so vulnerable a position that they constitute an independent obstacle to the achievement of a stable peace. We must not forget the admonition of President Eisenhower in his last speech, to remain on guard against a military-industrial complex which might add fuel to the flames of the arms race if it is left with no alternative outlet for its expertise, energy, and productive capacity except defense.

We have a national obligation to bring the many lessons we have learned in defense-related enterprise to bear upon the continuing unmet needs of our communities and our people—needs which the great defense industries and their advanced technologies may be able to

help meet in this century of technological revolution. Certainly we have seen in the last decade, in defense and in space, the most remarkable achievement of national goals undreamed of a decade ago. We have assembled in recognition of new national goals in space, in communication, and in national security—expert teams of engineers, research men, and men of industry as well as production forces. By a massive infusion of human effort, these teams have put man into space and will, hopefully soon, place men on the moon and on other planets.

We have proved through these efforts, that when, as a nation, we clearly define for ourselves a priority goal, our 20th-century technology can span in a matter of months or a few years a human advance which might otherwise have taken decades for its achievement.

In my view the time is soon approaching when we must harness the kinds of energies and technical skills and of know-how which have been created to meet national goals in defense and in space, to the improvement of the conditions of human life. There are vast unmet community and human needs in the United States. I do not refer merely to depressed areas or to poverty. There are millions of Americans who wish simply to better their lot. Our technology has the capacity to help them do just that.

I have in mind the millions of Americans who would benefit from a mass urban and interurban transportation system—efficient, speedy, and inexpensive. I believe that the experts on propulsion who can put tons of instruments on the Moon or send a man around the Earth in 90 minutes, could get a commuter to his job and back to his home, 30 miles away, in one-half or one-quarter the commuting time presently endured by millions of working citizens, because adequate research is not being done by the top brains of the country on problems like these.

I have in mind the millions of American children who are waiting for the benefits of 20th-century technology to provide them with adequate schools, educational facilities, and teaching aids. I am confident that a communications system which can flash a television picture around the Earth in an instant, can solve the communications tangle in our schools and provide a topnotch information and education service to millions of schoolchildren.

We know, too, that millions of American families who desire to purchase a private home cannot achieve that goal until the housing industry creates new habitable housing at lower price levels. Millions of Americans would buy a summerhouse if there were available for purchase and construction a habitable vacation home at a price range under \$4,000. So, too, the development of our national resources can produce untold benefits for communities whose productive potential today suffers from lack of an adequate water supply, or other resource deficiencies.

Can we harness the technology which has put us in space to meet pressing human and community goals? What is the proper role of the Federal Government in providing the benefits of 20th-century technology to a community's schools, its mass transportation system, its public works, and its productive resources? These are some of the challenging questions for which we must find answers, for I am convinced that in this innovating economy—this economy of systematic invention—the new jobs we need so desperately will not come necessarily from the application of sophisticated technology to traditional productive enterprise, but they will come from the application of technology to whole new lines of endeavor and unmet need. This is one of the answers to the manpower revolution in which we are now engaged.

The time has come for us to plan not only for war but equally for peace and prosperity.

It is for this reason that the Manpower Subcommittee will be exploring in coming weeks the manpower implications of national defense production, adjustments and shifts in manpower requirements in the defense sector, national preparedness for shifting use of manpower resources in the event of arms reductions or disarmament, and the potential for applying new technological frontiers to the solution of increasingly burdensome public and community needs in our Nation.

Following its hearings, if we are permitted to hold them—and I trust we shall be—the committee is hopeful that it will be able to make concrete proposals to the full committee, and in turn to the Congress, to assure that industrial skills and human resources currently engaged in the defense and space programs of the United States are put to maximum use for the meeting of civilian needs whenever they are no longer required to serve the interest of national security. This, in my judgment, is one of the routes to full employment.

That route must be explored. It should not be stalled by a filibuster.

I ask unanimous consent that there may appear at the end of my remarks an article entitled "If Cuts Come in Defense Spending," published in the Morgan Guaranty Survey for August 1963.



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Senate

AMERICAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD: A PROPOSAL TO REVERSE THE ARMS RACE

Mr. President, writing in the New Yorker magazine in 1956, the late James Thurber related the following fable:

One morning the tiger woke up in the jungle and told his mate that he was king of beasts.

"Leo, the lion, is king of beasts," replied his mate.

"We need a change," said the tiger. "The creatures are crying for a change. * * * I'll be king of beasts by the time the moon rises. It will be a yellow moon with black stripes, in my honor."

The tiger prowled through the jungle till he came to the lion's den. "Come out," he roared, "and greet the king of beasts."

"I am the king of beasts," roared Leo, and he charged out of the den to defend his crown against the pretender.

It was a terrible fight, and it lasted until the setting of the sun. All the animals of the jungle joined in, some taking the side of the tiger and others the side of the lion. Every creature from the aardvark to the zebra took part in the struggle to overthrow the lion or to repulse the tiger, and some did not know which they were fighting for, and some fought for both, and some fought whoever was nearest, and some fought for the sake of fighting.

"What are we fighting for?" someone asked the aardvark.

"The old order," said the aardvark.

"What are we dying for?" someone asked the zebra.

"The new order," said the zebra.

