

On 15 April 1980, Robert Sugarman (212-758-7800), an attorney in the arbitration case concerning the Einstein papers, requested copies of all suggested revisions to the Minutes of the 6 May 1978 meeting of the editorial advisory board. Herbert Bailey confirmed this request and Charles Gillispie confirmed (by phone, 16 April) the propriety of turning over the suggested revisions to Mr Sugarman. Mr Bailey came to the Director's Office on 16 April and took the photocopies (which Mr Sugarman said were acceptable--he did not require the originals); he will carry them to New York City on 21 April for a meeting with the arbitrators.

*J. Grisham*

August 15, 1978

MINUTES

Meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board  
The Writings of Albert Einstein  
May 6, 1978  
at The Institute for Advanced Study

Members of the Board Present: Messrs. Gillispie (Chairman); Bargmann; Bergmann; Clagett; Dyson; Hoffmann; Holton; Jost; Klein; Sambursky; Scribner; Woolf.

Members of the Board Absent: John Wheeler

Invited Guests Present: Herbert Bailey, Helen Dukas, John Hunt (Secretary)

Invited Guests Absent: Otto Nathan

The Chairman opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. and asked that a Secretary be named, at which time Mr. John Hunt, Associate Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, was appointed Secretary.

In response to an expression of disappointment by Professor Jost at the absence of Dr. Otto Nathan, the Chairman called on Mr. Herbert Bailey to provide a status report of the project before moving to the formal agenda.

Mr. Bailey then expressed his gratitude to the Board for coming to the meeting, and particularly to Professors Jost and Sambursky for coming such long distances. After pointing out that this was the first meeting of the Board since 1971, shortly after the Contract between the Estate and the Press was signed, he stressed that a primary role of the Board is to advise the Estate and the Press on the choice of an Editor of the project. Mr. Bailey then stated



-2-

that the contract with the present Editor, Professor John Stachel, would be terminated on July 14, 1979.

By way of background, Mr. Bailey reported that it had been anticipated that once Professor Stachel was named Editor, he would remain in this capacity until the project was completed. Then in the autumn of 1977, Dr. Nathan speaking for the Estate said that he wanted Professor Stachel's contract, which had never been signed by all parties, to be declared null and void. As the Press did not share this point of view, it was agreed that Professor Stachel's working arrangement or contract would be extended to July 14, 1979, at which time it would come to an end.

Mr. Bailey expressed reluctance to speak for Dr. Nathan and said that he supposed that Dr. Nathan's reasons for this decision were contained in his letter of May 5, 1978, to the Board which he himself had not yet read. He went on to say that this decision was a blow to everyone who wanted to see the project brought to completion, since (1) it followed a long search both for an Editor and for the necessary funds, at the conclusion of which Professor Stachel had been named Editor; (2) an anonymous donor had tentatively agreed to endow the editorship in the amount of \$1 million; and (3) the NSF had taken a favorable attitude toward providing operating expenses of \$150 thousand per year for five years. He added that all of these arrangements have now been postponed, pending further action.

Mr. Bailey concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that the Board would now advise on how best to proceed.

The Chairman then asked for a brief summary of what Professor Stachel had accomplished thus far and what he is likely to accomplish.

Mr. Bailey replied that this was covered in the report which he had circulated earlier, and noted that Professor Stachel would be available throughout the day to answer any questions.

The Chairman then suggested a brief break during which Dr. Nathan's letter could be read by all members of the Board. At the conclusion of the reading of the letter,

he asked that it be made part of the minutes of the meeting.

The Board then agreed to note with regret Dr. Nathan's absence, and to proceed without him by means of a discussion of his views as presented in the letter.

Professor Holton referred to Dr. Nathan's letter of May 5, 1978, and suggested that it be read from the point of view of looking for those points on which it might be possible for general agreement to be established. He emphasized the importance of stressing not the difficulties inherent in Dr. Nathan's position but the possibilities for accomodation.

The Chairman then turned to the second point on the Agenda, which called for a discussion of the question of a single Editor, a Board of Editors, or possible other arrangements.

Professor Bergmann opened the discussion by describing the background of the decision to appoint Professor Stachel. He pointed out that the original Search Committee had held varying views about the nature of the Editorship and that he had recommended a Board of Editors as a compromise. After discussion of the idea, it was agreed by the Search Committee that such a compromise was not a viable solution, and this compromise proposal was accordingly withdrawn. Professor Bergmann declared himself convinced by now that direction by a Board of Co-Editors was not a workable scheme and spoke of the need for a single Editor-in-Chief who can make decisions comprehensively and not in pieces, and who can represent the editorial office in negotiations with all interested parties. He also pointed out that the financing of the overall project and the necessary working conditions would be next to impossible if a number of senior Editors were asked to give up their present positions and to work together on a basis of equality. In this connection, he noted the similarities between his views and those expressed in Professor Wheeler's letter to the Board.

Professor Jost then cited the contract of 1971 and asked if Point 4 of the Appendix which agreed on a single Editor was binding.

Mr. Bailey stated that it was binding and that Dr. Nathan would like to change the contract. In the case of a fundamental disagreement, arbitration procedures would be the last resort, in which eventuality the views of the Editorial Board would be a significant factor.

Professor Klein pointed out that it had always been assumed that at a certain stage in the project, Associate Editors from different disciplines would be appointed and function not unlike Dr. Nathan's suggested Co-Editors. He asked if such an arrangement would meet Dr. Nathan's objections, since there had been agreement that no one person possessed all the requisite knowledge, and that Associate Editors to cover the various fields involved would be named.

Mr. Bailey mentioned that the NSF proposal envisaged the appointment of Associate and Assistant Editors from different disciplines. He then pointed out that the agreement with Professor Stachel called for the formation of a small advisory committee of scientists, historians, and others.

A general discussion then ensued in which a variety of views were expressed with regard to a single Editor working with a group of Advisory and Associate Editors as opposed to several Editors working with the same degree of authority and responsibility.

Professor Hoffmann asked for a clarification on the functions of the administrator mentioned on page 3 of Dr. Nathan's letter and suggested that it would appear that such an administrator would be in operational charge of the project without actually carrying out editorial work.

Mr. Bailey said that in his view the Board should advise on the best way to carry out the project, and that he knew of no other project organized in the manner suggested by Dr. Nathan. While recognizing that no other project was exactly similar to this one, he pointed out that a single Editor was the rule for projects of this nature.

Dr. Woolf mentioned that the editing of Newton's writings was being carried out in several parts, and the Chairman remarked that the Newton project would be better directed if there were a single Editor.

Professor Jost said that his conversations with Dr. Nathan had left him with the impression that Dr. Nathan's view was to have three Editors and that if they could not agree, the Estate and possibly the Press would adjudicate the dispute. Professor Jost stated that a situation of this kind could be dangerous to the successful carrying out of this project.

Mr. Scribner pointed out that Dr. Nathan's position emphasized adversary possibilities. He said that his own view was that such a position was not in accordance with the way scholarly work proceeds, and that adversary proceedings would not be the case with a group of Associate Editors in different fields. Mr. Scribner then went on to say that the present editorial arrangements seemed to be working well and that there was no need to stop it because of potential disagreement or possible future problems.

Dr. Woolf stated his support of Mr. Scribner's position, and emphasized the complexity and delicacy of the Editor's role because of the variety of issues - scientific and political - involved.

Mr. Scribner then asked how in practical terms disagreement would be likely to arise.

Professor Bergmann pointed out that the principal exercise of judgment would be in the area of annotation. Since the original archive will be kept intact, later generations of scholars would be able to go over the papers and produce corrections. He stated that the principal problem is that between 1955 and 1978 nothing comprehensive has been published, and said that the project must go ahead with the best support system possible. Originally he had recommended that there be a formal stipulation that all professional members of the staff have direct access to the Press, the Estate, and the Advisory Board. This procedure would allow for differences



of opinion, and constitute an appeals procedure in case of adversary situations, but an informal consensus to this effect might be preferable to a formal document.

In summary, there was general agreement on the validity of Dr. Nathan's concern about the enormous range of the task, with the important difference that the Board felt that the nature of this concern pointed to the need for one Editor-in-Chief, working with a group of Associate and Advisory Editors, who would be in charge of the project and empowered to make editorial decisions. There was further agreement, and it was stated unanimously, that the Board was obliged as a result of its friendly and collegial relationship with Dr. Nathan to convey to him its wide experience of scholarly projects and its conviction that on the evidence of the Board's collective experience in such matters, there was need to invest one Editor with the necessary authority to take decisions. The Board further stated its belief that a single Editor's judgments would be tempered by the normal intellectual give and take with the advisory committee, the permanent existence of the archives, and the judgment of later generations of scholars who would have access to the archives.

The question was then raised of the qualifications of Professor Stachel as Editor, and of Dr. Nathan's view of him in this role.

Professor Jost stated his view that the project needed a midwife, and that Professor Stachel's mistakes in the preparation of the NSF application did not disqualify him for this role, a view in which Professor Bergmann concurred. He went on to say that the real question was whether or not Professor Stachel had the necessary editorial skills. If the answer to this question was affirmative, then he should be asked to go ahead with the project, because the alternative procedures suggested were such that no volume of the Einstein Papers would ever be published.

Mr. Scribner asked if the plan for having Associate Editors was in the proposal to NSF, and Mr. Bailey stated that it was. Mr. Scribner then asked if this was not adequate reassurance for Dr. Nathan, since it shows that the Board agrees with the idea of using a number of people for editorial purposes, the exception being the Board's view that there should be a single Editor-in-Chief.



-7-

Professor Claggett asked if Professor Stachel might be given a five-year appointment to see how effectively he worked with his Associate Editors.

Mr. Bailey said that he did not believe that Professor Stachel or anyone else would accept such an appointment.

Dr. Woolf pointed out that with regard to the question of security, a complex of institutions was involved, and that Princeton University would give him a tenured position.

Professor Bargmann indicated that there had not yet been a commitment from the University.

Professor Holton asked if Dr. Nathan agreed about having Associate Editors, and Mr. Bailey replied that there was no evidence that he disagreed.

The discussion which followed confirmed that Dr. Nathan did not have confidence in Professor Stachel acting as the sole editorial authority for all of Einstein's work, an objection which the appointment of Associate and Advisory Editors would be designed to meet.

It was also revealed that various members present at the meeting felt that they had been insufficiently consulted by Professor Stachel as regards the preparation of the NSF application. In this connection, it was agreed that Dr. Nathan should not merely be consulted on technical matters, but should be treated as one central to the entire process, given his historic role with regard to Einstein and the Einstein legacy. Mr. Bailey then explained the time factor involved in preparing the NSF application, and pointed out that Professor Stachel was faced with the problem of securing the necessary funds to proceed. The sense of the meeting was that Professor Stachel's error in this regard was unintentional, and could be corrected by adopting as future practice full and free consultation with Dr. Nathan and all others concerned with the project, as dictated by circumstance.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the second

item on the Agenda.

The following motion was then put before the Board by Dr. Woolf:

After due consideration of the uniqueness of the Einstein project, and after due consultation with the appropriate scholarly community, and in full recognition of and admiration for the courage and tenacity of Dr. Otto Nathan in bearing for so long the extraordinary responsibility of this historic task, and with a sincere desire to share with him this burden and thus to help bring to fruition his noble dream, the Members of the Editorial Advisory Board recommend that a single Editor be appointed who will coordinate the entire project and who will have overall responsibility for the work, in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Sambursky, who noted for the record his favorable impression of Professor Stachel's report, and his belief that Professor Stachel was a man aware of his own limitations who would get things done. The motion was then unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board. The following related motion was then put before the Board:

The Members of the Editorial Advisory Board further recommend the appointment of Associate Editors who will assume a major share of the decision-making about the project as a whole and who will be selected with a view to providing appropriate additional expertise in the fields of theoretical physics and historical, political, and social problems.

The motion was seconded and unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board.

The Chairman then opened the discussion on Point 3 of the Agenda with regard to the manner in which the Estate and the Press should proceed in light of the above recommendations. Specifically, he put the question to the Board as to whether Professor Stachel should or should not be continued as Editor of the project.

Professor Claggett asked at this point if it was the understanding of those who met with the NSF group that the three points listed in their letter had been met.

Mr. Bailey said that one of the difficulties resulted from the nature of the NSF response to the original proposal. Essentially NSF had wanted to intrude deeply into the management of the project. Originally NSF had been skeptical about Professor Stachel's qualifications, but this question was resolved to the satisfaction of NSF in the discussion meeting with him, and was so noted in Point 3 of the April 26 letter. Mr. Bailey concluded by saying that everyone is agreed that the Estate can withhold personal material, but over the years the Estate has not held things back and this should not be thought of as a problem.

Professor Claggett said that Professor Stachel would be going much faster if his assistants had proper access to the materials.

Mr. Bailey and Professor Bergmann then spoke about the background of the sensitivity concerning access to the original materials.

Miss Dukas discussed the nature of the agreement which governed access, and said that the Estate lawyer had been against the idea of the Editor having free access or making a copy of the archive.

Professor Holton then stated he had gained the impression from the preceeding discussion that Professor Stachel did not have normal editorial freedom in his work.

The Chairman pointed out that this was not normal freedom for an Editor, and said that the point under discussion was not Professor Stachel's personal position but the relations between any editorial staff and the control exercised by the Estate.

Professor Holton stressed that the security requirements of a great scholarly project must be taken into consideration, with due attention being given to proper

-10-

security arrangements and to the proper clearance of the people involved in the project.

Professor Klein spoke of the need to assure appropriate editorial freedom to the Editor and his editorial team, including normal access to the archive, and this point was seconded by the Board.

A general discussion ensued in which a variety of views were expressed. There was general agreement on Professor Stachel's qualifications, and the acceptance of the validity of these qualifications by the Advisory Board and by NSF.

At this point the meeting was adjourned for lunch.

#### Afternoon Session

The meeting resumed at 2:00 p.m., and the Chairman asked that the Board direct its discussion to the question of the recommendation or non-recommendation of John Stachel as Editor of the project.

In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that the preliminary work had been carried out by Professor Stachel in a serious and competent way. It was also noted that it would be very difficult to secure the working cooperation of other highly qualified scholars if Stachel were not continued as Editor.

An additional point was made concerning the advisability of stating the Board's right of review of Professor Stachel's eventual appointment of Advisory Editors, and Dr. Woolf noted that should the Institute play a more formal and active role in the overall project, it would exercise its normal right of approval of all those working at the Institute.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Institute was the natural home for the project, and that he would welcome the Institute playing a more formal role. He further expressed the hope that the agreement of the Estate could be secured regarding the

formalization of the academic role of the Institute.

In answer to a question about Professor Stachel's eventual status at the University or the Institute with regard to the necessary security of his appointment, Mr. Bailey indicated that if the Estate should agree on the desirability of Professor Stachel's continuing as Editor, then an arrangement could be found which was acceptable to everyone.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the third item on the Agenda.

The Board shared the dismay expressed by Dr. Nathan at the errors of fact and of language contained in Professor Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF last year. It discussed at length whether these errors were so serious as to disqualify Professor Stachel for the position of Editor-in-Chief. The Board concluded that the document in question, having been written under pressure of a deadline and in no sense intended as a scholarly publication, should be regarded as an indiscretion of no lasting significance, and the incident was accordingly regarded by the Board as closed.

The following motion was then put before the Board:

In light of the positive view of the Board of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performance to date, the Board recommends that John Stachel be continued in his post as Editor beyond the term presently agreed on and so long as his performance is deemed satisfactory by all parties involved in the project.

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was further agreed that the Press and the Estate should seek advice as needed about Associate Editors from the Executive Committee of the Board or from elsewhere.



The Chairman pointed out that the degree of formality thus attached to the appointment of the Associate Editors strengthened the importance of their position.

It was then agreed that Professor Stachel should be asked to join the meeting so that Board members could discuss with him various aspects of the project.

The Chairman welcomed Professor Stachel, and opened the meeting to questions.

Professor Bergmann asked if, as a matter of morale and marketability, the present decision to proceed with publication in chronological order might be reviewed, with the hope that some materials might be published as quickly as possible.

Professor Stachel replied that he was open to suggestions regarding the order of appearance of the materials, and that he looked upon the edition itself as primarily a responsibility for the future with a major requirement that of doing the work carefully and responsibly. He also mentioned that the work on the papers was a nucleus around which an Einstein research center could be formed, which might eventually involve inviting people to the Institute to work on various pieces of the collection, with independent publications resulting from this work and drawing attention to the overall project.

Professor Holton expressed the hope that a Center of Einstein Studies could be planned early in the development of the project. Professor Stachel stated that Dr. Woolf was already working along similar lines, and suggested that the Center should be established at an early stage under the sponsorship of the Institute.

Mr. Bailey made the point that the Press was making a huge investment in the project, and pointed out that there is a legitimate need to protect the Collected Works so that the edition is not an anticlimax. He expressed approval of Professor Stachel's position that the principal need was to do the work properly, and stated that he favored the chronological approach.

Professor Stachel was asked how the appointment of Associate Editors would

work. He replied that this would involve a group of people who would make a long-term commitment to the project, plus others who would be available for short-term collaboration. He stated that he would appreciate receiving as much advice as possible on this and other matters.

The Chairman then stated that the Board would like assurances that while it is recommending a single Editor-in-Chief, it understands that there will also be Advisory Editors and that the overall direction of the project will be collegial rather than authoritarian. He further indicated that the choice of Advisory Editors would need the approval of the Estate, the Press, the Board, and possibly the Institute, and asked for Professor Stachel's views on these points.

Professor Stachel replied that he had no objection of any kind, and that the collegial group must have continuing responsibility for managing the project on a basis of day-to-day autonomy with ultimate accountability to those parties named by the Chairman.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Press and probably the Estate would be willing to take the advice of the Executive Committee of the Board on such appointments, and that he was personally quite satisfied to have the Editor-in-Chief solicit advice but exercise the day-to-day authority.

At the request of the Chairman, the following members of the Board were recommended to the Executive Committee:

Valentine Bargmann

Peter Bergmann

Charles Gillispie (Chairman)

Harry Woolf

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was then suggested that Professor Jost personally convey to Dr. Nathan the sense of the meeting as a contribution to his thinking from the scholarly

14-

community, in full awareness of the extraordinary responsibility he had assumed for more than two decades.

Professor Jost agreed, stressing that the Board's main concern was to bring out the published work as quickly as possible, in an appropriate manner.

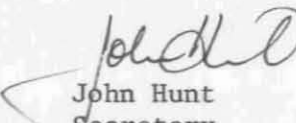
The following statement of Professor Bergmann was entered in the minutes.

The Board appreciates the interest that the NSF has shown in the Einstein Project. It feels obligated, however, to point out that to have NSF share managerial control as envisaged in the letter to Professor Stachel from Dr. Overmann of July 20, 1977, would be likely to be counterproductive, and to endanger scholarly independence.

Mr. Bailey pointed out that NSF had very substantially changed its position from that stated in the letter of July 20, 1977, and now appeared to be eager to help, as stated in Dr. Clark's letter of April 26, 1978.

At the Chairman's suggestion, it was agreed that the letters from Dr. Nathan, Professor Wheeler, and Dr. Eloise Clark would be included in the minutes, and are accordingly attached.

There being no further business, the Chairman adjourned the meeting at 3:30 p.m.

