hearings. The committee expects to hear more from government witnesses, and there are no plans so far for calling foundation officials. But Patman can be counted on to keep the subject open until he gets action.—JOHN WALSH

Scientists in Politics: Council Founded by Szilard Brings Cash and Sophistication to Lobbying

In the past few months, the Council For a Livable World, a small lobbying organization directed largely by scientists, has been the subject of a series of hostile articles by a widely syndicated newspaper columnist, it has been debated on the Senate floor, and its financial support has been repudiated by one senator who formerly accepted the Council's rather substantial contributions to his campaign. Although its enemies have created the impression that the Council's powers and resources are exceeded only by those of the CIA, the fact is that the Council is a modest but clever organization which has used a unique fusion of intellectual argument and cold cash to attain a degree of influence on national politics fairly unusual for a "peace group" but not yet approaching the big time in the world of lobbies in general.

The Council was founded in 1962 when Leo Szilard, the Hungarian-born nuclear physicist who died 2 months ago, toured the country, repeating at nine colleges and universities an address entitled "Are We on the Road to War?" Szilard had been deeply involved in the wartime Manhattan Project—it was largely his effort that persuaded Einstein to write his famous letter to Franklin Roosevelt. His scientific contribution to the bomb project was equally significant—with Enrico Fermi he performed many of the basic experiments leading to the chain reaction. After the war, like many of his colleagues, Szilard became deeply convinced of the likelihood of nuclear conflagration, and after an unexpected recovery from cancer in 1959, he personally agitated in many ways for international measures to control the new weapons and reduce the risk of war.

At the time of his speech, Szilard was gloomy about the prospects of avioding war and about the possibility of a single individual's having any influence on governmental actions. Joined with this dissatisfaction, however, was a special sensitivity to the political process. After spending some time in Washington, he perceived that politicians were more responsive to logic if it was backed up by cash support and he tried to figure out a way to tie the two together.

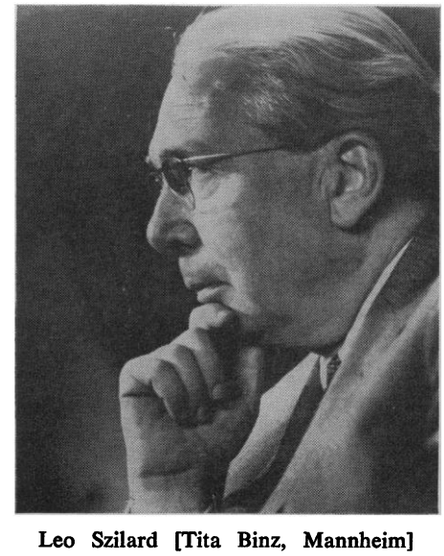
Szilard's speech outlined a number of steps that the government could take to relax the mutually threatening military postures of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. His ultimate objective was general disarmament and the abolition of war. But instead of advocating demonstrations and petitions in support of his utopian goals, Szilard proposed that all citizens in substantial agreement with his objective unite by pledging 2 percent of their annual income (or however much they could afford) to the campaign funds of candidates for political office who shared their sympathies.

The idea was not exactly to create a "Peace Party" but to provide a national constituency for certain candidates who might not have, in their own localities, sufficient interest in or support for active stands on the questions that could be summed up as "issues of peace or war." What was envisioned was not so much the formation of a club as the creation of a movement. Supporters of the movement were to regard themselves as pledged to make decisions about candidates "disregarding domestic issues, solely on the issue of war and peace." Directing the overall strategy, providing information on candidates and issues, and generally lobbying, was to be a group of scientists and scholars.

After Szilard's speaking tour was over, letters went out to a large number of individuals—mainly at universities—thought likely to be interested. Szilard returned to Washington. And, somewhat surprisingly, the money started to come in. Within a few months the new organization, then called the Council for Abolishing War, had received $55,000, enough to set up its operations and begin its work.

