

St. Francisco
Hotel Grant (Bush Street)
(Edl Bernhard)

Hubertins Office Woodland 9
3281
Home

Linus Carter QR 3-2551
Off WE 8-5166

Larry Overbach
No 40 Mendeville Canyon Rd.
#449

[From File Cab. —
Council 1961-62

~~Hubertins Office~~

Panel

Father; Hasburgh

Ben Cohen

Mitlan Wisenbamer (Piercy)

Law Schools

Judge Egerton (BAZELON)

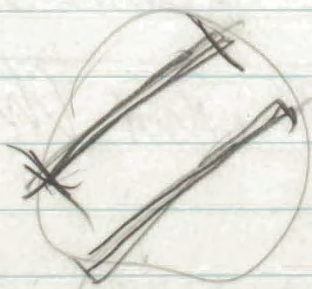
~~George Bantle~~
Kenneth Boulton [Love Lines]
economists

Charles Percy

Harry Kissinger

Dean Bennett of Columbia
(Love Lines)

Wissmann Dave



Bar
Sam Warner jr }
Roger Fisher }

For TOCSIN

MacGovern } Chester V. Clifton
Averill Harriman } Major General
Andrew Young } Aide to the Pres.

Charley Hitch

the White House
Blue Chaises
Bunnings

Foster x x

Carl Kaysen
George Ball

For SICARD

Richard FRANKLUND

CIA Bissel (Murdred)
McLone

Sargent Shriver

Whitaker, H. Ayres Charles Murphy

Rodney Sham (Methodist Church)

Glenn Staats

Director of the Budget

X 700 for Education

Adam Clayton Powell House of Representatives
Labor;

Senator Wayne Morse

Sen Le May

Walter Lippman

Francis Biddle

Young Dahl / Evelyn Kern

Norman Kahn

Calvin
Thomas Watson Jr. / Herburgh

Ping Fung

Lawrence Rock

David Cavers

Charles Tamm

Roger Risher

Louis Schuman

Sam Price

~~Robert H. ...~~

Vishy / H. B. ...

Herbert ...

Nathaniel Pepper

Jack ...

Leah Kayserling

2 }

Carl Spaeth

Arthur Burris

2 }

Jessie Frank

Melvin Eisen

Archibald Alexander

Seymour Harris

Ed. P. Morgan (Abe)

Trevor ...

Jerome ...

Beardie

Ball ...

Percy (2)

Gilbert Harrison

Winston ...

May ...

Sen. Flanders

Dave ...

Long ...

William Reed (Grace)

Harry ...

Phil. ...

And ...

Mrs. ...

Mrs. Marshall Field

Mrs. ...

Herman Phleger

(Emmett ...)

to ...

Adviser

Van ...

Abe ...

Emmett Hughes

James ...

Yis ... ?

June ...

Cancel

Banner

Adverser

Wacklias

Charlie James

~~Wallinkoff~~

Rubensons (Photo Alko)

H.W. Magnusson

William Luning

James Watson

M.H.T. Mosekian

James Munnick

Bernie Field

James
Fentlton

Don Offholder

? Bruno Russi ?

~~George Beadle~~

Sir Robert Watson
Watt

? Bob Wilson ?

? Bob Gomer ?

Josh Listerberg

H.J. Muller

Muel Calvin

? ? ?

Hut Hahnman

Kis Winkowski

Al

Weinberg

Hans Oetke

Mr.

Goldthorpe

Birmingham

Calvin

Huffs Kinder

Don Price

Kathleen Koudy

M. C. Uney

McWilliam

Fayman

Hargison

(Brown)

Roger Smith

Harli Tork

adviser

George Beadle

adviser

Chamberlain

~~Jeff~~ Scoffey Chew

22 Matthew Saints 22

Further Fleet

Spanford 8A 12300

Komberg / Listerburg
Maffschmidt / Hogners
Hollman / Schopp; Ransdorf

Wed 7³⁰ pm

Carl Spackler

Forbes Motel =

Robert A. Fish

Lick Observatory

Etzioni

Advisory Panel (Dan Singer)

Whitney North Seymour (Dan Singer)

Max Kampelman

Sam Harris []

John Warner / Head of Federal Reserve

For money: Sam Harris (↓) Cyrus Eaton

Sen Clark

Lilbourn [Adm. Aid]

Lawrence Rockefeller

Alan Forbes

Mrs. Marshall Field

Agnes Mayer

Rosenwald

Jack Kaplan

X
X
X
X

Reed College

Rudi H. Nussbaumm, Assoc. Prof. of Physics
Portland State College, Portland, Ore.

Carol M. Barnes

Reed College #90

Portland 2, Oregon

editor, Reed College Quest
second revised edition

Lecture 700-750 }
Lectures 125 }

Los Angeles

Dr. Sherman S. Mellinkoff

UCLA School of Medicine

Los Angeles 24, Calif.

Recommended by Bob Livingston
a good L.A. contact

Bob will write directly for Sherm
Mellinkoff to contact you through
Dr. Dorn or Gold Friend -

Credit for Orr Kelly
The Berkeley Review

Round EX 3-0411

Muthy Chalantri

George Klein || Harry Rubin

$$\textcircled{L} + \textcircled{R} + \textcircled{AA}$$

Los Angeles

MARY CLARKE

SANE OFFICE

CR 69917

OL 59784

~~STEPHEN KANDEL~~

STEPHEN KANDEL

VE 95130

Barbara Snader

CR 57620

MARK DORAN

CR 61995

Gerald FRIED

Barbara Snader

CR 57620

6 o'clock Wednesday

JANUARY 18, 8 p.m. Santa Monica Civic
Auditorium

" To secure action for a political coalition
of scientists and citizens to influence
world events. " ~~11~~

- Mrs. Hallie Tenner - SANE board

7 pm Stephen Kandel, - Gerald Fried,

- Richard Powell - film writer

- Herschel Adel - Administrative assistant
to Senator Richard Richards
until recently. Important
in Democratic Circles

- Dr Mark Doran, Chairman of SANE, psychiatrist

- Robert Ryan, film actor, SANE, now working on
a film project to promote better
understanding for disarmament

Mrs. Phyllis Edgcomb - SANE board

Pack & Langer || Ryan Actor

10¹⁵ Henry Morgan

Rabbi Leonard Beerman
OL 38670, GR 27151

Hallie Tenner

Shover says: Vincent Rock, now
commonist 40-45 with G.D.A.

Herbert, ~~Strig~~ Stanford Res. ~~Thur~~
2 Strimer - Washington
economist 40-45

~~Hughes Res. Lab~~ Lester C.
JL 6-6411 Van Nta
Malibu (60 miles)
Hume Pacific Palisades

Ping Ferry 2-5715

07 38210, 08 2121
Robby Leonard Beckman

St Barbara

Eugene Burdick and
Harvey Wheeler ~~the~~ { Box 4068
Santa Barbara
Calif.

Fail-Safe (title)

April - McGraw-Hill.

Hallock Hoffman (~~interior~~)

Peace Action Center
Santa Barbara

(c/o Hallock Hoffman - Box 4068)

Ping (W.H.)

Ferry; Shner

Frank Kelly
Ashmore

(Scott Buchanan)

Don Michael

Advisers

~~Shner~~

Burles; Spring fellow Born

54

William T. Gossett, Rex T. Iness

San. Carmel

Vice Pres. Ford Motor Co [Ferry]

Leonard Harvard, George Gustafson; B. H. S.

St Barber

Van Allen [Mentor] Gl 66411
Ext 201

Lloyd Barker
(Dallas Texas)

Inst of Pathology
100 St 78th St. N.Y.C.

Tom Slack
Shanley

Frank Muddie → Arms Control [Harold Brown]

Raymond Anderson
Osmond

Charles Laughton

Jim Van Allen
Ina City.

David Elliott
Col Rich
His son

Stanford

H.

P.A. Sturrock

W.M. Fairbank

J. Drellin

David S. Hognes

William B. Wood

Dale Kaiser

Paul Berg

Physics

Physics

Physics

Biochemistry

Biochemistry

"

"

Jan 26/62

Jim Arnold

Linzer / La-Jalla

Nehman

advisers:

Linzer

Kisfukausky

Bob Marshall

Bob Wilson (Borne)

Muller

Doering

Jeffrey Chew

Edward Saltpeper

Bosper

Phil Morse

John Kinsall

Watson (Ass.?)

Roost

Don Fraser

Meselson

Feld

~~Ronald Helton?~~

Livingston

Schuchoff

Feld

Dave Frisch

Cyril Smith

G. Levinthal

Alas Rich

Townes

Chamberlain

Th 56000

Radhakrishnan

5465

Fellows:

Bob Menschak

Bob Wilson

Chen

Chambers

Art Rosenfeld

(John Rasmussen)

Feld

Menschak

Jim Watson

(Will Daring) →

~~Shatt~~

Nasch

Shewinger

(Goldhaber)

Schiff

Hogner

Paul Berg. Wey

Sale Kayser ~~Goldhaber~~ Capt. Wey: Norman Ramsay

Kochman

Kornberg

Ludwig

Fairbank

Finn

Malman

(Alex Rich)

(H. J. Muller)

(Bob Gomer)

Board

H

Mrs Adams

Morton Friedman

Fairbank

Paul Glaser

Meschak

Frank Stahl

→
Hogner

Robert Livingston

Jim Arnold

51
1/2
H.
Bob Pickus

1730 GROVE ST

Berkeley 9, Calif
Th 5-1992

on 218 E. 18TH ST

NYC

SP7-8700

Sanford Gottlieb

245 2nd ST N.E.

Washington

30

12

Ass

Norm Navick

Ben Field

George Streissinger

Mat Mizusaka *

* Frank Stahl

Don Glaser *

Shurloff

2 Madison Hunsford ?

2 Phil Morse ?

2 Bob Finner

Will Overing *

H.D. Mutter

Bob Moreschuk

Bob Willson (Pomer)

Tobin Eissell *

2 2 Goldhaber 22
Goldberger

2 2 Jim Watson 22

M. Fox

Omen Chamberslain* (Noble Brow)

Jeffrey Chew

Art Rosenfeld

ben. Simpf

FAIRBANK

DAVE HOGNESS *

KORNBERG

Paul Berg

DALE KAYSER

Lederberg
Kreberman
Holman
FINN

H.E. Urey
Jim Aronson
Dave Brumer

170

Ben Read I writes; add?

Harry McPherson
Bill Welsh Harry McPherson }
Colgate Puntiss } 2
Steve Horn (Sen. Kuchel's Legist. Ass't)

Roger Fisher

Done Covers

Gen Cohen

Don Price

Gilbert Harrison

Judge Edgeton

Justice Douglas

Judge Youngdahl

Washington

Heran Phleggen

Herbunph

Lee Robin

John. Jan

Hester Van Atta

Yusie

Juri Ben for Brenner

Colgate Puntiss

Steve Horn (Sen. Kuchel's Legist. Ass't)

FRANK (China Soc. Harvard)

Kelly Jackson

Byron Johnson?

David Dennison

Warren, Ohio

Harold Taylor

Fishes

Mrs Marx

Mrs Ludwig

Vera Dean Wright

advise an advisers
(Lungren) John Lindsay

[

Adray

Bob Fanger

Harry Kalven

Walter Johnson

Richard Gaschoff (Mable)

Herbert Auker

Burr Steinbach

Reber Nordlinger

Telephi

Allison + two

Laura Fermi

Mrs. Luntz
Wm. J. Luntz
M. Luntz
School

Byrnie:

Alex Langsford

Herman Lisco

Rich. Preston

Marvin ~~Shulsky~~

Shulsky

5539 S. Ingleside

Chic. 37. Ill

Max J. Morbaum (San Richard
in Chicago)
3 Wash. Sq West N.Y.C.

ask told about Marvin Kalkstein

Jerry Pool

~~Russell Bell
Walter Wertheim
Katherine Bradford~~

Quenching
primed reagent

dinitrophenol
with BGG
or GA.

DNP-lysine
DNP-OH

~~380~~ → 280

← 350

362 is ~~in~~ ^{for} dinitrophenol

4 cc buffer body 0.1 mg/ml/cc
0.2 / cc

Antigen $\frac{10 - to 50}{1000}$ of a cc of
 $\approx 10^{-5}$ Molar of

Hapten

of 22 oxydophane, 16 penchable

a

$\left(\frac{1}{2}\right)$

12 KCl with DNP-lysine



because of this
great ~~the~~ progress has been made
with ~~the~~ ^{the}
so called Control and to "Command
and Control" problems, which greatly
reduces the danger of an all out attack
that the an accidental or unauthorized
attack on the part of ^{the} Am. Str. Air Force
forces may start a war is nearly
greatly reduced. But the same time
~~there is a great increase in~~ in the
there is an increasing in pluralistic
school of thought in the Dept of
Defense which holds that America
~~might at present is at~~ at present
American too is close to having
the ~~the~~ capability of mounting
a massive attack against Russian
long range rocket bases and strategic
air bases and cripple these bases to
the point where a Russian counterblow
could not inflict "unacceptable damage"
on America. ~~the~~ This advocate that
America should ^{immediately increase her power} ~~step up the arms~~ ^{strike}
~~surges~~ in order to maintain this kind
of "superiority" for a few more years.
They will concede that America could
~~maintain it for~~ maintain it for - not forever
of course but ~~may be for~~ that would be
impossible - but may be for time

It is not possible to make America
secure by trying to keep ahead in the
arms race, and "arms control" is therefore
an issue of paramount importance. ~~The~~
~~the record of the Kennedy Admin on this issue~~
The record of the Kennedy Admin is not
all white or black. ^{beginning 1961} It started out with
~~a sincere~~ sincere even though misguided
- attempt to arrive at an agreement
providing for cessation of nuclear
tests. By the end of 1961, there was however
~~a major shift in emphasis~~
Arms control is possible only if
the and Russia accept ~~fully~~ the
principle of parity
and the stopping of the arms race
through "arms control" is therefore
an agreement providing for
of paramount importance, whether or
not it is may be followed by general
and ~~ultimately~~ disarmament.*
~~Since to Ever since last December~~
There is an increasingly ~~drift towards~~
~~ideal of disarmament in the Dept of Defense~~
~~the Dept~~ For the first time in the ~~last~~
~~few~~ years, the Dept. of Defense is ^{with} under
alliance control and ~~the~~

she will step up the arms race
restorable her efforts to ~~have~~ ^{to increase her} ~~an~~ ⁱⁿ ~~un~~ ^{un} ~~re~~ ^{re} ~~storable~~ ^{strategic} striking
forces; to develop anti missile ^{systems}
to develop missiles which can evade
anti missile ~~systems~~ ^{and} and
to build ~~deeps~~ ^{missile} ~~well~~
maintain ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~e. m. n.~~ ^{e. m. n.} This
is the kind of arms race where
the sky is the limit; ^{come to think} ~~and~~ ^{of it}
~~say~~ ^{but} ~~not~~ ^{be} ~~the~~ ^{even} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~sky~~
~~say~~ ^{but} ~~not~~ ^{be} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ground~~ ^{the} ~~sky~~
~~the~~ ~~threats~~ ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~this~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~
~~kind~~ ~~of~~ ~~arms~~ ~~the~~ ~~Kennedy~~ ~~the~~
~~Adm~~ ~~has~~ ~~pushed~~ ~~the~~ ~~at~~ ~~present~~
~~the~~ ~~Kennedy~~ ~~Adm~~ ~~the~~ ~~increases~~ ~~in~~
~~or~~ ~~strategic~~ ~~striking~~ ~~forces~~ ~~which~~ ~~are~~
~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~been~~ ~~officially~~
~~proclaimed~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~potential~~ ~~threats~~
~~at~~ ~~aimed~~ ~~at~~ ~~sup~~ ~~maintaining~~
~~"~~ ~~superiority~~ ~~"~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~indirect~~
~~verbal~~ ~~explanations~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~are~~
~~needed~~ ~~in~~ ~~that~~ ~~in~~ ~~case~~ ~~newspaper~~
~~comments~~ ~~their~~ ~~interpretation~~
~~by~~ ~~in~~ ~~official~~ ~~commentators~~ ~~in~~ ~~terms~~
~~of~~ ~~building~~ ~~up~~ ~~a~~ ~~capability~~ ~~of~~
~~creeping~~ ~~through~~ ~~a~~ ~~narrow~~ ~~attack~~

(more) These people do not
fears. ~~But~~ ~~that~~ ~~by~~ ~~holding~~ Nobody
I know would advocate of using nuclear
premises ^{is} ~~superiorly~~ for starting
a preventive war. And few people
believe But ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~held~~ ~~that~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~fact~~
found ~~that~~ ~~to~~ ~~hold~~ ~~the~~ ~~threat~~ ~~must~~ ~~to~~
of a ~~major~~ ~~attack~~ ~~against~~ ~~Russia~~ ~~to~~ ~~believe~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~threat~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~major~~ ~~attack~~ ~~against~~ ~~Russia~~
based. That if a major war ^{involve}
should break and in which and
my major conventional forces
on a major scale America ~~must~~
might make a ~~major~~ ~~strategic~~ ~~strike~~
attack against ~~the~~ ~~Russians~~ ~~to~~ ~~or~~.
what losses and hardships. Since
this ~~is~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~ ~~and~~ ~~believe~~ ~~that~~
we should ~~not~~ ~~only~~ ~~whether~~ ~~if~~ ~~the~~
contingency were to arise ~~we~~ ~~ought~~
~~should~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~such~~ ~~an~~ ~~attack~~
is of course a different question
~~on~~ ~~whether~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~now~~ ~~for~~
~~on~~ ~~whether~~ ~~these~~ ~~people~~ ~~would~~
presumably ~~dis~~ ~~agree~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~answer~~.
What ~~does~~ ~~do~~ ~~we~~ ~~gain~~ ~~by~~ ~~maintaining~~
this "threat"? At ~~most~~ ~~a~~ ~~few~~ ~~years~~
~~in~~ ~~duration~~ For a few years ~~Russia~~
might show a greater willingness
to compromise, but in the meantime

is that you can't make much
progress by ~~see~~ it is difficult
to take a first step if you
that makes sure if you do
not know where you are
going.