  
John Hunt  
Secretary

## A G E N D A

### The Editorial Advisory Board The Writings of Albert Einstein

Meeting Saturday, May 6, 1978

10:00 a.m. at Princeton University Press

1. Opening remarks by the Chairman
2. Discussion of the question of a single editor; a board of editors, or possible other arrangements
3. Depending on 2 above, how should the Estate and the Press proceed?
4. Appointment of an executive committee of the Editorial Advisory Board

Lunch will be provided. The meeting will continue after lunch but will adjourn by 4:00 p.m. at the latest.

ESTATE OF ALBERT EINSTEIN  
24 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10011

Copy

August 24, 1981

Professor Charles C. Gillispie  
Program in History of Science  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Professor Gillispie:

I received your letter of July 15, 1981 in which you expressed the wish to resign from the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein." You no doubt know that Princeton University Press started arbitration against the Estate over two years ago, that an arbitration award in favor of Princeton University Press was issued and that this award is now in the Courts. Throughout these two years the Estate felt it should refrain from any activities in regard to the "Collected Works." However, Mr. Bailey of Princeton University Press has seen fit to engage in various very important actions in connection with the "Collected Works," all of which were unilateral and unlawful. I assume that Mr. Bailey will accept your resignation.

Since you are leaving the Board, we, the Trustees of the Estate of Albert Einstein, should like to make some remarks about the May 6, 1978, meeting of the Board, over which you presided, to permit you to incorporate them into the record of the Board. After receiving the preliminary Minutes of the Board meeting,<sup>1</sup> as well as oral reports from Board members, we had prepared a letter to you. That letter was not mailed since, at the time, Mr. Bailey was in and out of the hospital and we were concerned that discussion of those controversial issues might have an unfavorable effect upon his recovery.

At the opening of the Board meeting -- "before moving to the formal agenda" -- you asked Mr. Bailey to provide a status report of the project. Mr. Bailey's response was inadequate and distorted. He did not report the developments which had led to the dispute between Press and Estate, primarily the fact that the Estate had come to believe that the authority over Einstein's gigantic work should be vested in a board of three co-equal members, and not in one individual, neither in Dr. Stachel or in anyone else. This was stated to Mr. Bailey by the Estate on a number of occasions. The Estate, moreover, had suggested that Dr. Stachel be appointed one of three such editors -- the one primarily responsible for Einstein's work in physics.

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<sup>1</sup> This letter is based on "The Corrected Minutes in their final version," copy of which was received in September 1978.



In proposing a three-member editorial board, the Estate was acting in agreement with the recommendation of a Search Committee headed by a close and highly valued friend of Mr. Bailey. Because of this recommendation, Press and Estate had discussed the problem of the editorial machinery in considering the report of the Search Committee. At his initial interview concerning the editorial position, Press and Estate had asked Dr. Stachel whether he would accept an appointment either as sole editor or as a member of a board. Dr. Stachel replied unqualifiedly in the affirmative to both possibilities.

The Estate never asked, as Mr. Bailey asserted, that the contract with Dr. Stachel "be declared null and void."<sup>1</sup> Had the Press accepted the Estate's proposal for an editorial board, the never-signed contract with Dr. Stachel would, of course, have had to be changed. But at this stage of the negotiations the question of the Dr. Stachel contract was not even discussed.

Mr. Bailey rejected the Estate's proposal because he considered it "unworkable" and too expensive.<sup>2</sup> He never even discussed it in detail with the Estate. This, and only this, led to the dispute between Press and Estate; and none of this detail was ever mentioned in Mr. Bailey's "status report" for which you had asked him. Mr. Bailey's utterly negative attitude with regard to the Estate's proposal was the more surprising since, earlier, he himself had contemplated a similar structure for the editorial machinery: in 1974, again without consulting the Estate, he initiated negotiations with two scientists "to explore possibilities for cooperative editing of the Einstein papers" as "co-editors;" and in a letter to me, dated June 6, 1975, Mr. Bailey stated that "perhaps we should break the project into parts and find a good editor and financing for each part separately...they could be coordinated by arranging for periodic meetings, without having an over-all editor." (emphasis added). However, in 1977, he was so adamant about retaining Dr. Stachel as editor-in-chief that he even turned down the Estate's suggestion to submit the question of the editorial machinery to arbitration.

According to the Minutes, the Estate's real suggestion with regard to Dr. Stachel -- to appoint him as one member of the board of

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1. A contract with Dr. Stachel did not, in fact, even exist. Dr. Stachel never signed a contract despite the Estate's frequent urgent requests, not supported by Mr. Bailey. Instead of insisting upon a signed contract, Mr. Bailey, without consulting the Estate, arranged with Dr. Stachel that "we consider the present text as being in effect." The Estate erroneously assumed that this was to be a very temporary arrangement and that the contract would be signed at an early date.
  2. The appointment of three co-equal editors would have reduced the number of associates and assistant editors. The "additional" expense caused by the salaries of three editors could not possibly have been very considerable.

editors -- was neither ever mentioned by Mr. Bailey nor discussed throughout the Board meeting. Nor did Mr. Bailey report to the Board that the Estate had advised him a number of times -- e.g., by letter of February 13, 1978 -- that it was unalterably opposed to the appointment of Dr. Stachel as editor-in-chief. Since the members of the Board knew that, by contractual arrangement between Press and Estate, the editor could only be appointed by joint action of the two parties, some members might have hesitated to recommend that "John Stachel be continued in his post as Editor," had they known of the Estate's point-of-view.

Finally, Mr. Bailey did not report to the Board that it was he, not the Estate, who caused the termination of Dr. Stachel's appointment as editor. On November 8, 1977, Mr. Bailey advised the Estate that he had come to the conclusion that he had to ask Dr. Stachel to return to his job at Boston University on July 1, 1978. The Stachel "contract" had provided that Dr. Stachel and Press-Estate could terminate Dr. Stachel's editorship on 6 months' notice, the first time after 18 months service, which was the date mentioned by Mr. Bailey. Since the Estate did not object to his "conclusion," Mr. Bailey advised Dr. Stachel of the termination of his editorship as of July 1, 1978, on that very same day.

However, the negotiations between Press and Estate on the consummation of that decision were drawn-out and troublesome. Mr. Bailey finally proposed on December 28, 1977, a three-fold resolution on the question: (a) to advise Dr. Stachel in writing of the termination of the existing "contract" as of July 1978; (b) to appoint him for an additional year, not as an editor, but merely to complete the computerized index and the photocopies of Einstein's papers, on both of which he had been working; and (c) to call a meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board at an early date "primarily to discuss the question of the editorial machinery."

The first two points were documented in a letter dated February 16, 1978, by Press and Estate to Dr. Stachel who countersigned the letter. On that very day, Mr. Bailey addressed a letter to me on the subject. A copy is attached because of the crucial importance of its contents. Particular attention should be called to the following sentence in the second paragraph of Mr. Bailey's letter: "Dr. Stachel's position as editor will definitely be terminated" (emphasis added), and to his remark, on the last line of the first page, about the "difficult problem over the termination (emphasis added) of John Stachel's appointment..."

Mr. Bailey wrote that the result of the negotiations was a compromise "that is fair to all parties." In another letter to Helen Dukas and me, dated March 1, 1978, he said he was pleased that everything was worked out in a way "that is, I think, satisfactory to everyone concerned." But, three and a half weeks later, on March 27, 1978 -- and this throws light on Mr. Bailey's credibility -- he sent me the draft of a letter to the Editorial Advisory Board in which he stated that the difficulties between Press and Estate

were "resolved in a way that was not satisfactory to any of us." Attached to that draft was the suggested Agenda for the Board meeting on May 6, 1978.

Mr. Bailey proposed as the second and third items of the Agenda: "Status report from Professor Stachel" and "Questions for Professor Stachel." For several months, I had objected to submitting to your Board the "affair Stachel," as Mr. Bailey had wanted to do. I saw no need for it, and I wanted to avoid a confrontation between Bailey-Stachel and me, in which I would have been compelled, in a meeting of Dr. Stachel's colleagues, to outline the reasons for my opposition to Dr. Stachel as sole editor. In discussing the proposed Agenda for your May 1978 meeting, I objected even more strongly to Mr. Bailey's intention. Had not Mr. Bailey written to me six weeks earlier that Dr. Stachel would be "definitely terminated as editor"?

Mr. Bailey finally consented to omit his proposed second and third points from the Agenda -- without obviously, abandoning his intention to do all in his power to achieve from your Board a recommendation to "continue John Stachel in his post as editor." Mr. Bailey admitted having solicited letters from Professor Wheeler and the National Science Foundation recommending Dr. Stachel as editor-in-chief. The letter from the National Science Foundation is particularly revealing since it supported precisely the conclusions in which Mr. Bailey was interested: a sole editor and Stachel as editor-in-chief.

In the arbitration hearings (Transcript, p. 196), Mr. Bailey also admitted having talked with all the Board members before the meeting. In view of the kind of Letters which he solicited and obtained from Professor Wheeler and the National Science Foundation, it is quite likely that he indicated to the Board members the outcome he expected from their forthcoming meeting and sought to convince them of the desirability of Dr. Stachel's reappointment as editor-in-chief.

The Board meeting was further "prepared" for Mr. Bailey's purpose by a letter sent to all Board members by Dr. Stachel advising them of his availability for further information and discussion on the day before and on the day of the meeting. Professors Jost and Sam-bursky made use of the opportunity on the day preceding the meeting.<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether additional members also called upon Dr. Stachel.

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<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Bailey denied in his arbitration testimony (Transcript, p. 281, lines 21-25) that Dr. Stachel's letter was discussed with him. However, he answered the pertinent question addressed to him by his own counsel in a strange way. "No. No, I did not know about it. I didn't object to it." (emphasis added). Dr. Stachel confirmed in his testimony (Transcript, p. 760-762) that the contents of his letter were discussed with Mr. Bailey.



After all these preparations by Mr. Bailey, the meeting of the Board fulfilled his expectations. At the arbitration hearings, Princeton University Press placed in evidence the correspondence between you and Mr. John Hunt, who prepared the Minutes of the Board meeting. Among that correspondence was a letter from Professor Banesh Hoffmann in reply to Mr. Hunt's request to all members to transmit comments upon, or corrections of, the preliminary Minutes. Two sentences in Professor Hoffmann's letter<sup>1</sup> throw an interesting light upon the meeting: "...unless I am mistaken, the Minutes do not mention that the letters of Professor Wheeler and Dr. Eloise Clark (of the National Science Foundation) were already at the table in front of each of us as we took our seats. Their presence created an emotional atmosphere that seems to me relevant to an understanding of what ensued..." Professor Hoffmann's observation is supported by the opinion of one participant that the recommendation of Dr. Stachel's appointment was in the air from the very beginning of the meeting and was the subject around which the discussions revolved." This is further confirmed by Mr. Bailey's announcement in his "status report" at the start of the meeting "that Professor Stachel would be available throughout the day to answer any questions." It seems quite possible that some Board members may well have been influenced by the obvious desire of the organizers of the meeting that the Stachel appointment as editor-in-chief be recommended by the Board.

Mr. Bailey hardly participated in the Board's discussion of the project's editorial structure, which Press and Estate had agreed to consider the main point on the Agenda. As on all previous occasions, Mr. Bailey did not analyze the advantages or disadvantages of the two different editorial machineries; he merely said that he knew of no other project organized in the manner suggested by me and that a single editor was the rule of projects of this nature. However, the papers of Bertrand Russell are currently being edited by a board of five co-equal editors, and the papers of Adam Smith, John Maynard Keynes, Wolfgang Pauli and a sizeable number of other outstanding men were not edited under the direction of a single editor-in-chief. Mr. Bailey stated "that he was personally quite satisfied to have the editor-in-chief solicit advice, but exercise day-to-day authority." (emphasis added). This is precisely what I and, interestingly, the Russell editors as well are convinced should be avoided.

Since the Estate considers the editorial machinery of utmost and crucial significance to the Einstein project and as this problem was supposed to be the chief issue submitted to the Editorial Board, I must discuss that part of the Board's meeting in some detail. I had mentioned to Mr. Bailey that I would be very happy to profit from a discussion by the Board of the enormously important issue submitted

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hunt reported to the Chairman of the meeting that Professor Hoffmann's letter was the only one of the comments and suggestions received from Board members which was not incorporated in the final version of the Minutes.

to it. I regret to have to state that my expectations were not satisfied. Although the minutes report that, "in summary, there was general agreement on the validity of Dr. Nathan's concern," the Board did not explain why it objected to the Search Committee's and the Estate's proposal with respect to an Editorial Board.

Professor Peter G. Bergmann opened the discussion "by describing the background of the decision to appoint Professor Stachel." Since the letter which I had submitted to the Board, and my proposal had never mentioned Professor Stachel and since my proposal was unrelated to his reappointment, it might sound strange, but it turned out to be characteristic of the meeting, that the very first speaker decided not to start speaking to that issue but to discuss the background of Dr. Stachel's appointment, rather than to discuss the most important issue on the Agenda.

Professor Bergmann's entire statement was surprising and obviously tailored to defeat the suggestion of an editorial board and to assure the Board's recommendation of Dr. Stachel's appointment. Professor Bergmann, who was a member of the last Search Committee (1975-76), reported to the Board that his compromise-recommendation of an editorial board made to the Search Committee had not been considered as a viable solution and was accordingly withdrawn. This is inaccurate. As recorded in the preliminary and final reports of the Search Committee, Professor Bergmann's recommendation was not withdrawn. Quite the contrary: it was listed in both reports of the Search Committee as one of three editorial possibilities for the Einstein project: in fact, the Committee's recommendation, which Professor Bergmann had approved of and signed, called for a "team" of three editors, hardly different from a "board" of three editors. About 15 months later, on October 4, 1977, Professor Bergmann stated to me that he "still felt an editorial board would be preferable," but that he was doubtful whether, since we had now started with an Editor-in-Chief (his friend Dr. Stachel), it would be advisable to change. Seven months later, his doubts had disappeared.

At the meeting of the Board, Professor Bergmann "declared himself convinced by now that direction by a Board of Co-Editors was not a workable scheme and spoke of the need for a single Editor-in-Chief.." (emphasis added). In the course of the discussion, Professor Bergmann added a new and brilliant thought in support of the appointment of a single editor. Since, he said, "the original archive will be kept intact, later generations of scholars would be able to go over the papers and produce corrections." In other words, he seemed to imply that it did not matter how good or bad the work of the present editor would be.

Mr. Bailey then replied affirmatively to Professor Jost's question as to whether paragraph 4 in the basic Agreement between Press and Estate on a "single" editor was binding. Although the meaning of that paragraph is by no means clear, it definitely does not mention a "single" editor. In addition, Press and Estate may always change a provision in the Agreement if they so desire. It is also regrettable that Professor Jost, who seemed so interested in the binding character of the provision about the "editor" in paragraph 4 of



the Agreement, did not inquire of Mr. Bailey whether the word "jointly" in the same paragraph 4 was not also binding. This might have led him to realize that, if consensus about the selection of an editor did not exist, neither the Editorial Advisory Board nor anyone else could force the non-consenting party to consent.

Mr. Scribner (a close friend of Mr. Bailey) stated that an Editorial Board "was not in accordance with the way scholarly works proceed," a position supported by Dr. Woolf of the Institute for Advanced Study. Dr. Woolf "emphasized the complexity and delicacy of the Editor's role because of the variety of issues -- scientific and political -- involved." He obviously did not realize that this was precisely the reason for the Estate's decision not to vest the entire responsibility over this gigantic project in one single human being.

The meeting then seems to have concerned itself primarily with the appointment of associate and assistant editors. The Minutes record that a variety of views were "expressed with regard to a single Editor working with...Advisory and Associate Editors as opposed to several Editors....," but the Minutes do not reveal the nature of the "variety of views." Dr. Woolf then moved a motion, unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board, to the effect that the Members of the Editorial Advisory Board recommend the appointment of a single editor who will coordinate the entire project and who will have overall responsibility for the work, in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press."

The Minutes further report that the Board wanted to convey to me "its conviction there was need to invest one Editor with the necessary authority to take decisions" (emphasis added), which is precisely what Mr. Bailey had said. In giving the Editor "overall responsibility," the Board asserted that it was acting "in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press." However, the contract speaks about the "primary" responsibility of the Editor which, although being an ambiguous term, certainly does not mean "overall" responsibility. If Press and Estate decide to give all those powers to one Editor, they may, of course, do so. But this is not what they must do under the original Agreement.

The Board then unanimously accepted a second motion which was inconsistent with the first motion. It recommended "the appointment of Associate Editors who will assume a major share of the decision-making about the project as a whole..." One "contribution" to the discussion deserves to be stressed, since it characterizes the level of the debate about the editorship of the papers of Albert Einstein. That contribution was made by Professor Jost, who was reported to have spoken at the meeting "eloquently and repeatedly." The official Minutes quote him as having stated "that the project needed a mid-wife, and Professor Stachel's mistakes...did not disqualify him for this role, a view in which Professor Bergmann concurred. Professor Jost went on to say that the real question was whether or not Professor Stachel had the necessary editorial skills. If the answer to this question was affirmative, then he should be asked to go ahead

with the project..." The Minutes do not record whether Professor Jost's question was answered and, if so, how.

The day after the Board Meeting, on May 7, 1978, I had a long meeting with Professor Jost. According to the record made by me in the course of our discussion, he told me, "he had made careful inquiries about Stachel's abilities as editor. It was not very clear to him how people could be so positive about a man who had not edited one single volume in his life..." Had Professor Jost consulted Dr. Stachel's Annual Report for 1977, copies of which had been sent to all members of the Board (dated January 13, 1978 -- not quite four months before the Board meeting) he would not have needed to make such "careful" investigations of Dr. Stachel's editorial abilities. Here is what Dr. Stachel said about himself (pp 3 and 4 of his report): "My task was made initially difficult by a number of factors," (one of which was) "my lack of background in (the) history of science and lack of experience in any major editorial project..." In the sixteen months since he began his work at Princeton and the Board meeting, he had hardly done any editorial work and could not have acquired the editorial experience which he himself admitted not having possessed when he came to Princeton in January 1977.

Despite the admittedly questionable results of his inquiries, Professor Jost, who had considered editorial skills the real test of Dr. Stachel's qualifications as editor, joined in the unanimous vote of the Board recommending the appointment of Dr. Stachel to be Editor-in-Chief.

When the meeting reached No. 3 on the Agenda, the Chairman "specifically put the question to the Board as to whether Professor Stachel could or should not be continued as Editor of the project." He did not ask for nominations, nor did a single member suggest that it might be advisable to investigate whether among thousands of physicists and scholars in the United States and throughout the world there might be someone else available whose qualifications to fill that unique position should at least be considered. The Board was obviously convinced that there was nobody but Dr. Stachel.

The Minutes do not report many details about the discussion on Dr. Stachel's "candidacy." They report that a variety of views were expressed in the general discussion, and then continue: "There was general agreement on Professor Stachel's qualifications, and the acceptance of the validity of those qualifications by the Advisory Board and the National Science Foundation." The Minutes also record that the preliminary work had been carried out by Professor Stachel in a serious and competent way. Finally, they record that the Board shared my dismay at the errors of fact and of language contained in Dr. Stachel's draft application and discussed at length whether these errors were so serious as to disqualify Professor Stachel for the position of Editor-in-Chief. But, as might have been anticipated from a body that was expected to vote for Dr. Stachel, the Board concluded that the document in question "should be regarded as an indiscretion of no lasting significance, and the incident was accordingly regarded by the Board as closed." Whereupon the Board, in

light of its "positive view of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performance to date," no doubt provided by Mr. Bailey, unanimously recommended "that John Stachel be continued in his post as Editor beyond the term presently agreed on."