When the moon rose, fevered and gibbous, it shone upon a jungle in which nothing stirred except a macaw and a cockatoo, screaming in horror. All the beasts were dead except the tiger, and his days were numbered and his time was ticking away. He was monarch of all he surveyed, but it didn't seem to mean anything.

Moral: You can't very well be king of beasts if there aren't any.

Thurber's fable is broadly applicable to our human condition. The point at which the parallel is least exact is that the animal kingdom has not yet found the secret of total destruction, whereas man has mastered this knowledge and achieved the means of applying it on a global scale.

Thanks to the oppressive political policies of the European dictators which caused the world's greatest scientists to seek freedom in the United States during the 1930's, we were the first Nation to discover and use an atomic weapon. Since that day at Hiroshima 18 years ago there has never been any real doubt about man's capacity for universal destruction.

For several years we held an atomic monopoly. There are no lasting secrets in the world of science, however, and presently the Soviet Union tested an atomic device. Since then, she has proceeded to build and explode the world's biggest hydrogen bomb. No one doubts the capacity of many other nations to join the nuclear club in the next few years.

We do not know the exact size of the nuclear stockpiles in the opposing camps of today. The most painstaking assessments run from the equivalent of 40 to 60 billion tons of TNT. This means that there is potentially a 10- or 20-ton bomb

ticking at the head of every boy and girl, of every man and woman on the face of the earth.

Our most trusted scientists and military authorities have no doubt that either the United States or the Soviet Union can destroy the other several times over.

Both President Kennedy and Secretary McNamara have publicly warned that no matter who strikes first, a 60-minute nuclear exchange between Russia and America would leave over half the people dead in both countries. Chairman Khrushchev added in a warning note to Peking that the resulting misery and despair would cause "the survivors to envy the dead."

Is there any one of us in this Senate chamber who can really contemplate the prospect of survival in the midst of 300 million corpses—with the cathedrals, the museums, the art galleries, the libraries, the universities—all of these depositories of mankind's dreams and achievements of thousands of years reduced to radioactive dust in a few moments of madness.

We have learned to live in the shadow of extinction primarily because we believe that no nation would dare use its nuclear arsenal lest it bring on its own destruction.

In one of his colorful phrases, Winston Churchill described the situation after the first Soviet atomic explosion in 1949 as: "Peace through mutual terror." As Churchill put it, "safety will become the sturdy child of terror; and survival the twin brother of annihilation."

Churchill's eloquent phrasing was distinctive, but his theory was not. On March 27, 1880, Dr. J. H. McLean, a St. Louis industrialist demonstrated his breech-loading, repeating cannon to a group of reporters. Naming his invention "the Annihilator," Dr. McLean asserted:

The art of war will be no more in a few years. Terrible perfection shall make wars impossible. I have an invention which will perfect warfare, the perfection being to prevent war by making it terrible.

The repeating cannon did indeed make wars terrible, but not so terrible as to prevent two world conflicts and a dozen lesser ones.

Prior to Dr. McLean's "Annihilator," Alfred Nobel, the European munitions manufacturer longed "to turn out a substance or a machine of such horrible capacity for mass annihilation that thereby wars would become altogether impossible."

Nobel thought he had achieved his goal in 1864 when he developed dynamite, but 7 years later the new dynamite bombs were hurled into the Franco-Prussian war with no apparent contribution to the cause of world peace.

There is nothing in the historical record to assure us that awesome weapons of death can safeguard the peace. Admittedly, atomic weapons have introduced an unprecedented dimension to warfare, but as William H. Honan has pointed out:

Mankind settled for itself the question of whether or not to use this weapon 18 years ago at Hiroshima when the user, it should be remembered, was not backed against a wall, but was within sight of victory. Nuclear weapons, like all of their predecessors, will have their day. The only question is: When next?

Mr. President, I believe for various reasons that the United States has a unique responsibility to lead the world back from the nuclear abyss to make certain that nuclear weapons do not "have their day."

In a speech to the Senate on August 2, entitled "New Perspectives on American Security," I called for a reconsideration of some of the basic postulates on which our present security and defense policies rest.

Recognizing the overwhelming difficulty of adequately appraising the enormous investment in our national security system, I nevertheless suggested four tentative convictions as follows:

First. The United States now has a stockpile of nuclear weapons in excess of any conceivable need.

Second. Bringing the arms race under control involves risks less dangerous than the proliferation of nuclear warheads and the acceleration of the arms race.

Third. Present levels of military spending and military foreign aid are distorting our economy, wasting our human resources, and restricting our leadership in the world.

Fourth. Diverting some of our present and proposed military spending to constructive investments both at home and abroad will produce a stronger and more effective America, improve the quality of our lives, and strengthen the foundations of peace.

Today, we have before us the military appropriations bill for the current fiscal year. When the remaining military items not included in this bill are acted on in the near future, we will have passed judgment on a total military budget well in excess of \$50 billion.

We are considering in this one bill today half the entire budget of the U.S. Government. It represents 10 percent of the gross national product of the American people. It is five and a half times as large as the entire budget of the U.S. Government in 1940. It is equal to the combined total of all the Federal budgets during the New Deal period from 1933 until 1940.

I am not talking solely about the military budget, but the total cost of operating the U.S. Government during that 7-year period.