What Ramona wants is for removing
disarmaments, which would ~~allow~~
permit her to solve her domestic
economic problem and to expand her
influence by giving aid to less
robust on an unprecedented
scale. ~~We have not made up~~
our mind whether we would want to have
disarmament ~~if~~ even if Ramona would
accept adequate inspection. ~~It~~
~~is possible~~ In a this world
it follows that it

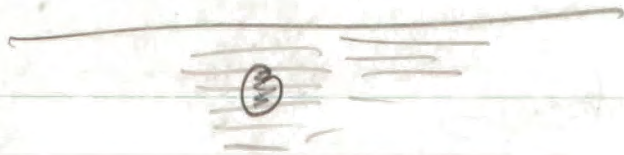
Because the most disarmament very
much

Senate

Church ~ Hawley (R) Idaho
King ~ Bennett (R) Utah

Carroll ~ now in Sen
Sommers
Ind

Thurston
Fathers Davis (America)
Dean / Sayre [George Ayres]
Francis



Det of Methylal. phosphate
2.1)

Smitham, Brown Kettering

6 ant of 35 dunnos dark

Runs

1.4



quail

2.7 Muthygl

Chr; England / transplanted the skin epidermis

but not dermis

Prehn - Seattle
George Klein

Mice

→ Leray - Old

Febr 5 and 6
Hens and
Henderson
plotted

~~Plastic film cancer~~

→ David Weiss LA 56568

Plastic film tumor
Mice
Oppenheim; Plin-Lude

Contact Baltimore
Microscopic now with Gilbert
in Baltimore

3138



A STATEMENT BY LEO SZILARD

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

For sometime now the United States has followed the line of least resistance. The United States followed this line when she dropped the Bomb on Hiroshima and she is following this line at the present time. In 1945 Japan was suing for peace, but it was easier to stick to the demand of "unconditional surrender" and to drop the Bomb, than to arrive at a decision--jointly with our allies--on the peace terms to be offered to Japan. At the present time, it is easier to keep on building long-range solid fuel rockets, as fast as they can be produced, than to draft an agreement on arms limitation that Russia could accept. ~~but~~ If we keep following the line of least resistance, we may, within a few years, reach a point of no return in an all-out arms race.

With President Kennedy, a number of able men moved into the Administration who are deeply concerned, but so far they have not been able to integrate their collective wisdom and to deflect the seemingly inexorable course of events.

I personally find myself in rebellion against the fate that history seems to have in store for us and it appears that there are many others who are equally rebellious. Even though they are in the minority, still this minority could take effective political action, provided they are able to agree on the specific political objectives that must be pursued in order to halt our drifting towards war, and provided they are willing to compensate for their numerical inferiority by making substantial campaign contributions to Congressional candidates.

In response to a speech, "Are We on the Road to War," which I gave last winter at 8 colleges and universities, 2,500 people have expressed their willingness to support a political movement of the kind outlined in my speech. In view of this response, the Council and the Lobby for Abolishing War were established in June in Washington. They are supported by citizens who contribute to Congressional candidates in amounts of 2 percent of their income a year. The Lobby recommends to them where their contribution should go, they make out their checks directly to the candidate of their choice and send it to the Council for transmittal.

The Lobby supports those now in Congress who are earnestly concerned about our drift into an all-out arms race and war, and who may encourage the Administration to adopt and to pursue a constructive foreign policy. Looking to 1964, the Lobby will endeavor to find able men similarly concerned who could get elected to Congress if they were to receive the nomination of their party. The Lobby will persuade such men to seek the nomination, and will help them to get it by assuring them in advance of substantial campaign funds. The contributions of 20,000 people having an average income of \$10,000 would amount to \$4 million per year.

The Council will bring to Washington from time to time scientists, scholars and other public-spirited citizens, who will assist members of the Administration and of the Congress in clarifying their minds on politically attainable objectives aimed at avoiding war. Those who wish to know what those objectives may be are invited to write to the Council at the above address.

Because its resources will be limited in 1962, the Lobby will limit its recommendations for candidates for the Senate ~~who have~~ the nomination of their party.

Independent candidates for the House or for the Senate who do not have the nomination of their party may be fulfilling an important function by raising the level of the political discussion, and they may contribute through their campaign, to the political education of the public on the issue of our drifting into war.

The Council cannot endorse any such candidates in 1962, but supporters of the Council who wish to contribute to a worthy candidate, not endorsed by the Council, may send their check directly to the candidate of their choice and their contribution would still count toward the 2% expected from them. The Council hopes that after the elections its supporters will report such contributions.

Those who believe that they might be willing to join with others in effective political action, even at substantial personal sacrifice, may wish to examine whether they would want to support the Council in its endeavors. They are invited to write for information to the Council for Abolishing War, Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND LEVY
1625 1621 K STREET, NORTHWEST, Suite 821
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
DANIEL H. POLLITT
JOHN SILARD

January 4, 1962

REPUBLIC 7-7795

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. Leo Szilard
Dupont Plaza Hotel
1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Dr. Szilard:

Pursuant to your request and instructions, we have prepared a trust instrument under which you appoint two Trustees for the Council for Abolishing War. The Trustees are empowered to receive and hold in trust for the Council for Abolishing War monies which may be contributed for the use of the Council prior to the time that it is actually incorporated.

After the trust instrument is executed, all donations should be made out to "Trustees for Council for Abolishing War." In the case of donations which may be received by you for transmission to the Trustees, we suggest that you keep all such donations in a safe deposit vault for brief periods of time until they can be safely transmitted by you to one of the Trustees. For safety's sake, you might also rubber stamp all checks when you receive them: "For deposit only to the account of Trustees for Council for Abolishing War, Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C."

I hope the foregoing will sufficiently clarify the manner in which donations to the Trustees are to be handled.

Sincerely yours,


John Silard

RECEIPT

RECEIVED of Leo Szilard this 4th day of
January, 1962, Two hundred ten (\$210.00) Dollars
to the Trustees for Council for Abolishing War,
to be used by the Trustees for the opening of an
account and the rental of safe deposit facilities
at the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Daniel M. Singer

BY-LAWS OF COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR,
(TO BE ADOPTED BY ITS INCORPORATORS
AND SUBSEQUENTLY BY ITS MEMBERS
AT THEIR FIRST MEETING)

ARTICLE I.

Location and Purpose

The principal office of this corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia. This corporation may also have offices at such other places as the Board of Directors may designate. The purposes of this corporation are exclusively charitable and educational. In furtherance of those purposes, the Council will undertake, among other projects, a continuing analysis of the conditions which give rise to the danger of world war, and the identification of those acts, policies and structures which reduce the likelihood of armed conflict and may lead to a liveable world. At or prior to dissolution of this corporation all funds of this corporation shall be put to the charitable and educational uses herein stated, or charitable and educational uses similar thereto.

ARTICLE II.

Members

There shall be a group of members of this corporation all of whom shall be members. The members appointed at the first meeting of incorporators, and their successors, shall choose their successors and any additional members at such times and in such manner as they shall determine to be appropriate. Every member shall serve until his respective successor shall be elected and shall qualify. Meetings of the members shall be held at such times and places as the members shall determine to be appropriate. A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any members' meeting.

ARTICLE III.

Directors

Section 1. All of the business affairs and property of this corporation shall be managed by the Board of Directors consisting of not less than three (3) and not more than fifteen (15) directors. Such directors, when first duly elected at a meeting of the members shall hold office until their respective successors shall be

elected and shall qualify. Successors to the directors first duly elected at a meeting of the members shall be nominated and elected at such time and in such manner as will, in the judgment of the members best serve the interests of the corporation. If the office of any director shall become vacant by reason of death or resignation, the remaining directors may, by a majority vote, elect a director in the place of the one so dying or resigning.

No director who is not a scientist shall be elected by the members of this corporation without the concurring vote, personally or by proxy, of four-fifths of all of the members of the corporation.

Section 2. Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held at such times and places as shall be determined by the Board of Directors and upon such prior notice communicated in such manner as the Board of Directors shall determine to be appropriate. Three directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any such meeting of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers

Section 1. At the first meeting of the Board of Directors the directors shall choose officers of the corporation, all of whom shall hold office until their respective successors shall be duly elected

and shall qualify. Successors to said officers shall be elected at such times and places and in such manner as the Board of Directors shall specify.

Section 2. The officers chosen by the Board of Directors shall be the executive officials of this corporation; they or any of them, shall make and sign contracts and agreements in the name of this corporation authorized by the Board of Directors; they or any of them shall cause to be called meetings of the Board of Directors and act as chairmen thereof. They shall see that the books, reports, statements and certificates required by law are properly kept, made and filed.

Section 3. The treasurer chosen by the Board of Directors shall have the care and custody and be responsible for all the funds, securities, evidences of indebtedness and other valuable documents of the corporation, and deposit all such funds in the name of the corporation in such banks or other institutions as the Board of Directors may designate. The treasurer shall sign, make and endorse in the name of the corporation all books, notes, drafts, bills of exchange, acceptances and other instruments for the payment of monies, and pay out and dispose of same under the direction of the officers or any of them. The treasurer shall keep in the office of the corporation full and accurate books of account of all

its business and transactions; he shall act as the secretary of the Board of Directors, keeping the minutes of all meetings of the Board and having charge of all corporate books and records.

ARTICLE V.

Amendments

The members of this corporation shall have power at any duly convened meeting to make, amend and repeal the by-laws of this corporation by a concurring vote of a majority of the members of the corporation.

TRUST AGREEMENT

Agreement made in the District of Columbia this 4th day of January, 1962 by and between Leo Szilard, Grantor and Robert Livingston and Daniel M. Singer, Trustees;

WHEREAS, the Grantor contemplates the possibility that together with other persons he will within the next succeeding twelve (12) months cause to be created a charitable and educational organization to be incorporated in the District of Columbia and to be known as the Council for Abolishing War; and

WHEREAS, the Grantor intends within the immediate future to obtain contributions of monies by various persons and to contribute personal funds to be used exclusively by the Council for Abolishing War for the promotion of the purposes for which it may be organized and incorporated, if in fact it is so organized and incorporated; and

WHEREAS, the Grantor desires that all such monies should be held in trust for the use and benefit of the Council for Abolishing War in the event that it should come into existence; and

WHEREAS, the Trustees herein are willing to and do consent to such arrangement and agree to hold such monies in trust for the uses and purposes herein stated;

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and the mutual promises herein contained, it is agreed by and between the parties that upon the signing hereof the Grantor shall cause monies to be paid in accordance with this agreement to the Trustees for the uses and purposes herein stated and that the Trustees shall receive and hold such monies in trust, for the use

and benefit of the Council for Abolishing War, should that organization be created and come into existence in the District of Columbia within twelve (12) months from the execution of this agreement. Should such Council fail to come into existence within that time, the Trustees shall forthwith return to the donors all monies received by them in trust for the Council for Abolishing War.

Provided further, that in case any Trustee or successor Trustee shall die, resign or become ineligible to serve, then the remaining Trustee, or in case he shall decline or be unable to do so, then the Grantor may appoint a successor for the Trustee who has died, resigned or become ineligible to serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

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

Robert Livingston, Trustee
9201 Burning Tree Road
Bethesda, Maryland

Daniel M. Singer, Trustee
5410 - 39th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

We, the undersigned, all citizens of the United States and a majority citizens of the District of Columbia, of full age, desiring to associate ourselves as a corporation pursuant to the provisions of Title 29, Chapter 6 of the Code of Laws of the District of Columbia, 1951 Edition, do hereby certify as follows:

1. The name or title by which such society shall be known in law is:

Council for Abolishing War

2. The term for which it is organized shall be perpetual.

3. The particular business and objects of the society shall be:

The objects of the Council are exclusively charitable and educational to wit: A continuing analysis of the conditions which give rise to the danger of world war, and the identification of those acts, policies and structures which reduce the likelihood of armed conflict and may lead to a liveable world.

4. The number of its trustees, directors or managers for the first year of its existence shall be not less than three nor more than fifteen.

The names and respective addresses, including street and number, of the incorporators are:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
<u>Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.</u>	<u>3625 Appleton Street, N.W., Wash., D.C.</u>
<u>Leo Szilard</u>	<u>1155 E. 57th Street, Chicago 37, Ill.</u>
<u>Daniel M. Singer</u>	<u>5410 - 39th St., NW., Washington, D.C.</u>

DATED _____

District of Columbia, SS:

I, _____, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify that Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Leo Szilard and Daniel M. Singer, parties to a certain Certificate of Incorporation

bearing date on the _____ of _____, 19____, and hereunto annexed, personally appeared before me in said District, the said Joseph L. Kauh, Jr., Leo Szilard and Daniel M. Singer being personally well known to me as the persons who executed the said Certificate of Incorporation, and severally acknowledge the same to be their act and deed.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this _____ day of _____, 19____.

(Notarial Seal)

Notary Public

February 22, 1962

THE PREMISES

By Leo Szilard

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

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

* * *

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

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

take to attain such a livable world?

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

February 28, 1962

Dear Colleague:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

February 28, 1963

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Enclosures:

"The Next Step"

"Responses To Date"

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

February 24, 1962

RESPONSES TO DATE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

February 28, 1962

THE NEXT STEP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

The End.

February 28, 1962

List of Potential "Associates"

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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

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

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

Marshak, Robert	Department of Physics
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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Gomer, Robert ✓

Institute of Metals

*Szilard, Leo ✓

Institute for Nuclear Studies

YALE UNIVERSITY

Doering, William ✓

Department of Chemistry

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

Muller, H. J. ✓

Department of Zoology

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

~~Salpeter, Edward~~

Department of Physics

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - Berkeley

~~*Chamberlain, O. N.~~

Department of Physics

*Chew, Jeffrey ✓

Department of Physics

*Rosenfeld, Arthur ✓

Department of Physics

*Glaser, Donald

Department of Physics

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

*Feld, Bernard ✓

Department of Physics

Charles Argyell

THE WORCESTER FOUNDATION

*Hoagland, Hudson ✓

President of the American Academy
of Arts and Sciences

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

*Fox, Maurice *C*

Associate Member

~~*Takami*~~

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

*Novick, Aaron *C*

Institute for Molecular Biology

*Streisinger, George *C*

Institute for Molecular Biology

*Stahl, Frank *C*

Institute for Molecular Biology

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

*Livingston, Robert B. *C*

Department of Neurobiology

Michall ~~Endase~~ *C*

~~*Bryant*~~ *C*

~~*Samuel Hye*~~

Takami

*Added Julius
Cassall
Leo F. Richard*

February 28, 1962

Proposed List of Fellows

Hogness, David S.

*OK.
not on Board*

Fairbank, Wm. Martin

*OK.
not on Board*

B Meselson, Matthew

OK

B Doering, William

OK OK.

~~Chamberlain, O. N.~~

Chew, Jeffrey

not Board

Glaser, Donald

?

B Feld, Bernard

OK.

B Fox, Maurice

OK.

B Stahl, Frank

OK, OK

Livingston, Robert B.

not Board

~~Hoppe~~

Feld

*Ham Folley Kusch
Wolfe: Goldwasser
Steininger, Lickman*

B. Ralph Adams

Morton Friedkin

Edsall

Hopland

~~Conner~~

Board?

Frank M. Smith

Cal Tech

*From Riverside
Robert. Undergraduate in Physics
Homer J. Tennis
part of Quaker
Mendham
Walter Sheehy*

February 22, 1962

THE PREMISES

By Leo Szilard

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

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

* * *

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR

Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

September 17, 1962

Board of Directors

Co-Chairmen:

WILLIAM DOERING
New Haven, Conn.
LEO SZILARD
Chicago, Ill.