Early in the fall of 1962, an informal group consisting of 27 scientists was enlisted by Szilard to form an Advisory Scientists' Committee for a Livable World. Of these men, seven—Bernard Feld, Charles Coryell, and Maurice Fox of M.I.T., William Doering of Yale, John Edsall of Harvard, David Hogness of Stanford, and Szilard—became Fellows of the Committee and tended to the details required for giving the organization legal status. All except Szilard are still associated with the Council, which is now headed by Feld, a physics professor, and Allan Forbes, a producer of documentary films in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The current Board of Directors is headed by Doering, who is professor of chemistry and director of the Division of Science at Yale. Other board members are Ruth Adams, managing editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* Maurice Fox, associate professor of biology at M.I.T., Jerome D. Frank, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins, Matthew Meselson, professor of biology at Harvard, James Patton, head of the National Farmers Union, and Charles Pratt, Jr., a New York photographer. Since November, 1963, the Council's day-to-day affairs have been handled by Colonel H. Ashton Crosby, a much decorated, retired army officer. He has recently been joined by Lois Gardner, a former associate editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

For a group so novel and so lately organized, the role of the Council in the 1962 elections was extremely gratifying to its backers. In September the leaders of the Council decided to concentrate their support on the Senate. They advised their supporters to give the bulk of their campaign contributions to two men, Joseph Clark, a Democrat running for re-election in Pennsylvania, and George McGovern, a two-term congressman and former director of the Food for Peace program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. "Both these men," said a Council bulletin, "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



Leo Szilard [Tita Binz, Mannheim]

be counted on to act with courage and vigor."

To apportion contributions in a way consonant with its appraisal of the candidates needs, the Council recommended that all its followers whose last names began with letters A–Q make out checks to McGovern, the rest to Clark. In a system still followed, the Council asked that checks, though made out to the recipient, be mailed via the Council, which could then keep track of amounts transmitted. The Council also volunteered to transmit checks to a few selected candidates other than McGovern and Clark if the donor had strong personal preferences for them.

When the tally for the 1962 election was in it turned out that Council supporters had contributed more than $58,000 to candidates. By some standards, this is a pretty piddling amount; the political committee of the American Medical Association, for example, spent close to $250,000 that year. But the largest single bulk of Council money, a total of $22,000, went to George McGovern, who won his race by less than 600 votes. (The $22,000 was probably betweeen one-fourth and one-fifth of McGovern's total campaign expenditures. An additional $10,500 was given to Clark, who also won, and much smaller amounts were transmitted to victors Church, Javits, Morse, and Fulbright.

Circle of Influence

The result of these successes has been a circle of influence difficult to evaluate. Political campaigns cost a great deal of money, and in contributing to them, the Council is following an established pattern of American politics. (McGovern said, after listening to the debate deploring acceptance of Council funds, "I was beginning to think . . . that perhaps some members of the Senate had found a way to be elected through the power of prayer.") The Council's candidates were chosen precisely because they were sympathetic to its views; that they have remained sympathetic should be attributed not to the Council's cash, but to their own constancy. If the Council disappeared tomorrow, McGovern and Clark would still support the same positions.

Nonetheless, both McGovern and Clark have remained in close touch with the Council. On several occasions —notably in speeches on Cuba and on defense spending—McGovern expressed views almost identical to those held by the Council. And he was extremely articulate in the organization's defense when it was attacked in the Senate for supposedly favoring unilateral disarmament. Senator Clark has also kept up his contacts with Council officers, and worked closely with its representatives during hearings he held last winter, as chairman of a manpower subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee, on the economic and employment impact of arms control and disarmament.

The same coincidence of principle and self-interest that characterizes the Council's relations with its friends also affects its relations with its enemies. Two losing candidates given small sums ($1500 each) by the Council in 1962 were Senator John A. Carroll, a Colorado Democrat who lost to Peter Dominick, a Republican, and Rep. David S. King, a Utah Democrat who lost the Senate race to Republican incumbent Wallace Bennett. Dominick and Bennett are no doubt genuinely opposed to the Council's views, but it is not surprising to find them among the senators who led the attack on the Council.