When one adds to our military budget the annual interest on the war debt and the cost of the veterans' programs—and none of us regrets this recognition of our veterans—and other defense related programs, he learns that 80 percent of our Federal budget is attributable to war or the fear of war.

We have a most serious responsibility to weigh this budget carefully—to make certain that it is adequate but not excessive to our military needs—to evaluate whether all of the funds, resources and manpower which it diverts from other urgent national needs is justified—to discern whether this enormous investment of our lives and treasure is properly oriented to meet the challenges of a constantly changing world.

We owe the Nation a full-scale public discussion and debate on this largest of all appropriations bills to come before the Congress. Some months ago we engaged in hours of intensive debate on the question of whether we could afford to spend a \$100 million for a youth conservation training program. A few weeks ago we debated at great length and engaged in a series of closely fought roll-calls to decide whether or not we should provide the same protection for American workers that we give to imported Mexican braceros. We debated intense-

ly both in the House and in the Senate the question of providing less than \$200 million to meet the mental health needs of the Nation.

Yet, in recent years, enormous expenditures for armaments have slipped through almost without raising a question on the Senate floor.

This practice, as I said a moment ago, was described by the Bible centuries ago as "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."

Mr. President, I earlier proposed to the Senate that we reduce our arms budget by \$5 billion—a \$1 billion cut in the Atomic Energy Commission weapons acquisition budget and a \$4 billion reduction of the Defense Department's military budget. I am all the more certain today that this \$5 billion savings in arms spending is justified—that far from weakening us, it will give new vigor and health to the Nation.

I wish to make it clear that I am not basing this recommendation today, nor did I base the recommendation of August 2, on the nuclear test ban treaty. It is a fine thing that the treaty was approved. That does not explain the position which I take on the matter of arms spending. The cuts I am recommending would make us a stronger country and a better people to meet the total Communist challenge than would moving ahead on the budget in its present form.

I believe that the cut ought to be made now and not postponed at the expense of such other desirable goals as the education of our children and the development of our rural and urban life.

Five billion dollars will not buy very many aircraft carriers or supersonic bombers or nuclear submarines, but it would build a \$1 million school in every one of the Nation's 3,000 counties, plus 500 hospitals costing \$1 million apiece, plus college scholarships worth \$5,000 each to 100,000 students, and still permit a tax reduction of a billion dollars. Or turning our attention abroad, just one-tenth of that saving would finance our entire commitment to the Alliance for Progress this year.

The Senate committee, under the able direction of the Senator from Georgia, has already cut more than one and a half billion dollars from the administration's proposed defense budget, as I read the committee report. As I have indicated, another \$1 billion can and should be cut from the AEC weapons program when the budget is presented to us. An additional half a billion can and should be cut from the \$1.5 billion foreign military aid budget when that bill is under consideration. This leaves a

balance of \$2 billion to complete the \$5 billion total reduction which I suggested on August 2.

On behalf of myself and Senators RANDOLPH, MORSE and NELSON I have offered an amendment to make a 10 percent cut in the procurement and the research and development portions of the bill pending. This would result in a reduction of approximately \$1.5 billion in the procurement of weapons and approximately \$700 million in research and development. More exactly a 10-percent cut would mean a reduction of \$1,579,544,700 in the committee's recommended \$15,795,447,000 for procurement and a reduction of \$698,423,000 in the committee recommendation of \$6,984,230,000 for research and development.

Mr. President, I believe this modest reduction is justified first of all because our country already has sufficient nuclear power to deter or retaliate against any likely enemy action. Also, in the last 2 years, we have greatly strengthened our conventional war capability. Indeed, a major portion of the \$10 billion increase in military spending over the last Eisenhower budget has gone into conventional warfare capability and special forces.

Nearly 2 years ago, Secretary McNamara expressed the conviction that we had more than enough nuclear weapons to destroy the enemy even after absorbing a first strike. Mr. McNamara's judgment was supported by one of our noted nuclear authorities who published a book at that time which concluded that the U.S. nuclear arsenal was then one and a half million times as powerful as the bomb which incinerated out Hiroshima.

Since then we have poured additional billions into our strategic retaliatory system and into our overall military system.

I realize that our growing number of military theorists have devised an endless number of alternative strategies de-

signed to justify this vast "overkill" capacity. But if nuclear war should come, there would be no time to debate these finely spun theories that call for so much excessive retaliatory power.

Senator RUSSELL said, on April 11, 1962, in commenting on the growing number of nuclear strategies and refinements, including the "no cities" doctrine:

I have no hesitancy in saying . . . that to me these extrapolations, or projections, or hypotheses are exceedingly unrealistic. In my opinion, if nuclear war begins, it would be a war of extermination.

Mr. President, there is no convincing refutation to the words of the Senator from Georgia.

The Nation does not need a special nuclear system to cover the strategy of every theorist employed at the Pentagon. We do need the capacity to deter an attack which means enough to destroy the enemy after absorbing a first strike. We have been well beyond that capability for at least 2 years, as the Defense Department would readily agree.

Yet, the bill now before us calls for additional billions to add new force and refinements to our retaliatory power. A significant portion of the procurement expense in this proposed appropriation is for more missiles. A heavy part of the proposed research and development is aimed at new styles of nuclear devices—medium range mobile missiles, tactical nuclear artillery, and a bewildering array of sophisticated, highly expensive modifications.