President:

BERNARD T. FELD
Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-President:

ALLAN FORBES, JR.
Cambridge, Mass.

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MORTON GRODZINS
Chicago, Ill.

JAMES G. PATTON
Denver, Colo.

ARTHUR PENN
New York, N.Y.

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

FRANKLIN W. STAHL
Eugene, Oregon

I took the liberty of writing you a letter on June 11 with which I enclosed a questionnaire. Because your questionnaire was not returned, I am attaching for your convenience a copy of my letter and a new questionnaire.

You may have sent a check or otherwise responded to my letter, but if you have not returned the questionnaire, I am not at present able to trace your response. Unless we have your questionnaire on file it is difficult for us to keep track of your responses and to keep your name on our mailing list.

About one-third of those who received my letter responded and most of them sent a check made out to the Council in an amount corresponding to one-half of their total contribution for 1962. These checks total close to \$55,000.

This response is sufficient to get the movement off the ground but it also confronts the Council with a peculiar dilemma. Many people who wholeheartedly approve the general objectives of the Council would be glad to contribute 2 per cent of their income annually, provided they could be assured that the Council will attain its objectives. Two per cent is a rather large portion of one's income, however, and the Council cannot ask anyone for such a contribution year after year unless it succeeds in attaining its objectives. To this end the Council would have to bring about a change in Congressional attitudes. This would involve, among other things, the wise use of campaign contributions in amounts of about four million dollars a year. Such amounts would require the support of 20,000 people, and in order to resolve the dilemma, the Council would have to secure their support in the next 18 months.

If you wish to help the Council in this task and if you are willing to expend for this purpose one-half of your total contributions for this year, please make out a check to the Council for Abolishing War and send it to the Council at the above address.

Perhaps, you would be willing to expend the other half of your contribution for this year either in support of the Russian-American staff study, mentioned in my letter of June 11, or preferably, in support of a Congressional candidate. You will find the Council's recommendations for 1962 on campaign contributions to candidates in the enclosed Memoranda A and B.

Many people, who would be willing to support the movement with one or two per cent of their income, cannot draw a check for such an amount without seriously depleting their cash reserves. The Council is therefore prepared to bill bi-monthly all those who express in the enclosed questionnaire a preference for this mode of payment. Unfortunately it is not possible for the Council to accept such bi-monthly contributions earmarked for a specific candidate, and therefore they would have to be credited to the general funds of the Council.

I should be very grateful to you for returning the enclosed questionnaire, with or without checks, to the Council for Abolishing War at the above address.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Leo Szilard

Non-Responders to June Mailing

Enclosures
Cat. 2

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE

-11-

March 8, 1963

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Prepared under the direction of Felton M. Johnston, Secretary of the Senate,
by Wm. H. Wannall, Printing Clerk

SENATORS IN THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

1963

CLASS 3

DEMOCRATS (19):

Bible, Alan ----- Reno, Nev.
Brewster ----- Denver, Colo.
Church, Frank ----- Boise, Idaho
Clark, Joseph S. ----- Philadelphia, Pa.
Ervin, Sam J., Jr. ----- Morganton, N.C.
Fulbright, J. W. ----- Fayetteville, Ark.
Gruening, Ernest ----- Juneau, Alaska
Hayden, Carl ----- Phoenix, Ariz.
Hill, Lister ----- Montgomery, Ala.
Johnston, Olin D. ----- Spartanburg, S.C.
Lausche, Frank J. ----- Cleveland, Ohio
Long, Edward V. ----- Bowling Green, Mo.
Long, Owen E. ----- Honolulu, Hawaii
Long, Russell B. ----- Baton Rouge, La.
Magnuson, Warren G. ----- Seattle, Wash.
Monroney, A. S. Mike ----- Oklahoma City, Okla.
Morse, Wayne ----- Eugene, Oreg.
Smathers, George A. ----- Miami, Fla.
Talmadge, Herman E. ----- Lovejoy, Ga.

REPUBLICANS (15):

Aiken, George D. ----- Putney, Vt.
Bennett, Wallace F. ----- Salt Lake City, Utah
Bush, Prescott ----- Greenwich, Conn.
Butler, John Marshall ----- Baltimore, Md.
Caychert, Homer E. ----- Washington, Ind.
Carlson, Frank ----- Concordia, Kans.
Case, Francis ----- Custer, S. Dak.
Cotton, Norris ----- Lebanon, N.H.
Dirksen, Everett McKinley ----- Pekin, Ill.
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. ----- Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Javits, Jacob K. ----- New York, N.Y.
Kuchel, Thomas H. ----- Anaheim, Calif.
Morton, Thruston B. ----- Glenview, Ky.
Wiley, Alexander ----- Chippewa Falls, Wis.
Young, Milton R. ----- La Moure, N. Dak.

DEMOCRATS

1963 ----- 19
1965 ----- 25
1967 ----- 20
Total ----- 64

1965

CLASS 1

DEMOCRATS (25):

Burdick, Quentin N. ----- Fargo, N. Dak.
Byrd, Harry Flood ----- Berryville, Va.
Byrd, Robert C. ----- Sophia, W. Va.
Cannon, Howard W. ----- Las Vegas, Nev.
Dennis, ----- Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Dodd, Thomas J. ----- West Hartford, Conn.
Engle, Clair ----- Red Bluff, Calif.
Gore, Albert ----- Carthage, Tenn.
Hart, Philip A. ----- Lansing, Mich.
Hartke, Vance ----- Evansville, Ind.
Holland, Spessard L. ----- Bartow, Fla.
Jackson, Henry M. ----- Everett, Wash.
Mansfield, Mike ----- Missoula, Mont.
McCarthy, Eugene J. ----- St. Paul, Minn.
McGee, Gale W. ----- Laramie, Wyo.
Moss, Frank E. ----- Salt Lake City, Utah
Muskie, Edmund S. ----- Waterville, Maine
Pastore, John O. ----- Providence, R.I.
Proxmire, William ----- Madison, Wis.
Smith, Benjamin A. III ----- Gloucester, Mass.
Stennis, John ----- DeKalb, Miss.
Symington, Stuart ----- Creve Coeur, Mo.
Williams, Harrison A., Jr. ----- Westfield, N.J.
Yarborough, Ralph ----- Austin, Tex.
Young, Stephen M. ----- Shaker Heights, Ohio

REPUBLICANS (8):

Beall, J. Glenn ----- Frostburg, Md.
Fong, Hiram L. ----- Honolulu, Hawaii
Goldwater, Barry ----- Phoenix, Ariz.
Hruska, Roman L. ----- Omaha, Nebr.
Keating, Kenneth B. ----- Rochester, N.Y.
Prouty, Winston L. ----- Newport, Vt.
Scott, Hugh ----- Philadelphia, Pa.
Williams, John J. ----- Millsboro, Del.

REPUBLICANS

1963 ----- 15
1965 ----- 8
1967 ----- 13
Total ----- 36

1967

CLASS 2

DEMOCRATS (20):

Anderson, Clinton P. ----- Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Bartlett, E. L. ----- Juneau, Alaska
Douglas, Paul H. ----- Chicago, Ill.
Eastland, James O. ----- Doddsville, Miss.
Ellender, Allen J. ----- Houma, La.
Hickey, J. J. ----- Cheyenne, Wyo.
Humphrey, Hubert H. ----- Minneapolis, Minn.
Jordan, B. Everett ----- Saxapahaw, N.C.
Kefauver, Estes ----- Chattanooga, Tenn.
Kerr, Robert S. ----- Oklahoma City, Okla.
McClellan, John L. ----- Camden, Ark.
McNamara, Pat ----- Detroit, Mich.
Metcalf, Lee ----- Helena, Mont.
Neuberger, Maurine B. ----- Portland, Oreg.
Pell, Claiborne ----- Newport, R.I.
Randolph, Jennings ----- Elkins, W. Va.
Robertson, A. Willis ----- Lexington, Va.
Russell, Richard B. ----- Winder, Ga.
Sparkman, John ----- Huntsville, Ala.
Thurmond, Strom ----- Aiken, S.C.

REPUBLICANS (13):

Allott, Gordon ----- Lamar, Colo.
Boggs, J. Caleb ----- Wilmington, Del.
Case, Clifford P. ----- Rahway, N.J.
Cooper, John Sherman ----- Somerset, Ky.
Curtis, Carl T. ----- Minden, Nebr.
Dworshak, Henry ----- Burley, Idaho
Miller, Jack ----- Sioux City, Iowa
Mundt, Karl E. ----- Madison, S. Dak.
Muehl, Maurice J., Jr. ----- Portsmouth, N.H.
Pearson, James B. ----- Prairie Village, Kans.
Saltonstall, Leverett ----- Dover, Mass.
Smith, Margaret Chase ----- Skowhegan, Maine
Tower, John G. ----- Wichita Falls, Tex.

TOTALS

DEMOCRATS ----- 64
REPUBLICANS ----- 36
Total ----- 100

¹ Elected Nov. 8, 1960, to serve unexpired term.² Elected June 28, 1960, to serve unexpired term.³ Appointed by Governor to fill vacancy and to serve until next election as provided by law.⁴ Elected May 27, 1961, to serve unexpired term.

The United States Senate

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

CARL HAYDEN, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE

FELTON M. JOHNSTON, SECRETARY

JOSEPH C. DUKE, SERGEANT AT ARMS

EMERY L. FRAZIER, CHIEF CLERK

ROBERT G. BAKER, SECRETARY FOR THE MAJORITY

J. MARK TRICE, SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY

REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, D.D., CHAPLAIN

NAME	RESIDENCE	TERM		NAME	RESIDENCE	TERM	
George D. Aiken.....	Putney, Vt.....	Jan. 10, 1941	Jan. 2, 1963	B. Everett Jordan.....	Saxapahaw, N.C.....	Apr. 19, 1958	Jan. 2, 1967
Gordon Allott.....	Lamar, Colo.....	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	Kenneth B. Keating.....	Rochester, N.Y.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Clinton P. Anderson.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	Estes Kefauver.....	Chattanooga, Tenn.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
E. L. Bartlett.....	Juneau, Alaska.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1967	Robert S. Kerr.....	Oklahoma City, Okla.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
J. Glenn Beall.....	Frostburg, Md.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	Thomas H. Kuchel.....	Anaheim, Calif.....	Jan. 2, 1953	Jan. 2, 1963
Wallace F. Bennett.....	Salt Lake City, Utah.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Frank J. Lausche.....	Cleveland, Ohio.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
Alan Bible.....	Reno, Nev.....	Dec. 2, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	Edward V. Long ¹	Bowling Green, Mo.....	Sept. 23, 1960	Jan. 2, 1963
J. Caleb Boggs.....	Wilmington, Del.....	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967	Oren E. Long.....	Honolulu, Hawaii.....	Aug. 21, 1959	Jan. 2, 1963
Quentin N. Burdick ²	Fargo, N. Dak.....	Aug. 8, 1960	Jan. 2, 1965	Russell B. Long.....	Baton Rouge, La.....	Dec. 31, 1948	Jan. 2, 1963
Prescott Bush.....	Greenwich, Conn.....	Nov. 5, 1952	Jan. 2, 1963	Warren G. Magnuson.....	Seattle, Wash.....	Dec. 14, 1944	Jan. 2, 1963
John Marshall Butler.....	Baltimore, Md.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Mike Mansfield.....	Missoula, Mont.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965
Harry Flood Byrd.....	Berryville, Va.....	Mar. 4, 1933	Jan. 2, 1965	Eugene J. McCarthy.....	St. Paul, Minn.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Robert C. Byrd.....	Sophia, W. Va.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	John L. McClellan.....	Camden, Ark.....	Jan. 3, 1943	Jan. 2, 1967
Howard W. Cannon.....	Las Vegas, Nev.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	Gale W. McGee.....	Laramie, Wyo.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Homer E. Capehart.....	Washington, Ind.....	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Pat McNamara.....	Detroit, Mich.....	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967
Frank Carlson.....	Concordia, Kans.....	Nov. 20, 1950	Jan. 2, 1963	Lee Metcalf.....	Helena, Mont.....	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
John A. Carroll.....	Denver, Colo.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Jack Miller.....	Sioux City, Iowa.....	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Clifford P. Case.....	Rahway, N.J.....	Jan. 3, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	A. S. Mike Monroney.....	Oklahoma City, Okla.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963
Francis Case.....	Custer, S. Dak.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	Wayne Morse.....	Eugene, Oreg.....	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963
Dennis Chavez.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.....	May 11, 1935	Jan. 2, 1965	Thruston B. Morton.....	Glenview, Ky.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
Frank Church.....	Boise, Idaho.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Frank E. Moss.....	Salt Lake City, Utah.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Joseph S. Clark.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Karl E. Mundt.....	Madison, S. Dak.....	Dec. 31, 1948	Jan. 2, 1967
John Sherman Cooper.....	Somerset, Ky.....	Nov. 7, 1956	Jan. 2, 1967	Maurice J. Murphy, Jr. ³	Portsmouth, N.H.....	Dec. 7, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Norris Cotton.....	Lebanon, N.H.....	Nov. 8, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	Edmund S. Muskie.....	Waterville, Maine.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Carl T. Curtis.....	Minden, Nebr.....	Jan. 1, 1955	Jan. 2, 1967	Maurine B. Neuberger.....	Portland, Oreg.....	Nov. 9, 1960	Jan. 2, 1967
Everett McKinley Dirksen.....	Pekin, Ill.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963	John O. Pastore.....	Providence, R.I.....	Dec. 19, 1950	Jan. 2, 1965
Thomas J. Dodd.....	West Hartford, Conn.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	James B. Pearson ⁴	Prairie Village, Kans.....	Jan. 31, 1962	Jan. 2, 1967
Paul H. Douglas.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	Claiborne Pell.....	Newport, R.I.....	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Henry Dworshak.....	Burley, Idaho.....	Oct. 14, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	Winston L. Prouty.....	Newport, Vt.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
James O. Eastland.....	Doddsville, Miss.....	Jan. 3, 1943	Jan. 2, 1967	William Proxmire.....	Madison, Wis.....	Aug. 28, 1957	Jan. 2, 1965
Allen J. Ellender.....	Houma, La.....	Jan. 3, 1937	Jan. 2, 1967	Jennings Randolph.....	Elkins, W. Va.....	Nov. 5, 1958	Jan. 2, 1967
Clair Engle.....	Red Bluff, Calif.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	A. Willis Robertson.....	Lexington, Va.....	Nov. 6, 1946	Jan. 2, 1967
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.....	Morganton, N.C.....	June 5, 1954	Jan. 2, 1963	Richard B. Russell.....	Winder, Ga.....	Jan. 12, 1933	Jan. 2, 1967
Hiram L. Fong.....	Honolulu, Hawaii.....	Aug. 21, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	Leverett Saltonstall.....	Dover, Mass.....	Jan. 4, 1945	Jan. 2, 1967
J. W. Fulbright.....	Fayetteville, Ark.....	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Hugh Scott.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Barry Goldwater.....	Phoenix, Ariz.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	George A. Smathers.....	Miami, Fla.....	Jan. 3, 1951	Jan. 2, 1963
Albert Gore.....	Carthage, Tenn.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	Benjamin A. Smith II ¹	Gloucester, Mass.....	Dec. 27, 1960	Jan. 2, 1965
Ernest Gruening.....	Juneau, Alaska.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1963	Margaret Chase Smith.....	Skowhegan, Maine.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967
Phillip A. Hart.....	Lansing, Mich.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	John Sparkman.....	Huntsville, Ala.....	Nov. 6, 1946	Jan. 2, 1967
Vance Hartke.....	Evansville, Ind.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965	John Stennis.....	DeKalb, Miss.....	Nov. 5, 1947	Jan. 2, 1965
Carl Hayden.....	Phoenix, Ariz.....	Mar. 4, 1927	Jan. 2, 1963	Stuart Symington.....	Creve Coeur, Mo.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965
Bourke B. Hickenlooper.....	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.....	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Herman E. Talmadge.....	Lovejoy, Ga.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963
J. J. Hickey ³	Cheyenne, Wyo.....	Jan. 3, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967	Strom Thurmond.....	Aiken, S.C.....	Nov. 7, 1956	Jan. 2, 1967
Lister Hill.....	Montgomery, Ala.....	Jan. 11, 1938	Jan. 2, 1963	John G. Tower ⁴	Wichita Falls, Tex.....	June 15, 1961	Jan. 2, 1967
Spessard L. Holland.....	Bartow, Fla.....	Sept. 25, 1946	Jan. 2, 1965	Alexander Wiley.....	Chippewa Falls, Wis.....	Jan. 3, 1939	Jan. 2, 1963
Roman L. Hruska.....	Omaha, Nebr.....	Nov. 8, 1954	Jan. 2, 1965	Harrison A. Williams, Jr.....	Westfield, N.J.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965
Hubert H. Humphrey.....	Minneapolis, Minn.....	Jan. 3, 1949	Jan. 2, 1967	John J. Williams.....	Millsboro, Del.....	Jan. 3, 1947	Jan. 2, 1965
Henry M. Jackson.....	Everett, Wash.....	Jan. 3, 1953	Jan. 2, 1965	Ralph Yarborough.....	Austin, Tex.....	Apr. 29, 1957	Jan. 2, 1965
Jacob K. Javits.....	New York, N.Y.....	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 2, 1963	Milton R. Young.....	La Moure, N. Dak.....	Mar. 12, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963
Olin D. Johnston.....	Spartanburg, S.C.....	Jan. 3, 1945	Jan. 2, 1963	Stephen M. Young.....	Shaker Heights, Ohio.....	Jan. 3, 1959	Jan. 2, 1965

¹ Elected Nov. 8, 1960, to serve unexpired term.