In 1963 the Council took the fairly unusual step of recommending to its members that they make off-year contributions to senators who would be up for re-election the following November. The theory was that a little money in an off-year goes a long way toward enabling a candidate to make those extra trips home, tape those few extra radio or TV shows, and do the individually insignificant but collectively expensive things that could later make the difference between success and failure at the polls. The Council recommended support of seven Democratic incumbents, but on the basis of their relative need for support urged that priority be given to Quentin Burdick (North Dakota), Gale McGee (Wyoming), and Frank Moss (Utah). Again the response to Council suggestions was substantial. By the end of the year the Council had transmitted about $13,000 to Burdick and over $6500 each to McGee and Moss. In addition, the Council carried on an active program in Washington, arranging for seminar discussions between senators and scientists, commissioning and circulating papers on various defense and foreign policy issues, and arranging for speeches on these topics.

The Council has recently begun to encourage support for the 1964 elections. The 1963 list of candidates has been expanded to include Representative Joseph Montoya, a Democratic candidate for the New Mexico Senate seat now held by Republican Edwin Mechem, and Ralph E. Harding, a Democratic candidate for re-election to the House of Representatives. In supporting Harding, the Council departs from its policy of concentrating on the Senate as the body most influential in foreign policy decisions. The grounds for support—that Harding, if re-elected, will probably run for the Senate in 1966 against Republican incumbent Len Jordan—is a measure of the Council's widening political expertise.

Neither Council supporters nor recipients of funds are pledged to any particular program. However, the Council's 1965 "Action Program" clearly illustrates the kind of policies to which it hopes its beneficiaries will adhere. These include various measures to inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons, such as pressing for treaty commitments to stop underground nuclear tests, for U.S. leadership in establishing international denuclearized zones, and for an international agreement halting the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. It also includes support for broad planning measures to remove economic obstacles to arms control and disarmament, for abolishing restrictions on East-West trade and on travel abroad by Americans and travel within this country by others, for the development of effective United Nations peacekeeping forces, and for an internationally guaranteed neutralization of Vietnam.

Conspicuously missing from the 1964 list of Council beneficiaries is Quentin Burdick. Although Burdick welcomed the Council's support in 1963, he appears to have been frightened away by repeated newspaper attacks on the Council by syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander. In a series of articles that sparked the Senate debate, Alexander characterized the Council's proposals as an "ignorant meat-axe [form of disarmament] which is being attempted by ban-the-bomb scientists, do-gooders and dubious characters. . . ."

Burdick, who has a liberal past and faces a difficult campaign, was evidently persuaded by Alexander's repeated allegation that the Council supported unilateral disarmament. The basis of the claim was a rather fanciful unpublished paper of Szilard's presented to a 1961 Pugwash conference in which the author was not talking about

unilateral disarmament at all, but about possible forms of inspection in a disarmed world. In fact neither Szilard nor the Council ever advocated that the U.S. disarm unilaterally. Burdick evidently did not take the trouble to find out what Szilard had actually said, but decided instead to repudiate the Council and return all the checks—no small task or easy decision, since they had come from hundreds of supporters and totaled over $14,000.

None of the other recipients of Council funds followed Burdick, though all were under considerable pressure to do so, and indeed some were eloquent in defense of the Council when it was attacked in the Senate. It is also some measure of the Council supporters' faith in their leadership that almost every one of the checks returned by Burdick was immediately sent back to the Council, to be used as its leaders saw fit. If a final stamp of respectability were needed by the Council, that has been supplied by none other than President Johnson, who wrote in June to James Patton, head of the National Farmers Union and a member of the Council's Board of Directors: "I hope that Dr. Leo Szilard's death will not in any way slow down the good work which you are doing. We in the government benefit greatly from a responsible and informed public opinion which is concerned with world peace. I wish you success in your efforts toward this vital goal."