Over half a billion dollars is included in this bill for battlefield tactical nuclear devices. We already have 10,000 nuclear weapons in Europe which is enough to insure the death of the Continent if war should come. Actually, these weapons are a threat to our security rather than a safeguard. Their presence in Europe almost guarantees that any conflict which develops there would escalate into a nuclear exchange between Russia and ourselves. As they proliferate, we increase the risk that one of them may one day set off a conflagration that could destroy Western society. Adding hundreds of millions of dollars to this tactical nuclear weapons force is literally courting disaster—and wasting an enormous volume of tax dollars.

But, Mr. President, the weight of argument today as in my August 2 statement—and I stress this point—does not center on competing weapons systems. Rather, I am pleading for an overall reduction in military spending on the grounds that we already possess sufficient power to deter the enemy and meet our other military needs.

Let no one suggest that if my amendment to cut \$2 billion-plus from this bill is approved that it will threaten our security. We will still have with the inclusion of the AEC weapons program and other military items to be considered subsequently a total arms budget of \$50 billion. That is hardly a blueprint for pacifism. We will still have the world's mightiest bomber force—some 700 B-52's and B-58's and several hundred B-47's.

We have already provided funds for more than 1,000 intercontinental ballistic missiles and 35 Polaris submarines carrying some 560 missiles.

Any single one of these several thousand nuclear delivery systems is capable of unleashing more explosive power than all the explosives of World War II combined, from friend and foe alike.

Any single bomb or warhead in the fantastic stockpiles that we have been building for 18 years would make the Hiroshima bomb look like a child's toy.

Mr. President, the hard-bitten realists in the Kremlin know that if they were to attack the United States, their country would be utterly destroyed. There can be no doubt about that. Knowing this grim fact, they have not, according to our best information, attempted to outstrip the United States either in bombers in the late 1950's or in missiles in the 1960's. At least, if they have attempted it, they have fallen far short of the mark. Indeed, the Russians have only a fraction of the airpower and missile strength of the United States. Every indication is that they are modifying and replacing rather than greatly increasing their nuclear delivery systems.

I sometimes wonder if our military theorists may be running a race with each other rather than with the Russians.

Several years ago, I saw a cartoon in the Saturday Evening Post which illustrated this point. I do not mean this in

any disrespect. It depicted an American general looking out the window at a rising missile and saying to an aide: "Thank God. It's a Russian launch. I thought for a moment the Navy had beaten us."

Mr. President, if we are building up a larger weapons system than we need for military security, that is reason enough to justify the modest cut I have proposed. But there is a second reason: Our excessive military spending is leading to the neglect of other vital sources of national strength. In other words, even if we were to admit that everything in the military appropriation bill is desirable, we would have to balance the desirable features against other urgent national needs that go unmet because of our commitment to the military budget.

This great Nation cannot continue to invest well over half of its budget in arms spending and still meet its mounting needs for education, job training for young people, health, urban improvement, transportation, conservation, and agriculture—to say nothing of such considerations as fiscal integrity, debt reduction, and tax relief.

It is sometimes argued that military spending is a good stimulant for the economy. This is a half-truth; actually, arms spending is the poorest of all methods for building a healthy economy. The dollars invested in a bomb provide only a narrowly restricted employment opportunity and create a device which is an end in itself; whereas, dollars invested in school construction, for example, provide a broad employment impact and a continuing impact on our society in terms of better educated citizens.

The flow of manpower, material and money into arms production actually depresses many vital sectors of our economy and society.

For example, the nearly \$7 billion designated in the bill before us for research and development is a critical allocation of the Nation's basic production resource—that is, our engineering and scientific manpower. This manpower is limited. During the last years we have been using from two-thirds to three-quarters of these precious skills for military purposes. There are important reasons for asking whether the continuation of this use of our technical talent is the best way to serve the security interests of the United States.

Some months ago, former President Eisenhower authored an article published in the Saturday Evening Post. In the article, he discussed the problem I am now considering. I should like to read several sentences from that important article. Former President Eisenhower said:

For a moment let's think of national security and its costs. A key point to keep in mind is this: No matter how much we spend for arms, there is no safety in arms alone. Our security is the total product of our economic, intellectual, moral, and military strengths.

AN EASY WAY TO BANKRUPTCY

Let me elaborate on this great truth. It happens that defense is a field in which I have had varied experience over a lifetime, and if I have learned anything, it is that there is no way in which a country can satisfy the craving for absolute security—but it easily can bankrupt itself, morally and economically, in attempting to reach that illusory goal through arms alone. The Military Establishment, not productive of itself, necessarily must feed on the energy, productivity, and brainpower of the country, and if it takes too much, our total strength declines.

He added:

So how does one judge the limits of defense needs? That is the task of the statesman: to apply the rule of reason in judging what is clearly adequate but not excessive. The foibles and specialized viewpoints of human nature must be balanced off. For example, when I was President, it was not unusual for the Joint Chiefs of Staff to agree that the total defense budget was adequate—but later individual members would come to me to argue that the share of their respective service should be increased at the expense of the others.