² Elected June 28, 1960, to serve unexpired term.

³ Appointed by Governor to fill vacancy and to serve until next election as provided by law.

⁴ Elected May 27, 1961, to serve unexpired term.

Democrats in roman—Republicans in italics.

? Forg Kansas; Rep.

? Pranky VT Rep
? John Willoughby; Del Rep

{ Bob Taft
now in Congress
just elected

{ Brewster
Al Ford
Clark
Ginsburg
Phil Kearns
Withholz

(Tju)

Old Supreme Court
Chamber

~~Black & White~~

Wyo
McGee
You future
Moss (Wah)
ineffectual
cultivated
Morse
Church

Burdick; N. Dakota

? Gore; Tenn
+ Hart (Bill Walsh) (? Williams N.J.)
+ Mansfield (Harry McPherson)
+ Eugene McCarthy
+ Stennis
cultivated
? Forg; Pranky?
Yarborough; Tex
Morse

Los Angeles, California
January 18, 1962

Note
by
Leo Szilard

In order to determine by experiment whether a political movement of the kind described in the enclosed speech would get off the ground if it were started under the right auspices, I spoke both on the East Coast and West Coast before sizable student audiences. I asked those students who were interested to participate in the experiment, to show copies of my speech to a number of people in their home communities and to write me within two months how many (and who) of those they contacted said that they would become members of the movement if such a movement were started.

If it is decided to start a movement of the kind described in my speech, it will be necessary to communicate this fact to those who might want to join it. If the movement is to be started on a sufficiently large scale, funds in the amount of between \$50,000 and \$100,000 might be needed for this purpose.

Here in Los Angeles I propose to determine by experiment whether funds could be raised on an adequate scale if it is decided to go ahead and start the movement. As part of this experiment I am asking those of you who are in favor of starting such a movement to send me, depending on your means and interest, either a check for \$10.00 or a check for \$25.00 made out to: Trustees for Council for Abolishing War. If the Council is not incorporated within the current calendar year, the checks would be destroyed on December 31, 1962. If the Council is incorporated within the current calendar year, the checks may be cashed by the Council. No checks will be returned.

The checks must not be made out to me, but they may be mailed to me at the Hotel Dupont Plaza, Washington 6, D. C.

Leo Szilard

MEMO TO FORBES

February 13, 1963

Jerome Wiesner

Spurgeon Keeny

Frank Long

George Rathjens

Abe Chayes

John McNaughton

Robert McNamara

~~Richard Gardener~~

Carl Kaysen

Stewart Udall

Arthur Goldberg

Byron White

Ed Murrow

George Ball - M

Dave Bell - M

Frank Coffin - M

Lee White - M

Lincoln Uecker
(Chayes)
Newlyn Thompson
Tom Hughes

Horlan Cleveland

Harry Bel
Crawford

Jason Paffrey AEC.
(Chayes)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~, AEC. Morrison

Members of the Administration

March 27, 1963

Jerome Wiesner

Spurgeon Keeny

Frank Long

George Rathjens

Abe Chayes

John McNaughton

Robert McNamara

Richard Gardner

Carl Kaysen

Stewart Udall

~~Arthur Goldberg~~

~~Bryon White~~

Ed Murrow

George Ball - M

Frank Coffin - M

Harlan Cleveland

Tom Hughes

Harry Rowan

John Palfrey

Averell Harriman

L^ellynn Thompson

Democrats

March 27, 1963

Church
Clark
Hart
Humphrey
McCarthy
McGovern
Muskie - M
Moss
Pell - M
Nelson - M
Kennedy
Morse
Kefauver
Russell Long
Yarborough
Fulbright
Williams, N.J.
Metcalf
McIntyre
Mansfield
Edmondson
Sparkman
Burdick
McGee
Monroney - M
Gore
Birch Bayh
Neuberger, Oregon
Brewster, Daniel, Maryland
Anderson, N.M.
Robert Bartlett, Alaska
Gruening, Alaska
Ribicoff, Conn.
Pastore, R.I.
Proxmire, Wisc.
Young, Ohio
Hartke, Indiana

Republicans

March 27, 1963

Case, N.J.

Morton, Ky.

Cooper, Ky.

Kuchel, Calif.

Javits, N.Y.

PROPOSED SENATE COMMITTEE

March 6, 1963

The following would be useful:

Justice Goldberg
Jack Conway
Thomas Watson, Jr.
Riemiller (AFL-CIO)
James Patton
Drew Pearson

On the Administration side, talk to:

Harriman
Robert Kennedy (Burke Marshall, Justice Goldberg,
Justice White, Stewart Udall)
Carl Kaysen
Ed Murrow

Senate Appointments: March 4, 1963:

Senator Muskie - 2:00
Rm. 240, Old Senate

Senator Nelson - 2:45
Rm. 312, Old Senate

Senator Pell - 3:30
Rm. 6327, New Senate

450

MEMO TO FORBES

February 12, 1963

Church - ~~W~~

Clark

Hart ~~✓~~

Humphrey

McCarthy

McGovern

Muskie - M

Pell - M

Case

Cooper

Kuchel

Nelson - M

Monroney - M

~~John~~ Kennedy
W. J. Morris

~~Refugees~~
~~Arthur Schlesinger~~

Bird Bagh

Acc. Galtine (D)

Robert Burdick

Rund Lacy
Yorker
Fulbright
Williams N.J.

McClellan

Mr Intyre

Marshall

Fulbright

Edmondson

~~Boys~~
Marion, Kennedy
~~Edmondson~~

TROJAN BOMB

20% SUTIN PHERUSA

88TH CONGRESS, 1963

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Chairman -- Paul H. Douglas, Senator from Illinois

Vice Chairman -- Richard Bolling, Representative from Missouri

John Sparkman, Senator from Alabama

J. W. Fulbright, Senator from Arkansas

William Proxmire, Senator from Wisconsin

Claiborne Pell, Senator from Rhode Island

Jacob K. Javits, Senator from New York

Hale Boggs, Representative from Louisiana

Henry S. Reuss, Representative from Wisconsin

Martha W. Giffiths, Representative from Michigan

Thomas B. Curtis, Representative from Missouri

Clarence E. Kilburn, Representative from New York

William B. Widnall, Representative from New Jersey

Wright Patman, Representative from Texas

Incomplete

Coffin

Senators

George Aiken, R., Vt., member of Foreign Relations

Frank Church, D., Idaho, " " " "

Joseph Clark, D., Pa., " " Labor and Education

Frank Carlson, R., Kas., Foreign Relations

Clifford Case, R., N.J., Aeronautical and Space, Labor

John Sherman Cooper, R., Ky.

J.W. Fulbright, D. Ark., chairman, Foreign Relations

Philip Hart, D., Michigan, disarmament interest.

Hubert Humphrey, D., Minn., Foreign Relations, whip

Mike Mansfield, D., Mont., Foreign Relations, majority leader, through his assistant, Francis Valeo

Eugene McCarthy, D., Minn

George McGovern, D., S.D.

Lee Metcalf, D., Mont.

Wayne Morse, D., Ore., Foreign Relations

Margaret Chase Smith, R., Me., Armed Services, and Armed Services Appropriations Subcommittee

John Stennis, D., Miss., Armed Services ranking Democrat, chairman, Preparedness

Robert E. Bartlett, D. Alaska, Armed Services, Preparedness

Ford

BEN READ LIST FOR FEB. 7th RECEPTION

Democrats :

Burdick

Church

Clark

Hart

Humphrey

McCarthy

McGovern

Metcalf

Morse

Moss

Muskie

Pell

Fulbright (R.)

To Work With

Fulbright

Kefauver

Nelson

Bayh

McNamara

Sparkman

Yarborough

Republicans:

Allott

Boggs

Case

Cooper

Javits

Kuchel

Carlson

Smith

Mr. Pherson *W. C. W.*

Church		X							
Clark									
Hart									
Humphrey	X	X							
McCarthy	X	X							
McGovern									
Muskie - M	X								
Moss									
Pell - M	X								
Nelson - M									
Kennedy									
Morse		-							
Kefauver									
Russell Long	X								
Yarborough									
Fulbright	X	X							
Williams, N. J.									
Metcalf	X								
McIntyre		-							
Mansfield		X							
Edmondson									
Sparkman	X	X							
Burdick									
McGee									
Monroney - M									
Gore	X	X							
Birch Bayh									
Case, N.J.									
Morton, Ky.		-							
Cooper, Ky.	X	X							
Kuchel	X	X							
Javits									

Anderson
~~*[scribble]*~~

March 6, 1963

J. Marsh in Senator Kennedy's office.
Invite him to lunch next week

Creekmore Fath
Senate Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee
(friend of Senator Yarborough)
xt. 4081

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

John Stuart
w/ Sen. Humphrey.

He Hall

LONG LIST OF SENATORS WITH WHOM THE COUNCIL IS CONSIDERING WORKING:

Democrats

Anderson, Clinton	McGee, Gale
Bartlett, Robert	McGovern, George
Bayh, Birch	McIntyre, Thomas
Brewster, Daniel	Metcalf, Lee
Burdick, Quentin	Monroney, Mike (M)
Church, Frank	Morse, Wayne
Clark, Joseph	Moss, Frank
Edmondson, Howard	Muskie, Edmund (M)
Fulbright, J. William	Nelson, Gaylord (M)
Gore, Albert	Neuberger, Maurine
Gruening, Ernest	Pastore, John O.
Hart, Philip	Pell, Claiborne (M)
Hartke, Vance	Proxmire, William
Humphrey, Hubert	Ribicoff, Abraham
Kefauver, Estes	Sparkman, John
Kennedy, Edward	Williams, Harrison
Long, Russell	Yarborough, Ralph
Mansfield, Mike	Young, Stephen
McCarthy, Eugene	

* * * * *

Republicans

Case, Clifford	Javits, Jacob
(Allott, Gordon)	Kuchel, Thomas
Cooper, Sherman	(Smith, Margaret)
Morton, Thurston	

Additions to Board and to Advisers

Amitai Etzioni
Kenneth Boulding
Freeman Dyson
Gilbert White
Jerome Frank
Harold Taylor
Robert Gomer
Alfred Kazin
James A. Michener
Morton Deutsch
James J. Wadsworth - D
Rachel Carson
Robert Merton
Charles Townes - D
Hannah Ahrendt

Stuart Hughes
Walter Millis - A
Hans Morgenthau
Gen'l. Phillips - A
Gerard Piel
Bentley Glass
Richard Snyder
Thomas Watson, Jr.
Donald Zagoria - A
David King - D
Frank Kowalski
Talcott Parsons
Richard Barnet
Margaret Mead

Additional Names:

Brower
Raskin

Suggestions for Executive Director of Washington Lobbying Operation

- A Betty Goetz (ACDA)
Frank Kowalski
David King (returning to law practice in Utah)
Richard Barnet (leaving ACDA)
Sidney Yates (may get judgeship as compensation for taking on Dirksen)
A Joseph Coffey (IDA)
Vincent Rock (IDA)
A Spurgeon Keeney (Assistant to Wiesner)
John Canady (Legislative aide to Congressman Bennett of Florida who put in first bill for a Peace Agency - ACDA-type organization).

Additional Names:

Robert Eichholz Frank Long A

- 1) Harry McPherson
Bill Welch

A = As Adviser
D = As Director

Council for Abolishing War
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Board Meeting December 14, 1962

Chaplin

745

Hughes

3-5

DEC ATOMICS
COVER 4

THE COUNCIL'S DILEMMA

(A message from Leo Szilard)

In response to a speech 'Are We on the Road to War?' which I gave at eight colleges and universities last winter, about 2,500 people have written me to say that they would support a political movement of the kind outlined in the speech. In view of this response, the Council for Abolishing War was established in June in Washington, D.C. The Council has received substantial contributions for its operating expenses, and is currently transmitting recommendations to its supporters on campaign contributions to congressional candidates.

The movement is off to a good start, but it is not over the hump, because it faces this dilemma:

Many people, who wholeheartedly approve of the general objectives of the Council, would be prepared to expend 2% of their income on campaign contributions to congressional candidates year after year, but only if they can be assured that the Council is going to attain its objectives. To attain its objectives, the Council would need to have, however, the sustained support of 20,000 people whose campaign contributions would amount to about \$4 million a year.

In order to resolve this dilemma, the Council will have to secure the support of 20,000 people within a short period of time. This is my reason for appealing to the readers of the Bulletin.

If you have not yet read my speech, which was printed in the April issue of the Bulletin, would you be willing to read it now? If you have lost your copy, please write for a reprint. If you have read the speech and if it makes sense to you, please write me, before the end of the year c/o the Council for Abolishing War, Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The Action Program of the Council for 1963, now being drafted, and other relevant information will be promptly mailed to you.

Thank you.

Oct 1, 1962

Leo Szilard

COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR

Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Board of Directors: Co-Chairmen: WILLIAM DOERING, New Haven, Conn. • LEO SZILARD, Chicago, Ill. • President: BERNARD T. FIELD, Cambridge, Mass. • Vice-President: ALLAN FORBES, JR., Cambridge, Mass. • Secretary-Treasurer: DANIEL M. SINGER, Washington, D.C. • RUTH ADAMS, Chicago, Ill. • MAURICE S. FOX, Cambridge, Mass. • MARGARET BREMAN GIBSON, Stockbridge, Mass. • MORTON GRODZINS, Chicago, Ill. • JAMES G. PATTON, Denver, Colo. • ARTHUR PENN, New York, N.Y. • CHARLES PRATT, JR., New York, N.Y. • FRANKLIN W. STAHL, Eugene, Oregon

Feld
Brenman

will run
in grey
(650/5000)

COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR

Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.



Mrs. Ruth Adams
935 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

OCTOBER 13, 1962

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY - UNITED STATES

SENATE - SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS - FIRST SESSION - PART I -

November 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1945 = December 3, 1945.

Returned to GAR ALPEROVITZ, Legislative Assistant, Office of Bob Kastenmeier,
Room 1725 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

146

Memorandum
From Leo SZILARD
to Ruth Adams
transcripts of the

Oct 12, 1962

In the hearings held before the Senate Atomic Energy Committee (Chairman, Senator McMahon of Connecticut) on December 3, 1945, ^{one} ~~we~~ find the following exchanges:

Vannoy
"Dr. Bush. (answering Senator Tydings). Senator, I would not want you not to look into the future, and I would not urge you not to use your imagination.

"My point is simply that we have plenty enough to think about that is very definite and very realistic--enough so that we don't need to step out into some of these borderlines which seem to be, to me, more or less fantastic.

~~"Let me say this: There has been a great deal said about a 3,000-mile high-angle rocket. In my opinion, such a thing is impossible today and will be impossible for many years."~~

.....
"The Chairman. Senator New McMahon
(answering a question by Senator Tydings about General Carl Spaatz' article that appeared in Collier's Magazine). What it says, Senator, is that the Germans, the year preceding the end of the war, were designing a rocket, and were pretty well along on it, that could carry from that continent to this continent and/would contain a warhead. They did not, of course, at that time have in mind an atomic warhead. That is my understanding of the article, at least."

.....
Vannoy
"Dr. Bush. If you were talking about 400 miles or 500 miles, I would say by all means. That is what the Germans did with their V-2. I would say yes, even with 2,500 miles.

"But 3,000 miles? That is not just a little step beyond, it is a vastly different thing, gentlemen. I think we can leave that out of our thinking. I wish the American public would leave that out of their thinking."

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"Dr. Bush. (answering Senator Tydings). Senator, I would not want you not to look into the future, and I would not urge you not to use your imagination.

"My point is simply that we have plenty enough to think about that is very definite and very realistic--enough so that we don't need to step out into some of these borderlines which seem to be, to me, more or less fantastic.

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.....

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.....

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"But 3,000 miles? That is not just a little step beyond, it is a vastly different thing, gentlemen. I think we can leave that out of our thinking. I wish the American public would leave that out of their thinking."

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

24 April 1962

INFORMATION SHEET

(Name - Please Print)

(Address)

1. Do you think you will be in a position to make ~~an~~ adequate campaign contribution^s in support of the Movement?

____ Yes

____ No

2. Do you intend to help support the Movement by finding three additional members of the Movement in the first year of operation, and one additional member each year thereafter?