Mr. Bailey had accomplished what he had hoped to accomplish by his long and persistent efforts to have the Board called into session: the Editorial Advisory Board did exactly what he expected it to do -- which, Mr. Bailey stated, would be a significant factor in possible arbitration proceedings.

Unfortunately, the Minutes do not provide any details of the discussion about Dr. Stachel's qualifications and performance. His "performance" did not include any real editorial work. He had been occupied primarily with the preparation of applications for funds and the production of photoduplicates of the Einstein archive and with the production of a computerized index which, at that time, had not yet progressed very far. Evaluation of his performance could only have been provided by Mr. Bailey -- and his praise of Dr. Stachel's performance was always clothed in superlative terms. So far as qualifications are concerned, I wonder whether Professor Bergmann, who spoke so vociferously throughout the meeting, told his fellow members what he had stated to me on July 7, 1975: "One necessary qualification of the Editor is not only a reading knowledge of German, but also familiarity with 'European culture' and ability to comprehend the total personality of Einstein and not only Einstein as a physicist." I also wonder whether Professors Bergmann and Klein, both members of the Advisory Board as well as of the Search Committee 1975/76, acquainted the Board with the details of what this Search Committee considered as necessary qualifications for an editor or editors of the Einstein papers.<sup>1</sup> In arriving at a "positive view of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performances," what measurement did the members of the Board use? Had they been able to profit from Professor Bergmann's views and from the Search Committee's sensitive and intelligent definition of the qualifications of an Einstein editor?

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<sup>1</sup>. It seems useful to quote here from the Introduction of the Search Committee's report:

"Albert Einstein was an exceptional scientist, whose vision led him beyond the frontiers of conceptualization of most of his contemporaries. He was also a giant in other respects, who involved himself in the problems of our society, and he was a generous friend to his many acquaintances. Though he brought about profound changes in our concepts of space, time and dynamics, his whole work must also be understood in response to the scientific and extrascientific milieu surrounding him. An editor or editors must be able to do a measure of justice to these facets of Einstein's personality. (continued on p.10)

At the end of the Board's meeting, it was suggested that Professor Jost "personally convey" to me the sense of the meeting. As a result, the next day I met with Professor Jost for two and a half hours at Princeton. Since Professor Jost had taken a most active part in the proceedings at the Board's meeting, it was embarrassing to listen to his account of the reasons which caused him to vote as he did. The day before the Board's meeting, he telephoned me from Princeton. I advised him that, under no circumstances, would I approve the appointment of Dr. Stachel as Editor-in-Chief in the event the Board voted in favor of a one-man editorship. There is no evidence that he passed that information on to the Board; nor did it prevent him from joining the Board in voting against an editorial board and in favor of the recommendation of appointing Dr. Stachel as Editor-in-Chief.

Here is how Professor Jost felt about Dr. Stachel: (a) when, in May 1977, he received a copy of Dr. Stachel's draft application to the National Science Foundation, he had violently protested by telegram against the draft; he had considered it entirely inadequate and poorly done. Also, he said, the Board had censured unqualifiedly the tactlessness ("Geschmacklosigkeit") of Dr. Stachel's draft; (b) the job of an editor was not to do any creative, scholarly work; he, Professor Jost, would not "entrust to that Stachel the smallest biographical notice" ("ich würde dem Stachel nicht die kleinste biographische Notiz anvertrauen"); and (c) he had carefully investigated Dr. Stachel's abilities as editor, but was doubtful about the positive information given him by those of whom he had inquired.

I asked Professor Jost how, in view of his most unfavorable remarks about Dr. Stachel and his doubts about Dr. Stachel's editorial skills, he could have decided to vote for him. He replied that the general "impression" had been that Dr. Stachel would do a good professional job. He did not indicate on what evidence or experience that general "impression" was based. On the strength of that "impression," the recommendation to appoint Dr. Stachel as Editor-in-Chief had been made unanimously by the Board; including, of course, Professor Jost himself. The Board had apparently felt that, if it did not go along

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*(continued from p. 9)*

We have tried very hard to clarify a number of issues in our own minds that bear on the choice of editor. For example, there may not exist an individual who combines a scientific background in the areas of Einstein's contributions to theoretical physics and philosophy of science with a sensitivity to Einstein's human qualities, and who has a sufficient command of German so as to appreciate not only the nuances in the published writings but also the colloquial and intermediate levels of usage to be found in correspondence with friends.... For this and other reasons, we have come to the conclusion that proper editorial arrangements are crucial if the publication of the papers is to be carried out successfully."



with Dr. Stachel now, the publication of Einstein's work would have to be postponed for many years, possibly for several decades. This was one of Mr. Bailey's favorite reasons for insisting on Dr. Stachel's new appointment.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Jost also reported that, although the Board had been in sympathy with the arguments enumerated by me in favor of an editorial board, it had unanimously, again including Professor Jost, voted against the Search Committee's and my own proposal and in favor of appointing an Editor-in-Chief. Professor Jost mentioned what he felt to be the two most important reasons for the vote of the Board: (a) the provision in paragraph 4 of the Agreement between Press and Estate in regard to the editorship; and (b) the position of the National Science Foundation in favor of an Editor-in-Chief, as expressed in the Bailey-produced letter of the Foundation dated April 26, 1978. It is difficult to believe that a Board of scientists based its recommendation for the editorship of Einstein's papers chiefly upon those two considerations.

Professor Jost, and the Board, felt that the National Science Foundation must be given great weight since it was the principal source of financial support for the project. I expressed strong opposition to allowing the National Science Foundation to have such a great influence on determining the editorial structure of the Einstein project. I was certain, I said, that the Einstein papers would eventually be published -- even without the financial support of the National Science Foundation.

Professor Jost's views are presented here at some length, primarily because the Board chose him "to convey" to me "the sense of the meeting." I must assume, therefore, that Professor Jost's presentation to me constituted an account of discussions and deliberations that reflected not only his own views, but also those of his fellow members.

According to all accounts, Professor Jost, a most active participant in the Board's meeting, may have influenced the deliberations of the Board and the decisions of some of its members -- if that were still necessary --. But his own views were in no way affected by whatever may have been said at the meeting. In a letter to me, written and postmarked at Princeton on May 5, 1978 -- a day before the Board meeting -- Professor Jost left no doubt that he was determined to vote for the nomination of Dr. Stachel as Editor-in-Chief. He urged me to change my mind about Dr. Stachel's qualifications as editor since, otherwise, the Einstein papers might not be published for years to come. He closed his letter by demanding how I could possibly assume

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<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Bailey had obviously not been much impressed by what his friend, Professor Wheeler, said to him in a letter of September 24, 1976: "Better to wait ten or fifteen years for the right man than botch an undertaking of such importance."



the responsibility for delaying the publication of Einstein's works. This insulting question was raised by a man who, at that time, had been a member of the Editorial Advisory Board for seven years and had, to the best of my knowledge, shown no interest in the Einstein project or even inquired about its progress.

Aside from the Board's decisions about the editorial machinery and Dr. Stachel's nomination, two other issues dealt with at the Board's meeting require a brief comment by the Estate.

In the Board's discussions, it was assumed that my attitude concerning Dr. Stachel had been based on dissatisfaction with his draft of the application for a grant from the National Science Foundation. That paper was received by me on May 2, 1977. It will be recalled that "the Board shared the dismay expressed by Dr. Nathan at the errors of fact and of language" in Dr. Stachel's draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> However, as late as July 27, 1977, I addressed a letter to Mr. Bailey and Dr. Stachel in which I suggested some changes in the still-unsigned contract with Dr. Stachel. I did then not object to Dr. Stachel's appointment as sole editor -- and this was more than two and a half months after May 2!

At the Board meeting, Mr. Bailey made his standard excuse for Dr. Stachel's draft, namely, that it had been prepared under pressure of time. However, Mr. Bailey did not mention that I had formed my negative opinion about Dr. Stachel's qualifications as Editor-in-Chief, should a recommendation be made against an editorial board, because of Dr. Stachel's several important violations of his "contract" and other unfavorable incidents and experiences during the period of his service. Mr. Bailey was fully acquainted with all of that, without mentioning anything at the Board meeting. However, I must repeat that, nevertheless, the Estate proposed Dr. Stachel's appointment as one of the three members of an editorial board, knowing how exceedingly anxious its partner - the Press - was to retain Dr. Stachel in an editorial capacity.

Finally, it was suggested at the meeting that "the control exercised by the Estate" interfered with editorial freedom. It is almost certain that the discussion on this subject had been inspired by Dr. Stachel in order to embarrass the Estate.

The facts are quite different. In preparing the draft contract for Dr. Stachel of February 10, 1977, the Estate considered it necessary to assure Dr. Stachel's access to the original documents when The Hebrew University would become owner of the Einstein material and might move the archive to Jerusalem. Against the most severe advice of its counsel, the Estate inserted a provision into the contract which guaranteed access to the archive -- even if it be moved to

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<sup>1</sup>. See also page 10 above for Professor Jost's remarks on Dr. Stachel's draft.

Jerusalem -- to the editor who, at that time, was assumed to be Dr. Stachel. Because of compelling reasons of security, of which I advised Mr. Bailey by letter of February 10, 1977, as well as orally, the provision in question guaranteed access to the Editor-in-Chief alone. Professor Holton stressed at the meeting the security requirements of the archive, to which Mr. Bailey and Professor Bergmann apparently also referred.

It would be ironic, if it were not so sad, that an action taken in the interest of Dr. Stachel was later claimed to be a restriction by the Estate on editorial freedom. When the question of security of the archive was discussed at a meeting on September 12, 1977, Mr. Bailey stated (according to his own written account of that meeting) that "the Trustees could be sued for negligence if documents should be damaged or stolen." And, once more referring to the discussion at that meeting, Mr. Bailey said in a letter to me dated September 16, 1977, "...but it is clear that no provision for anyone except the Editor to use the documents can be made in our agreement."

The Board went out of its way to pay tribute to me and "to the extraordinary responsibility I had assumed in more than two decades." In one of the motions referring to me, the Board felt that I should not merely be consultant on technical matters, but should be treated as central (emphasis added) to the entire process, given my historic role with regard to Einstein and the Einstein legacy. My remarks on the preceding pages make it clear that the Board ignored its own advice. The Board may claim my absence from the meeting as an excuse. Although he remained silent when my absence was noted several times, Mr. Bailey was fully acquainted with the reasons for my decision to stay away.

The Minutes and the reports I have received from Board members have convinced me that I was right in anticipating that the purpose of the organizers of the meeting was to endorse Dr. Stachel's nomination as sole editor although his services as editor were "definitely to be terminated," according to Mr. Bailey's earlier written statement to me. My purpose in absenting myself, explained to Mr. Bailey a number of times, was to avoid ugly confrontations and offensive re-creminations. In a letter to me on March 23, 1978, Mr. Bailey said he understood my arguments very well and shared some of my concern about the nature of the Board's meeting.

Under the circumstances, if the Board had wished to consult me, let alone to make me be "central" in its deliberations, another meeting might have been necessary or discussions held between members designated by the Board and me. Since many members reside in Princeton or not very far from Princeton or New York, such meetings could easily have been arranged. Some delay on the Board's conclusions might have occurred. But would such minimal delay have been of great significance when the fate of the writings of Albert Einstein was involved?

I have limited myself in this letter to remarks about your meeting on May 6, 1978. Much has happened since that meeting. Whatever the outcome of these partly disgraceful developments may be, Helen Dukas and I, whom Einstein honored by nominating and appointing as the Trustees of his Literary Estate, have had only one goal and one ambition for 26 years: to justify the confidence Einstein placed in us. We have always done what, in our judgment, was best for the precious legacy placed in our hands, and we have spared no effort in doing so. Even Mr. Bailey recognized that in a number of letters to me, often in extraordinarily laudatory language.<sup>1</sup> But this was before he determined that, in his effort to control the editorship in accord with his own desires, he considered it necessary to denounce me as capricious, unreasonable and arbitrary.

Copies of this letter are being mailed to all Board members who attended its meeting on May 6, 1978.

Sincerely yours,

*OTTO NATHAN*

OTTO NATHAN  
Executor and Trustee

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1. Just to quote one example: In a letter to me, dated April 12, 1977, Mr. Bailey said, "...But I want to say at this point how very much I appreciate all that you have done over the years to get us to this point - your devotion to Einstein, your trusteeship (in the most profound sense) of the papers, your efforts to manage the copyrights and acquire documents, and all the other things that make it possible now to go ahead. I cannot imagine that anyone could be more faithful to a trust, and I want to say how much I appreciate the opportunity you are giving us at Princeton to work with you in carrying out this great project."

Princeton University Press PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540 (TEL. 609-452-4900)

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EDWARD R. TUFTE, THOMAS H. WRIGHT

February 16, 1978

Dr. Otto Nathan  
24 Fifth Avenue, #815  
New York, New York 10011

Dear Otto,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 13. In accordance with our telephone conversation, this is to confirm that all the changes suggested by you in Draft #2 of the proposed agreement between Dr. Stachel and the Estate and the Press are satisfactory. Accordingly I am enclosing four copies of the agreement, with the changes as suggested, signed by Dr. Stachel and myself. You should sign all four copies and send them along to Helen Dukas. She should then sign all four copies, and then give one to Dr. Stachel, send one to me, and return the other to you, keeping one for her own records.

Let me add that it is a great relief to have this matter settled. The disagreement among ourselves over this matter has been very uncomfortable for me, as I know it has been for you, since I think it is the only matter on which we have disagreed in the past. The result, I think, is a compromise that is fair to all parties. Dr. Stachel's position as editor will definitely be terminated, while at the same time he will have the opportunity to complete a significant work during his leave from Boston. The work he will complete will clearly be of great use no matter how later editing of the materials proceeds. Moreover the computer-index will be useful to scholars who will use the materials for other purposes. It seems to me that this arrangement achieves the purposes of the Estate, and it also is satisfactory to the Press, since it will leave the Archive one step further along toward publication. Having completed this arrangement, we will now attempt to obtain funding for the coming year, mainly through NSF, and I will keep you informed about that. Until completing the contract, we were not in a position to ask for further funding.

In this regard, I am happy to add that the National Science Foundation has just given us an extension of their earlier grant through this spring, which will cover most of our expenses until July 1, 1978.

Let me address myself to the latter part of your letter in which you raise the question of going into arbitration about the nature of the editorship or possibly terminating the arrangement between the Press and the Estate. I want to say immediately that I hope you won't think this necessary, especially since we have both reiterated many times the desirability of working together and the appropriateness of the Press as the publisher of the Einstein Papers. It is true that we have had a difficult problem over the termination of John Stachel's appointment, but





Dr. Otto Nathan  
Page 2  
February 16, 1978

now that is settled. It is also true that, since you have changed your mind about the desirability of a single editor-in-chief, we have a difference on that point. However it is a difference that can be discussed, and in particular we ought to seek the advice of the Editorial Advisory Board on this matter, as provided in our agreement. Certainly I would hope that that matter could be thoroughly reviewed by the Editorial Advisory Board before going to arbitration, which I think we both regard as a rather extreme measure. I just can't believe that will be necessary.

In short, having this matter behind us, I believe that we should be able to work in harmony again. Obviously each of us will continue to make our best judgments as to how to proceed, with the best advice we can get, and I am confident that we will again be able to make progress together.

As you know, I am leaving on a week's vacation on Saturday, but I will be in the office again by the first of March, and we will then be able to discuss what next steps should be taken. Meanwhile I want to express my appreciation for your efforts to settle the current matter, and to send my best wishes.

Sincerely,



Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

/ba

Enclosures

cc: Helen Dukas  
John Stachel

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

August 15, 1978

Professor Charles Gillispie  
Program in History  
and Philosophy of Science  
220 Palmer Hall  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

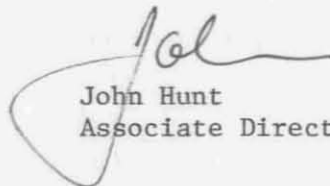
Dear Charles:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes. They incorporate all of the comments and suggestions I have received, with the exception of those of Banesh Hoffmann. He is correct in recalling this portion of the discussion, but from the context I find it difficult to include this point without distorting the sense of the overall discussion. With your permission, then, I shall thank Banesh for his counsel but leave the minutes as they stand at present.

Once I have word from you, I shall send the present minutes to everyone as the final version.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

  
John Hunt  
Associate Director

To John Hunt:

Forgive this informal mode of response - I'm on the  
brink of departure. This looks admirable to me - please  
send it to all concerned. My thanks  
Charles

BANESH HOFFMANN

43-17 169th Street  
Flushing, N. Y. 11358

(212) 358-6231

10 June 1978

Dr. John Hunt  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dr. Hunt:

Congratulations on the quality and detail of your minutes of the meeting, on 6 May 1978, of the Editorial Advisory Board for The Writings of Albert Einstein.

It is impossible for minutes to convey all the nuances of a meeting, and, indeed, one can argue convincingly that it is not at all the function of minutes to do so. But since your accompanying letter seemed to invite comments, let me make the following remarks.

Unless I am mistaken, the minutes do not mention that the letters of Professor Wheeler and Dr. Eloise Clark were already on the table in front of each of us as we took our seats. Their presence created an emotional atmosphere that seems to me relevant to an understanding of what ensued. Not unrelated to this is the fact that Professor Jost spoke eloquently and repeatedly, and on at least three occasions argued that since the Einstein writings would speak for themselves, and since the role of the editor was more or less that of a mere compiler, his qualifications and views really did not matter. I recall that this particular point seemed to me not only to be in conflict with attitudes and implications in the letters of Professor Wheeler and Dr. Eloise Clark--and Dr. Nathan--but also to be fallacious per se. I tried to point out its fallacious nature at least three times, on one occasion asking whether we would--to take an extreme case--let an out-and-out Nazi edit the Einstein papers. Since all of Professor Jost's views seemed to meet with general approval, I was left with the feeling that we were arguing (a) that Professor Stachel had excellent qualifications, and (b) that such qualifications were quite unimportant since any reasonably literate person could handle the job. This aspect of the meeting does not seem to emerge from a reading of the minutes.

All good wishes,

*Banesh Hoffmann*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

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Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF NATURAL SCIENCES

June 7, 1978

MEMORANDUM

To: John Hunt  
Secretary of the Einstein Editorial Advisory Board

From: Freeman J. Dyson

Subject: Minutes of the meeting of May 6, 1978 of  
the Editorial Advisory Board

I hereby confirm that I have received and read the minutes of the May 6 meeting. I approve the minutes with the following comments:

p. 3, line 10: misspelling of the word "viable"

p. 6, top line: this sentence is garbled. I offer as a textual emendation that you take the last 6 words on line 1 and put them somehow at the end of line 2.

P. 13: it was my understanding that we agreed by a voice vote to add Prof. Claggett to the Executive Committee. I could be wrong about this, but I would much prefer that Claggett should be a member so that we have an Institute representative during the summer when Dr. Wolf may be away.

I am disturbed by the fact that it took us a full month to get the minutes of the meeting prepared and approved. I am sure that this is not your fault. I wish there were some way of impressing on all the people involved in this project the urgent necessity of getting something decided within the next few months. At the rate we are now going, the project is likely to collapse before we get around to taking any action to save it.

