

You do not have my permission to issue this report of our conversation.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth M. Watson"

From Professor Townes, we received the following letter (dated October 6, 1972):

"I am replying to your note of September 29 enclosing a statement which you say is a summary of discussions held with me and you are considering publishing. The whole statement is so different in fact and in meaning from my information and from views I expressed that I find it difficult to see how it can be adequately corrected. Relatively few sentences in the statement are free of some substantial error or misrepresentation. You do not have my permission to publish such a misrepresentation. In addition to ethical issues, a publication of this type would raise serious questions of damage to academic freedom and of libel.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Townes"

Many SESPA members were delighted with this response. ("Great. If he wants to sue us for libel, then we can get more discussion of this whole business in open court.") However, in an attempt at accommodation, a second letter was sent to these professors, urging them to point out in detail any portions of our material which they thought were inaccurate. Townes' reply was a reiteration of his earlier position: condemning the entire piece and "strongly request(ing)" that we do not

attribute these views and statements to him; but he did not cite even one example of anything in our summary that he objected to. Watson has not replied at all.



MURRAY GELL-MANN

(Professor of Physics at Cal. Tech. Gell-Mann is presently a member of PSAC. Nobel Prize, 1969, for contributions to the theory of elementary particles.)

In 1970, the Student Mobilization Committee published a set of secret minutes it had obtained on a 1967 Jason seminar on problems of counter-insurgency. The regular Jasonite participating was Dr. Murray Gell-Mann and the main thrust was to find ways of getting social scientists usefully involved in solving problems of interest to the military. Selected quotes:

"Gell-Mann: Can we find out what effect increasing police density or ear cutting, or other negatives have on villager attitudes?"

"The assembled experts also occasionally strayed to the subject of whether a Jason social science (SS) division was necessary or

possible." ... "A Jason S.S. group could focus on domestic as well as foreign countries. M. Gell-Mann suggested a focus on third (world) countries."...

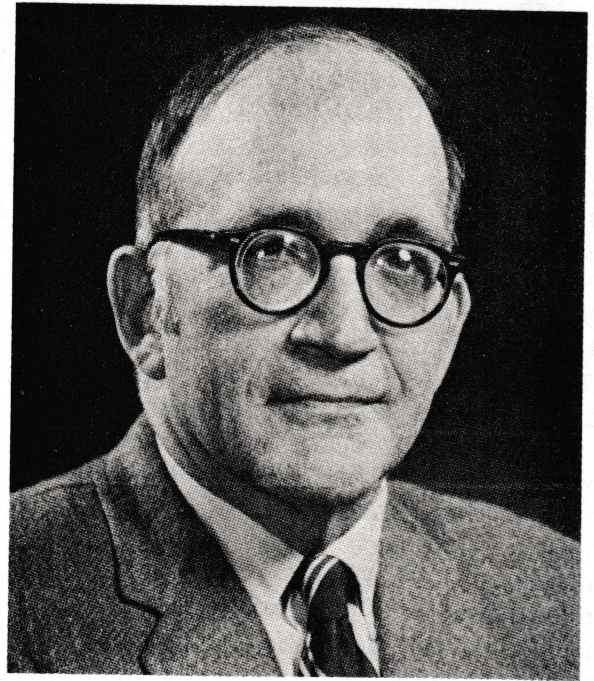
"Gell-Mann: The Jason idea has these advantages:

- 1) Jasons have a choice of problems.
- 2) The government has the use of their time.
- 3) They choose their own colleagues.
- 4) They can affiliate with agencies more readily.
- 5) The Jason prestige helps corruption and makes S.S. available to necessary tasks."

"Gell-Mann: There are appeals: congenial group, money, interesting problems -- like the existence of Thai communists."