____ Yes

____ No

3. Please check the periodicals listed below to which you subscribe.

____ Saturday Review
____ Science
____ Scientific American
____ The Reporter
____ The New Republic
____ The Nation

____ I. F. Stones Weekly
____ Harpers
____ Atlantic Monthly
____ Commonweal
____ America

4. Please check the organizations listed below of which you are a member.

____ United World Federalists
____ Sane
____ Society of Friends
____ ADA
____ American Physical Society

____ American Academy of Arts and Sciences
____ National Academy of Science
____ American Psychological Association

5. Please check whether you ~~are a member of the faculty or staff of~~ ^{*are associated with leading staff or research*} any of the following universities: Princeton, Columbia, Harvard, University of Chicago, U. of Wisconsin, U. of Washington, U. of Oregon, Stanford, U. of California - Berkeley, U. of California - Los Angeles, U. of California, Davis Campus, U. of Minnesota, Rutgers ~~U.~~, U. of Connecticut, Yale, U. of Pittsburgh, Cal Tech, Carnegie Tech, MIT, Boston U., Western Reserve, Northwestern, U. of Indiana, Purdue ~~U. of Pennsylvania~~.

____ Yes

____ No

BOSTON-AREA FACULTY GROUP ON PUBLIC ISSUES
P.O. BOX 273, LEXINGTON 73, MASS.

Dear Friend:

Because of the large volume of mail we have received concerning the Saturday Evening Post article, AN ANSWER TO TELLER, it is necessary that we resort to this form letter. You may wish to know more about our group.

On November 10, 1962 183 university professors from the Boston area published in the New York Times an Open Letter to President Kennedy on Civil Defense. We received over 1,100 letters and more than \$1,000 in unsolicited contributions. Fourteen other groups, with a total of almost 4,000 university people in cities from Philadelphia to San Francisco, have endorsed our statement by republishing our advertisement in their own newspapers over their own signatures. Aware of the continuing problems that face us all, the Boston Area Faculty Group on Public Issues was set up. We also act as a clearing house for exchange of information with other similar groups across the country.

The Boston-Area Faculty Group on Public Issues is an informal organization which does not regard itself bound to any partisan position, and is limited to members of the academic community. We are interested not only in the immediate shelter issue, but more broadly in all major issues directly relating to the preservation of peace with freedom and the prevention of war. We agree on the following unifying principles: (a) refusal to accept the inevitability of nuclear war; (b) rejection of the threat of unilateral nuclear attack as an instrument of national policy; (c) willingness to seek and to publicize factual information, positive solutions, and suggested positions on matters of public policy relating to war and peace.

We meet informally from time to time to identify issues on which the preparation by university people of a paper or a position or an Open Letter might contribute to public understanding, and have arranged to have some of our associates set to work on these.

We expect to produce a series of statements which reflect the special competence of those who prepared them, and which commend themselves to be endorsed by university people here and elsewhere. As interest and available manpower warrants, we also expect to disseminate the results of our studies through the various news media whenever major issues appear to require clarification, discussion, rebuttal, or the needed support of a sound move in the face of possible opposition or indifference.

The organizational details of the Boston-Area Faculty Group on Public Issues are being kept very simple. It is made up of the undersigned together with associates drawn from the faculties of all local colleges and universities

who agree with the three principles given above. For the present, the steering committee, by majority action, has full responsibility for funds, organizational matters, adding or changing members on the steering committee, etc. No member of the steering committee, and no associate, is considered bound by any particular policy statement unless he has agreed to sign or endorse that statement after study. The names of associates are, therefore, not to be used for publication without individual consent for any reason at any time.

Contributions for our continuing efforts will be gratefully received at the address given on the top of page 1.

David F. Cavers, Professor of Law, Harvard
 Robert S. Cohen, Professor of Physics, Boston University
 Charles D. Coryell, Professor of Chemistry, M.I.T.
 Bernard D. Davis, Professor of Bacteriology, Harvard
 Murray Eden, Assoc. Professor of Electrical Engineering, M.I.T.
 John T. Edsall, Professor of Biological Chemistry, Harvard
 Bernard T. Feld, Professor of Physics, M.I.T.
 Herman Feshback, Professor of Physics, M.I.T.
 Donald A. Glaser, Professor of Biology, M.I.T.
 Warren M. Gold, Asst. in Medicine, Beth Israel Hospital
 Howard H. Hiatt, Asst. Professor of Medicine, Harvard
 Hudson Hoagland, President, Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences
 Gerald Holton, Professor of Physics, Harvard
 Howard Mumford Jones, Professor of Humanities, Harvard
 Nathan O. Kaplan, Professor of Biochemistry, Brandeis
 Cyrus Levinthal, Professor of Biology, M.I.T.
 Salvador E. Luria, Professor of Biology, M.I.T.
 Everett I. Mendelsohn, Asst. Prof. of History of Science, Harvard
 Matthew Meselson, Assoc. Prof. of Biology, Harvard
 Norbert L. Mintz, Asst. Prof. of Psychology, Brandeis
 David Riesman, University Professor, Harvard
 William F. Schreiber, Assoc. Prof. of Elect. Eng., M.I.T.
 George Wald, Professor of Biology, Harvard

Members of the Steering Committee

COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR

Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

September 17, 1962

Board of Directors

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New Haven, Conn.
LEO SZILARD
Chicago, Ill.

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Cambridge, Mass.

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Chicago, Ill.

JAMES G. PATTON
Denver, Colo.

ARTHUR PENN
New York, N.Y.

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

FRANKLIN W. STAHL
Eugene, Oregon

I took the liberty of writing you a letter on June 11 with which I enclosed a questionnaire. Because your questionnaire was not returned, I am attaching for your convenience a copy of my letter and a new questionnaire.

You may have sent a check or otherwise responded to my letter, but if you have not returned the questionnaire, I am not at present able to trace your response. Unless we have your questionnaire on file it is difficult for us to keep track of your responses and to keep your name on our mailing list.

About one-third of those who received my letter responded and most of them sent a check made out to the Council in an amount corresponding to one-half of their total contribution for 1962. These checks total close to \$55,000.

This response is sufficient to get the movement off the ground but it also confronts the Council with a peculiar dilemma. Many people who wholeheartedly approve the general objectives of the Council would be glad to contribute 2 per cent of their income annually, provided they could be assured that the Council will attain its objectives. Two per cent is a rather large portion of one's income, however, and the Council cannot ask anyone for such a contribution year after year unless it succeeds in attaining its objectives. To this end the Council would have to bring about a change in Congressional attitudes. This would involve, among other things, the wise use of campaign contributions in amounts of about four million dollars a year. Such amounts would require the support of 20,000 people, and in order to resolve the dilemma, the Council would have to secure their support in the next 18 months.

If you wish to help the Council in this task and if you are willing to expend for this purpose one-half of your total contributions for this year, please make out a check to the Council for Abolishing War and send it to the Council at the above address.

Perhaps, you would be willing to expend the other half of your contribution for this year either in support of the Russian-American staff study, mentioned in my letter of June 11, or preferably, in support of a Congressional candidate. You will find the Council's recommendations for 1962 on campaign contributions to candidates in the enclosed Memoranda A and B.

Many people, who would be willing to support the movement with one or two per cent of their income, cannot draw a check for such an amount without seriously depleting their cash reserves. The Council is therefore prepared to bill bi-monthly all those who express in the enclosed questionnaire a preference for this mode of payment. Unfortunately it is not possible for the Council to accept such bi-monthly contributions earmarked for a specific candidate, and therefore they would have to be credited to the general funds of the Council.

I should be very grateful to you for returning the enclosed questionnaire, with or without checks, to the Council for Abolishing War at the above address.

Sincerely,

Leo Szilard

Leo Szilard

Enclosures
Cat. 2

Non Responders to June 11/62 Mailing

HOTEL
DUPONT
PLAZA

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

June 11, 1962

JOHN J. COST
GENERAL MANAGER

HUDSON 3-6000

In response to the proposal made in my speech, "Are We On The Road To War?", about 2,500 persons have expressed their willingness to support the Council and the Lobby if these are established. Currently pledges are coming in at the rate of over one hundred a week. Pledges received to date would seem to assure contributions in the amount of \$150,000 to \$400,000 a year, enough to enable us to make an effective beginning. In view of this response, a committee, the Scientists' Committee for a Livable World, was formed. Seven of the Fellows of this Committee have formed the Council for Abolishing War and the Lobby for Abolishing War. A description of the Council, the Lobby, and their Boards of Directors is enclosed.

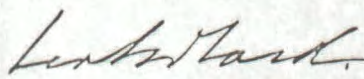
One of the first tasks of the Council is to identify 20,000 persons who would wish to join the Movement. Your help in this task would be very welcome and might be decisive. I would like to ask you, if I may, to help the Council to find three to ten additional Members, if possible. "Regular Members" would be expected to make annual contributions in the amount of 2% of their income (or if they prefer, 3% of their income after taxes). "Supporting Members" would be expected to contribute either 1% of their income or \$100. Students and others who devote time and effort to furthering the Movement would also be regarded as Members of the Movement, even though they might be unable to make a financial contribution.

The initial operations of the Council and the Lobby will require a substantial financial expenditure. If you are willing to help to set up these operations and to expend for this purpose one-half of your total contribution for this year, please make out a check to the Council for Abolishing War and mail it either to me or, preferably, use the enclosed envelope which is addressed to Daniel M. Singer, Treasurer of the Council, at 1700 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Concerning the other half of your contribution to the Movement for 1962, two alternatives, A - Political Campaign Contributions, and B - Tax Exempt Contribution to a Joint American-Russian Staff Study, are described in the attached memoranda. The Council and the Lobby would appreciate your indicating your preferences in the enclosed questionnaire. If you choose alternative A and intend to make a campaign contribution for 1962, please indicate in the questionnaire your preferences for particular Congressional candidates as well. The Lobby will then make specific recommendations to you in July.

To accomplish the political objectives of the Movement we are going to need in the months ahead the help of all Members, in one way or another. The sooner you and the others who receive this letter respond, the more effective will be the Movement in this election year.

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

September 17, 1962

Because the Council for Abolishing War has only recently commenced operations, it will have to limit its activities in 1962 to the Senate. Since the funds that it can mobilize after three months of existence are limited, the Council proposes that the bulk of the campaign contributions go to just two candidates: Senator Joseph S. Clark running for reelection in Pennsylvania, and George McGovern, running for the Senate in South Dakota. Both of these men are deeply concerned about the drift toward an all-out arms race and they understand what policies would need to be pursued in order to avert the dangers with which we are faced. If elected, the Council believes they could be counted upon to act with courage and vigor.

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George McGovern has served two terms in the House of Representatives with an excellent record. Recently he has been head of the President's Food for Peace program, from which he resigned to run for the Senate.

In order to apportion contributions to these two candidates in conformity with the Council's estimate of their needs, the Council suggests the following: Unless they have a strong preference to the contrary, those whose names start with the letter A through Q should make out their check to George McGovern and the others should make out their check to Senator Joseph Clark. Checks for either of these candidates should be sent for transmittal to the Council for Abolishing War at 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

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These responses also indicated support for Senators Frank Church (D. Idaho); Jacob K. Javits (R. New York); and Wayne L. Morse (D. Oregon). The Council is prepared to transmit checks to any of these three candidates from those who have a strong personal preference for one of them.

There are candidates for seats in the House and the Senate who may have little or no chance of being elected but who render a major public service by raising appreciably the level of political discourse and who are not afraid to speak out on the most controversial issues. There are also a number of good men running for the House who have a fair chance of being elected. Those who have a strong personal preference for a candidate falling into either of these two categories may send their check directly to the candidate.

While the Council is not in a position to transmit such checks, contributions made directly to such candidates will count towards the fulfillment of pledges for campaign contributions in support of the movement. The Council would appreciate being advised of contributions sent to such congressional candidates.

For the convenience of those who might be interested, information on candidates for the House of Representatives is listed on the reverse of this page.

MEMORANDUM B: Information on Candidates for the House of Representatives.

As the Council announced in its June mailing, it does not intend in 1962 to make recommendations concerning candidates for the House of Representatives. However, because there are a number of excellent candidates for the House this year, some running for reelection, some for the first time, the Council is listing those who have been brought to its attention.

The incumbents in List A below are running for reelection; they have all expressed their concern about problems of the arms race and disarmament in many ways and on different occasions.

The candidates who are running for the first time are in List B. In their campaigns they have demonstrated that they are outspoken and courageous with respect to the arms race and attendant questions.

List A - Incumbents:

Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier,	D-2nd District, Wisc.
Rep. William Fitts Ryan,	D-20th District, N. Y.
Rep. Fred Schwengel,	R-1st District, Iowa
Rep. Stanley R. Tupper,	R-2nd District, Maine

List B - Candidates:

*Elizabeth Boardman,	R-3rd District, Mass.,	Main Street, Acton.
George Brown, Jr.,	D-29th District, Calif.,	224 South Garfield St., Monterey.
John O'Connell,	D-6th District, Calif.,	870 Market Street, San Francisco.
Caroline Ramsay,	R-7th District, Md.,	800 West Belvedere Avenue, Baltimore, 10.
Edward Roybal,	D-30th District, Calif.,	3422 W. Olympia Blvd., Los Angeles.
Blaine Whipple,	D-1st District, Oregon	6616A Southwest Canyon Road, Portland, 25.
Robert Wilson,	D-22nd District, Ill.,	c/o Prairie Post, Maroa.

* Before sending checks to this candidate please ascertain as to whether or not the candidate received the nomination of the party in the September primaries.

COUNCIL FOR ABOLISHING WAR

Suite 738, 1500 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

September 27, 1962

Do Not REMOVE.

Board of Directors

Co-Chairmen:

WILLIAM DOERING
New Haven, Conn.
LEO SZILARD
Chicago, Ill.

President:

BERNARD T. FELD
Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-President:

ALLAN FORBES, JR.
Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary-Treasurer:

DANIEL M. SINGER
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RUTH ADAMS
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MAURICE S. FOX
Cambridge, Mass.

MARGARET BRENNAN GIBSON
Stockbridge, Mass.

MORTON GRODZINS
Chicago, Ill.

JAMES G. PATTON
Denver, Colo.

ARTHUR PENN
New York, N.Y.

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

FRANKLIN W. STAHL
Eugene, Oregon

In response to a speech, "Are We On The Road To War?", which one of us (Leo Szilard) had given at eight colleges and universities last winter, over 2,500 persons expressed their willingness to support a movement of the kind outlined in the speech. In view of this response, two closely-interrelated political committees, the Council for Abolishing War and the Lobby for Abolishing War, were established in June. These committees have the same Board of Directors which determines their policies, and the same officers are responsible for the operations of both. The Council and the Lobby, and the manner in which they were established, are described in Memoranda F and D, which are enclosed.

"Regular Members" of the movement are expected to make annual contributions in the amount of 2% of their income (or, if they prefer, 3% of their income after taxes). "Supporting Members" are expected to contribute either 1% of their income or \$100. Students and others who devote time and effort to furthering the movement would also be regarded as members, even though they might be unable to make a financial contribution.

Many people who wholeheartedly approve of the general objectives of the Council would be prepared to expend 2% of their income on campaign contributions to Congressional candidates year after year, but only if they can be assured that the Council is going to attain its objectives. To attain its objectives, the Council would need to have, however, the sustained support of 20,000 people whose campaign contributions would amount to about \$4 million a year.

In order to resolve this dilemma the Council will have to secure the support of 20,000 people within a short period of time. This is our reason for appealing to you. If you are willing to help the Council in this task and to expend for this purpose one-half of your total contribution for this year, please make out a check to the Council for Abolishing War and send it to the Council at the above address. Perhaps you would be willing to expend the other half of your contribution for this year, either in support of the Russian-American staff study described in the enclosed Memorandum C or, preferably, in support of a Congressional candidate. You will find the Council's recommendations on campaign contributions to Congressional candidates in the enclosed Memoranda A and B.

Many people who would be willing to support the movement with one or two percent of their income, cannot draw a check for such an amount without seriously depleting their cash reserves. The Council is therefore prepared to bill bi-monthly all those who express in the enclosed questionnaire a preference for this mode of payment. Unfortunately, it is not possible for the Council to accept such bi-monthly contributions earmarked for a specific candidate, and they would have to be credited to the general funds of the Council. We should be very grateful to you for returning the enclosed questionnaire, with or without checks, to the Council for Abolishing War at the above address.

Very truly yours,

for the Board of Directors:

Leo Szilard

Leo Szilard
Co-Chairman of the Board

Allan Forbes, Jr.
Allan Forbes, Jr.
Vice-President

CAT. II

New Pledges since

June 11/62 mailing

September 17, 1962

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MEMORANDUM C: A Joint American-Russian Staff Study on Disarmament Sept. 17, 1962

The text of Leo Szilard's speech, "Are We On The Road To War?", contains the following passage:

"I believe that no substantial progress can be made toward disarmament until Americans and Russians first reach a meeting of the minds on the issue of how the peace may be secured in a disarmed world."