The defense budget I left behind provided amply for our security at that time. Even though there have been costly developments in weapons since then, it does not seem that the spectacular increase of \$10 billion in new obligatory authority in 2 years, as is now requested, has been proved necessary. We already have the nuclear deterrent, the most valuable single element in our defense posture and one which, of course, must be kept up to date. One truth we should keep in mind at all times is that the other fellow, your potential enemy, doesn't want to be killed any more than you do. As long as he knows we are maintaining the power to destroy him if he dares attack us, as long as we keep our Nation fiercely proud, not only of

its military strength but of its way of life, then we have the best possible defense in this imperfect world. Patriotism is as important as all the guns we can build.

Massive use of engineering and scientific manpower for defense has led to depletion of technical improvements in our civilian industry, and has weakened our competitive position. The concentration of technical manpower in arms research has drawn away superior men and women from other important functions such as the education of our children. These are grounds for suspecting that the continued application of massive technical manpower to military purposes has reached the point of diminishing returns.

Of an estimated 400,000 scientists and engineers engaged in research and development in this country, only 120,000, according to the Department of Commerce, are devoted to civilian activities. The Wall Street Journal of August 9, 1963, reported that "there is solid evidence that the shortage of scientific talent is slowing private research," and further, that:

Top research men in industry reason this way: Frantic bidding, by space and military contractors, for scientists and engineers, is creating a big shortage for industry. This scarcity, along with the skyrocketing salaries it is provoking, is bringing almost to a halt the hitherto rapid growth of company-supported research. This development hampers efforts to develop new products and processes for the civilian economy.

The concentration of technical talent in the military sphere has been impairing the competitive position of American industry in relation to other major industrial countries. The Chamber of

Commerce of the United States, in a statement before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, pointed out that:

In terms of the proportion of its available research and development talent devoted to industry and commerce, the U.S. effort is only half of that of West Germany. This is a potential cause of lagging employment and deterrent to increasing productivity. * * * Should not national policies recognize the national importance of a sound and prosperous national economy as weighted against the prestige value of space exploration or "overkill" in military defense?

Evidence of industrial depletion is found at critical points in our manufacturing industry, notably, machinery production. The United States, long a world leader in the design and production of basic metalworking machine tools, is now in a declining position in this basic industry. The United States now has the distinction of operating the oldest stock of metalworking machinery of any major industrial country. Once first in quantity in the world, our machine-tool production now ranks fourth or fifth. Our capacity to compete in international trade and our balance-of-payments position are seriously weakened by this neglect of our civilian industry.

The depletion of education for our young people is one of the heavy prices we are paying for draining off our competent young men and women into military technical work. A mechanical engineer with 10 years' experience earns \$11,500 a year, on the average, in the aerospace industries. In civilian work, his counterpart earns \$9,300. The teachers in our schools average about half the salary of these industry technicians. As a result, even in our prosperous metropolitan suburbs, thousands of teachers employed in the public schools are unable to meet reasonable teaching standards. The use of substandard teachers means substandard education. Thereby, we are short-changing our young people and, indeed, our entire society.

Mr. President, not only are we starving certain essential sources of national strength because of our heavy military spending; we are also neglecting important aspects of the international challenge.

The real contest with international communism cannot be won in the military arena. Indeed, the true "no win" policy, about which we hear so much, is one that depends too heavily on armaments. If we ever have to use our nuclear weapons, it will mean that both we and the Soviets have lost the contest. There can be no victor in mutual annihilation.

The current dilemma in Vietnam is a clear demonstration of the limitations of military power. There in the jungles of Asia, our mighty nuclear arsenal—our \$50 billion arms budget—even our costly new "special forces"—have proved pow-

erless to cope with a ragged band of illiterate guerrillas fighting with homemade weapons or with weapons they have captured from us.

We cannot even persuade a government financed and armed by American taxpayers from tyrannizing its citizens and throwing insults at our President when he objects.

Although we have spent \$3 billion on the Vietnam war, lost many American lives, and are continuing to spend approximately \$2 million daily, the liberties of the Vietnamese people are not expanding. Instead, we find them harassed, not only by terrorists in the countryside, but also by official Government troops in the cities. We find our money and our arms used to suppress the very liberties we went in to defend in southeast Asia.

This is scarcely a policy of "victory"; it is not even a policy of "stalemate." It is a policy of moral debate and political defeat. It is a policy which demonstrates that our expenditures for more and more "special forces" are as useless and dangerous as our expenditures for more and more nuclear capability.

Mr. President, the failure of our Vietnam policy should be a signal for every Member of the Senate to reexamine the roots of that policy. Part of those roots is before us today in the excessive portion of the military appropriations bill; and we stand derelict before history if we fail to make the examination, for the failure in Vietnam will not remain confined to Vietnam. The trap we have fallen into there will haunt us in every corner of this revolutionary world, if we do not properly appraise its lessons.

I submit that America will exert a far greater impact for peace and freedom in Asia and elsewhere if we rely less on armaments and more on the economic, political, and moral sources of our strength.

We spend less on the entire Peace Corps than we do on a Polaris submarine. Yet, this band of idealistic American youth has demonstrated around the world the mighty power of a good idea, of willing hands and a warm heart.

As the former director of the Nation's food for peace program, I can testify to the enormous contribution which American agricultural abundance is making to peace and freedom. We live in a hungry world that is torn between the appeals of communism and the appeals of democracy. In that contest, our greatest material advantage is not our nuclear stockpile, but the amazing productivity of the American farmer.

