

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

October 16, 1963

Professor Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Matt:

Thank you for sending me your Pugwash report and for your letter. The Russian version of your report is in fact accurate. I am very glad that you raised this missile defense problem, and I have no real quarrel with what your report says about it. Naturally, there are many things that you could not say in a two-page document. I think that the main thing is to start people thinking seriously about the problem before it is too late, and this you seem to have done.

*politically* In my discussion I rejected the idea of a two-sided understanding not to engage in missile defense, not because I found it undesirable, but because I found it ~~publicly~~ impossible. I gather that Artsimovitch's reaction to your paper was essentially the same as mine. For this reason I was preaching not an understanding to refrain from missile defense, but rather an understanding on both sides that we do not need to be scared by what the other side is doing in this area.

I am sending you what I consider to be the most useful report on the 1962 Pugwash meeting, written by my friend, Donald Brennan. You will see that in this report Artsimovitch plays a dominating role. I only wish I had known you would be in the same group with Artsimovitch, and that I had had the idea of sending you this Brennan paper before instead of afterwards. What you say about Artsimovitch agrees entirely with Brennan's view of him.

I am very happy to hear you are going to see Wiesner. I wish you all possible success.

Our baby arrived a month ago and is a girl. What made me even more proud was that yesterday my oldest daughter came home from school announcing that she had personally booed Madame Nhu when she came to give a speech in Princeton. I had not even known the lady was in town.

Yours ever,

Freeman

FJD:gob  
Enc.

October 10, 1963

Professor Freeman Dyson  
Institute for Advanced Studies  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Freeman:

I would like to tell you my impressions of the Pugwash meeting at Dubrovnik. Helped on by the beautiful environment and the Test Ban's good effects, the general atmosphere was very relaxed. Delegations, even the Soviet one, were not very cohesive. Instead, individual personalities stood out. No great divisions in viewpoint appeared in the working section I attended. Artsimovitch was the only Russian representative in our section. He was succinct, humorous and very friendly. Most of the Russians were in the section dealing with long range delivery vehicles and I do not know firsthand how that went. The retention of a minimal deterrent was much discussed and the Russians proposed that it be kept through the third stage of general and complete disarmament. Their definition of a minimal deterrent includes a few long range missiles plus missile defense for cities. The inclusion of missile defense startled some of the Americans who attempted to convince the Russians that the inclusion of missile defense in a minimum deterrent would destabilize the deterrent. From what I hear those arguments made little impression on the Russians in that working section. When, in our working group, we learned of the discussion of missile defenses, we turned to it ourselves. I prepared a paper attempting, on the one hand, to persuade the westerners that the deployment of missile defenses is a possibility serious enough to warrant discussion and on the other to express to the Russians the view that, at least at present, if they deploy missile defenses, we might be provoked into a very undesirable response. As you see, the paper leans heavily on your analysis of this subject although it may misrepresent it at a few points, especially those dealing with the desirability of a mutual understanding not to build missile defenses at this time. Artsimovitch's reaction to the paper was a delight. He said something to the effect: "In a world of pure idealists, this viewpoint would immediately be understood and accepted. But in this world, people have a normal desire to protect

Professor Freeman Dyson--2

their homes and their families, so it is very difficult to persuade them not to spend money for missile defenses". I enclose both the English and the Russian text of the paper because the Russian one was produced via Serbo-Croatian and may be different from the original.

Malek, a Czechoslovak, proposed that a group of small NATO and Warsaw block countries renounce the possession and development of biological weapons. He felt that his government could be brought to agree to an inspection program something like that now practiced by the Western European Union. He also felt that chemical weapons might be included. I had to leave before the last day of the Pugwash meeting so I do not have a copy of Malek's proposal to send to you. Jim Watson and I will try to see Wiesner October 21.

I hope all is well with your family and with you.

MM / JAS  
Enclosures

DYSON

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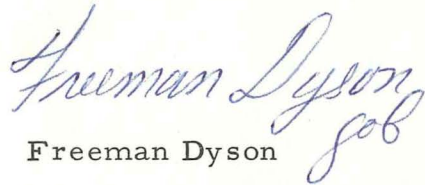
SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

Dear Sir:

The enclosed paper on Ballistic Missile Defense was written by me at the request of the FAS Council. I have been helped by Gerald Holton and other members of the Council, but I am solely responsible for the paper as it stands. It is now being circulated for your comments, and as a basis for any possible action which the FAS Council may decide to take in this field at the April Council meeting.

You may have seen in the last few days newspaper reports indicating that MacNamara is pressing for a decision earlier than I had expected. This makes the situation rather more urgent than this paper indicates.

Yours sincerely,

  
Freeman Dyson

FD:gob  
Enc.