"American reluctance to contemplate general disarmament seriously is largely due to uncertainty about this point. If it became clear that a satisfactory solution of this issue were possible, many Americans might come to regard general disarmament as a highly desirable goal."

"On the issue of how to secure the peace in a disarmed world, progress could probably be made reasonably fast, through nongovernmental discussions among Americans and Russians. I believe that such discussions ought to be arranged through private initiative, but with the blessing of the Administration."

If the movement is prepared to provide funds for this purpose, it would seem desirable and urgent to set up a study of the problem of how the peace may be secured in a disarmed world. This study would extend over a period of three or four months; it would be conducted on a full-time basis and the Russian and American participants would work jointly, part of the time in Moscow and part of the time in Washington. The aim of the study would be to produce a working paper that would list a number of different ways in which peace might be secured in a disarmed world and examine in each particular case under what circumstances that solution might be likely to fail. By proceeding in this manner, none of the solutions could be labeled an American or a Russian proposal and, being free from this stigma, the proposals would be more likely to receive sympathetic consideration on the part of the governments involved.

On the Russian side the study might be sponsored by the Soviet Academy of Sciences; on the American side by a Sub-committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, of which Dr. Szilard is the chairman.

Two political committees, the Council for Abolishing War and the Lobby for Abolishing War, were established on June 2 by seven scientists named below, who met in Washington and elected a Board of Directors for the Council and the Lobby. The same persons were chosen to serve on both Boards of Directors for an initial period of one year.

The scientists who established the Council and the Lobby are all Fellows of the Scientists' Committee for a Livable World (see below). The responsibility for the policies of the Council and the Lobby rests solely with the Boards of Directors and the responsibility for the operations of the Council and the Lobby rests solely with the officers appointed by the Boards of Directors. The Board of Directors for the Council and the Lobby for an initial period of one year are:

Ruth Adams, Managing Editor, The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Chicago, Ill.
William Doering, Professor of Chemistry, Yale University.
Bernard T. Feld, Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Allan Forbes, Jr., Producer of documentary films, Boston, Mass.
Maurice S. Fox, Associate Professor of Biology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Margaret Brenman Gibson, The Austen Riggs Center, Stockbridge, Mass.
Morton Grodzins, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago.
James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union, Denver, Colo.
Arthur Penn, Director of theater and motion pictures, New York, N. Y.
Charles Pratt, Jr., Photographer, New York, N. Y.
Daniel M. Singer, Attorney, General Counsel for the Federation of American Scientists, Washington, D.C.
Franklin W. Stahl, Assistant Professor of Biology, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
Leo Szilard, Professor of Biophysics, The University of Chicago.

The Board of Directors elected Professors William Doering and Leo Szilard to serve as Co-Chairmen of the Boards.

The Board of Directors also elected the following officers: Bernard T. Feld, President; Allan Forbes, Jr., Vice-President; and Daniel M. Singer, Secretary and Treasurer.

The Scientists' Committee for a Livable World, which was formed prior to the establishment of the Council and the Lobby, is a group of scientists whose sole function is to consult with each other on the problems involved in achieving a livable world. The names of the scientists currently serving on this Committee are listed in Memorandum E. Fellows of this Committee -- those whose names are marked with asterisks on the attached list -- are individually, rather than collectively, assuming the responsibility of establishing such operating organizations as are needed.

The Scientists' Committee has recognized the need of establishing an operating organization in Washington, D. C., and Dr. Szilard invited all the Fellows of the Committee to come to Washington for the week-end of June 2. Those who were able to come, namely, Professors Charles Coryell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William Doering, Yale University; John Edsall, Harvard University; Bernard T. Feld, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Maurice Fox, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; David Hogness, Stanford University; and Leo Szilard, The University of Chicago -- acting as individuals, rather than as representatives of the Scientists Committee -- formed the Council and the Lobby. As members of the Council and the Lobby, they met on June 2d and elected the Boards of Directors.

The functions of the members of the Council and the Lobby are to adopt and amend the by-laws, to elect the Board of Directors, and to elect additional members. It is not the function of the members of the Council and the Lobby to determine the policy of the Council and the Lobby; this is the function of the Board of Directors which also appoints the officers who conduct the operations of the Council and the Lobby. The role of the members of the Council and the Lobby may be compared to the role of the shareholders of a corporation who elect the directors, but have otherwise no control over policies and operations of the corporation.

MEMORANDUM E: The Scientists' Committee For A Livable World

September 17, 1962

Paul Berg
Professor of Biochemistry
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Donald Glaser (Nobel Prize 1960)
Professor of Physics
University of California
Berkeley, California

* Geoffrey F. Chew
Professor of Physics
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Temporary address:
Department of Biology
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

* Charles Coryell
Professor of Chemistry
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Marvin L. Goldberger
Eugene Higgins Professor of
Theoretical Physics
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

* William Doering
Professor of Chemistry
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Robert Gomer
Professor of Chemistry
Institute for the Study of Metals
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

* John T. Edsall
Professor of Biological Chemistry
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Hudson Hoagland
Executive Director
The Worcester Foundation for
Experimental Biology
Shrewsbury, Massachusetts

* Bernard T. Feld
Professor of Physics
Laboratory for Nuclear Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

* David S. Hogness
Associate Professor of Biochemistry
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Robert Finn
Professor of Mathematics
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Halstead R. Holman, M.D.
Professor of Medicine
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

* Maurice S. Fox
Associate Professor of Biology
The Rockefeller Institute
New York 21, N. Y.

Dale Kaiser
Associate Professor of Biochemistry
Stanford University
Stanford, California

M.G.F. Fuortes
Section Chief
Neurophysiology-Ophthalmology
National Institutes of Health
Bethesda 14, Maryland

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

Norman Kretchmer
Professor of Pediatrics
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meselson and Szilard serve as secretaries of the Fellows in 1962.

With President Kennedy a number of able men moved into the Administration. The views they hold cover a wide spectrum; many of them are deeply concerned about our drifting into an all-out arms race and war, but so far they have not been able to reach a consensus on the policies which need to be pursued if these dangers are to be averted. In order to help them to clarify their minds and to arrive at the right conclusions on the relevant issues, the Council will bring to Washington from time to time individual scientists, scholars and other public-spirited citizens who are knowledgeable as well as articulate and who will discuss with them these issues.

These individuals will also discuss the same issues with members of the Congress. There are a number of men in Congress, particularly the Senate, who are also deeply concerned about our drifting into war and who are capable of gaining insight into what needs to be done.

The Lobby will help such members of Congress to have the courage of their convictions by providing them with substantial campaign funds. It is one of the first concerns of the Lobby that these men be re-elected and that they shall not lack adequate campaign funds.

This, however, is not enough, and the Lobby will have to do what it can to increase the number of those in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, who can be counted upon not only to support a constructive foreign policy but also to press for the adoption of such a policy. To this end the Lobby will have to find, at the grass-roots level, men who have insight into the relevant issues and who, if they were to receive the nomination of their party, would have a fair chance of being elected. It is the task of the Lobby to persuade such men to seek the nomination of their party and to help them to get it, largely by assuring them in advance of substantial financial backing.

Guided by the recommendations of the Lobby, members of the movement who make a campaign contribution, would make out their checks directly to the candidate of their choice, but send them to the Lobby for tabulation and transmittal to the candidate. This procedure will enable the Lobby to keep tab on the flow of campaign contributions and guide the Lobby in making, from time to time, further recommendations on contributions.

In order to be able to make adequate campaign contributions, the movement must grow rapidly until it has 20,000 members, at which point its campaign contributions might amount to four million dollars per year. The average campaign expenses of a candidate running for the Senate are estimated at about \$250,000 for the larger states, and about \$100,000 for the smaller states. A contest for the House, in the smaller districts, requires \$10,000 to \$20,000.

* * *

In 1962 the Lobby will not support so-called "peace candidates" who cannot get the nomination of their party, because the Lobby, in order to be politically effective, must establish a record of fair success in political action. From the point of view of public education, so-called peace candidates could, however, fulfill a very important function. A candidate who runs for election and wants to get elected may not be able to wage an effective educational campaign. But a candidate who is reconciled to the fact that he is not going to be elected, has a unique opportunity to educate the public, because he need not pull his punches; if there is a fight going on people will sit up and listen. Therefore, if in 1964 the funds at the disposal of the movement are adequate, the Lobby also may support candidates whose main aim is political education of the public, rather than the winning of an election.

* * *

The Council will encourage the formation of local groups in the major centers which may designate themselves as the "Friends of the Council for Abolishing War" and the members of the movement who live in such a center would be invited to join such a local group if they wish to do so. The Council will make it its business to set up such a local group in each major center, but thereafter the local groups will be on their own and may decide for themselves with what other organizations in their community they wish to cooperate. As time goes on, such local groups might play an increasingly important political role. In cooperation with other local organizations they may give effective support to desirable Congressional candidates and they may help to clarify the relevant issues by discussing them with the editors and columnists of their local newspapers and other opinion-makers in their community.

The issues with which the Council is mainly concerned present themselves only rarely in the form of bills before Congress and by the time they do, it is frequently too late to influence the course of events. Of greater concern to the Council than the passage of bills is the general attitude of Congress on major issues of foreign and defense policy. Occasionally, however, as in the case of the United Nations bonds, there may be a bill before Congress which is of direct concern to the movement. On such occasions the Lobby would communicate with the members of the movement directly and also through the "Friends of the Council" in the various communities and suggest that they write to or otherwise contact their members of Congress.

The Council will assist "Friends of the Council" groups, which are located in the major centers, to set up seminars for those members of the movement who wish to clarify in their own minds the relevant issues in order to be able to present their views more effectively in Washington. Such knowledgeable and articulate members of the movement can take turns, each one staying one or two weeks in Washington, and when the Council is fully operating, there might be as many as five to ten such members available in Washington at any one time.

* * *

For the guidance of those who may speak in the name of the Council, the Council is drafting an Action Program or platform which will indicate the objectives which the Council believes to be currently attainable.

Those who speak in the name of the Council need not necessarily be in favor of or argue for all of its objectives; it is sufficient that they be wholeheartedly for some of these objectives and capable of putting forward convincing arguments in their favor. When speaking in the name of the Council, members of the movement would be restricted by the Council's action program to currently attainable objectives.

This would leave the members of the movement free, however, to press as individuals, or through other organizations to which they may belong, for objectives which are not currently attainable but which may be desirable, and in time might become attainable.

The action program of the Council will be revised from time to time. When the platform is to be revised, the Council will hold hearings in Washington, D. C., and members of the movement will be invited to express their views on what the desirable or attainable objectives may be that should be included.

* * *

APPENDIX 1

Corrected

The post war events and the Russian disarmament proposals of 1960.

A vivid account of the post war events is contained in Szilard's diary, which has been recently reprinted by Simon & Schuster. This diary, published posthumously in 1965, under the title "This Version of the Facts", breaks off abruptly in 1960; it covers the fifteen years following the defeat of Germany in 1945.

The book derives its title from the preface written by the late Professor Hans Bethe of Cornell University. In his preface, Bethe relates a conversation that he had with Szilard when he visited him in 1943, after the chain reaction had been demonstrated at Stagg Field on the campus of the University of Chicago. Bethe's account of this conversation is as follows:

Bethe asked Szilard how things were going in the Uranium Project at Chicago and Szilard said that decisions were reached in the most peculiar manner and, accordingly, the decisions reached were most peculiar. "Do you think that the project is making the wrong decisions?" Bethe asked. "Some of the decisions are wrong and some of them are right" said Szilard "but they all have one thing in common, they are all based on false premises."

"What is going on is so peculiar" Szilard went on, "that I have just about decided to keep a diary. I don't intend to publish it; I am merely going to record the facts for the information of God." "Don't you think that God knows the facts?" Bethe asked. "Yes," said Szilard "He knows the facts, but He does not know this version of the facts."

The first entry in Szilard's diary which concerns us here relates to the drafting of the United Nations Charter which was in progress at that time in San Francisco. Szilard noted that the Charter was being drafted by men who were not aware of the fact that atomic bombs would be around and therefore did not realize that the Charter would be out of date before the ink was dry.*

*Footnote: At the insistence of the atomic scientists of the Uranian^{UUN} Project at Chicago, Stettinius, the Secretary of State, had been ~~informed~~^{told} that America ~~was going to~~^{would have} the atomic bomb before the War was over, but there is reason to doubt that ~~Stettinius~~^{he grasped} had any inkling ~~of its~~^{the} political implications.

Szilard thought that the projected use of the atomic bomb against Japan would start an atomic arms race and he asked what America would do if Russia were to build air bases, say in Haiti, capable of accommodating Russian bombers which, in case of war, might drop atomic bombs on the cities of the United States. There was nothing in the Charter to keep Russia from building such air bases in Haiti and America would not have been able militarily to intervene in such a contingency without violating the Charter. Similarly, Szilard asked what America would do if ten years hence a formation of Russian bombers were to hold manoeuvres ^{Up} and fly up and down the east coast of the United States - keeping outside of the territorial limits of the United States. Clearly America could not then shoot down these planes without violating the United Nations Charter. Manifestly, Szilard wrote, the United States is about to subscribe to a Charter and accept the solemn commitment to ^{uphold} ~~observe~~ it and yet it ^{was} ~~is~~ already clear that in certain, not unlikely, contingencies she would be virtually compelled to violate the Charter.

When the War ended Szilard was preoccupied, as were most of his colleagues, with the problem of ridding the world of the bomb. He records a number of the private discussions ^{in 1945 and early in 1946} that preceeded the start of the negotiations ~~in 1946~~, on international control of atomic energy, in the United Nations. None of those who participated in these discussions thought of the possibility that atomic bombs might be used as a tactical weapon against troops in combat, nor did it occur to anyone that atomic bombs might be used to demolish evacuated cities. What was responsible for these ~~two~~ blind spots is not clear. ^{That they did} ~~That they existed is a fact, however, and in the circumstances it is understandable that those who participated in these early discussions reached a consensus to the effect~~ ^{concluded} that atomic bombs would be an asset to America only as long as America had the monopoly of the bomb and would be in a position to threaten to drop bombs on Russian cities in case Russia were to intervene militarily in Europe. When Russia would have the bomb also, such threats would become ineffective. On the basis of such considerations, it was recommended that ~~the American Government~~ ^{the American} should be willing to give up the bomb at about the time when Russia would have the bomb also, but should try to hold on to the bomb until then.

I

atomic scientists, it might have proposed to Russia some method for the control of atomic

believed

and he was the first to proclaim such a belief)

of it.

Many people in America shared Churchill's belief and America adopted the policy of protecting Europe by the threat of "massive retaliation". A policy which calls for the dropping of atomic bombs on Russian cities and the killing of millions of Russians, men women and children, in retaliation for a Russian military intervention in Western Europe is of course difficult to justify from a moral point of view, particularly if ^{at the same time} one holds ^{also} that the Russian Government is not responsive to the wishes of the Russian people.

At the time when America adopted the policy of massive retaliation, Szilard noted that apparently we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the American Government is no different from the governments of the other Great Powers and is guided on vital issues by considerations of expediency rather than by moral considerations. Still, Szilard apparently expected that ^{he} ~~such a~~ policy of massive retaliation would offend the sensibilities of many people and that there would be expressions of dissent, perhaps even from within the Government. There was no such dissent and ^{discussing} ~~Szilard commented on this later on when he quoted a passage from a speech of the President of the United States which repeatedly referred to the "Godless men in the Kremlin".~~ ~~On that occasion Szilard wrote in~~ ^{his diary,} "My quarrel is not with those who believe that God does not exist, but with those who believe that God does not matter".

End of footnote

~~merely~~ ^{if} ~~more than~~ an exercise in which America indulged for the sake of establishing a record. ~~Had~~ ^{had} Russia accepted the Baruch Plan at that time the U.S. Senate would have refused to ratify the agreement.

At the end of the Second World War, Korea had been divided by the stroke of the pen into North Korea and South Korea. Neither of these two territories accepted this division with good grace and both wanted to unify Korea, if necessary by force of arms. America furnished arms to South Korea and Russia furnished arms to North Korea. When North Korean troops crossed the 38th Parallel and penetrated deep into South Korea, Szilard regarded this as prima facie evidence that it was North Korea who started the war and he thought that there might be compelling reasons for America to send troops into South Korea

~~in violation of the United Nations Charter.~~ However, when the United Nations voted to intervene in Korea, Szilard was puzzled because the United Nations Charter said in black and white that such action could be taken by the United Nations only with the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The seat of the Government of China was occupied by the Government of Formosa and its concurrence might have given the vote in the Council a semblance of legality, but Russia was absent from the Council table when the vote was taken and it was difficult to see how Russia's absence could be interpreted as a concurring vote. Szilard asked a distinguished colleague*, an authority

*Footnote: ^{Presumably} Professor Hans Morgenthau, ^{of} The University of Chicago

on international relations, whether he would be able to argue that the intervention of the United Nations in the Korean War was in conformity with the United Nations Charter. Told by his colleague that he would be able to do so, Szilard then asked him whether he would also be able to argue that the intervention of the UN was in violation of the Charter. His colleague replied that that would be even easier.