The Council has never developed on the scale that Szilard had hoped. Instead of 150,000 supporters it has attracted about 3000, and its budget in no way approaches the $20 million a year that he had hoped to be able to dispense. But in a city where lobbyists outnumber members of Congress in a ratio of more than ten to one, it is no small thing to be noticed at all, and the Council for a Livable World has done a good deal better than anyone probably had a right to expect.

—ELINOR LANGER

Ranger VII: Briefing for Johnson Brings Out High Level Chit Chat on Various Aspects of Space

Last week, following NASA's brilliant success in photographing the moon with Ranger VII, several space agency officials visited the White House to brief President Johnson. Speaking to the President were Homer E. Newell, associate administrator of NASA for space sciences and applications; William H. Pickering, director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, which directs the Ranger project; and Donald F. Hornig, the President's science adviser. The following excerpts are from an official transcription of the briefing distributed by NASA:

The President: What did you find that you didn't expect to find?

Pickering: We hadn't analyzed the pictures yet, but I think what we can say is this sort of thing gives credence to some theories and discounts other theories. In other words, people have been speculating about the surface of the moon. Now we have some real evidence that shows what it actually is like, at least this one spot on the moon.

The President: Does this in any way confirm for the American people that you folks had known what you were doing?

Pickering: Yes, I think it does.

First of all, it confirms we know what we are doing technically when we design something to do this job. Secondly, that as far as the Apollo program is concerned, it confirms that the basic assumptions that they were making about the sort of surface we are going to have to land on is probably correct.

The President: So there is some justification in this achievement for the faith that some of us have had in this adventure. . . .

While I think of it, to put it in perspective, what similar achievements, scientific achievements, can we compare to this? Is there a notable, famous, or progressive step that we made that you would—

Newell: Dr. (Gerard P.) Kuiper (the principal investigator) was asked this question yesterday. He stated he felt this was comparable to the photographing of the sun in the ultraviolet light by means of rockets that was done by the Naval Research Laboratory a number of years ago.

Someone else said that this amounts to a big jump in lunar science, equivalent to the jump that occurred when Galileo turned the telescope on the heavens.

Hornig: Might one not say that the gain in resolution is as great as going from Galileo to the 100-inch telescope?

Newell: Absolutely. The gain between this picture—the last picture I will show and this picture—is a factor of a thousand. You will recall that we were hopefully attempting to get at least a factor of 10. This means that the Jet Propulsion Laboratory has done better than what they had hoped for by another factor of 100.

The President: What period of time is then involved in this endeavor?

Newell: This project started back in 1959–1961. So the Jet Propulsion Laboratory has been working very heartily.

The President: How much is involved in this?

Newell: $260 million, which covers the next two Rangers to be fired.

The President: And the launching vehicles?

Newell: That covers the whole project.

The President: Are you satisfied with the return on your investment?

Newell: I am completely satisfied. In fact, I am delighted.

The President: Elated.

Newell: Elated. . . .

The President: Does this development of the last few days and the time that you have given our people and the world information, that we may have made considerable and satisfactory progress since Sputnik?

Newell: Yes, indeed it does.

The President: In other words, some of the questions that were common in our country with Sputnik One and Two can now be supplanted by encouragement and certainly much greater hope?

Newell: This country does not need to hang its head by any means.

The President: That does represent progress from where we were when we first learned of Sputnik.

Newell: It certainly does.

The President: You don't anticipate a Congressional investigation?

(Laughter.)

Newell: Not of this. . . .

The President: How far away from the object is the camera? . . .

Voice: Over 100 miles.

The President: There is not any likelihood that any of these UPI and AP boys have a camera like that after my boat. [A reference to news photographers using telescopic lenses at the President's vacation retreat in Texas.]

(Laughter.) . . .

The President: These pictures are very exciting. But are we correct in believing that the biggest scientific questions will have to await the manned landing?

Newell: Yes, I think we are. There are many questions that cannot be