Gell-Mann has recently become involved in the ecology movement: "We can see a need for humane rationality and, in some cases, an opportunity for scientists to participate..." (Physics Today, May, 1971). One question put to Gell-Mann in his Paris confrontation was: "How could he be interested in the preservation of the American countryside from pollution by highways, without worrying about some 20 million bomb craters that pit the Vietnamese earth?" (Le Monde, 6/15/72).

There is a story, widely circulated among physicists, that at some time several years ago Gell-Mann made a personal visit to Vietnam to study U.S. military problems there first-hand.



SIDNEY DRELL

(Professor of Physics at Stanford, and Deputy Director of Stanford's Linear Accelerator.)

On October 2, 1972, Drell visited Berkeley and gave a physics lecture at the Radiation Laboratory. Several SESPA people wanted to question him about his Jason work and, after his planned lecture, he stayed to defend his work for the government. The Daily Californian reported the discussion with SESPA as follows:

"SESPA: I am very concerned with the role of science and its effect on warfare. Science helps the warfare. Science helps the war go on. How do you feel about the structure of science and the Vietnam War? Do you contribute to the electronic battlefield?

Drell: The organization I work for - Jason - is accused of this and that. Jason is a very secretive organization. I know very little about it. Since I've been in Washington, I've seen the government do things I like and things I dislike. We need to have critics not just on the outside, but on the inside too.



SESPA: What do you work on exactly?

Drell: I don't feel obligated to tell you. Look at the record though. If one has any confidence in one's government, one must do something, I think.

SESPA: There's a problem though: there is no record of what you do in Jason. Oh, excuse me, there is about a one percent record.

It's nice to say, Sid (Drell), that the responsibility rests with the President, but that's not all true. We have to ask about our scientists who advise the President (about the Vietnam War).

Drell: There's a system in which all scientists are involved: some are on the outside; some are on the inside. I am on the inside, and you and other scientists are on the outside. I like this system of critics in and out of the government.

SESPA: Explain why you feel you must support Nixon.

Drell: Mr. Nixon is our President, and I will do anything, within reason, to support him. Take, for example, the SALT talks.

SESPA: The SALT talks aren't really the point. When you say 'support the President' does that mean you'd kill Vietnamese?

Drell: Oh, Charley, why don't you debate someone else? I thought this would be serious."

Earlier, we told of the 1968 trip of Garwin and Kendall (two Jason people) to Vietnam, apparently to work on the implementation of the electronic

battlefield system. A private source has informed us that Kendall, upon his return from that trip, stopped off at Stanford and had a long discussion with

Drell on these problems. (Drell at this time was on PSAC.) SESPA asked Drell to comment on this report. He would neither confirm nor deny that he had met with Kendall on that occasion. He stated only that he had conferred many times with Kendall on many topics. When pressed to be more specific, Drell finally admitted that he was "not totally ignorant" of the episode in question, but he refused to talk to SESPA about it.

While Gell-Mann was being confronted by young scientists in Paris last summer over his Jason work, Drell had similar experiences in Rome and in Corsica. As reported in Physics Today (Oct. 1972, p. 63), "Drell was asked to denounce his participation in Jason and to condemn publicly 'American war crimes.' Drell refused, offering instead to discuss Jason with the students any time after giving his first physics lecture. This offer was rejected, and then Drell asked those who wanted him to start lecturing to stand. Only about five students rose, and Maurice Levy, director of the institute, said that if Drell could not talk the school would terminate." And so it did.

The current Chairman of the Jason group is Professor Harold Lewis, Professor of Physics at U.C. Santa Barbara. On September 28, 1972, SESPAs wrote to Dr. Lewis asking if he could supply an up-to-date list of the people who are part of the Jason group. The best previous source we had was a list of Jason members (43) published in 1970 by NACLA, and we asked Lewis if he would at least indicate what corrections should be applied to up-date that information. His reply follows:

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO



SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93106

October 4, 1972

Dr. Charles Schwartz
Department of Physics
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Charlie:

Were it not that hard experience has taught me the consequences of the release of people's names, I would have no objection whatever to correcting your list (the number of correct names on it exceeds the number of incorrect ones, but the preponderance is by no means overwhelming). Unfortunately, however, SESPAs has compiled a miserable record, especially in New York, in its disregard for both truth and for minimal standards of human decency. When the personal harassment of individuals reaches the point at which a family receives anonymous phone calls threatening the lives of the children, I think that you and other honest people ought to seriously consider the Pandora's box you have opened by giving this harassment some legitimacy. You have no monopoly on outrage about the war in Vietnam, and history shows us what happens to a movement when it provides a haven for thugs. Gresham's law is applicable.

SESPA often asks people whether they are concerned about the uses to which their work will be put, and I ask you the same question with regard to lists of names.

I really regret having to write such a negative letter, because I know that you and I could discuss the issues (fewer than you probably think) on which we differ in substance. The world has been making grudging and halting progress toward peace, and SESPAs is more of a hindrance than a help.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "H. W. Lewis", written in a cursive style.

H. W. Lewis

HWL:cs

Our response to Lewis' refusal to make public the membership of Jason is reproduced below:

SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
ACTION
P.O. BOX 4161
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

November 30, 1972

Dr. H. W. Lewis
Department of Physics
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

Dear Dr. Lewis,

As justification for refusing to help us up-date our list of Jason members, you cite alleged phone threats against a physicist whom SESPA had exposed. We find it absurd to compare these actions on the part of a few frustrated and powerless people to the bombing, burning, maiming and killing of millions of Asian people, which has been deliberately facilitated by the privileged Jason scientists who hide behind a veil of "scientific objectivity" and military secrecy.

You ask us to think about the consequences of making the work of Jason public knowledge. This we have done. SESPA is in favor of democracy; of public officials, including science advisors, who can be held accountable and responsible for their actions by the American public, whom they supposedly serve. A prerequisite for this is an informed and alert populace. Our aim, then, in publishing this information, is to aid in the process of accountability through normal political channels.

SESPA does not advocate threats against individuals. On the contrary, it is the arrogant and anti-democratic withholding of knowledge and power from citizens which may frustrate some to the point of desperate acts.

As for your comments on the prospects for world peace, the facts are clear. SESPA and SESPA members have been leaders in the active opposition to the war in South-East Asia, and the policies which engendered that war. In stark contrast, Jason scientists have been instrumental in providing the genocidal technology required for prosecuting the un-ending war in South-East Asia. While many of them, today, publicly profess to be against the war, they continue to contribute their scientific talents to the military.

In the last analysis, the difference between you and ourselves is a basic political difference. You seem to believe that world peace can be brought about only by the secretive manipulations of Nixon, Kissinger and Jason scientists. We believe that it is the right, and indeed, the obligation, of the American people, working with the people of other nations, to bring about peace and justice in the world.

Science For The People

Martin Brown
Martin Brown

Charles Schwartz
Charles Schwartz

for SESPA

JASON

Columbia University

Norman Christ
Henry Foley
Richard Garwin*
Leon Lederman
Malvin Ruderman

Stanford University

Sidney Drell*
Wolfgang Panofsky*
Allen Peterson

Calif. Institute of Technology

Murray Gell-Mann*
Frederick Zachariasen
George Zweig

M. I. T.

Henry Kendall
Steven Weinberg

University of Chicago

Robert Gomer
S. Courtney Wright

Harvard University

George
Kistiakowsky*

New York University

Joseph Keller

Rockefeller University

Kenneth Case

University of Rochester

Elliott Montroll

National Bureau of Standards

Lewis Branscomb*

NASA, Houston

Joseph Chamberlain

RAND

Robert Lelevier

MEMBERS

Princeton University and Institute for Advanced Studies

Roger Dashen Freeman Dyson
Val Fitch* Edward Frieman
Sam Treiman John Wheeler
Eugene Wigner
Marvin Goldberger*