Szilard, who was no authority on international law, was more concerned about the political aspects than the legal aspects of the Korean War. Szilard was not certain whether or not Russia ^{had} committed a "crime" when she ^{had} failed to restrain North Korea, but he was certain that she had made a mistake. In retrospect, it is clear that the Korean ~~War was a large scale~~ ^{stepped up the arms race in a really} ~~big way.~~ ^{big way.}

Szilard looked ^{upon} the United Nations as an instrument created for the purpose of maintaining peace in the world, as long as the Great Powers acted in concert with each other to this end. He looked upon the veto provided for by the Charter as a means to protect the United Nations from embarking on a war against one of the Great Powers which the United Nations could not win.

He had misgivings about the stretching of the United Nations Charter for the purpose of evading the veto - in the ^{pursuit} ~~interest~~ of short term American political goals.

He ~~felt~~^{feared} that efforts to use the United Nations for purposes other than those for which it was intended would weaken this organization to the point where it might become incapable of fulfilling even the limited function for which it had been devised.

Most Americans thought that Russia incessantly violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the Charter and showed a callous disregard for international law. Szilard apparently did not share this view. He wrote that, in the post war years, Russia had persistently been a stickler for legality, ^{that she kept insisting on observing the letter of the law, frequently in disregard of compelling political considerations arising from the actual} existing power balance. Noting that Russia had been careful to avoid any flagrant violations of her international obligations, during the post war period, Szilard wondered whether she had done so because during this period she had been rather weak. The law protects the weak and Russia may have been intent on upholding the law for this reason, so Szilard thought, ~~and he~~ wondered whether Russia would continue to be so law abiding beyond the 1960's when she was expected to become strong.

When the North Korean ^{army had been} ~~invaders were~~ pushed out of South Korea and American troops fighting under the United Nations flag ^{had} reached the 38th Parallel, Nehru warned that crossing the 38th Parallel would bring China into the war. This warning was ridiculed by the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. Senator Robert Taft, on the other hand, did question the wisdom of risking a war with China by sending American troops into North Korea. "Apparently" wrote Szilard "God endows Americans with wisdom only as long as they do not hold office."

When American troops fighting under the flag of the United Nations reached the Yalu River, China intervened, and there ensued a war between China and the United Nations which the United Nations was not able to win. Szilard thought that this contingency would not have arisen had the Chinese Government been ^{seated} ~~admitted to her seat~~ in the Security Council as soon, as it had achieved full control over the mainland, for, in that case, China would have vetoed the intervention of the United Nations in Korea. ~~Szilard did not think that~~ ^{such} a veto would have prevented the landing of American troops in South Korea, but American troops fighting under the American flag could not have crossed the 38th Parallel

without flagrantly violating the United Nations Charter and ^{Szilard} he thought that this would have restrained America.

When American troops fighting under the flag of the United Nations reached the Yalu River and China intervened, Szilard remarked that, ^{most} ~~in general~~, people find it difficult to forgive those to whom they have done wrong and he wondered how long it would take the Americans to forgive the Chinese.

After the Russians came into possession of the bomb, for a while they kept on proposing that the bomb be outlawed. By this they meant that the ^{nations} ~~powers~~ who were in possession of the bomb should each unilaterally pledge not to use the bomb against another nation unless that nation used bombs against them. This Russian proposal was opposed by America on the grounds that foregoing the use of the bomb might - in certain circumstances - put America to military disadvantage. Szilard's ^{recalled in this} ~~diary recorded this~~ ^{context} ~~Russian proposal and its rejection by America.~~ On this occasion, he recalled that in the 1930's there had been a proposal before the disarmament conference of the League of Nations to outlaw bombing from the air, ^{This} ~~which~~ was rejected by Britain, ^{with} Anthony Eden, a civil servant at that time, ^{acting as} ~~was Britain's~~ spokesman at that conference. ^{Eden} ~~He~~ declared that His Majesty's Government could not be a party to an agreement making it illegal to drop bombs from the air because the only practical way of deterring the unruly tribes on the northern frontier of India from making forays into Indian territory was to destroy, if need be, their mud huts through bombing from the air.

In 1960, Russia proposed general and complete disarmament. She proposed that such disarmament be put into effect within a few years and that as a first step all rockets and all other means suitable for the delivery of bombs be eliminated. Szilard did not think that the Congress and the people were willing to accept general and complete disarmament. In proof of this, he quoted Walter Lippmann who wrote in his column on June 30, 1960: "...there is good reason to think that...the Soviet aim of total disarmament is almost certainly impossible and also undesirable... There is nothing we can do about the Soviet aim except to say that if total disarmament could be achieved the disorders in the world would probably be very great." Despairing of the possibility of disarmament, Lippmann

suggested that the Americans say to the Russians: "On the critical issue of the big lethal weapons let us both base our security on developing invulnerable deterrents. Let this understanding that we will do this be our agreement. Then let us negotiate about saving money by reducing other components of military power."

Szilard noted that many Americans thought that disarmament would not be feasible because they could not see any way of making sure that Russia would not secretly ^{retain} ~~hide~~ a large number of bombs and rockets. In this, he thought, they were in error. He thought that the people failed to understand the true nature of this problem and that they did not see any way of solving the problem, because they looked to pedestrian methods for the solution of an unprecedented problem.

Szilard tried to visualize what kind of a world a totally disarmed world would be. He concluded that if all bombs, rockets, navies, air forces and all heavy mobile equipment, such as heavy tanks and guns, were eliminated and armies were disbanded, there would still remain machine guns and that improvised armies equipped with machine guns could spring up so to speak over night. He thought that America and Russia would both be secure in such a disarmed world, for neither of these two countries could have been conquered by an improvised army equipped with machine guns. He also thought that in such a disarmed world, America and Russia would remain strong enough to exercise a considerable measure of control over their neighbours. But ^{he noted that} (in such a disarmed world America could not have lived up to her commitments to defend such geographically remote areas as South Korea, South Viet-Nam and Formosa. ^{Insert here.}

^{doubted} Szilard ~~did not think~~ that in a totally disarmed world such remote areas would have any importance to America from a strategic point of view, and ^{he seems to have} ~~rejected the current~~ ^{then} view that by protecting such areas America was defending freedom ^{or} ~~and~~ democracy. He recognized, however, that, rightly or wrongly, America had engaged her prestige and that the desire to gain and to maintain prestige was ^{no less of a} ~~an important~~ motivating force for America ^{as for the other} ~~as well as the rest of the~~ Great Powers. He concluded that, as matters stood, any military

disengagement in the contested areas of the Far East would have to be preceded by ^adisengagement of prestige. He noted that disengagement of prestige would require a political settlement with ~~China~~ and that neither China nor America were ready for such a settlement.

In 1960, Russia declared that if America were to intervene militarily in Cuba, Russia would retaliate against America by means of long-range rockets.* Since America had no intention of militarily intervening in Cuba, Russia did not take a real risk by making such a threat. Nevertheless, Szilard regarded the Russian declaration as a milestone in the atomic age, because it indicated that Russia might succumb to the temptation of ~~entering into commitments for the defence of~~ ^{committing herself to defending} nations, geographically remote from her territory, and general and complete disarmament, which Russia had proposed, ^{is} ~~would~~ not be compatible with such commitments, if the commitments ^{were} ~~were~~ made in earnest.

Early in 1960, Szilard thought that there might be two conflicting views within the Russian Government, the views of those who hold that the world ought to rid itself of the bomb, as soon as possible, and the views of those who wanted Russia to extend protection to geographically remote areas. Early in 1960 Szilard thought that those who wanted to rid the world of the bomb might prevail in Russia, provided America promptly accepted the Russian proposals for general and complete disarmament - in principle - and ^{subsequently} ~~entered into~~ negotiations in order to determine whether Russia would accept the necessary safeguards. Szilard thought that, in the absence of prompt American acceptance, the prestige which Russia might gain from extending protection to geographically remote area would represent a temptation which Russia might not be able to resist. Once Russia succumbed ^{ed} ~~ed~~ to such a temptation, thereafter her proposals for disarmament would represent no more than an exercise in which she might indulge for the sake of establishing a "record".

THE END

*Footnote: Szilard recalled at this point earlier Russian proposals to outlaw the bomb. He did not think that if America had accepted those proposals this would necessarily have prevented the use of the bomb, in case of war, but he did think that outlawing the bomb would have precluded the possibility of exerting pressure in peacetime, by threatening the use of the bomb.

APPENDIX 2The Operations of the American Research Foundation

Apart from "staffing" the General Advisory Board, probably the most important operation of the Foundation was the introduction of a novel method for supporting basic research in science through the granting of highly endowed life-term fellowships. The Foundation asked the National Academy of Sciences to select - as early in life as possible - young men who were genuinely interested in science and possessed both the originality and critical abilities which creative work in science demands. Those selected, received from the Foundation a salary of \$40,000 a year - for life. If they spent any part of their salary, up to half, on their own research work, the Foundation would match their contribution ^{five} ~~now~~ to one. Thus, if a young man decided to live on \$20,000 and invest yearly \$20,000 in his own research he had a research budget of \$120,000 available for his work. If three such young men teamed up, they had at their disposal a research budget of \$360,000 - as long as each of them was willing to live on his remaining salary of \$20,000 per year.

Any of these Fellows, or any group of them, were free to select any University as a place for their work and if they were acceptable to that University then the Foundation would build ~~the~~ ^{their use.} laboratories for them. In an attempt to attract Fellows of the Foundation, Universities tried very hard to create conditions which would be congenial to them. In this endeavor, some Universities were more successful than others, and about half of the Fellows congregated at seven Universities. Most of the Fellows settled in the Boston area, or on the West Coast.

When the creation of these fellowships was first announced, there were ^{dire} predictions that few of the Fellows would be likely to part with a substantial fraction of their salary for the sake of spending it on their research work, and that most of them would instead elect to lead an idle life of luxury. In part, these predictions proved to be correct. In the first years of the operation of the fellowships only about ^{of the Fellows} one third spent part of their salary on their research and claimed a matching contribution from the Foundation, ^{while} ~~and~~ two-thirds of the Fellows lived in idleness. ^P The Foundation did not seem

to mind this. Those who lived in idleness did not cost the Foundation very much, they did not clutter up any laboratories with their equipment and their papers did not clutter up the scientific periodicals. The Foundation took the position that the work of those Fellows who chose to live in idleness would at best have been mediocre, had they been kept at work through "external" incentives. Thus, the loss to science was small. Science benefited greatly from the work of the other Fellows, for these were free to tackle problems which held no promise of immediate results, but offered a chance - though not necessarily a high one - of leading to fundamental insights.

In the course of a generation, the number of Fellows who failed to spend part of their salary on their research work dropped from two-thirds to about one-third. This shift came about as the result of the specific mode of selection of the Fellows. ^{II} For a young man to receive a fellowship from the Foundation he had to receive the vote of three members of the National Academy of Sciences. Each member of the Academy had a limited number of votes which he could "spend" in any given year, and when a member spent the votes allotted to him, then in that year he had no influence on the selection of additional Fellows.

~~At this point it is necessary to remind the reader that~~ Prior to their selecting the Fellows for the Foundation, members of the National Academy had no other function but to elect additional members. Since membership of the Academy lent respectability to a scientist such membership was sought after mainly by those who aspired to be respectable. Thus, the one characteristic that all members of the National Academy had in common was respectability. Fortunately, respectability and scientific creativity are not mutually exclusive and therefore the membership of the National Academy included quite a number of creative scientists. Generally speaking, these were inclined to keep in fairly close touch with each other, and they were largely responsible for the selection of those Fellows who subsequently made good. These were the Fellows, who subsequently became members of the National Academy, because the other Fellows, who chose to live a life of idleness, did not bother to write any papers and

the respectability of a scientist was adjudged more on the basis of the number of papers he published than anything else. Accordingly, within a generation, the proportion of creative scientists among the members of the Academy increased quite considerably and this, in turn, reflected itself in a greatly improved selection of the Fellows.

The research budget placed at the disposal of a Fellow by the Foundation did not exceed \$120,000 and even if several of such Fellows teamed up ^{their} ~~the~~ joint budget fell, on occasion, short of the budget which was necessary for the project which they wanted to tackle. In cases of this sort, the Fellows could apply for a special grant to the trustees of the Foundation. The Foundation had twenty trustees and allocated grants ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ the amount of \$200 million a year for such ~~special~~ projects. Any three trustees who approved of certain projects were free to allocate to those projects their ^{joint} ~~share~~ which amounted to \$30 million. If a given project demanded a larger sum, then more than three of the trustees had to team up. Once a trustee allocated his share, in any given year, then he had in that year no further voice in the allocation of grants. In retrospect, it is possible to say that about one-third of the trustees were imaginative men and the remaining two-thirds were not, and accordingly about two-thirds of the grants were wasted. Still, compared to other Foundations, this may well be considered as a highly satisfactory result.

The main reason why Europe was so much more successful in basic science, in the first half of this century, than America was the different attitude towards leisure. The establishment of a system of life fellowships by the American Research Foundation came very close to the creation of a leisured class and the attitude of these Fellows towards leisure came very close to the traditional attitude of European scientists towards leisure. Those of the Fellows who were successful in science usually worked very hard for periods of time, but occasionally they took a year off from their work and took interest in some field of science, other than their own, or even in politics. On the average, the Fellows who were successful in their own work took off from their work about one year in five. ^{It} ~~It~~ came as a surprise to many people, though there is reason to believe, that it had been foreseen by the dolphins, that a substantial fraction of the Fellows who were successful in their ~~work, also took an active interest in politics.~~

work, also took an active interest in politics.

Under the terms of their appointment they could, if they wished, spend up to half of their salary ~~on~~^{on} political contributions. Their ~~own~~ political contributions counted just as much, as their contribution to their own work, inasmuch as ~~it was~~^{they were} matched five to one by the Foundation - except of course that the contribution of the Foundation could be used only for the expenses of their scientific work. This then meant that a Fellow, whose yearly political contributions amounted to \$20,000, still had \$100,000 - the matching contribution of the Foundation, available for his scientific work. Even though, as far as political contributions go, the amounts which the Fellows could spend were not large, the political influence of the Fellows became, in time, quite substantial. It would appear that these Fellows supported certain key members of the Senate and the House persistently over ~~the period of~~ a number of years, which led to the establishment of lasting friendships. Because such legislation as these Fellows proposed, was eminently reasonable, ~~the~~ Congressmen and Senators who regarded them as ~~their~~ friends, were willing to listen to them. In general, Congressmen and Senators gained credit, when they introduced bills suggested to them by Fellows of the Foundation.

Many of the Fellows were ~~concerned about~~^{disturbed by} the low quality of the high schools in the United States. Attempts to improve the high schools piecemeal had been to no avail and some of the Fellows began to urge the setting up of a federal system of high schools, in competition with the schools maintained by the States, the counties, the cities and the churches. They held that only creating a highly paid and highly respected civil service for teachers and putting teachers on a par with officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force could high school education in the United States be salvaged. They were told that because the Constitution reserved education to the States the creation of a federal system of high schools could not be set up without amending the Constitution. Because the Fellows were not ~~politically experienced~~^{experts in the field of politics}, they did not realize that such a constitutional amendment could not possibly pass. They reasoned, wholly without justification, that if it had been possible to amend the Constitution in order to keep people from drinking alcoholic beverages, and to amend it again in order to make it possible for people to drink

alcoholic beverages, then it ought to be possible to amend the Constitution ^{also} in order to provide the young people of America with the education that they needed. The Twenty-Fourth Amendment, enabling the Federal Government to set up ~~any form of~~ high schools was adopted in 1986.

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES ON CAPITOL HILL

The principal consideration to be kept in mind with respect to the Council's Hill operations is that foreign policy is made by the Administration and not by the Congress. Congressional influence is therefore necessarily tangential only, and it is only rarely that Senators in sympathy with the Council's objectives might achieve major legislation in this area. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Arms Control Agency and the Peace Corps were first proposed in the Congress, and that the Congress is on occasion the source of proposals which ultimately win Administration approval.

A second significant underlying reality to be kept in mind is that in dealing with sympathetic Senators the Council will have contact with two somewhat differing groups: some (e.g. Humphrey, Mansfield, Fullbright, etc.) who hold significant power because of their Foreign Relations Committee membership and their relations in the Administration, and others (e.g. Clark, Hart, McCarthy, Cooper, etc.) whose individual congressional power is limited but whose level of interest in and support of the Council's objectives may be quite high.