Yours sincerely,

Freeman Dyson

Freeman J. Dyson



# SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

## DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS

201 PHYSICS BUILDING | SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13210

640 Riverside Drive

New York, New York 10031

June 8, 1978

Dr. John Hunt, Associate Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Dr. Hunt:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of the minutes in the form in which they have gone out to the entire Board. I have checked carefully those revisions that I suggested to someone else (a secretary?) over the phone, and discovered another couple of things that look in need of change.

On page 5, the minutes report my saying that nothing cohesive has been published. I suspect that I said, or meant to say, that no comprehensive materials have been published. Surely, it would be an insult to all those who have published some materials, such as selections from the correspondence, and Einstein on Peace, during this period to assert that these publications were not cohesive. They were not comprehensive in the sense that they failed to cover all important material that was produced during a stated period in A. Einstein's life. In other words, the materials published were selected rather than comprehensive. We need not attempt to check whether I committed a slip of my tongue or where the current version occurred. But for obvious reasons I would hate to have the minutes state what can only be interpreted as a slur, a slur that I did not intend.

Also on page 5, on the following line I suggest the following:  
"Originally he had recommended that there be a formal stipulation ..."  
This is closer to your original draft, and explains the last clause of that paragraph, which otherwise would seem to be in glaring contradiction to the sentiment reported but a few lines above.

Except for these two items, I found nothing to suggest. I admire your ability to prepare such an accurate record of what, after all, was a long and involved discussion.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

*Peter G. Bergmann*

Peter G. Bergmann

Princeton University: DEPARTMENT History & Philosophy of Science

To John Hunt  
Institute for Advanced Study

DATE June 21, 1978

SUBJECT Minutes  
Einstein Papers

FROM C.C. Gillispie

Further to my telephone call of half-an-hour ago, I have now deciphered Jost's letter of 12 June, and concluded that the word in the next to last line which puzzled me is "cushioned". If you have anyone there who is better at Swiss calligraphy, please pass this letter under his or her eyes to determine whether I have misconstrued that word.

You will see from the letter, and from my reply, how the passage on page 9 concerning Miss Dukas needs to be modified.

I am going to be away from the 23rd until the 30th of June. Perhaps you would let me know when all the replies are in, and I can come out to the Institute, or perhaps you could come in for lunch, and we could go over a final draft.

With many thanks.

CCG:tk  
Enclosures

*Charles Gillispie*

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

Princeton University

PROGRAM IN HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

TELEPHONE: (609) 452-4716

220 PALMER HALL, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

June 21, 1978

Prof. Dr. Res Jost  
Rebhaldenstrasse 32  
CH-8103 Unterengstringen  
Switzerland

My dear Dr. Jost:

Many thanks for your very kind letters of 4 June and 12 June, the former bringing a copy of your letter to Otto Nathan of May 30. I was away from Princeton for a few days, with the result that both of them are reaching me -- or rather, I am reaching them -- at the same time.

It is reassuring that you found the Minutes faithful in principle and in substance to the tenor and content of the long deliberation of our committee. Some of our colleagues are replying directly to Mr. Hunt at the Institute, who is assembling all the observations and criticisms. I have not seen them yet, but have just talked to him on the telephone. He tells me that all that he has received so far concerns matters of detail and emphasis.

As for your own observation about Helen Dukas's intervention in the discussion, I quite agree that the report of it is excessively abrupt, and also that it creates the impression of a conflict or dispute between her on behalf of the estate and myself as chairman of the meeting. I am following your suggestion, and requesting Mr. Hunt to soften, and indeed to eliminate, the appearance of disagreement between Miss Dukas and the committee. I even fear, reading it now in the light of your greater sensitivity, that it almost looks as if I had presumed to state something in the nature of a rebuke. I cannot have meant to do that, and do trust that it was not heard that way, even though it does read a bit that way.

For the more substantive matter, I am afraid that your exchange with Dr. Nathan does not give much ground for optimism. If anyone could move him, you would certainly have done so. Once the Minutes are corrected and accepted, it will then be for Mr. Bailey and his associates to decide what course to follow in the immediate future. I am sure that he will keep us all informed. For my part, I expect to be here in Princeton until mid-August, when I shall be coming over to Europe for a month. My work takes me to France each summer, though this time the sojourn will be briefer than usual, and briefer than I like.

With renewed expression of my respects, and warmest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

CCG:tk  
bcc: John Hunt ✓

Charles C. Gillispie

Rebheldeustraße 32  
CH-3103 Unteregglingen  
Telefon 01 / 79 23 63

4. Juni 1978.

Lieber Herr Kollege Gillispie,

Ihren ausserordentlich freundlichen Brief vom 19. Juni hätte ich längst schon verdaut, von ich nicht täglich in Erwartung des Protokoll-Entwurf unserer Sitzung vom 7. Mai.

Unterdessen ist in meiner Beziehung zu Dr. Otto Nathan etwa das passiert, was ein Kundiger erwarten konnte. Nachdem ich mit Aufbietung meiner Kräfte bis zu seinen Erwartungen vorge<sup>drungen</sup> war, ist er nun wieder in seinen alten Immobilitismus zurückgefallen und verhärtet. Das geht aus seinem Brief vom 19. Mai hervor, dessen Inhalt Sie aus meiner Antwort hinlänglich erraten.

Mit besten Grüßen

Herr

Res. Jm.

Beilage: Kopie der Antwort an O.N. vom 30. Mai 1978.



12. Juni 1978

CH-8100 Untere Strassen  
Telefon 01 / 79 23 63

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege Gillispie,  
heute habe ich das Protokoll der Sitzung vom  
6. Mai erhalten und finde es (für verstehen  
meine etwas irritierende Bewunderung) grossar-  
tig. Ein kleines Bedenken zu p. 9 l. 10 „Miss  
Dukas .... exercised by the Estate“ kann ich  
aber doch nicht ganz unterdrücken. Wenn ich  
nicht irre, handelt es sich hier um die kritische  
Intervention von Seiten der Estate. Helen Dukas  
spielt ausserdem in der ganzen Angelegenheit  
eine zentrale Rolle. Ich glaube mich zu erinnern,  
dass sie an dieser Stelle in der Sitzung ziemlich  
emotional geworden ist und einiges mehr sagte,  
als protokolliert (oder das Protokollieren würdig)  
ist. lese ich nun, was geschrieben ist, so drängt  
sich mir das Eindringen auf, dass eine kurze  
Bemerkung einer Hauptperson vom Vorsitzenden  
beinahe tadelnd zurückgewiesen worden sei.  
Ich wäre froh, wenn diese Stelle etwas „gepolert“  
werden könnte und bliebe

!  
Chas. Howard

mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Ihr

Res. J. M.

ETH

HOCHSCHULE TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE  
ZÜRICH

Theoretische Physik

Zürich, 30.5.1978

HPZ-Gebäude  
Telefon 01 575770

Postadresse:  
Theoretische Physik  
ETH-Hönggerberg  
CH-8093 Zürich

Prof. R. Jost

Herrn Dr. Otto Nathan  
Estate of Albert Einstein  
24 Fifth Avenue

New York N.Y. 10011

USA

Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor Nathan,

Ihr Brief vom 19. Mai ist mir, weder was den Inhalt angeht noch durch den Zeitpunkt seiner Abfassung, unerwartet. Er zeigt, dass meine Sorgen, aus denen mein Schreiben vom 5. Mai entsprungen ist, berechtigt waren.

Den Vorwurf allerdings, der aus Ihrem Satz "... that both you and the Board made a decision in favor of the nomination of Dr. Stachel as Editor-in-Chief without enquiring about the reasons which led me to oppose Dr. Stachel's appointment to that position, as it was known to yourself and apparently also to other members of the board " klingt, muss ich entschieden zurückweisen. Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor, als allererstes habe ich mit Ihnen Kontakt gesucht, um Ihre Ansicht von den Dingen zu erfahren. Nicht nur ich, sondern auch der Board haben Ihre Vorwürfe gegen Herrn Stachel, soweit sie uns bekannt geworden sind, sehr wohl geprüft. Wir haben uns den Entschluss nicht leicht gemacht. Im übrigen werden Sie meine Offenheit begreifen, wenn ich erneut mit Bedauern auf Ihre Abwesenheit an der Sitzung hinweise.

Was schliesslich meinen Schlusssatz angeht, an dem Sie Anstand nehmen, so erlaube ich mir den Hinweis, dass er sich auf die Zukunft bezieht. Es liegt mir ferne, mich mit der Historie zu befassen, wenn die Gegenwart drängt.

Und nun, sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Nathan, wird alles seinen vorbestimmten Weg weitergehen. Der Board hat gegenwärtig nichts zu bestellen. Selbst bin ich froh, in den Hintergrund zu treten. Und die Hoffnung geb ich doch nicht ganz auf, dass schliesslich die Vernunft die Princeton University Press und den Estate of Albert Einstein doch noch zusammenführen wird. Sie haben Besseres verdient, als in Verbitterung den Rest Ihrer Jahre zu vergeuden!

Mit den besten Wünschen

bleibe ich ergebenst,

Ihr

Ros Jm.

Prof. V. Bargmann  
telephoned his approval  
of the Einstein Minutes -  
June 9, 1978

has received the minutes and  
has no comments

KLEIN

Yale University New Haven, Connecticut 06520

DEPARTMENT OF  
HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Box 2036, Yale Station

June 9, 1978

Mr. John Hunt  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear John,

Thank you for sending the minutes of the Editorial Advisory Board meeting on May 6th. They seem fine to me. I hope we will be informed about Dr. Nathan's response.

On another subject: when I visited Harry Wolf on May 16th he indicated that he would send me copies of the Aschite's proposals to NEH (NSF?) in connection with



The Einstein centenary celebrations and  
associated matters. If they were  
sent, I have not yet received them.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,  
Martin V. Klein

*Handwritten initials*

July 31, 1978

Professor Shmuel Sambursky  
The Israel Academy of Sciences  
and Humanities  
P. O. B. 4040  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Professor Sambursky:

Your letter of July 18 to Mr. Bailey arrived in today's mail. Since Mr. Bailey will be away from the office until September 5, I will send it on to him and you will be hearing from him in due course after his return. In the meantime I am just sending this note to thank you for writing.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. W. K. Atkinson)  
Secretary to the Director

|| P.S. I am passing on to Dr. Hunt at the Institute the ||  
information that you have no additions or corrections  
to the May 6 minutes of the Editorial Advisory Board.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540  
U.S.A.  
Cable: PUP

# CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS



PUBLISHERS

597 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

June 9, 1978

Mr. John Hunt  
The Institute For Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Hunt:

This is a brief note to acknowledge with thanks  
the minutes of the meeting of the Editorial Advisory  
Board for The Writings of Albert Einstein.

I found them admirably clear, comprehensive and  
accurate.

Sincerely,

Charles Scribner, Jr.  
Chairman

CS:mm

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS

JEFFERSON PHYSICAL LABORATORY  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

8 June 1978

P.O.B. QQ  
will be D, Hare. 02667

Dr. John Hunt  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dr. Hunt:

I am writing on behalf of Professor Holton to thank you for your letter of June 5 and the copy of the Minutes of the Editorial Advisory Board Meeting. Professor Holton has only one suggested change in the Minutes: on p. 9, 6th line from top, please change to read, "Professor Holton stated he had gained the impression from the presentation that Professor Stachel did not have normal editorial freedom in his work."

Sincerely yours,

*Joan Laws*

Joan Laws  
Administrative Assistant

✓ Paul included note to  
introduce the comment  
Pick up previous discussion  
to will that Stachel did not  
have proper access. Could not  
agree

Would bring  
about this  
saying was  
said it  
advised was  
said

August 8 - Check notes for Holton - He said

\* we should approach this by saying both for what is correct  
and to Holton's report - take note on page 9 - look for  
information which shows no dependence but to see how  
degree of dependence in Holton is useful or pertinent.



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY 08540

*JS*

July 7, 1978

TO: The Editorial Advisory Board of the Writings  
of Albert Einstein

FROM: Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

SUBJECT: The May 6 meeting of the Board

1. You have received the minutes of the meeting as approved by the executive committee of the Board. It is important that the minutes be complete and accurate. If you have any corrections or additions, please communicate directly with Mr. John Hunt, Secretary of the Board, at the Institute for Advanced Study.

2. I regret to report that the Estate is not able to accept the advice of the Board. Dr. Nathan has not yet given me his reasons for this decision. I shall of course report this situation to the Trustees of the Press, who share a strong and continuing commitment to the project.

Thank you for your concern and help.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY 08540

July 7, 1978

TO: The Editorial Advisory Board of the Writings  
of Albert Einstein

FROM: Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

SUBJECT: The May 6 meeting of the Board

1. You have received the minutes of the meeting as approved by the executive committee of the Board. It is important that the minutes be complete and accurate. If you have any corrections or additions, please communicate directly with Mr. John Hunt, Secretary of the Board, at the Institute for Advanced Study.

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Thank you for your concern and help.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

June 5, 1978

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Editorial Advisory Board for The Writings of  
Albert Einstein, and invited guests

From: John Hunt, Secretary *JH*

Subject: Minutes of the meeting of May 6, 1978, of the Editorial  
Advisory Board

At the direction of the Chairman, I am sending you enclosed the minutes of the meeting of May 6. These minutes have been reviewed and corrected by the members of the Executive Committee. In the interest of a complete and formal record, I would very much appreciate receiving from you at your earliest convenience written notification of your receipt of the minutes along with whatever suggestions for changes you may wish to make.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

## Correction to Minutes

### HOLTON

✓ Add material in which Holton says we should look for what is valid in Nathan's position

✓ Item - Page 9 - Introduce Holton's concern about lack of normal editorial freedom with earlier material showing generosity of discussion.

✓ Item - Page 9, 6<sup>th</sup> line from top - Change to read  
Professor Holton stated he had gained the impression from the presentation that Professor Stachel did not have normal editorial freedom in his work.

✓ Woolf - No changes

✓ Bergmann - Page 5 - change cotensive to conspicuous  
Stated and Originally he had recommended that there be a formal stipulation ... etc.

See Text

✓ Clagett - Page 1 - Add Institute for Advanced Study at top, just below date

✓ Identify myself as Associate Director of the Institute for Advanced Study

✓ Beginning with page 2 - see Clagett's letter for connection

Dyson - Page 3, line 10 - viable

✓ Page 6, top - this sentence is garbled - suggests taking last 6 words on line 1 and put them somewhat at end of line 4

✓ Page 13 - Did we agree by voice vote to add Clagett to the Executive Committee? Check

Hoffmann - Strengthen text around (ad Hoffman's reply), that the qualifications and views of the editors were unimportant since the Einstein writings would speak for themselves

lost - Helen Dubos' interview is excessively abrupt,  
causing the impression of a plea or desire to believe  
her as the chairman

✓ Therefore - eliminate the appearance of disagreement  
between Miss Dubos and the Committee.

✓ Bargman - No comments

✓ Klen - No comments

✓ Sanbushy - No comments

✓ Scribner - No comments

✓ Belknap - as noted was found



Page 9

Reorder paragraphs as follows

Mr. Bailey and Professor  
Bergmann then spoke about  
the background of the visiting  
fellowships to the report  
materials.

OK

- ✓ Professor Stach's qualifications, etc.
- ✓ Professor Clayell, etc.
- ✓ Mrs. Duker discussed the nature of the agreement, etc.
- ✓ Professor Hollen stated he had found the program, etc.
- ✓ The chairman presided and, etc. and added
- ✓ Professor ~~Stach~~ <sup>Stach</sup>, etc.
- ✓ Professor ~~Hollen~~ <sup>Hollen</sup> stressed, etc.
- ✓ A general discussion, etc.
- ✓ As to the report, etc.

Page 3 - second page

May 5, 1948,

Professor Hollen referred to Dr. Nathan's letter, and suggested

that it be read in the point of view of both, in those points in which  
it <sup>might be</sup> possible for general agreement to be established. ~~He then~~

OK

~~He then added that while he found much that was acceptable in the~~  
~~three points listed in page 2 of the letter, that the conclusions~~  
~~drawn from the facts stated in the three points were not as what he~~  
~~had accepted. He emphasized the importance of stressing not the difficulties~~  
~~involved in Dr. Nathan's position but the possibilities for accommodation.~~

Princeton University Press PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 17, 1980

Dear John,

We didn't need this.

Thanks for the copies, I'll  
let you know how the matter  
goes. Very well, so far, I think.

As ever,

Herb  
—

*file*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

September 7, 1978

Dr. Harry Woolf  
Director  
Institute for Advanced Study

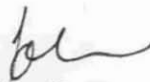
Dear Harry:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

  
John Hunt  
Associate Director

*Harry -  
This is the form  
letter used for  
everyone. Since  
the last return!  
JH*

September 7, 1978

Professor Valentine Bargmann  
87 South Stanworth Drive  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Professor Bargmann:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Sordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Viter Bergmann  
Department of Physics  
201 Physics Building  
Syracuse University  
Syracuse, New York 13210

Dear Professor Bergmann:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

copy sent to:

640 Riverside Drive  
New York, New York 10031



September 7, 1978

Professor Marshall Clagett  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Marshall:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Freeman Dyson  
School of Natural Sciences  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Freeman:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Charles Gillispie  
Program in History and  
Philosophy of Science  
220 Palmer Hall  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Charles:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Banesh Hoffmann  
43-17 169th Street  
Flushing, New York 11358

Dear Banesh:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Gerald Holton  
Department of Physics  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Gerry:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director



September 7, 1978

Professor Res Jost  
Rebhaldenstrasse 32  
CH-8103 Unterengstringen  
Switzerland

Dear Professor Jost:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor Martin J. Klein  
Department of History of  
Science and Medicine  
Yale University  
Box 2036, Yale Station  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Marty:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes  
in their final version. This version incor-  
porates the suggestions which were so kindly  
contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer  
and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Dr. Shmuel Sambursky  
The Israel National Academy  
of Sciences and Humanities  
PO Box 4040  
Jerusalem 91040  
Israel

Dear Professor Sambursky:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Mr. Charles Scribner, Jr.  
Chairman  
Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers  
597 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Scribner:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Professor John A. Wheeler  
Department of Physics  
University of Texas at Austin  
Austin, Texas -78712

Dear John:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director



September 7, 1978

Dr. Harry Woolf  
Director  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Harry:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Mr Herbert Bailey  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
William Street  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Herb:

I enclose a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Miss Helen Dukas  
401 Fuld Hall  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Miss Dukas:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

September 7, 1978

Dr. Otto Nathan  
Apartment 815  
24 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10011

Dear Dr. Nathan:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes in their final version. This version incorporates the suggestions which were so kindly contributed by various members of the Board.

I hope that you had a pleasant summer and look forward to seeing you in the future.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director

May 5, 1978

To the Editorial Advisory Board:

As I am unable to attend your meeting on May 6th because of developments that occurred since the meeting was called by letter of April 5, 1978, I should like to submit to you in writing some of my thoughts on what I consider the best possible organization of the editorial work needed in the preparation of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein."

I hope that my absence will not be interpreted as a lack of interest in that project. Ever since Einstein's death I have considered the promotion of a well-edited publication of Einstein's published and unpublished papers as my most important responsibility as the Executor of his Will and - later - as one of the two Trustees of his Literary Estate.