Is there any doubt that Mr. Khrushchev would exchange any asset he has to secure America's food-producing capacity? Is there any doubt that if he had our agricultural surpluses, he would use them as economic and political instruments in the global contest of our time?

Hunger is the companion of communism; food is freedom's first line of defense. I think we need to continue to expand and improve our food-for-peace program so long as there is a hungry child crying for food anywhere on the face of the earth.

Tom Dooley went into the jungles of southeast Asia armed only with a medical kit, healing hands, and a dedicated spirit. He died in a few short years. But who can measure his contributions to dignity and freedom? What would be the American posture in southeast Asia today if instead of 15,000 specially trained soldiers, we had sent 15,000 Tom Dooleys.

Mr. President, as a former combat pilot, I know the need for a strong military force. But let us never sell short the power of the democratic ideal. Let us not underestimate the capacity of the American economy to engage in a growing commerce with the family of nations, when it is geared up for that purpose, rather than for war. Let us not overlook the mighty power of a nation that draws on deep sources of moral and spiritual strength, as indicated by former President Eisenhower's statement which I read a moment ago. Let us live more with faith, and less with fear.

Finally, Mr. President, I ask for support for this modest proposal to reduce the arms budget, because I think it may help to reverse the arms race.

The test ban treaty which we have just approved may prove to be an historic step away from war and toward peace. I do not base my proposed amendment on the treaty. It is justified by its own

merit. But I do hope that, like the partial ban on nuclear explosions, it may take us another step away from the abyss—that it may induce a counter arms reduction by the Soviet Union.

We know there is now raging in the Communist world a contest between Mr. Khrushchev, who advocates coexistence with the West, and Mao Tse-tung, who scoffs at this "soft" line. It is to our advantage to encourage in every way we can the forces of moderation and reason in the Communist world. A cautious arms reduction might serve that purpose, and could open the way for a series of peaceful moves on both sides. Meanwhile, such carefully calculated moves could be safeguarded by the deterrent military power which we would continue to maintain at a reasonable level.

What I am suggesting here is that we employ in reverse order the same factors of action and reaction which feed an arms race. I was startled, a few months ago, when I read the testimony of Secretary McNamara, to see how graphically he revealed the nature of the arms race.

In explaining how we plan our budget and weapons systems to counter the Soviet threat, Mr. McNamara said:

We are, in effect, attempting to anticipate production and deployment decisions which our opponents themselves may not yet have made.

We can assume, I believe, that—just as we try to counter the growing weapons budget of the Soviet Union—so do the Soviets try to evaluate and predict our next move.

An Englishman once remarked:

We ought to build our navy up to double the size of theirs, if they build theirs up to the point they say they will if we build ours up.

That is the arms race in a nutshell. But it is far more dangerous today than it was in the 19th century world of the Englishman.

The nuclear arms race is a dead-end street. It creates a "balance of terror" which at best leaves us warped by fear, and at worse destroys us all.

It is possible that our country can take the lead in a cautious effort to move the world back step by step from the precipice of death?

Would Mr. Khrushchev respond to a systematic, step by step arms race in reverse?

I think that he might. And we are in a position to make our moves in that direction in the full knowledge that we can still maintain a deterrent force fully adequate to any need.

Mr. President, I believe this amendment to reduce military appropriations is in the national interest. I think it will make us a stronger and healthier nation, better able to meet the total challenge of today's world.

I earnestly urge its adoption.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGOVERN. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I deeply regret that I shall not be able to vote for the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota, because I believe that unilateral action on our part has no surety of calling forth a similar reduction on the part of the Soviet Union; and, therefore, I believe that his amendment might endanger military security.

However, I do wish to pay tribute to the Senator for the way in which he has approached this problem, and for his motives in doing so. I also wish to express the hope that his purposes may be fulfilled by a multilateral reduction in armaments which would leave us relatively as strong as we now are.

Lest the motives of the Senator from South Dakota be misunderstood, I should like to call attention to some facts which he is always too modest to mention—namely, that the Senator has one of the most distinguished war records in the U.S. Air Force, that he flew, as I remember, something like 50 combat missions, and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, and other decorations, for personal bravery. So that his motives, in this connection, cannot be questioned in the slightest.

I only wish the world were sufficiently far advanced so that we might, in good conscience, adopt his suggestion. It is truly terrible that the Soviet Union is so brutal and untrustworthy and does not respond to the outgoing acts of faith. I wish however to pay tribute to him, and to express my deep regret that at this moment I cannot support his amendment.

Mr. McGOVERN. I thank the Senator from Illinois for his generous and encouraging words.

With reference to his anxiety about the unilateral steps I proposed, I reiterate the point that I am not advocating dismantling the U.S. Defense Establishment. If my amendment is enacted, it will leave us, I believe with 1,000 intercontinental ballistic missiles, and with 35 Polaris submarines—each one carrying 16 tubes, any one of which can unleash upon the world more devastation than that caused by all the bombs dropped by both friend and foe in World War II; it will leave us with an increase of almost \$10 billion in our funds for military procurement in the fiscal year 1964, as compared to the appropriation during the last year of the previous administration.