U.C. Berkeley

Luis Alvarez*
Donald Glaser
Charles Townes*
Kenneth Watson

U.C. Santa Barbara

David Caldwell
Harold Lewis

U.C. Santa Cruz

Matthew Sands

U.C. San Diego

Norman Kroll
William Nierenberg

Walter Munk
Herbert York*

(* indicates someone who has also served on PSAC)

Basic source: List of Jason members published in "The University-Military-Police Complex: A Directory and Related Documents", published, 1970, by the North American Congress on Latin America, Inc., NACLA, P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, Ca. 94701. We have updated the locations of several people and added two names (Christ and Lederman: given in PHYSICS TODAY, 10/72, p. 63). Four names have been removed from the 1970 list: one person (Christofilos) is deceased; three persons (Bjorken, Blankenbecler and Salpeter) are no longer members, according to private information we have received.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

A number of Jason scientists also involve themselves in the interaction of science with politics through non-governmental organizations. Drell, Goldberger, Glaser and Townes are all leading figures in the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), a 26-year old group of liberal, establishment scientists which tries to influence government policies on weapons development through Congressional lobbying.

In a recent mailing, FAS Chairman Goldberger asks scientists to "join with us in asking the Administration for a full accounting of past and present Executive Branch actions" concerning work on weather-modification in Vietnam and elsewhere. We can wholeheartedly agree with Goldberger that, "American pioneering in the use of weather modification as a weapon of war is, all in all, an intolerable misuse of science." SESPA would ask FAS whether they also judge American pioneering in the use of the automated battlefield to be an intolerable misuse of science, and whether the many former (and current) Jason and PSAC people in the FAS should be expected to cooperate in a "full disclosure" of these and other weapons they have studied for the military.

Certainly not all Jasons agree with FAS politics. Kenneth Watson was identified (by Senator Fulbright during Senate subcommittee hearings in 1969) as a member of the right-wing American Security Council.

Mostly, the work, and even the existence, of Jason has been shielded from public view. Most scientists who know of their colleagues' association with Jason take an attitude of "each is free to do as he pleases." The first student protest against IDA occurred in 1967, at Princeton University, which hosts IDA's communications research facility. Since that time, the SMC publication (1970) and the Pentagon Papers (1971) have done much to increase our awareness of Jason's work.

Since last spring, the SESPA group at Columbia University in New York has been conducting a campaign around the five Columbia physics faculty members who work for Jason. SESPA has picketed and distributed informational leaflets not only at the campus physics building but also at the homes of some of the individual professors.

On April 24, 1972, a group including professors from twenty colleges and universities in the New York area joined with SESPA people and other Columbia students and supporters to occupy the physics building at Columbia for four days. This non-violent act of civil disobedience was "a protest against the intensification of the air war in Indochina and the participation of physics professors at Columbia in the activities of the Jason Division of I.D.A." (Physics Today, cited above; see also SESPA magazine Science for the People, Sept. 1972, p. 36.)

KILLED, WOUNDED, AND REFUGEEED UNDER JOHNSON (1964-1968) 5,655,300	MONTHLY CIVILIAN TOLL UNDER JOHNSON (1964-1968) 95,000
KILLED, WOUNDED, AND REFUGEEED UNDER NIXON (1969-Aug., 1971) 4,100,000+	MONTHLY CIVILIAN TOLL UNDER NIXON (1969-Aug., 1971) 130,000

Chapter 3.

Why They Do It

There is nothing new about great scientists working at new weapons: Archimedes, Leonardo, Kelvin all served their princely masters well in warfare. In our time this service has become endemic, with regiments of scientists in every advanced nation working at new generations of weapons. And it should not be thought that these scientists work only at the instigation of the military; quite the contrary, the most novel weapons can not be anticipated by non-scientists and are often resisted by a conservative majority of career soldiers. The atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb, intercontinental missiles, nuclear submarines, chemical and biological agents, the automated battlefield -- all of these had, and needed, first-rate scientists to champion them, not just to supply them to the Pentagon's order.