The first meeting which I arranged on this task took place twelve days after Einstein's death, on April 30, 1955, when I asked two of Einstein's assistants - Professor Valentine Bargmann, a member of your Board, and Dr. Bruria Kaufman - to discuss with me the initial steps considered necessary in advancing the project. We decided that nothing should be done and nobody should be approached before the matter could be discussed with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, then the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study who was absent from town at the time. I believed the Institute, with which Einstein had been associated for twenty-two years, would be the most appropriate body to take the initiative and responsibility for the project. Dr. Oppenheimer, whom I visited shortly after his return to Princeton, did not share my attitude about the project and did not consider it necessary to arrange for an edited publication of all of Einstein's papers many of which have, even now, never been published.

I shall not want to discuss the very many other efforts which Helen Dukas and myself have made in furtherance of the "Collected Works" throughout these many years. I shall only like to remind Professor Sambursky, also a member of your Board, of my visits to Jerusalem in 1963 and 1965 in the hope to arrange for the publication of the "Collected Works" in Israel. But I do want to use this opportunity for stating that Helen Dukas' partnership in that work has been inestimable. Whoever will be in charge of the "Collected Works" in the future, nobody can possibly make as great a contribution to that work as Helen Dukas has.

The question before you today has emerged only lately. Until some time ago, I myself had felt that an editor-in-chief should be in charge of Einstein's "Collected Works." Consultations, which I had with scientists and long-time editors, as well as the actual experience with the project have convinced me that the whole authority over Einstein's gigantic work should not be given to one single human being, unless we find an "Einstein" for that job. My reasons are primarily



p. 2 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

the following:

- (1) Einstein's work in physics, as has been impressed upon me by scientists and as the members of the Board would no doubt confirm, was not confined to relativity - for which he gained world-wide fame - but was massive in various other important fields of theoretical physics to all of which Einstein made most outstanding contributions. It was pointed out to me that no one single, individual physicist - even if surrounded by specialized assistants - should have sole responsibility for the editorial decisions on Einstein's papers in those many different aspects of physics.
- (2) It has unfortunately not been sufficiently recognized that Einstein was possibly the only outstanding scientist who devoted an enormous amount of time, thought and effort to many non-scientific problems and activities. There is no need to enumerate here the many noble causes in which he was untiringly active. The amount of non-scientific, unpublished material in our archives is considerably larger than the unpublished writings on scientific problems. Many of Einstein's non-scientific papers are not only most significant - particularly in view of contemporary political, economic, and social developments -, but they are also remarkably beautiful. An "editor-in-chief," who would be a theoretical physicist or an historian of science, should not have alone the authority to make final editorial decisions about the non-scientific papers.
- (3) The work should not depend on the assumed indestructability of one single human being. If an editorial board exists, there are, in the event of resignation, illness, or death, or even discharge of one of the editors, other editors available who are thoroughly familiar with the guiding principles and the logistics of the work which can be continued without major interruptions until that particular editor is replaced. Such continuity could, of course, not be expected in case all authority is vested in one person, as it would be if an editor-in-chief were in charge. The point is in my opinion very important.

As I well know, it will be pointed out that differences of opinions among the members of the Board may arise. They certainly may; if they did, it might possibly be helpful to producing an optimal manuscript. In such a case, the members of the Board will have seriously to discuss their divergent views in an attempt to come to an agreement. If they cannot reach agreement, they may have to submit their differences for a decision by Press and Estate.

It will no doubt also be pointed out that many other similar projects were carried out, or are being carried out, by a single editor-in-chief. This argument is not convincing since I do not know of any projects that are, or were, "similar" to our undertaking. There has not been anyone who was "similar" to Einstein. Einstein was unique,

p. 3 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

not in the sense that every human being is actually "unique." The Einstein project is unique, and we must find arrangements which, after very mature consideration, are appropriate in this unique case, even if the procedures applied in other projects of the same type were different.

I consider it vitally important that the editors be not burdened with administrative work. A great deal of work will have to be done (done, in the past, by Helen Dukas and myself, as much as at all possible) in trying to locate additional Einstein material. A systematic search through correspondence will be necessary which we could not undertake because of lack of time and lack of the necessary financial means (although we have succeeded in adding to the archive a large amount of important material). Moreover, a great deal of correspondence will be required to clear copyrights for non-Einstein material which the editors will consider desirable to incorporate into the manuscript. There will be other administrative tasks to be fulfilled. I suggest that an administrator or co-ordinator be appointed who will have over-all responsibility for the work and who might possibly chair the meetings of the editors. I suggest that the Board consist, at least, of three editors: a theoretical physicist, an historian of science, and a political scientist or general historian well acquainted with the history of this century.

I realize, of course, that much larger financial resources will be needed if the suggestions outlined in this note should be adopted. But the magnitude, significance, and uniqueness of our project compels us to be as realistic as possible in making decisions even if it should prove more difficult to carry out those decisions than we assumed so far.

Sincerely,

*Otto Nathan*

Otto Nathan

May 3, 1978

The Einstein Papers Project Committee  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Colleagues:

Warm good wishes to all of you and to the great enterprise with which we have the honor to be associated. Of all the wonderful achievements of the mind of man I do not know any that more than Einstein's symbolizes to human beings everywhere the power of reason to penetrate the mystery in which we all live. I do not know any whose power of expression was better matched to his power of penetration. I do not know any whose life and work will be a richer source of inspiration and instruction in the years and centuries to come.

I know that we are all sad that the letters and papers of Einstein have been delayed so many years. We are all distressed that scholars and students from the Western world do not have the collected works of Einstein in their hands, while those of the Eastern world have had his papers available in a four-volume edition for a decade.

We have come to the critical choice of an editor to go on with the enterprise from here. We have reviewed the possibilities not only from this country but from other countries. We know the requirements. We have learned if we did not already know that it is not enough for our eyes to fall on someone to have him give up heavy commitments for a single-minded devotion to this project. However we also know that no one is perfect and that no mortal can possibly fulfill every single expectation that we have. Therefore we are extremely fortunate to have found John Stachel who has a wonderful background not only in relativity but also in other fields to which Einstein gave his attention. We know he is not an historian; but we know also that it would be difficult to name any physicist with his special expertise who has a greater interest in history; and certainly none who has since taken more positive measures to prepare himself for historiography.

We have now the clear choice whether to go on with John Stachel or not. If we were to give him up, all the world would then look askance at us, at the Einstein project, and at every institution connected with it. I cannot possibly conceive of this stain ever thereafter being erased. No man who is a man would want to join a project conducted on such principles.

If, on the other hand, we make the straightforward choice to appoint Stachel as editor we will capitalize on the progress, the very substantial progress, that he has already made. We will be meeting the responsibilities to Einstein, to the Einstein Estate, and to the world of scholarship. I cannot see how anybody could possibly criticise such a forward-looking decision.

The Einstein Papers Project Committee

Page 2

May 3, 1978

Some question has been raised about replacing a single editor by a group of three editors. I cannot but think that such a move would set back the enterprise. When a job is set up so that it is everyone's responsibility it becomes no one's responsibility.

Unless you counsel me otherwise--and I'm very sorry not to be able to be present--I would like to cast my vote for Stachel as the continuing responsible editor.

John Archibald Wheeler  
Director, Center for Theoretical Physics  
University of Texas  
Joseph Henry Professor Emeritus, Princeton

P.S. There is a fine young science writer here, Thomas Sietfried, whom John Stachel would find an enormous help in the enterprise if he is in a position of wanting help.

This letter was dictated by Professor Wheeler over the telephone and transcribed.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1978

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Bailey:

As you requested in your conversation with Dr. Overmann, I am writing to explain the current position of the National Science Foundation vis-a-vis the Einstein project. After the meeting of the Advisory Panel for History and Philosophy of Science and members of the NSF staff with you, Dr. Stachel, and Miss Dukas last June, we were left with several questions concerning the organization and governance of the project. Our lawyers also wanted to examine some legal issues concerning royalties, etc. But there was a considerable degree of agreement on these issues:

1. The project should be headed by an editor-in-chief who would have the primary responsibility for the running of the project.
2. The editor, working with appropriate assistants and associates, had to be guaranteed the normal freedom and responsibilities which ordinarily belong to the position.
3. Dr. John Stachel had demonstrated that he is an appropriate choice for the position of editor.

As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.



Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

*Eloise E. Clark*

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

<sup>Baruch</sup>  
Holtzman Bailey Scribner Rogot  
Helen Dubus Baruch Hoffman Volpert Baugman Harry Woolf Mark Kline

Chairman opened the meeting and asked that a Secretary be appointed. The first was named Secretary of the meeting.

Then called on Herb Bailey to open up a massed state of prepared before any and to formal agenda.

As Lord expressed his astonishment that Dr. Nathan was not at the meeting.

Herb pointed out copies of letter from Nathan and expressed his own regret that we were not  
Marked letter from NSF about the distribution of the letter previously  
distributed letter from Wheeler and Nathan.

Expressed gratitude to Board for coming, particularly for meeting and for Lord.

Spoke of importance of Board coming together for 10 years since created (1971)  
between E state & Penn. Role of Board is to advise on price of editors.

Reported to Herbert letter which Nathan's employee dated July 14, 1979. Cannot  
possibly see beyond the point. It was anticipated that Herbert would write a paper  
to the University.

Then the fact that Nathan would be invited to Board was online.

Penn does not have the point of view.

Agreed that now been expected to commit Herbert's letter about 17 or 14, 1979.

Herb returned to state E state's reasons for the project.

For the reason he asked Dr. Nathan to submit a written statement about his  
reasons.

Herb said that the decision was a blow to everyone who wants to see the work done.

Herb asked a point at which it seemed possible to proceed, drafted a  
lay review, formed but been approved. Also a lay review for Penn, and all  
just the point of view which showed the review's assurance. A commission  
would have had agreed to endorse the review of the editorial with NSF but  
later a possible situation toward providing operating expenses of 150,000 per year  
for five years.

New chair is worthy, and appeared to NSF program and could, possibly  
function as such.

Expressed hope that Board would give into the last advice on how to  
proceed.

Chairman asked - ~~Is it not the case that the~~ asked for  
brief summary of what should be accomplished  
so far, and what is still to be accomplished.

Herb replied to remind, and stated that the answers to the questions in the  
report which had been distributed. Stated that Stated is available to  
answer questions of recovery.

Chairman suggested that Otto Nathan's letter be read by the Board,  
and then the meeting would be open for discussion.

Chairman suggested that Nathan's letter be made part of meeting  
notes.

Res. Judd said that letter is not sufficient explanation for his absence.

Herb would be did not want to be in the position of defending.

Judd said he had an obligation to be here as usual for the time.

Chairman asked if that is true we should have

Herb said <sup>Noted</sup> he did not want to defend his position and John's not  
Key editor for now - scripted words of the meeting.

Board takes note of his absence and expresses his regret.

Decided to proceed as usual and can without two.

~~Res. Judd~~

Herb emphasized that board is set up by the statute to advise  
the Editor & Press.

Chairman then opened the reply to discussion of item 2 in agenda.

Peter Bergmann spoke of his point of view on item 2 and then  
started. The French Committee itself had some differences of opinion about  
wording of qualifications recovery. Reply to Herb's letter that Key was  
Bergmann's point of view in his letter of August 1950. Bergmann  
had recommended Board of Editors as a compromise between various points of  
view, but editor would be autonomous, even though after different  
points of view. For example, might the compromise was to have  
possible which, and <sup>onward</sup> ~~upward~~ proposal was, with some after stated  
was given. It is scope satisfied that an editorial board formula is  
not a workable scheme.

1. An overall decision which would be made unanimously, and in person
2. Must be single individual who represents editorial apparatus to  
represent with all interests into

Who was  
Judd?

(See Wheeler's  
letter)

3) Has discussed matters with Nathan, with O'Connor.

Many of the proposed necessary weekly activities will be impossible if we seek a number of several editors to share the papers and work together. Pontal and similar with Akela's position, which was aimed at independently

Quoted by

Pontal - announced that they would come up after around 1971 where there is a great deal of editing, and several. It agreed pending or not? Cited point 4 of appendix in editorial with Press (and quoted the section) and asked if this was truly.

Barley - It was truly stated in Estate that they, and the respective members have stated that it is also truly a Hebrew University. Nathan is aware of this, and wants to change the culture. They cannot go forward unless Estate & Press agree. Arbitration procedure are the last resort. If he were to go to arbitration, the views of the Editorial Board would count heavily.

Klein - In earlier stages, it was clear to everyone who considered the problem that at a certain stage there would be a number of Editors, and unlike Nathan's co-editors. If Klein had been the Editor, he would have engaged such a number of Editors. Why wouldn't such an arrangement meet Nathan's objectives. It was always assumed that it was possible to have all the responsibility. Does having more equals or with a co-editor.

Barley - The NSF program encouraged the appointment of several and several editors in the manner.

Chapel - Will a triumvirate work?

Klein - It's not clear how Nathan expects to work

Woolf - Put together rally, doesn't read Hackett

Dubin - Only for science to want him, not for work

Holmes - Hackett does not read a single authority  
reproducible for the whole (both of first page of letter)  
The <sup>3</sup> names on page 2 seem largely acceptable.  
The exclusions in <sup>para 2</sup> ~~other~~ paragraphs are ~~not~~ not possible, however.  
Trying to do ~~the~~ ~~check~~ (without arbitrator) assume both  
of national necessity to have some are indicated in charge

Herlitz - The agreement with Hackett called for the formation of  
a small advisory committee. This was never approved  
because of the difficulties which arose. Believes that they  
will be very helpful to editors as needed.  
The ~~most~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~problem~~ for success is always different -  
no way to set up a selection advisory.

Board Hoffman - Confused on page 3. What is the boundary of  
the administration

Boydman - What does administrative administration?

Hoffman - <sup>Nathan</sup> Looks like someone is in charge, without actually  
carrying out editorial work.

Bailey - Board should advise in best way to do the project.  
Knows of no project organized in the way suggested by  
Otho Nathan. A single editor is the rule for similar projects -  
No other project is exactly similar, however.

Woolf - New project is key, unusual and by different editorial committee.

Include



Cham - It would be better with a single editor

God - Spoke to Nathan and he has a definite opinion of his idea  
His idea is to have 3 editors - in case they do not  
agree, the Editor and possibly the President will  
decide in the procedure. Before that this would be a  
dangerous situation.

Sardner - Seems that Nathan points out things and raises  
possibilities. Should read others if this is  
a group of associated editors in different fields.  
Has not experienced the kind of agreements/approving  
attributed by Nathan in his own career projects.  
Nathan view is not in accordance with the way  
scholarly work proceeds.

Include

Hoffman - If that is the case, to have kind of unity  
Nathan's suggested way.

Sardner - We are meeting here today because the original editorial  
plan to produce the papers seems to be proceeding  
well - why stop - Only because of potential  
disagreement or possible future problem.

Woolf - Wants to emphasize the point, and to emphasize  
complexity and difficulty of editing because of variety  
of issues - scientific and political - involved.

Sardner - How would such disagreements arise, in practical terms?

Bergman - Primary exercise of judgment would be in annotation.  
Original documents will not be destroyed - typed generations  
of ribbons can serve the purpose of binding volumes.  
Chief problem is that between 1955 and 1978, nothing  
cohesive has been published.



Publications must go ahead with best supplied system

possible.

Had originally suggested that it be decided by only the all professional members of staff but decided after to Perry, E. S. L. and Advisory Board. This would allow the appearance of opinions and institutes an appeals procedure.

Barky - This was discussed, but never put in writing because of Nolt's objection.

Chambers - Unwise to place such procedures in writing. Spoke of the expense in such projects - how arrangements evolve in terms of personal arrangements.

Nolt - There is an important way that down yet notes Nolt's opinion.

Suggested that publication of divergent views might be a useful departure from models of the past.

The Dictionary of Scientific Biography provides a model - stand divergent views appear in annotations, and then various views can be expressed.

Clayton - This was primarily due to the addition of reports.

Resford - How did a way to appear Otto Nolt's. This is our purpose. We in fact agree that the standard of editing and publication would be the same problem.

Dutens - He said - I cannot go to my grave knowing that I have not done the right thing.

Vol - Vasted - Can you go to your grave knowing that you did everything to see the papers not get published? Some material was stated not to be published. The root of the problem is that some material was in

Safe. Problem is to give access to the material to the scientific community. What this proposal reads is a midwife. Stated not my committee with a purely lectured approach producing compiled editions. Stated gave me to the problem in the opening phrases of application to NSF. But this does not disqualify Stated as midwife.

Hoffman - Panel grants of proposed editor (and Nazi) producing a compiled edition.

Lord - Does he have the necessary editorial skill - Yes or No? That is the problem. No book will be published of Einstein's papers with this procedure. If Stated is editorially incompetent, we have to choose. As the book is published properly to the National.

Scubier - What about the plan to have a second editor.

Hew - As in the proposal WASE

Scubier - Does it seem to assume Nathan? & His shows that we agree with the idea of many members of people except in part about having a single editor. Strategy would be to round out and sharpen what first plan actually accommodates general views.

Copell - Could it be left late - Suppose Stated is given a five year appointment, see how it works and will associate, etc. It would have a problem.

Bailey - Does not believe that he or any other would accept such an appointment.

Bergman - looking

Woolf - Dealing with complexity of institutions. Many would give him a terminal position which could provide security. long period during which a reversal could occur.

Bergman - No comment yet on the subject

Hall - Does the Board agree about <sup>agreed</sup> ~~editorial~~ editor 2.

Hall - Yes, No evidence that Otho disagrees.

Scrubner - What is the real problem? Is it fair to say that Nathan does not want to be an editor?

Scrubner - Is it fair to say that Nathan?

Barley - Should like to reply for Nathan, but he is not of the Board's judgment. He is not acceptable to Nathan. Nathan has said that he would not accept him in any capacity, even as a member of the University.

Dukas - Did not say he is for

~~Chairman~~

Hoffman asked what the reasons were.

Barley - Nathan feels that he has not been sufficiently consulted by Hall, in particular about matters concerning Einstein. Nathan feels that he has important contributions to make to the process.

Dukas - Hall's insulation with the Board has been more of a technical nature.

Barley - Expected topic and Dukas would attribute more of a technical nature. This would help the project.

Bergman - Was the work of Hall not nearly preliminary. What were the great decisions.

Dukas - The application to NSF was not without prior consultation with Dukas and Nathan. (An example of non-consultation - Nolan called examples.)

This was the first cause of the trouble.

Hollos - Hollos felt and that he had not had a chance to see it downed before it went to NSF.

Hart Bailey - Believed that this was a draft that was sent out for criticism.

John - It was received a day before the deadline.

Bailey - Explained time period involved in preparing the application. The fact that they had assumed personal responsibility. Hollos' trip with plans for it - needed to get application in by deadline. Hollos was faced with problem of getting the funds to proceed. Bailey explained the work circumstances in which it was prepared.

Peter Bergman - He acted out of ignorance, not out of unwillingness to consult. No need to justify his mistakes - are his mistakes, born from where he can learn, or a sign of broader aspects.

John - Is he a consulted editor or not?

Hollos - This includes simple courtesy to people.

It was said that the main problem was lack of consultation with

Olds - Could it be remedied? Could it not solve the problem by having the Hollos consult fully and freely with Olds.

Concern that the Olds should feel central to the process.

Duplex - This is an unusual point.