I certainly wish to point out, with reference to what the Senator said, that if the Soviets did not respond with a similar reduction matching what I would call a first step in our own efforts to move towards sanity, then, of course, we would profit from that lesson, and would take whatever steps we found necessary in order to protect our security; but we would in no way, as I see it, be putting ourselves in a vulnerable position, for even after agreeing to the rather modest reduction which I propose, we would retain a \$50 billion arms budget.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



WASHINGTON BULLETIN

November 1963

National Office: 301 Dupont Circle Building, 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., FRANKLIN W. STAHL

New Executive Director

Colonel H. Ashton Crosby became the Executive Director of the Council effective 1 November 1963. A word about his background is appropriate. He served twenty-two years as an officer in the Regular Army, received one battlefield promotion and a second pending at the end of World War II and was promoted on the truly outstanding (5%) list to full Colonel ahead of his contemporaries. Decorations include three Silver Stars, Croix de Guerre with palm, three Bronze Stars for valor and four Purple Hearts. He is a graduate of the Command and General Staff College, the Armed Forces Staff College and the Army War College. His civilian education includes a B.S. in Economics and an M.A. in International Political Relations. His basic branch in the Army was Infantry Airborne with a rating of Master Parachutist. He has served as a General Staff Officer and Troop Commander in Europe, the Far East and the United States.

Current Activities

a. Seminars -- As mentioned in the August newsletter, the Council has been active in promoting and sponsoring a foreign relations forum. To date, the first highly successful meeting has already been held -- with Mr. Averell Harriman as the speaker. Future meetings on a regular basis will include other prominent speakers from the Executive branch and our own membership. These talks are to be expanded, as a separate endeavor, to the Republican Senatorial area.

b. Disarmament and the Economy -- The Subcommittee on Manpower, Senator Clark, Chairman, began hearings on 6 November on the issues as proposed by the Council early in 1963, i. e. (1) the prospects for qualitative or quantitative reductions in the defense program in coming years, (2) the potential economic impact on industry and manpower of defense industry reductions, and (3) the nature and impact of outgoing defense industry shifts and relocations and the role of the Federal government in these shifts.

The Council can take full credit for the initiation of these hearings for it is generally recognized that the Council's analytical memorandum on this subject and its sponsorship of two meetings between government experts, outside experts and the Senate staff triggered the decision to hold the hearings.

John Silard, General Counsel for the Council for a Livable World, is a special consultant to the subcommittee Chairman, Senator Clark.

Roger Fisher, an Advisor to the Council, will address the subcommittee under the auspices of the Council.

c. Foreign Policy Study -- The Council is sponsoring a study prepared as a book by Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Analysis on United States Foreign Policy. The study analyzes current United States foreign policy, the basic assumptions, shibboleths, and fixed ideas under which it functions and which in effect stultify liberalizing efforts, and proposes a series of unilateral actions by the United States which the authors consider will do much to ease tensions in Western Europe and lead to the possibility of a real detente. The resulting book is stimulating and will, it is hoped, provoke thought and discussion in the Executive and Legislative branches of the government. An advance edition at a special price to Council members will be made available; publication should be in early 1964.

Summary of Activities 1963

It might be well to summarize the activities of the Council during the past year: what has been accomplished plus an indication of what we hope to accomplish in 1964.

a. The Legislative and Policy Program was initiated -- Seminars are now being held on a regular basis bringing together informally top Administration officials and/or Council personnel for the purpose of education and cross fertilization of ideas. It is hoped to continue these from time to time.

b. The Test Ban Treaty -- Dr. Matthew Meselson testified in the Senate in support of the Test Ban Treaty under the auspices of the Council. In addition, the Council was active in generating support and publicity for the treaty and called upon its Scientists Committee with good effect.

c. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency -- Professors Feld, Rich, and Fisher testified for the Council in regard to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency appropriations legislation. Professor Feld testified on 2 May 1963 before the House Committee on Appropriations, Professor Fisher before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 10 April, and Professor Rich before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on 10 September.

d. Economics of Disarmament Hearings -- The Council acted as the catalyst in the initiation of Senator Clark's Subcommittee on Manpower which began hearings on 8 November on the economics of disarmament, reconversion and automation.

e. Study Papers -- The Council is sponsoring the preparation of a Foreign Policy Study in book form by Messrs. Raskin and Barnet of the Institute for Policy Analysis. In addition, the Council had prepared various study papers and in 1963 the following were published and forwarded to our supporters:

1. Current United States Strategic Nuclear Policy -- Michael Brower

2. The Defense Budget: Selected excerpts from the Statement of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara before the House Armed Services Committee -- Bernard Feld.

f. Defense Budget Amendment -- Two highly successful seminars to a bipartisan Senate group were conducted by the Council. The first seminar was conducted by Dr. Freeman Dyson, Theoretical Physicist at Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, and the second by Dr. Ralph Lapp, Physicist and Executive Director of Quadri-Science, Inc.