It is tempting to classify scientists, as other people concerned with political and military affairs, according to the labels Hawk and Dove. Indeed there are a number of scientists who show extreme xenophobia or bellicose anti-communism, and may fairly be called hawks. Such was the late John von Neumann, and such, of course, is Edward Teller. But doves have been responsible for some of the most lethal innovations in modern warfare. One thinks of the gentle and socially conscious J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Many of the Jason people fall in the second group. Some of them will speak clearly against the Vietnam war; a number of

them have done so publicly. Some of them have given Congressional testimony critical of some Pentagon project. Some of them have done good work on some environmental problems. They are all creative scientists and often admired teachers. In the interviews they commonly expressed concern about working for the good of humanity, and hope that Jason gave them a way to do so.

We detect several main types of justification for their work for the Pentagon.

1. THE MODEST COVER-UP:
Jason's work must be harmless because the government so often does not follow their advice.

This argument is belied by (for one) Dr. John Foster, the chief scientist for the Department of Defense, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, May 14, 1969 (p. 1782).

"I hope you will not be misled by those who suggest that DOD's academic research represents a sort of 'sandbox for scholars,' irrelevant to Defense missions, unproductive technically, and, worst of all, inimical to the best interests of universities. The facts are quite different, and the historical record shows how authentically important academic research has been in serving national security.

"How have universities assisted in preserving the national security? It is not just the significant research results that have been produced, nor just the advanced training of thousands of students in technical areas central to defense, nor even the ability of scarce specialists who consult with you

and us on the Nation's most critical defense problems. It is more fundamental. It is the great national advantage we possess because we are able to bring together essentially independent and well-informed people -- from government, industry, and universities -- over long periods for voluntary work on our tough problems. This is the core of our capacity for technical superiority."

Although many liberal academic scientists, even government advisers, find themselves opposed to Dr. Foster on numerous issues, they understand and cultivate his crucial role in maintaining a high level of government support for academic research. The quid-pro-quo by which "independent" academic scientists serve the federal government and the government generously pays for the kind of abstract research that the scientists enjoy conducting on their campuses is relatively subtle and indirect. This benevolent arrangement is implied in Foster's testimony (this is what that word "independent" boils down to); it is more frankly spelled out in this letter, dated February 26, 1964, from the Army Office of Research and Development to the chairman of the Department of Physics at

Jason's 1966 plan for Vietnam: "20 million Gravel mines per month; possibly 25 million button bomblets per month; 10,000 SADEYE-BLU-26B clusters per month; 1600 acoustic sensors per month," along with assorted aircraft to mine, monitor and attack over an area of many hundreds of square miles.

Columbia University (copy supplied by N.Y. Regional Anti-War Faculty and Students):

"Any outright statement as to our ability to support specific work at the University is, of course, not possible. Nevertheless, the possibility exists that from time to time we may be able to directly support an effort or to assist the University in getting support from other Army agencies. To this extent then the assistance we request need not be a unilateral arrangement."

The modest writing off of Jason's war advising does not carry conviction. Granted that Jason members' advice is not always followed, still it is clear that it is highly valued and it is sometimes followed, with far-reaching consequences; and it is even clearer that it is intended to be followed.

A more realistic defense of scientific consulting through Jason is

2. THE COUNTERBALANCE THEORY, which in its more extreme form might be called the boring-from-within theory. Jason people claim to moderate the excesses of the military by providing a liberal outlook, and by their independent perspective, free of vested interest in projects proposed by particular government agencies.

One aspect of this concerns the few occasions on which these informed "insiders" take issue publicly with some government policy. Most often mentioned are the names of Bethe, Garwin, York and Panofsky who were prominent in the public debate over the ABM (anti-ballistic missile system) in 1968-69.

The case of Richard Garwin is particularly interesting in this