Chairman - Would it need to follow again an organized group of questions of single cases? Then, would be needed.

Include

Suggest that we try and visit a representative  
in first class of age 25.

Woolly - Moho - That a single card be in charge  
of the project, and no derogation

~~Embassy~~  
~~Overriding~~ - Golda favorable ~~and~~ impressed for his report.  
Will feel things done  
Has a sense of his own limitations  
Noted the obsequious of his report on his difficulties  
with Otto Wallö.

~~Seeds, the water, and also the ground where they are~~

(D) Board recommended taking the project under the direction of  
a single center,

Clayton asked if the school be authorized to include associated  
— children

Beryn - would have reported to

Below - Try to use words of Old Native language  
Pauline Warens with appropriate reader recommends

[ The Board feels that as single person should as someone  
 chief have small responsibility for the work proposed, in accordance  
 with the original contract ]

Woolf Reed wool editor or editor

Holter - Will the meter help with second wind attack

Dukes - Dahl Ave

Embursly - Talked with Otto yesterday, circulate in value

Hollos - ~~after~~ in order to do justice to the various well  
and fairly insulted nations, and after considering  
of the different incidents involved

Be sure  
to quote  
Santensky

an ~~agent~~  
accordance  
with the  
original  
copy

Tok Am  
page 3d  
Nakimfello



Chairman asked for sense of Board to cause it to do  
Executive Committee to phrase the note (in consultation  
with Helen Dukas)

Res. 1000 - Spoke of necessity to relieve the carriage of  
serving of Otto Nathan in heavy burden  
Our position is the usual to telephone,  
to relieve him of the enormous burden - This  
should be added to motion

Dukas - Recalled role of Otto Nathan in saving the rights  
of people who could not have property

Chairman - Have heard the advice on time with regard to  
the motion

Hoffman - Must note that it is also the center of the  
project, and not

The Vote - Approved unanimously

Clayton - Should there be a note about Associate Editors

Fischer - Moves that the Board further recommends that  
Associate Editors be appointed

1000 - Use Nathan's own words wherever possible in  
formulating the note

~~Chairman~~ it seconded

Chairman - This note appears to Board's recommendation

will phrase in accordance with NSF proposal  
and Otto Nathan letter  
This will be left to Executive Committee

page 36  
from NSF  
proposal

inaccuracy



Vote is unanimous

Bailey - Minutes will be looked at by Executive Committee and then distributed to the Board

Chairman opened discussion on point 3

Markus Klein -

One of the things to safeguard is a certain freedom of action on the part of the editor. Expressed concern that the hands of the editor not be tied.

14 circle  
Lengronne - Freedom of responsibility in raising funds is linked with freedom of Press. Otto said that he had a legal responsibility that was not in a position to discharge. Explained Otto's response in the war.

Dubus - And it was done with some of the Estate.

Bailey - NSF shows that Editor must be free to act as editor. Press shares this view, and at the same time understands other concerns. After his long experience, it is difficult for Otto to hand over part of this responsibility to an editor.

Chairman - Do we recommend nomination of John Steward as editor, or not. This is practical problem. If affirmative, need to recommend Otto to the position. Otherwise, would normally go to arbitrator.

Woolf - Some may wish to avoid arbitrator, and drop or delay proposal

José - Could be stated differently from publicly schedule as laid out in NSF proposal?

Bailey - Most of interest is in composition of the group as outlined by Jos.

Clagett - Is it the understanding of those who met with NSF  
that the three points listed in their letter to me?

Barley - One of the difficulties was the nature of the NSF response to  
the original proposal. Essentially they wanted to take over  
the project, but finally backed away. Originally NSF was  
stakeholder about Stokols' qualifications. This question was  
resolved to their satisfaction in their discussion with  
him, and is so noted in point 3 of April 16 letter.  
Everyone is glad that Estabrook was without personal interest.

IsO - In case of doubt, don't publish.

Barley - One way, to Estabrook's, not without things.

IsO - This could be a problem if Holland feels a logjam.

Barley - Not a problem.

Holland - It seems, from Stokols, <sup>does</sup> not have some editorial  
freedom.

Clagett - It could be going much faster if he could use his  
assessments properly, to have access to materials.

Dubos - Photo of background of agreement - Trust lawyers  
agreed even to edit clearly with materials as a  
copy of archive very well. John has free access to  
the material.

Peter Bergman - The case of rear threat of document made  
everyday results to the quality of access.

Dubos - <sup>Freedom</sup> He has access plus copy.

Bailey - In the process of informing the copy to the  
originals when two assistants were helping  
with this, Otto Paul and W. O. Amstutz had  
access and Otto was very upset that the assistants  
were copying the original with the drawings, even  
though Helen was there. Should we then tell  
that we are exceptionally careful to have access.

Chasman - This is not a problem for edition.

Upd were discussing is not Howard's point  
but relation between any edition staffed  
with ad-reservation experience by the Estate.  
Do we need to come to recommendations about it?  
We must think about the point of which it is not  
we would recommend inclusion of Howard's edition.

Holtz - Should have the same security arrangements as have been  
applied to other great scholarly projects (Nash, etc.)  
Kepler has to be shown to the documents - This is  
There is also an historic mission involved. The  
Horn from sense of security issues, with Estate -  
We would have impeded people involved also working  
with Estate - The library must take into consideration  
the arguments of a great scholarly project - proper  
security arrangements and well cleared people. There are  
rules which can be followed.

Schubert - If we decide to endorse a letter of Mr. Howard, we should  
we say as supplement that he should be accorded  
normal freedom for application to any chief edition

Tote language  
from NSF  
proposal

Cham - He is invited in quality of recommending  
John Slack as editor

Burary - Quoting Nathan - The ideal editor  
will always have more than the ideal editor, and  
Nathan one word

Dyon - <sup>after's dismay</sup> should we say we state his dismay and worry  
of just drop of ~~the~~ proposal to NSF, and  
the rest of the circumstances, and then say the  
matter is closed, so that the issues surrounding the  
editorship can be dealt with a ~~the~~ results alone.

afternoon

Cham - Do we want to invite Slack to join us?  
Suggested we come quickly to a decision of the  
principal issue. Can we make a decision about  
the Board's recommendation of his status as editor  
Has a feeling that there are some reservations. Excluded  
frankness in the mind of each Board Member.

Scrubner - Suggested again that editorial freedom be better within  
Slack's administration. Believes now that should be expanded.  
Moves that one of the Board that it be approved in  
language of NSF approval be guaranteed the usual freedom  
of expression be accorded to any editor. Believes this  
stand apply to any editor.

Dyon - We state dismay of Dr. Nathan's absence of the Board of  
language in NSF document [than selected for  
how the proposal] suggested nothing be done. \*

Klein - Note that a new part of motion involving Slack. Should  
bring the importance of it. 1

Cham - This would serve as preamble.

Get largest  
from Freeman

Chairman - He has now discussed the appointment of Hackett

Woolf - Is he so appointed without equivocation. There were initial doubts, but they have passed.

Chaplin - His preliminary work has been done seriously and completely. If his index is only 479, it will be extremely useful to scholars. Also approves.

Holla - Agrees that he is an appropriate choice. Wishes we had an image of what when he would be working. Also would like to know who Friedman's choice he would have. L. (Dobson) had other details, he felt disappointed in the degree of enthusiasm he could bring to the appointment of Hackett.

Klein - If Hackett is not confirmed, it will be very difficult to find anyone else.

Sautner - Is it possible for us to have him be approved by Advisory Board

Chairman - This should be in an accompanying note. Perhaps the principle already exists.

Woolf - In a sense, the Hackett society will need a certain kind of approval as a result of their work and the status

Institute

Chair - Would welcome the Institute playing a more formal role. Institute is a natural home for the project. Hopes that we could go beyond of the E. S. to formalizing the role of the Institute.



Chairman - Pointed out that someone stated that the  
would be a learned psychological analysis.  
Thinks it very improbable that the university  
would note such an appointment.

Woolf - What position will be filled through

Bailey - Variety of possibilities - Research appointments, ~~and~~ part  
appointments, part time. Has discussed the well known  
Faculty, various things are possible, has tried to discuss  
the issue now.

Woolf - The problem of Stachel's security nevertheless remains part of  
the problem

Bailey - If Einstein agrees and Stachel should agree, then an  
analysis must be found which is acceptable to everyone.

Chair

Resolved - Board recommends that the statement be returned in its  
part as Editor (with preamble incorporating  
Freeman Dyson's remarks and other appropriate  
language for NSF proposal).

Peter Bergman - Believes appropriate for Board to take a formal informed  
attitude to NSF response to proposal. Building is  
response

Voll - Uncommon

Motion to invite John Stachel to meeting

Basically an important of Einstein's idea of not missing opportunities in life.

Chairman - What do we say to Stachel who feels we are why,



Bailey - In appointments for associated editors, a smaller editorial committee should review notes under the Editorial Board.

→  
Bergmann - Press and I state can seek advice about associated editors.

Bailey - Expressed willingness to follow the procedure.

Chamman - This degree of formality justifies the importance of the position of associated editors.

#### Questions for Stachel

Editorial Policy

Associated Editors

who could be brought on quickly

Bergmann (spoke a good deal of glibly to project early, bring things out relatively quickly.)

Bergmann - referred to what is already in the NSF proposal.

Chamman welcomed John Stachel to meet.

Chamman: Bergmann stated that there were some questions for Stachel.

Peter Bergmann: As he understands grand scheme which is to proceed in chronological order which is expected as soon as possible. Matter of morale and marketability, comments will be put out as quickly as possible and are not even if they are out of order so as to create interest. Important for the Press, and general program of work. Has no specific suggestions. There might be some matters of particular interest, published and, which should come out as quickly as possible.

John Stachel: Did NSF proposal in great haste, much more rapidly than he would have liked. Wanted to get together editorial committee to discuss the plan which he still regards as tentative. It is open to suggestions in order of appearance. Looks upon editorial itself as primarily a responsibility for the

fulfill with rapid opportunity to do it carefully and  
separately. Work on proposals to establish a research  
center at Einstein Institute. This  
would involve inviting people to the Institute to work on various  
pieces of the collection, with various independent publications  
resulting from their work not directly related to the ~~main~~ project.  
There is every intention

Bergman - In order to select material for advance material  
need to know (1) what's manuscript and (2) behind  
impulsion to know what is to do or do something  
strong interest. Recognize Bailey's point that the  
liberal persons would delete from collected  
works. Bergman says to what the difference

Stackel - Does not agree with Bailey's point in the context  
Forster library and institutional role.

Bergman - In 50's and 60's, institutional role was assumed. Today  
this is not the case.

Klein - all scientific libraries will try it.

sp.?

Bailey - Press is not a huge institution. It has to be protected  
to some degree. The Einstein-Cantor exchange should not  
be withheld - there is a need and interest which should be  
satisfied. However, there is a legitimate need to  
protect the collected works so that the edition is not an  
anti-climax. ~~However~~ However, this is fairly true we  
ought to do it right - favor chronological approach.

Cloggett - If an independent volume is produced, it might be  
published as an associated volume and would not  
necessarily become part of the project.

Bailey -

Chairman - all this is of interest, but I presuppose that and  
that we will actually be going forward.

Clayton - A lot of associated editors. Where does this stand?  
Do you have names at this point?

Stack - Run McCombs as one. There were others.  
Peter Galois

Chairman - How would appointments work?

Stack - Long term approach would suggest, a group of  
committed people who would make a long-term  
commitment. Also people who would come in  
if Peter Hirsch could come for 6 months or a year and  
work in field of his interest (relationship of Einstein and  
Adler, etc.), this would be a useful pattern for short-term  
collaborators (available for consultation in special fields).  
Long range paid term people are also a possibility.

Bailey - An alternate term approach might work for people  
with

Holmes - Hopes that Einstein Center would be started early, in  
into development of project. We are now in a state  
of scholarship which allows us to make a very model  
of the project. In this way, the delay actually serves  
us by permitting things which would not be possible earlier.

Stack - Many would think along similar lines and suggests  
that the Center would be established as an early step under  
sponsorship of Institute.

Scraper -

Stachel - Still believe chronological approach is best. But definition of chronological is still open. Scope of value of cross-referencing scientific papers, correspondence, etc., may turn appear to have had if ever in separate volumes.

Hollos - Asked if Stachel would like to discuss certain things. For example, an choice of advisory committee.

Stachel - Would appreciate as much advice as possible on this and other matters. Work on duplicated volumes and indexing and types to be finished by middle of next year. Would appreciate help from the group.

Chairman - One of the issues that was expressed by Otto about his reservations was the editorial direction ought not to be arbitrary under the charge of one person (arbitrariness). Most of us feel that it is an ongoing problem but real sense it is felt by Otto. Our recommendations will be more effective if we can say while Otto will be an editor-in-chief that will be advisory editor and Otto directly will be a collegial as well as arbitrary. Would like to say this if John doesn't object.

In appointing and choice of editorial editor, they must need approval by Pres & Board. So my suggestion is to put them through the Board.

Perhaps then the point would be placed etc.

Stachel - No objection in any way. The collegial group must have day-to-day responsibility in running the project. Need large degree of authority. The collegial group would be

accountable but live day to day autonomy.

Bailey - The Executive Committee or Editorial Committee should be an advising body. Quite satisfied to have the Editorial take advice but exercise the authority. The Press and probably the Estate would be responsive and willing to take the advice of the group, without there being a contractual sort of arrangement.

Bergman - Proposed the following statement:  
We appreciate etc. to editorial independence

Bailey - Believes it is a good move

~~Report~~ It was decided to put Bergman's statement in the minutes, but it is not to be forwarded to NSF.

Chairman asked the Executive Committee to appoint the  
The function of the Executive Committee is to carry on  
the

Proposes the following as Executive Council

Professor Bergman

Bergman

Harry Woolf

Charles Villipie

Moved and seconded

Approved unanimously

Include  
all letters  
as part of  
the minutes

Holmes - Next steps should be carried out with diplomatic NSF

Let To talk to the Nelson. Suggested a  
pilgrimage to persuade him that he really is an innocent  
defendant but that this is a point of view of the scholarly community.  
Suggested Professor JORD to this should mess  
the agreed.



Vote - Expressed willingness to do this. Will say that  
we all want to help. Our main concern is to  
bring out the published work as quickly as  
possible. There is no hostility to Otho in the  
group.

Chairman

There being no further business, the meeting  
was adjourned



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY


PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

June 5, 1978

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Editorial Advisory Board for The Writings of  
Albert Einstein, and invited guests

From: John Hunt, Secretary 

Subject: Minutes of the meeting of May 6, 1978, of the Editorial  
Advisory Board

At the direction of the Chairman, I am sending you enclosed the minutes of the meeting of May 6. These minutes have been reviewed and corrected by the members of the Executive Committee. In the interest of a complete and formal record, I would very much appreciate receiving from you at your earliest convenience written notification of your receipt of the minutes along with whatever suggestions for changes you may wish to make.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

June 5, 1978

MINUTES

Meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board  
The Writings of Albert Einstein  
May 6, 1978

Members of the Board  
Present:

Messrs. Gillispie (Chairman); Bargmann, Bergmann, Clagett,  
Dyson, Hoffmann, Holton, Jost, Klein, Sambursky, Scribner,  
Woolf.

Members of the Board Absent:

John Wheeler

Invited Guests Present:

Herbert Bailey, Helen Dukas, John Hunt (Secretary)

Invited Guests Absent:

Otto Nathan

The Chairman opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. and asked that  
a Secretary be named, at which time Mr. John Hunt was appointed  
Secretary.

In response to an expression of disappointment by Professor Jost  
at the absence of Dr. Otto Nathan, the Chairman called on  
Mr. Herbert Bailey to provide a status report of the project  
before moving to the formal agenda.

Mr. Bailey then expressed his gratitude to the Board for  
coming to the meeting, and particularly to Professors  
Jost and Sambursky for coming such long distances. After  
pointing out that this was the first meeting of the Board  
since 1971, shortly after the Contract between the Estate  
and the Press was signed, he stressed that a primary role of the  
Board is to advise the Estate and the Press on the choice of an  
Editor of the project. Mr. Bailey then stated that the  
contract with the present Editor, Professor John Stachel, would  
be terminated on July 14, 1979.

-2-

By way of background, Mr. Bailey reported that it had been anticipated that once Professor Stachel was named Editor, he would remain in this capacity until the project was completed. Then in the autumn of 1977, Dr. Nathan speaking for the Estate said that he wanted Professor Stachel's contract, which had never been signed by all parties, to be declared null and void. As the Press did not share this point of view, it was agreed that Professor Stachel's working arrangement or contract would be extended to July 14, 1979, at which time it would come to an end.

Mr. Bailey expressed reluctance to speak for Dr. Nathan and said that he supposed that Dr. Nathan's reasons for this decision were contained in his letter of May 5, 1978 to the Board which he himself had not yet read. He went on to say that this decision was a blow to everyone who wanted to see the project brought to completion, since it followed a long search both for an Editor and for the necessary funds, at the conclusion of which Professor Stachel had been named Editor, an anonymous donor had tentatively agreed to endow the editorship in the amount of \$1 million, and the NSF had taken a favorable attitude toward providing operating expenses of \$150 thousand per year for five years. He added that all of these arrangements have now been postponed, pending further action.

Mr. Bailey concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that the Board would now advise on how best to proceed.

The Chairman then asked for a brief summary of what Professor Stachel had accomplished thus far, and what he is likely to accomplish.

Mr. Bailey replied that this was covered in the report which he had circulated earlier, and noted that Professor Stachel would be available throughout the day to answer any questions.

The Chairman then suggested a brief break during which Dr. Nathan's letter could be read by all members of the Board. At the conclusion of the reading of the letter, he asked that it be made part of the minutes of the meeting.

-3-

The Board then agreed to note with regret Dr. Nathan's absence, and to proceed without him by means of a discussion of his views as presented in the letter.

The Chairman then turned to the second point on the Agenda, which called for a discussion of the question of a single Editor, a Board of Editors, or possible other arrangements.

Professor Bergmann opened the discussion by describing the background of the decision to appoint Professor Stachel. He pointed out that the original Search Committee had held varying views about the nature of the Editorship and that he had recommended a Board of Editors as a compromise. After discussion of the idea, it was agreed by the Search Committee that such a compromise was not a viable solution, and this compromise proposal was accordingly withdrawn. Professor Bergmann declared himself convinced by now that an Editorial Board formula was not a workable scheme, and spoke of the need for a single Editor-in-Chief who can make decisions comprehensively and not in pieces, and who can represent the editorial apparatus in negotiations with all interested parties. He also pointed out that the financing of the overall project and the necessary working conditions would be next to impossible if a number of senior Editors were asked to give up their present positions and to work together on a basis of equality. In this connection, he noted the similarities between his views and those expressed in Professor Wheeler's letter to the Board.

Professor Jost then cited the contract of 1971, and asked if Point 4 of the Appendix which agreed on a single Editor was binding.

Mr. Bailey stated that it was binding, and that Dr. Nathan would like to change the contract. In the case of a fundamental disagreement, arbitration procedures would be the last resort, in which eventuality the views of the Editorial Board would be a significant factor.

Professor Klein pointed out that it had always been assumed that at a certain stage in the project, Associate Editors from different disciplines would be appointed, and

-4-

function not unlike Dr. Nathan's suggested Co-Editors. He asked if such an arrangement would meet Dr. Nathan's objections, since there had been agreement that no one person possessed all the requisite knowledge, and that Associate Editors to cover the various fields involved would be named.