Keeping in mind the foregoing considerations, how may the Council best promote its objectives on the Hill? The subject may best be viewed from the vantage point of three sources of

congressional power: legislation, education, and Administration influence.

1. Legislation. The congressional legislative function presents the most traditional area of Hill activity for the Council. With respect to legislation which the Council may oppose, the occasion for this may arise from time to time but it will be not of the Council's making, but created by those generally hostile to the Council's objectives. Here the Council may serve as an alerting and liaison agency among its friends and supporters in opposition to provisions in pending legislation which may otherwise achieve enactment for lack of any organized opposition.

More important is the Council's role as the proponent of legislation or strengthening amendments to pending legislation. In the case of proposed legislation (such as on the subject of the "economics of disarmament"), the Council can undertake the major role in substantive drafting, introduction, and the effort to enact. In the case of strengthening amendments, the Council's role would be more in the nature of a catalyst and liaison agency. In the absence of consistent Council attention, a group of Senators which might be ready to make a fight for a

particular objective may never get organized -- here the Council's presence could be critical. An area of legislation where the balance has been close and which might have lent itself to more support, has been that of the Disarmament Agency. In the definition of its scope in the appropriations for it and in its creation, more congressional interest might well have induced improvements over the provisions ultimately adopted.

Some subjects of potential legislative action of the kind above mentioned, may be the present passport restrictions, the character and scope of East-West exchanges, and similar questions lacking in monumental individual importance but of considerable cumulative significance.

2. Education. The largest challenge on the Hill to the Council's imagination and activism is in the area of education -- education of Senators and education by them (of each other, the public, and the Administration). A number of avenues are here open to the Council:

a. Congressional hearings. Hearings on subjects of the Council's interests may well be within reach. There are present prospects for such hearings on the "economics of disarmament" before a Subcommittee chaired by Senator Clark.

Scheduled hearings in other Committees within the area of defense and foreign policy, may provide a forum for some further education if the Council can provide articulate witnesses to appear and testify.

b. Written material. This is an essential ingredient of Senatorial education. Some good material which is now being published is not being properly circulated among Senators and their staffs; the Council can certainly increase the circulation and from time to time obtain Congressional Record insertion. More importantly, the Council could and should produce written studies of its own on areas of interest -- particularly those which may escape regular public attention even in the more informed channels. The Council's effectiveness here will depend upon its ability to produce instructive discussions on the current questions of interest within the Administration and the Congress, before they are irrevocably resolved. At the present time, for instance, the Council should certainly produce a topnotch article or exchange of views on the question of test inspection and compliance.

c. Senator participation. Still more important is the job of educating and activating Senators intersease. Every two years in the last decade has produced a new short-lived

internal organization effort at education among concerned and liberal Congressmen and Senators. This experience clearly indicates the pre-conditions of more permanent success in such self-education and organization. It seems clear that the conditions for success require (a) that the Senators who attend be carefully chosen for each session, (b) that they have opportunity for a friendly and meaningful discussion with a top-level thinker (either from within the Administration or from without) and (c) on a problem of real not merely theoretical concern. Preferably, the subject should be one which has reached a degree of immediacy permitting Senators to decide upon a tangible course of action to achieve a tangible objective, whether it be legislation or within the realm of influencing policy. Senators are men of affairs who like to involve themselves in real events rather than to discuss political issues which can lead to no discernible Senatorial activity.

d. Senatorial assistants. Perhaps as important as education among Senators is liaison among their assistants. Harry McPherson with Sen. Mansfield, Ben Read with Sen. Clark, Bill Welsh with Sen. Hart and some others, have recently participated in round table discussions in areas of the Council's interest, but this effort petered out for lack of an adequate routine. If on a set day of the week in a set place the assistants to the group of Senators sharing the Council's objectives could be

invited on a regular basis to meet for lunch and an informal discussion, the prospects are good for regular attendance. Thus, if on a weekly basis half of the 18 assistants were to come together with two or three outsiders for informal discussion on currently relevant problems, a working group could be created which does not now operate in the defense and foreign relations areas outside the formal Committee structure.

3. Influence within the Administration. Most important among the three areas of Senatorial influence is the influence of Senators within the Administration. Here the Council's job is the most difficult, since the effective use of such congressional pressure depends on current information concerning activities within the Administration. If the Council desires to make an impact on a range of issues within the Administration, it must have current information as to their internal status. For instance, the appointment of persons to key positions (e.g. Geneva negotiator), might be of interest to the Council, and the Council may from time to time be able to gather friends and supporters in the Senate to urge the selection or nonselection of certain potential appointees.

Similarly, substantive policies may lend themselves to this form of indirect Senatorial lobbying. Should a question

in the area of disarmament negotiations be one of internal debate (within say the Disarmament Agency), then the interest and influence of just a few Senators might be decisive with respect to the determination to be made. And on occasion, Senators may be able not merely to make individual representations to high Administration officials, but to provide a collective assurance to the Administration that if a certain Administration position is taken, it will be given vocal and dedicated support by a group of Senators. Once again, the current test-ban discussions are illustrative -- to the extent that domestic political considerations may inhibit the Administration's present bargaining position, more could be done both publicly and privately by the Senate supporters of a test-ban agreement.

* * * * *

It is impossible fully to define the procedure for lobbying without knowing the objective of a particular lobbying effort. The discussion above is necessarily only generally valid. The issues and the times have a way of defining their own procedure. Accordingly, it is a safe guess that once the Council's lobbying activities commence new approaches will be

found and differing approaches will be used for the achievement of differing objectives.

Nevertheless, the circumstance which gives assurance of success is that there is no other organization in Washington dedicated to a full-time congressional effort in these areas and ready to supply full-time congressional support to the promotion of objectives which command the approval of a significant group of Senators and Congressmen. Because there is a void and the Council is ready to fill it, the prospects are good and the activity should commence without delay.

A Look At The Shocking Record of

SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

RED CHINA

"China is not judged to be aggressive because of her actions, she is presumed to be aggressive because she is Communist." (From Fulbright's book, *The Arrogance of Power*, P. 152) Fulbright has stated "... there's nothing really substantial to show that Red China has any great urge to conquer the world . . ." (Arkansas Gazette, March 10, 1967)

COMMUNISM

In a speech before a church group, Fulbright declared, "Communism . . . is a doctrine of social justice. It is messianic in this stage of its revolution." Fulbright went on to classify Russia as a conservative country. "Communism has 'redeeming tenets' and its dangers are not doctrinal, but fanaticism," Fulbright added. (Article by news reporter Bill Kennedy in the Southwest American in April, 1967)

BERLIN WALL

Appearing on the "Issues and Answers" TV news program in 1961, Senator Fulbright stated, "I don't understand why the East Germans don't close the border, because I think they have a right to close it." (Congressional Record, August 1, 1961) Exactly 12 days later, the East German Communists went ahead and built the Berlin Wall.

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

"The President is hobbled in his task of leading the American people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of power imposed on him by a constitutional system designed for an 18th Century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power." (Fulbright made this statement in a filmed message to the Cubberly Conference on Education, Stanford University, July 28, 1961)

UNITED NATIONS

"In a real sense this so-called sovereignty, the power to determine our (America's) destiny, is imperfect and defective. It is essential that we consider the delegation of power to some other and higher organization which is reasonably designed to perform the function which this government cannot perform. The United Nations Organization is the logical instrumentality to which such power should be given. . . ." (Congressional Record, January 25, 1946, Page A-253)

COLD WAR

"Fundamentally, it is believed that the American people have little, if any, need to be alerted to the menace of the cold war. . . ." (Congressional Record August 2, 1961, Page 13437)

CUBA

"... The Castro Regime, is a thorn in the flesh; but it is not a dagger in the heart. . . . The real question concerning the future of the Castro Regime and its effect on the U.S. . . . whether Castro can in fact succeed in providing a better life for the Cuban people; in making Cuba a little paradise, a real Pearl of the Antilles; and whether he can do a better job than the U.S. and its friends can do elsewhere in Latin America." (Congressional Record May 9, 1961)

AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

"It is imperative that we break out of the intellectual confines of cherished and traditional beliefs and open our minds to the possibility that basic changes in our system may be essential to meet the requirements of the 20th Century. . . ." (Cubberly Conference, Stanford University, July 28, 1961)

LATIN AMERICA

"In other Latin American countries, the power of ruling oligarchies is so solidly established and their ignorance is so great that there seems little prospect of accomplishing economic growth or social reform by means short of the forcible overthrow of established authorities." (Congressional Record, March 25, 1964)

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MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR,
FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1967

'LIBERAL' CASH BACKS FULBRIGHT AND FOUR OTHER SENATORS

By DAN THOMASSON
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON.—A well-heeled private political organization already is pouring tens of thousands of dollars into the 1968 re-election campaigns of five liberal senators—four of them doves on Vietnam.

The funds are being directed through private contributors by the National Committee for an Effective Congress to Sens. J. William Fulbright (Ark.), Gaylord Nelson (Wis.), George McGovern (S.D.), and Frank Church (Idaho), all Democrats and critics of U.S. Vietnam policy. The fifth beneficiary of NCEC aid is Sen. Thomas Kuchel (Calif.), Republican whip and a supporter of Vietnam policy.

Russell Hemenway, national director of NCEC, said it is his organization's policy to make only "sizable" contributions to candidates whose races are tight enough "for our help to make a difference."

He said a "sizable" contribution was nothing less than \$45,000 or \$50,000.

The NCEC says it supplied about \$725,000 from its own funds or through its supporters to liberal house and Senate candidates, most of them Democrats, in the last two general elections.

Hemenway said the NCEC hopes to be responsible for \$1 million in contributions during the 1968 election.

NCEC conducted a solicitation cocktail party in Washington last week for the five senators. At the party, where Sen. and Mrs. Eugene McCarthy, D-Minn., acted as hosts, guests were invited to make substantial direct contributions.

Hemenway denied the candidates' positions on Vietnam were responsible for NCEC's support, but conceded their anti-war stands are a major reason they are expected to have close races for re-election.

"They're all senators we have supported in the past," he said. "We never take a formal position on anything. We support those we feel would be an asset to the senate and mostly they're liberals."

He said the five candidates already have received large contributions but refused to say how much.

(Reprinted from Newsweek, August 12, 1968)

FULBRIGHT: HARD FIGHT AHEAD

Although Democratic Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas won a close primary election last week, he is still far from out of danger. Ex-Gov. Sidney McMath, a Democrat and strong supporter of LBJ's Vietnam policy, is expected to support Fulbright's Republican opponent, Charles Bernard, treasurer of the state's Republican Party. Fulbright's primary battle with segregationist Jim Johnson was a rough one and the resulting ill feeling probably will reduce the Democratic vote in November.

BERNARD POSES TALL HURDLE IN FULBRIGHT'S SENATE RACE

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau
August 2, 1968

LITTLE ROCK, Aug. 1.—Senator J. William Fulbright won renomination to a fifth six-year term Tuesday over three Democratic opponents, but his re-election is considered far from sure.

The dovish senator still must face Republican Charles Bernard of Earle in this fall's general election, and observers are convinced it probably will be the toughest race Mr. Fulbright has faced since entering the Senate in 1944.

Observers in several sections of the state and other candidates running statewide campaigns had been reporting consistently that Senator Fulbright was in trouble. That may have been confirmed by the primary election results.

As one observer put it early Wednesday morning while watching the mounting returns closely, "If he can't get any more than 53 per cent of the vote against three radicals, he is in trouble."

Mr. Bernard, a 41-year-old Delta planter and businessman, carefully has been rejecting extremists of any hue in building a non-radical image for his bout with the senator.

Observers are convinced that Senator Fulbright is in trouble primarily "because he doesn't represent Arkansas," as numerous voters have put it, rather than over his Vietnam War stance.

Reprinted from

Human Events

August 10, 1968

FULBRIGHT VULNERABLE

Sen. J. William Fulbright, the Senate's leading Viet Nam critic, squeaked through his Arkansas Democratic primary without a runoff, gaining 53 per cent of the vote against three opponents. Fulbright had predicted he would get 65 per cent, and now must face what he calls his "toughest opposition" in the November election against Republican Charles Bernard.



FULBRIGHT

Fulbright, who campaigned on a platform opposed to right-to-work laws and the teaching of evolution in Arkansas schools, won with a coalition of intellectuals, labor leaders, hard-line liberals and Old Guard Democrats. His closest competitor, state Wallace-for-President leader and White Citizen's Council candidate Jim Johnson, received 88,000 votes less than Fulbright.

Bernard, Fulbright's November opponent, was unopposed in the primary and is generally regarded to be the strongest Senate candidate the Arkansas GOP has put up in this century. A businessman-farmer and treasurer of the state party, the 40-year-old Bernard will be a magnet for the substantial anti-Fulbright voter bloc in the state. Additionally, Bernard is more popular with the Negro voters than the incumbent liberal Democrat, who has alienated the black community with his repeated votes against civil rights bills.

"The man is definitely vulnerable," says Bernard of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "He's lost contact with the people. He hasn't served the interests of the Arkansas people well." His interests are somewhere else. And a Fulbright aide adds that Arkansas voters who do not like his boss "are the majority."

BERNARD FOR SENATE COMMITTEE

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JAMES TERRY
Youth Coordinator

Fellow American:

I'm writing this letter to you because your name has been brought to my attention as a person deeply concerned about America.

Here in Arkansas, we are in the final weeks of one of the most crucial Senate races in the United States. This race offers patriotic Americans a tremendous opportunity to defeat Senator J. William Fulbright.

I think you know who Senator Fulbright is. As Chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he has done more to divide America on the issue of Communism than any other man in the country. HIS DEFEAT WOULD STRIKE A RESOUNDING CHORD FOR FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

As you can see from the enclosed folder, the race is now a toss-up. Charles Bernard, Fulbright's Republican opponent, stands an excellent chance of defeating him. But, ultimately, the winner will be decided by patriotic Americans like you and me. If we do our share, we'll be able to defeat Fulbright -- if not, he'll be elected for a term running until 1975.

Think of that -- another six years of Senator Fulbright as Chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee with vast influence over American foreign policy.

The enclosed folder also points out that out-of-state liberal organizations are pouring thousands of dollars into the effort to save Fulbright. The liberal NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS alone has pledged over \$50,000. Add to that all the other money coming from "far left" groups and other questionable sources, and you can appreciate how important it is that we turn to patriotic Americans like yourself for support.

We must raise at least \$100,000 in the next 17 days, if we are to beat the Fulbright people in reserving the "prime" radio and television time and the billboards that we must have to win. I think you know that political advertising must be paid for in advance.

If we raise this money -- we'll be able to commit ourselves to the necessary programs to win. If we don't, I think it is fair to say we'll lose, and Fulbright will be re-elected. No man in the United States needs to be defeated more than Senator J. William Fulbright.

Do you recall the day the Berlin Wall went up in August 1961? Freedom-loving people around the world were stunned by the Communists' cruelty. Yet it was Senator Fulbright who, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said exactly 12 days before the wall was built:

"I don't understand why the East Germans don't close the border, because I think they have a right to close it."

(over, please)

Think of the encouragement this gave the Communists to build that wall. Imagine having the most powerful man on foreign policy in the U.S. Senate openly concede East Berlin to them.

He has pleaded for recognition of Red China. He has worked for a "hands off" policy towards Castro and Communist Cuba. He opposed U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic -- this American intervention literally prevented a Communist takeover.

He was an outspoken supporter of the "Consular Treaty". He has been a loud and divisive voice opposing our efforts to stop Communism in Vietnam. Perhaps the clearest testimony I can give you to show how dangerous a man J. William Fulbright is, is the statement of praise by the Communist Party organ, PRAVDA. It said of him:

"He is the best expert in foreign politics within the U.S. Senate." (Reported in ARKANSAS GAZETTE, April 8, 1964).

That is the same Communist paper that has vilified such great patriots as Barry Goldwater, Robert Taft and General MacArthur.

So please -- help us defeat Senator Fulbright! His opponent, Charles Bernard, is a strong and dedicated American, an effective conservative Republican, an attractive and dynamic campaigner. He is a successful businessman.

He has the overwhelming support of conservatives and Republicans across Arkansas. But this isn't enough. Because of the tremendous amount of liberal money pouring into the Fulbright campaign from across the country, we must ask your help.

Charles Bernard is a man fully qualified to be the U.S. Senator from Arkansas. In a recent visit to Arkansas, Ronald Reagan said of him:

"Charles Bernard is an outstanding American whose election to the U.S. Senate is a 'must'."

I don't feel I'm overstating the case or being too dramatic by saying that if you let this opportunity pass -- our cause may be lost. I'm writing to you and a small group of other patriotic Americans whom I pray I can count on. We desperately need your support.

Please send whatever you can, but please do it now -- whether it be \$10, \$100 or \$1,000. I'm enclosing an envelope for you to use -- and I'll anxiously wait to hear from you.

With deep concern,

Robert Webb

Robert Webb
State Finance Chairman