The effort was directed primarily to those Senators whom the Council hoped would amplify and develop on the Senate floor some of the ideas discussed. In fact, Senator McGovern did propose an amendment to the defense budget but since it came up for action on the day following the signing of the Test Ban Treaty, the hope for discussion did not materialize. However, the concepts proposed were valid and will certainly be proposed again by Senator McGovern and other Senators. The Council will continue to contribute efforts toward making such discussions as fruitful as possible.

g. Direct Mail -- Four direct mail campaigns were made to enlist new members, the most recent of which was mailed to approximately 100,000 persons, and has been underway for about one month.

h. Administration -- The appointment of a full-time Executive Director, the appointment of an Executive Committee, the acceptance on the Board of Directors of Drs. Meselson and Frank, and the appointment of Advisors: Richard Barnet, Roger Fisher, Hans Morgenthau, and Freeman Dyson. The Executive Committee meets at least once every month and the Board of Directors about four times a year.

1964 Program

a. The direct mail program will be continued and expanded to enlarge Council membership and effectiveness.

b. The Board of Directors will be expanded for the purpose of broadening the Council's base and insuring greater objectivity and potential support.

c. Current Seminars will be continued and a new series for Republican Senators will be initiated.

d. For the 1964 Campaign recommendations will be made by the Council to its supporters concerning the selection or re-election of selected Senators and Representatives.

e. A basic statement of Council aims with respect to United States Foreign Policy in Western Europe will be developed. This will be the foundation of the program which the Council will develop and emphasize in our contacts with the Administration and Congress.

f. Some speakers on the basic subjects of disarmament, foreign policy and armaments will be sponsored by the Council. Depending on the potential size of this audience, certain Senators have indicated a willingness to talk under Council auspices.

The Support of Council Members

The Council invites its supporters to advance suggestions and recommendations to improve its operations, membership, and effectiveness, and welcomes your ideas. Please write the Washington office.

Council for a Livable World
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1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

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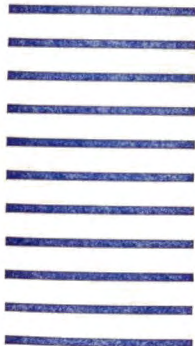
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HOTEL DUPONT PLAZA
WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 18, 1963

Dr. Jonas Salk
The Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Post Office Box 9499
San Diego 9
California

Dear Jonas:

When you last wrote me you indicated that you would need to have three months' notice before I change over from being a Non-Resident Fellow to a Resident Fellow of the Salk Institute. I am, therefore, writing you to-day to say that I propose to make this change on April 1st, 1964. If there are any documents which I have to fill out, please let me know. If there is no need for me to do this in order for you to be able to send me a contract starting on April 1st of next year, then I stand ready to receive such a contract.

I would be eligible to have a retirement income from Teachers' Annuity, right now. I am not actually receiving an annuity because I am advised by my accountant that from the point of view of taxes I am better off not drawing an annuity, but letting the accumulated total go to my wife, upon my death. However, in fairness to the Institute I think that you ought to deduct from my salary the annuity which I would receive, under one of the several options which are open to me, if the annuity were to start on April 1st of 1964. The option which I would choose if I were to draw an annuity would be one under which the annuity would be paid either to me or to my wife, whoever survives longer. I am writing to Teachers' Annuity in order to determine

what the annual payments would be under this option, assuming that payments were to begin on April 1st, 1964. When I have their answer, I shall send you a copy of it.


Trude and I intend to visit La Jolla in January to look for a place to live and to explore what kind of work she might be able to do in La Jolla. We might return to Washington at the end of January for a few weeks, but on February 22nd, or even earlier, we could be back in La Jolla, in accordance with the wishes expressed by Crick in his letter of November 25th, 1963, which was addressed to you.

At present, I am on a post-retirement appoint with the University of Chicago, on active service, supported by a research grant of NIH. I do not as yet know as yet whether I shall make an attempt to have this research grant transferred to your ^IInstitute or whether I shall abandon the grant. This is one of the numerous things that I hope to discuss with you when I see you in La Jolla.

Until I have decided what to do about the grant I should appreciate it if no official announcement were made by the Institute about my changing over from ^{ya} Non-Resident Fellow to a Resident Fellow status on April 1st, of next year. Also before such an announcement is made, I would want to visit the University of Chicago and break the news to them gently.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,


Leo Szilard

1963
24 December 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: J. E. Salk
From: W. Glazier

Attached is a proposed reply to Szilard.

In view of the fact that we went over the 21 May 1963 letter with Weaver, I'd suggest that you send Warren a copy of Szilard's letter of 18 December, your reply, and the 21 May letter which outlines the terms of appointment.

Bill
W. Glazier

L-
Does this seem
right to you?
If so, prepare 2
copies but W.W. -
Do you think I ought
to send to Bire
G.P. & H.V.H.?

also, should I
not inform other
fellows.

should copies
not also go
to H.V.H.
G.S.C.
W.G.?

DRAFT
to Dr. Leo Szilard

24 December 1963

Dear Leo:

This is in reply to your letter of 18 December 1963 indicating that you are now prepared to exercise your option and that you will assume the status of Resident Fellow of the Institute as of 1 April 1964.

The terms of your appointment were outlined in a general way in my letter to you of 21 May 1963. Our practice has been to prepare a letter of appointment which each Fellow has signed, indicating his acceptance of the terms. When you are here in January, we can discuss the details of such a letter and prepare it at that time.

until this is done I will keep ~~the~~ your intentions confidential.

(All of us[?] look forward to seeing you and Trude (out here) next month and to your (full time) participation in the scientific life of the Institute.

Sincerely,

J. E. Salk