Mr. Bailey mentioned that the NSF proposal envisaged the appointment of Associate and Assistant Editors from different disciplines. He then pointed out that the agreement with Professor Stachel called for the formation of a small advisory committee of scientists, historians, and others.

A general discussion then ensued in which a variety of views were expressed with regard to a single Editor working with a group of Advisory and Associate Editors as opposed to several Editors working with the same degree of authority and responsibility.

Professor Hoffmann asked for a clarification on the functions of the administrator mentioned on page 3 of Dr. Nathan's letter, and suggested that it would appear that such an administrator would be in operational charge of the project without actually carrying out editorial work.

Mr. Bailey said that in his view the Board should advise on the best way to carry out the project, and that he knew of no project organized in the manner suggested by Dr. Nathan. While recognizing that no other project was exactly similar to this one, he pointed out that a single Editor was the rule for projects of this nature.

Dr. Woolf mentioned that the editing of Newton's writings was being carried out in several parts, and the Chairman remarked that the Newton project would be better directed if there were a single Editor.

Professor Jost said that his conversations with Dr. Nathan had left him with the impression that Dr. Nathan's view was to have three Editors and that if they could not agree, the Estate and possibly the Press would adjudicate the dispute. Professor Jost stated that a situation of this kind could be dangerous to the successful carrying out of the project.



-5-

Mr. Scribner pointed out that Dr. Nathan's position emphasized adversary possibilities. He said that his own view was that such a position was not in accordance with the way scholarly work proceeds, and that adversary proceedings would not be the case with a group of Associate Editors in different fields. Mr. Scribner then went on to say that the present editorial arrangement seemed to be working well, and that there was no need to stop it because of potential disagreement or possible future problems.

Dr. Woolf stated his support of Mr. Scribner's position, and emphasized the complexity and delicacy of the Editor's role because of the variety of issues - scientific and political -- involved.

Mr. Scribner then asked how in practical terms disagreement would be likely to arise.

Professor Bergmann pointed out that the principal exercise of judgment would be in the area of annotation. Since the original archive will be kept intact, later generations of scholars would be able to go over the papers and produce corrections. He stated that the principal problem is that between 1955 and 1978 nothing cohesive has been published, and said that the project must go ahead with the best support system possible. He also recommended that there be a formal stipulation that all professional members of the staff have direct access to the Press, the Estate and the Advisory Board. This procedure would allow for differences of opinion, and constitute an appeals procedure in case of adversary situations, but an informal consensus to this effect might be preferable to a formal document.

In summary, there was general agreement on the validity of Dr. Nathan's concern about the enormous range of the task, with the important difference that the Board felt that the nature of this concern pointed to the need for one Editor-in-Chief, working with a group of Associate and Advisory Editors, who would be in charge of the project and empowered to make editorial decisions. There was further agreement, and it was stated unanimously, that the Board was obliged as a result of its friendly and collegial



-6-

relationship with Dr. Nathan to convey to him its wide experience of scholarly projects, and that on the evidence of the Board's collective experience in such matters, there was need to invest one Editor with the necessary authority to take decisions, realizing that his judgments would be tempered by the normal intellectual give and take with the advisory committee, the permanent existence of the archives, and the judgment of later generations of scholars who would have access to the archives.

The question was then raised of the qualifications of Professor Stachel as Editor, and of Dr. Nathan's view of him in this role.

Professor Jost stated his view that the project needed a midwife, and that Professor Stachel's mistakes in the preparation of the NSF application did not disqualify him for this role, a view in which Professor Bergmann concurred. He went on to say that the real question was whether or not Professor Stachel had the necessary editorial skills. If the answer to this question was affirmative, then he should be asked to go ahead with the project, because the alternative procedures suggested were such that no volume of the Einstein Papers would ever be published.

Mr. Scribner asked if the plan for having Associate Editors was in the proposal to NSF, and Mr. Bailey stated that it was. Mr. Scribner then asked if this was not adequate reassurance for Dr. Nathan, since it shows that the Board agrees with the idea of using a number of people for editorial purposes, the exception being the Board's view that there should be a single Editor-in-Chief.

Professor Clagett asked if Professor Stachel might be given a five-year appointment to see how effectively he worked with his Associated Editors.

Mr. Bailey said that he did not believe the Professor Stachel or anyone else would accept such an appointment.

Dr. Woolf pointed out that a complex of institutions was involved, and that Princeton University would give him a tenured position which could provide security.

Professor Bargmann indicated that there had not yet been a commitment from the University.

-7-

Professor Holton asked if Dr. Nathan agreed about having Associate Editors, and Mr. Bailey replied that there was no evidence that he disagreed.

The discussion which followed confirmed that Dr. Nathan did not have confidence in Professor Stachel acting as the sole editorial authority for all of Einstein's work, an objection which the appointment of Associate and Advisory Editors would be designed to meet.

It was also revealed that various members present at the meeting felt that they had been insufficiently consulted by Professor Stachel as regards the preparation of the NSF application. In this connection, it was agreed that Dr. Nathan should not merely be consulted on technical matters, but should be treated as one central to the entire process, given his historic role with regard to Einstein and the Einstein legacy. Mr. Bailey then explained the time factor involved in preparing the NSF application, and pointed out that Professor Stachel was faced with the problem of securing the necessary funds to proceed. The sense of the meeting was that Professor Stachel's error in this regard was unintentional, and could be corrected by adopting as future practice full and free consultation with Dr. Nathan and all others concerned with the project, as dictated by circumstance.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the second item on the Agenda.

The following motion was then put before the Board by Dr. Woolf:

After due consideration of the uniqueness of the Einstein project, and after due consultation with the appropriate scholarly community, and in full recognition of and admiration for the courage and tenacity of Otto Nathan in bearing for so long the extraordinary responsibility of this historic task, and with a sincere desire to share with him this burden and thus to help bring to fruition his noble dream, the Members of the Editorial Advisory Board

-8-

gathered here at the Institute for Advanced Study recommend that a single Editor be appointed who will coordinate the entire project and who will have overall responsibility for the work, in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Sambursky, who noted for the record his favorable impression of Professor Stachel's report, and his belief that Professor Stachel was a man aware of his own limitations who would get things done. The motion was then unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board. The following related motion was then put before the Board:

The Members of the Editorial Advisory Board further recommend the appointment of Associate Editors who will assume a major share of the decision-making about the project as a whole and who will be selected with a view to providing appropriate additional expertise in the fields of theoretical physics and historical, political, and social problems.

The motion was seconded and unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board.

The Chairman then opened the discussion on Point 3 of the Agenda with regard to the manner in which the Estate and the Press should proceed in light of the above recommendations. Specifically, he put the question to the Board as to whether Professor Stachel should or should not be continued as Editor of the project.

Professor Claggett asked at this point if it was the understanding of those who met with the NSF group that the three points listed in their letter had been met.

Mr. Bailey said that one of the difficulties resulted from the nature of the NSF response to the original proposal. Essentially NSF had wanted to intrude deeply into the management of the project. Originally NSF had been skeptical about

-9-

Professor Stachel's qualifications, but this question was resolved to the satisfaction of NSF in the discussion meeting with him, and was so noted in point 3 of the April 26 letter. Mr. Bailey concluded by saying that everyone is agreed that the Estate can withhold personal material, but over the years the Estate has not held things back and this should not be thought of as a problem.

Professor Holton stated his understanding that Professor Stachel did not have normal editorial freedom in his work.

Professor Clagett said that Professor Stachel would be going much faster if his assistants had proper access to the materials.

Miss Dukas spoke of the background of the agreement which governed access, and said that the Estate lawyer had been against the idea of the Editor having free access or making a copy of the archive.

The Chairman pointed out that this was not normal freedom for an Editor, and said that the point under discussion was not Professor Stachel's position but the relations between any editorial staff and the control exercised by the Estate.

A general discussion ensued in which a variety of views were expressed. There was general agreement on Professor Stachel's qualifications, and the acceptance of the validity of these qualifications by the Advisory Board and by NSF.

Professor Klein spoke of the need to assure appropriate editorial freedom to the Editor and his editorial team, including normal access to the archive, and this point was seconded by the Board.

Professor Holton stressed that the security requirements of a great scholarly project must be taken into consideration, with due attention being given to proper security arrangements and to the proper clearance of the people involved in the project.

At this point the meeting was adjourned for lunch.

-10-

Afternoon Session

The meeting resumed at 2:00 p.m., and the Chairman asked that the Board direct its discussion to the question of the recommendation or non-recommendation of John Stachel as Editor of the project.

In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that the preliminary work had been carried out by Professor Stachel in a serious and competent way. It was also noted that it would be very difficult to secure the working cooperation of other highly qualified scholars if Stachel were not continued as Editor.

An additional point was made concerning the advisability of stating the Board's right of review of Professor Stachel's eventual appointment of Advisory Editors, and Dr. Woolf noted that should the Institute play a more formal and active role in the overall project, it would exercise its normal right of approval of all those working at the Institute.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Institute was the natural home for the project, and that he would welcome the Institute playing a more formal role. He further expressed the hope that the agreement of the Estate could be secured regarding the formalization of the academic role of the Institute.

In answer to a question about Professor Stachel's eventual status at the University or the Institute with regard to the necessary security of his appointment, Mr. Bailey indicated that if the Estate should agree on the desirability of Professor Stachel's continuing as Editor, then an arrangement could be found which was acceptable to everyone.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the third item on the Agenda.

The Board shared the dismay expressed by Dr. Nathan at the errors of fact and of language contained in Professor Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF

errors of fact and of language contained in Professor

Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF last year.



-11-

last year. It discussed at length whether these errors were so serious as to disqualify Professor Stachel for the position of Editor-in-Chief. The Board concluded that the document in question, having been written under pressure of a deadline and in no sense intended as a scholarly publication, should be regarded as an indiscretion of no lasting significance, and the incident was accordingly regarded by the Board as closed.

The following motion was then put before the Board:

In light of the positive view of the Board of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performance to date, the Board recommends that John Stachel be continued in his post as Editor beyond the term presently agreed on and so long as his performance is deemed satisfactory by all parties involved in the project.

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was further agreed that the Press and Estate should seek advice as needed about Associate Editors, from the Executive Committee of the Board or from elsewhere.

The Chairman pointed out that the degree of formality thus attached to the appointment of the Associate Editors, strengthened the importance of their position.

It was then agreed that Professor Stachel should be asked to join the meeting so that Board members could discuss with him various aspects of the project.

The Chairman welcomed Professor Stachel, and opened the meeting to questions.

Professor Bergmann asked if as a matter of morale and marketability, the present decision to proceed with publication in chronological order might be reviewed, with the hope that some materials might be published as quickly as possible.

Professor Stachel replied that he was open to suggestions regarding the order of appearance of the materials, and that he looked upon the edition itself as primarily a responsibility for the future with a major requirement that of doing the work carefully



-12-

and responsibly. He also mentioned that the work on the papers was a nucleus around which an Einstein research center could be formed, which might eventually involve inviting people to the Institute to work on various pieces of the collection, with independent publications resulting from this work and drawing attention to the overall project.

Professor Holton expressed the hope that a Center of Einstein Studies could be planned early in the development of the project. Professor Stachel stated that Dr. Woolf was already working along similar lines, and suggested that the Center should be established at an early stage under the sponsorship of the Institute.

Mr. Bailey made the point that the Press was making a huge investment in the project, and pointed out that there is a legitimate need to protect the Collected Works so that the edition is not an anticlimax. He expressed approval of Professor Stachel's position that the principal need was to do the work properly, and stated that he favored the chronological approach.

Professor Stachel was asked how the appointment of Associate Editors would work. He replied that this would involve a group of people who would make a long-term commitment to the project, plus others who would be available for short-term collaboration. He stated that he would appreciate receiving as much advice as possible on this and other matters.

The Chairman then stated that the Board would like assurances that while it is recommending a single Editor-in-Chief, it understands that there will also be Advisory Editors and that the overall direction of the project will be collegial rather than authoritarian. He further indicated that the choice of Advisory Editors would need the approval of the Estate, the Press, the Board, and possibly the Institute, and asked for Professor Stachel's views on these points.

-13-

Professor Stachel replied that he had no objection of any kind, and that the collegial group must have day-to-day responsibility for managing the project on a basis of day-to-day autonomy with ultimate accountability to those parties named by the Chairman.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Press and probably the Estate would be willing to take the advice of the Executive Committee of the Board on such appointments, and that he was personally quite satisfied to have the Editor-in-Chief solicit advice but exercise the day-to-day authority.

At the request of the Chairman, the following members of the Board were recommended to the Executive Committee:

Valentine Bargmann

Peter Bergmann

Charles Gillispie (Chairman)

Harry Woolf

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was then suggested that Professor Jost personally convey to Dr. Nathan the sense of the meeting as a contribution to his thinking from the scholarly community, in full awareness of the extraordinary responsibility he had assumed for more than two decades.

Professor Jost agreed, stressing that the Board's main concern was to bring out the published work as quickly as possible, in an appropriate manner.

The following statement of Professor Bergmann was entered in the minutes.

will not be recorded as the Board

The Board appreciates the interest that the NSF has shown in the Einstein Project. It feels obligated, however, to point out that to have NSF share managerial control as envisaged in the letter to

-14-

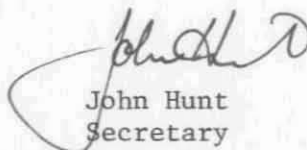
Professor Stachel from Dr. Overmann of July 20, 1977, would be likely to be counterproductive, and to endanger scholarly independence.

independence.

Mr. Bailey pointed out that NSF had very substantially changed its position from that stated in the letter of July 20, 1977 and now appeared to be eager to help, as stated in Dr. Clark's letter of April 26, 1978.

At the Chairman's suggestion, it was agreed that the letters from Dr. Nathan, Professor Wheeler, and Dr. Eloise Clark would be included in the minutes, and are accordingly attached.

There being no further business, the Chairman adjourned the meeting at 3:30 p.m.



John Hunt  
Secretary

## A G E N D A

The Editorial Advisory Board

The Writings of Albert Einstein

Meeting Saturday, May 6, 1978

10:00 a.m. at Princeton University Press

1. Opening remarks by the Chairman
2. Discussion of the question of a single editor; a board of editors, or possible other arrangements
3. Depending on 2 above, how should the Estate and the Press proceed?
4. Appointment of an executive committee of the Editorial Advisory Board

Lunch will be provided. The meeting will continue after lunch but will adjourn by 4:00 p.m. at the latest.

May 5, 1978

To the Editorial Advisory Board:

As I am unable to attend your meeting on May 6th because of developments that occurred since the meeting was called by letter of April 5, 1978, I should like to submit to you in writing some of my thoughts on what I consider the best possible organization of the editorial work needed in the preparation of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein."

I hope that my absence will not be interpreted as a lack of interest in that project. Ever since Einstein's death I have considered the promotion of a well-edited publication of Einstein's published and unpublished papers as my most important responsibility as the Executor of his Will and - later - as one of the two Trustees of his Literary Estate.

The first meeting which I arranged on this task took place twelve days after Einstein's death, on April 30, 1955, when I asked two of Einstein's assistants - Professor Valentine Bargmann, a member of your Board, and Dr. Bruria Kaufman - to discuss with me the initial steps considered necessary in advancing the project. We decided that nothing should be done and nobody should be approached before the matter could be discussed with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, then the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study who was absent from town at the time. I believed the Institute, with which Einstein had been associated for twenty-two years, would be the most appropriate body to take the initiative and responsibility for the project. Dr. Oppenheimer, whom I visited shortly after his return to Princeton, did not share my attitude about the project and did not consider it necessary to arrange for an edited publication of all of Einstein's papers many of which have, even now, never been published.

I shall not want to discuss the very many other efforts which Helen Dukas and myself have made in furtherance of the "Collected Works" throughout these many years. I shall only like to remind Professor Sambursky, also a member of your Board, of my visits to Jerusalem in 1963 and 1965 in the hope to arrange for the publication of the "Collected Works" in Israel. But I do want to use this opportunity for stating that Helen Dukas' partnership in that work has been inestimable. Whoever will be in charge of the "Collected Works" in the future, nobody can possibly make as great a contribution to that work as Helen Dukas has.

The question before you today has emerged only lately. Until some time ago, I myself had felt that an editor-in-chief should be in charge of Einstein's "Collected Works." Consultations, which I had with scientists and long-time editors, as well as the actual experience with the project have convinced me that the whole authority over Einstein's gigantic work should not be given to one single human being, unless we find an "Einstein" for that job. My reasons are primarily



p. 2 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

the following:

- (1) Einstein's work in physics, as has been impressed upon me by scientists and as the members of the Board would no doubt confirm, was not confined to relativity - for which he gained world-wide fame - but was massive in various other important fields of theoretical physics to all of which Einstein made most outstanding contributions. It was pointed out to me that no one single, individual physicist - even if surrounded by specialized assistants - should have sole responsibility for the editorial decisions on Einstein's papers in those many different aspects of physics.
- (2) It has unfortunately not been sufficiently recognized that Einstein was possibly the only outstanding scientist who devoted an enormous amount of time, thought and effort to many non-scientific problems and activities. There is no need to enumerate here the many noble causes in which he was untiringly active. The amount of non-scientific, unpublished material in our archives is considerably larger than the unpublished writings on scientific problems. Many of Einstein's non-scientific papers are not only most significant - particularly in view of contemporary political, economic, and social developments -, but they are also remarkably beautiful. An "editor-in-chief," who would be a theoretical physicist or an historian of science, should not have alone the authority to make final editorial decisions about the non-scientific papers.
- (3) The work should not depend on the assumed indestructability of one single human being. If an editorial board exists, there are, in the event of resignation, illness, or death, or even discharge of one of the editors, other editors available who are thoroughly familiar with the guiding principles and the logistics of the work which can be continued without major interruptions until that particular editor is replaced. Such continuity could, of course, not be expected in case all authority is vested in one person, as it would be if an editor-in-chief were in charge. The point is in my opinion very important.

As I well know, it will be pointed out that differences of opinions among the members of the Board may arise. They certainly may; if they did, it might possibly be helpful to producing an optimal manuscript. In such a case, the members of the Board will have seriously to discuss their divergent views in an attempt to come to an agreement. If they cannot reach agreement, they may have to submit their differences for a decision by Press and Estate.

It will no doubt also be pointed out that many other similar projects were carried out, or are being carried out, by a single editor-in-chief. This argument is not convincing since I do not know of any projects that are, or were, "similar" to our undertaking. There has not been anyone who was "similar" to Einstein. Einstein was unique,

p. 3 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

not in the sense that every human being is actually "unique." The Einstein project is unique, and we must find arrangements which, after very mature consideration, are appropriate in this unique case, even if the procedures applied in other projects of the same type were different.

I consider it vitally important that the editors be not burdened with administrative work. A great deal of work will have to be done (done, in the past, by Helen Dukas and myself, as much as at all possible) in trying to locate additional Einstein material. A systematic search through correspondence will be necessary which we could not undertake because of lack of time and lack of the necessary financial means (although we have succeeded in adding to the archive a large amount of important material). Moreover, a great deal of correspondence will be required to clear copyrights for non-Einstein material which the editors will consider desirable to incorporate into the manuscript. There will be other administrative tasks to be fulfilled. I suggest that an administrator or co-ordinator be appointed who will have over-all responsibility for the work and who might possibly chair the meetings of the editors. I suggest that the Board consist, at least, of three editors: a theoretical physicist, an historian of science, and a political scientist or general historian well acquainted with the history of this century.

