

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

February 28, 1962

Dear Colleague:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,



Leo Szilard

Enclosures:

"The Next Step"

"Responses To Date"

Leo Szilard
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. H.

Department of Physics

*Chew, Jeffrey

Department of Physics

*Rosenfeld, Arthur

Department of Physics

*Glaser, Donald

Department of Physics

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

*Feld, Bernard

Department of Physics

THE WORCESTER FOUNDATION

*Hoagland, Hudson

President of the American Academy
of Arts and Sciences

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

*Fox, Maurice

Associate Member

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

*Novick, Aaron

Institute for Molecular Biology

*Streisinger, George

Institute for Molecular Biology

*Stahl, Frank

Institute for Molecular Biology

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

*Livingston, Robert B.

Department of Neurobiology

February 28, 1962

Proposed List of Fellows

Hogness, David S.

Fairbank, Wm. Martin

Meselson, Matthew

Doering, William

Chamberlain, O. N.

Chew, Jeffrey

Glaser, Donald

Feld, Bernard

Fox, Maurice

Stahl, Frank

Livingston, Robert B.

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.

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