I realize, of course, that much larger financial resources will be needed if the suggestions outlined in this note should be adopted. But the magnitude, significance, and uniqueness of our project compels us to be as realistic as possible in making decisions even if it should prove more difficult to carry out those decisions than we assumed so far.

Sincerely,

*Otto Nathan*

Otto Nathan

May 3, 1978

The Einstein Papers Project Committee  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Colleagues:

Warm good wishes to all of you and to the great enterprise with which we have the honor to be associated. Of all the wonderful achievements of the mind of man I do not know any that more than Einstein's symbolizes to human beings everywhere the power of reason to penetrate the mystery in which we all live. I do not know any whose power of expression was better matched to his power of penetration. I do not know any whose life and work will be a richer source of inspiration and instruction in the years and centuries to come.

I know that we are all sad that the letters and papers of Einstein have been delayed so many years. We are all distressed that scholars and students from the Western world do not have the collected works of Einstein in their hands, while those of the Eastern world have had his papers available in a four-volume edition for a decade.

We have come to the critical choice of an editor to go on with the enterprise from here. We have reviewed the possibilities not only from this country but from other countries. We know the requirements. We have learned if we did not already know that it is not enough for our eyes to fall on someone to have him give up heavy commitments for a single-minded devotion to this project. However we also know that no one is perfect and that no mortal can possibly fulfill every single expectation that we have. Therefore we are extremely fortunate to have found John Stachel who has a wonderful background not only in relativity but also in other fields to which Einstein gave his attention. We know he is not an historian; but we know also that it would be difficult to name any physicist with his special expertise who has a greater interest in history; and certainly none who has since taken more positive measures to prepare himself for historiography.

We have now the clear choice whether to go on with John Stachel or not. If we were to give him up, all the world would then look askance at us, at the Einstein project, and at every institution connected with it. I cannot possibly conceive of this stain ever thereafter being erased. No man who is a man would want to join a project conducted on such principles.

If, on the other hand, we make the straightforward choice to appoint Stachel as editor we will capitalize on the progress, the very substantial progress, that he has already made. We will be meeting the responsibilities to Einstein, to the Einstein Estate, and to the world of scholarship. I cannot see how anybody could possibly criticise such a forward-looking decision.

The Einstein Papers Project Committee

Page 2

May 3, 1978

Some question has been raised about replacing a single editor by a group of three editors. I cannot but think that such a move would set back the enterprise. When a job is set up so that it is everyone's responsibility it becomes no one's responsibility.

Unless you counsel me otherwise--and I'm very sorry not to be able to be present--I would like to cast my vote for Stachel as the continuing responsible editor.

John Archibald Wheeler  
Director, Center for Theoretical Physics  
University of Texas  
Joseph Henry Professor Emeritus, Princeton

P.S. There is a fine young science writer here, Thomas Sietfried, whom John Stachel would find an enormous help in the enterprise if he is in a position of wanting help.

This letter was dictated by Professor Wheeler over the telephone and transcribed.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1973

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Bailey:

As you requested in your conversation with Dr. Overmann, I am writing to explain the current position of the National Science Foundation vis-a-vis the Einstein project. After the meeting of the Advisory Panel for History and Philosophy of Science and members of the NSF staff with you, Dr. Stachel, and Miss Dukas last June, we were left with several questions concerning the organization and governance of the project. Our lawyers also wanted to examine some legal issues concerning royalties, etc. But there was a considerable degree of agreement on these issues:

1. The project should be headed by an editor-in-chief who would have the primary responsibility for the running of the project.
2. The editor, working with appropriate assistants and associates, had to be guaranteed the normal freedom and responsibilities which ordinarily belong to the position.
3. Dr. John Stachel had demonstrated that he is an appropriate choice for the position of editor.

As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.



Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

*Eloise E. Clark*

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

May 24, 1978

Professor Peter Bergmann  
Department of Physics  
Syracuse University  
Syracuse, New York 13210

Dear Professor Bergmann:

At the request of the Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board I am sending you the enclosed minutes of the meeting of May 6. These minutes have been reviewed for accuracy by the Chairman and by Dr. Woolf as well as by Mr. Bailey.

I would appreciate having your comments on the minutes by telephone just as soon as you have had a chance to read them.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

John Hunt

Enclosure

May 24, 1978

Professor Valentine Bargmann

~~50 Western Way~~ *87 South Stanworth Drive*  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Professor Bargmann:

At the request of the Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board I am sending you the enclosed minutes of the meeting of May 6. These minutes have been reviewed for accuracy by the Chairman and by Dr. Woolf as well as by Mr. Bailey.

I would appreciate having your comments on the minutes by telephone just as soon as you have had a chance to read them.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

John Hunt

Enclosure

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

THE DIRECTOR

June 27, 1978

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harry Woolf  
FROM: John Hunt  
SUBJECT: Minutes of the Meeting of the Einstein Papers  
Advisory Committee

Acknowledgments and corrections have been coming  
in, and are being kept in a separate file by Gerry.  
The final version will be prepared in August.

*[Signature]*

August 15, 1978

Professor Charles Gillispie  
Program in History  
and Philosophy of Science  
220 Palmer Hall  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Charles:

I attach a copy of the corrected minutes. They incorporate all of the comments and suggestions I have received, with the exception of those of Banesh Hoffmann. He is correct in recalling this portion of the discussion, but from the context I find it difficult to include this point without distorting the sense of the overall discussion. With your permission, then, I shall thank Banesh for his counsel but leave the minutes as they stand at present.

Once I have word from you, I shall send the present minutes to everyone as the final version.

With best regards, I am

Cordially,

John Hunt  
Associate Director



*Conrad R. Rosen*  
DRAFT

MINUTES

Meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board  
The Writings of Albert Einstein  
May 6, 1978

Members of the Board  
Present:

*Sp.*  
Messrs. Gillip<sup>s</sup>ie (Chairman); Bargmann, Bergmann, Clagett,  
Dyson, Hoffmann, Holton, Jost, Klein, Sambursky, Scribner,  
Woolf.

Members of the Board Absent: John Wheeler

Invited Guests Present: Herbert Bailey, Helen Dukas, John Hunt (Secretary)

Invited Guests Absent: Otto Nathan

The Chairman opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. and asked that  
a Secretary be named, at which time Mr. John Hunt was appointed  
Secretary.

In response to an expression of disappointment by Professor Jost  
at the absence of Dr. Otto Nathan, the Chairman called on  
Mr. Herbert Bailey to provide a status report of the project  
before moving to the formal agenda.

Mr. Bailey then expressed his gratitude to the Board for  
coming to the meeting, and particularly to Professors  
Jost and Sambursky for coming such long distances. After  
pointing out that this was the first meeting of the Board  
since 1971, shortly after the Contract between the Estate  
and the Press was signed, he stressed that a primary role of the  
Board is to advise the Estate and the Press on the choice of an  
Editor of the project. Mr. Bailey then stated that the  
contract with the present Editor, Professor John Stachel, would  
be terminated on July 14, 1979.

*Copy of  
Agenda*

-2-

By way of background, Mr. Bailey reported that it had been anticipated that once Professor Stachel was named Editor, he would remain in this capacity until the project was completed. Then in the autumn of 1977, Dr. Nathan speaking for the Estate said that he wanted Professor Stachel's contract, which had never been signed by all parties, to be declared null and void. As the Press did not share this point of view, it was agreed that Professor Stachel's working arrangement or contract would be extended to July 14, 1979, at which time it would come to an end.

Mr. Bailey expressed reluctance to speak for Dr. Nathan and said that he supposed that Dr. Nathan's reasons for this decision were contained in his letter of May 15, 1978, to the Board which he himself had not yet read. He went on to say that this decision was a blow to everyone who wanted to see the project brought to completion, since it followed a long search both for an Editor and for the necessary funds, at the conclusion of which Professor Stachel had been named Editor, an anonymous donor [had tentatively agreed to endow the editorship in the amount of \$1 million, and the NSF had taken a favorable attitude toward providing operating expenses of \$150 thousand per year for five years. He added that all of these arrangements have now been postponed, pending further action.

Mr. Bailey concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that the Board would now advise on how best to proceed.

The Chairman then asked for a brief summary of what Professor Stachel had accomplished thus far, and what he is likely to accomplish.

Mr. Bailey replied that this was covered in the report which he had circulated earlier, and noted that Professor Stachel would be available throughout the day to answer any questions.

The Chairman then suggested a brief break during which Dr. Nathan's letter could be read by all members of the Board. At the conclusion of the reading of the letter, he asked that it be made part of the minutes of the meeting.

-3-

The Board then agreed to note with regret Dr. Nathan's absence, and to proceed without him by means of a discussion of his views as presented in the letter.

The Chairman then turned to the second point on the Agenda, which called for a discussion of the question of a single Editor, a Board of Editors, or possible other arrangements.

Professor Bergmann opened the discussion by describing the background of the decision to appoint Professor Stachel. He pointed out that the original Search Committee had held varying views about the nature of the Editorship and that he had recommended a Board of Editors as a compromise. After discussion of the idea, it was agreed by the Search Committee that such a compromise was <sup>not a viable</sup> ~~the worst possible~~ solution, and this compromise proposal was accordingly withdrawn. Professor Bergmann declared himself convinced <sup>by now</sup> that an Editorial Board formula was not a workable scheme, and spoke of the need for a single Editor-in-Chief who can make decisions comprehensively and not in pieces, and who can represent the editorial apparatus in negotiations with all interested parties. He also pointed out that the financing of the overall project and the necessary working conditions would be <sup>next to</sup> impossible if a number of senior Editors were asked to give up their present positions and to work together on a basis of equality. In this connection, he noted the similarities between his views and those expressed in Professor Wheeler's letter to the Board.

Professor Jost then cited the contract of 1971, and asked if Point 4 of the Appendix which agreed on a single Editor was binding.

Mr. Bailey stated that it was binding, and that Dr. Nathan would like to change the contract. In the case of a fundamental disagreement, arbitration procedures would be the last resort, in which eventuality the views of the Editorial Board would be a significant factor.

Professor Klein pointed out that it had always been assumed that at a certain stage in the project, Associate Editors from different disciplines would be appointed, and

-4-

function not unlike Dr. Nathan's suggested Co-Editors. He asked if such an arrangement would meet Dr. Nathan's objections, since there had been agreement that no one person possessed all the requisite knowledge, and that Associate Editors to cover the various fields involved would be named.

Mr. Bailey mentioned that the NSF proposal envisaged the appointment of Associate and Assistant Editors from different disciplines. He then pointed out that the agreement with Professor Stachel called for the formation of a small advisory committee of scientists, historians, and others.

A general discussion then ensued in which a variety of views were expressed with regard to a single Editor working with a group of Advisory and Associate Editors as opposed to several Editors working with the same degree of authority and responsibility.

Professor Hoffmann asked for a clarification on the functions of the administrator mentioned on page 3 of Dr. Nathan's letter, and suggested that it would appear that such an administrator would be in operational charge of the project without actually carrying out editorial work.

Mr. Bailey said that in his view the Board should advise on the best way to carry out the project, and that he knew of no project organized in the manner suggested by Dr. Nathan. While recognizing that no other project was exactly similar to this one, he pointed out that a single Editor was the rule for projects of this nature.

Dr. Woolf mentioned that the <sup>editing of his writings</sup> Newton project was being carried out by several <sup>panels</sup> editorial committees, and the Chairman remarked that the project would be better directed if there were a single Editor. [Newton]

Professor Jost said that his conversations with Dr. Nathan had left him with the impression that Dr. Nathan's view was to have three Editors and that if they could not agree, the Estate and possibly the Press would adjudicate the dispute. Professor Jost stated that a situation of this kind could be dangerous to the successful carrying out of the project.

-5-

Mr. Scribner pointed out that Dr. Nathan's position emphasized adversary possibilities. He said that his own view was that such a position was not in accordance with the way scholarly work proceeds, and that adversary proceedings would not be the case with a group of Associate Editors in different fields. Mr. Scribner then went on to say that the present editorial arrangement seemed to be working well, and that there was no need to stop it because of potential disagreement or possible future problems.

Dr. Woolf stated his support of Mr. Scribner's position, and emphasized the complexity and delicacy of the Editor's role because of the variety of issues - scientific and political -- involved.

Mr. Scribner then asked how in practical terms disagreement would be likely to arise.

Professor Bergmann pointed out that the principal exercise of judgment would be in the area of annotation. Since the original archive will be kept intact, later generations of scholars would be able to go over the papers and produce corrections. He stated that the principal problem is that between 1955 and 1978 <sup>nothing cohesive has been published</sup>, and said that the project must go ahead with the best support system possible. He also <sup>recommended</sup> mentioned that ~~he had originally suggested~~ <sup>there be a formal stipulation</sup> that a written agreement be drawn up stipulating that all professional members of the staff have direct access to the Press, the Estate, and the Advisory Board. This procedure would allow for differences of opinion, and constitute an appeals procedure in case of adversary situations, <sup>but an informal consensus</sup> ~~to this effect might be preferable to a formal document~~.

In summary, there was general agreement on the validity of Dr. Nathan's concern about the enormous range of the task, with the important difference that the Board felt that the nature of this concern pointed to the need for one Editor-in-Chief, working with a group of Associate and Advisory Editors, who would be in charge of the project and empowered to make editorial decisions. There was further agreement, and it was stated unanimously, that the Board was obliged as a result of its friendly and collegial

-6-

relationship with Dr. Nathan to convey to him its wide experience of scholarly projects, and that on the evidence of the Board's collective experience in such matters, there was need to invest one Editor with the necessary authority to take decisions, realizing that his judgments would be tempered by the normal intellectual give and take with the advisory committee, the permanent existence of the archives, and the judgment of later generations of scholars who would have access to the archives.

The question was then raised of the qualifications of Professor Stachel as Editor, and of Dr. Nathan's view of him in this role.

Professor Jost stated his view that the project needed a midwife, and that Professor Stachel's mistakes in the preparation of the NSF application did not disqualify him for this role, a view in which Professor Bergmann concurred. He went on to say that the real question was whether or not Professor Stachel had the necessary editorial skills. If the answer to this question was affirmative, then he should be asked to go ahead with the project, because the alternative procedures suggested were such that no volume of the Einstein Papers would ever be published.

Mr. Scribner asked if the plan for having Associate Editors was in the proposal to NSF, and Mr. Bailey stated that it was. Mr. Scribner then asked if this was not adequate reassurance for Dr. Nathan, since it shows that the Board agrees with the idea of using a number of people for editorial purposes, the exception being the Board's view that there should be a single Editor-in-Chief.

Professor Clagett asked if Professor Stachel might be given a five-year appointment to see how effectively he worked with his Associated Editors.

Mr. Bailey said that he did not believe the Professor Stachel or anyone else would accept such an appointment.

Dr. Woolf pointed out that a complex of institutions was involved, and that Princeton University would give him a tenured position which could provide security.

Professor Bargmann indicated that there had not yet been a commitment from the University.



-7-

Professor Holton asked if Dr. Nathan agreed about having Associate Editors, and Mr. Bailey replied that there was no evidence that he disagreed.

The discussion which followed confirmed that Dr. Nathan did not have confidence in Professor Stachel acting as the sole editorial authority for all of Einstein's work, an objection which the appointment of Associate and Advisory Editors would be designed to meet.

It was also revealed that various members present at the meeting felt that they had been insufficiently consulted by Professor Stachel, particularly as regards the preparation of the NSF application. In this connection, it was agreed that Dr. Nathan should not merely be consulted on technical matters, but should be treated as one central to the entire process, given his historic role with regard to Einstein and the Einstein legacy. Mr. Bailey then explained the time factor involved in preparing the NSF application, and pointed out that Professor Stachel was faced with the problem of securing the necessary funds to proceed. The sense of the meeting was that Professor Stachel's error in this regard was unintentional, and could be corrected by adopting as future practice full and free consultation with Dr. Nathan and all others concerned with the project, as dictated by circumstance.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the second item on the Agenda.

The following motion was then put before the Board by Dr. Woolf:

After due consideration of the uniqueness of the Einstein project, and after due consultation with the appropriate scholarly community, and in full recognition of and admiration for the courage and tenacity of Otto Nathan in bearing for so long the extraordinary responsibility of this historic task, and with a sincere desire to share with him this burden and thus to help bring to fruition his noble dream, the Members of the Editorial Advisory Board

-8-

gathered here at the Institute for Advanced Study recommend that a single Editor be appointed who will coordinate the entire project and who will have overall responsibility for the work, in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Sambursky, who noted for the record his favorable impression of Professor Stachel's report, and his belief that Professor Stachel was a man aware of his own limitations who would get things done. The motion was then unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board. The following related motion was then put before the Board:

The Members of the Editorial Advisory Board further recommend the appointment of Associate Editors who will assume a major share of the decision-making about the project as a whole and who will be selected with a view to providing appropriate additional expertise in the fields of theoretical physics and historical, political, and social problems.

The motion was seconded and unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board.

The Chairman then opened the discussion on Point 3 of the Agenda with regard to the manner in which the Estate and the Press should proceed in light of the above recommendations. Specifically, he put the question to the Board as to whether Professor Stachel should or should not be continued as Editor of the project.

Professor Clagett asked at this point if it was the understanding of those who met with the NSF group that the three points listed in their letter had been met.

Mr. Bailey said that one of the difficulties resulted from the nature of the NSF response to the original proposal. Essentially NSF had wanted to intrude deeply into the management of the project. Originally NSF had been skeptical about

-9-

Professor Stachel's qualifications, but this question was resolved to the satisfaction of NSF in the discussion meeting with him, and was so noted in point 3 of the April 26 letter. Mr. Bailey concluded by saying that everyone is agreed that the Estate can withhold personal material, but over the years the Estate has not held things back and this should not be thought of as a problem.

Professor Holton stated his understanding that Professor Stachel did not have normal editorial freedom in his work.

Professor Clagett said that Professor Stachel would be going much faster if his assistants had proper access to the materials.

Miss Dukas spoke of the background of the agreement which governed access, and said that the Estate lawyer had been against the idea of the Editor having free access or making a copy of the archive.

The Chairman pointed out that this was not normal freedom for an Editor, and said that the point under discussion was not Professor Stachel's position but the relations between any editorial staff and the control exercised by the Estate.

A general discussion ensued in which a variety of views were expressed. There was general agreement on Professor Stachel's qualifications, and the acceptance of the validity of these qualifications by the Advisory Board and by NSF.

Professor Klein spoke of the need to assure appropriate editorial freedom to the Editor and his editorial team, including normal access to the archive, and this point was seconded by the Board.

Professor Holton stressed that the security requirements of a great scholarly project must be taken into consideration, with due attention being given to proper security arrangements and to the proper clearance of the people involved in the project.

At this point the meeting was adjourned for lunch.

-10-

Afternoon Session

The meeting resumed at 2:00 p.m., and the Chairman asked that the Board direct its discussion to the question of the recommendation or non-recommendation of John Stachel as Editor of the project.

In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that the preliminary work had been carried out by Professor Stachel in a serious and competent way. It was also noted that it would be very difficult to secure the working cooperation of other highly qualified scholars if Stachel were not continued as Editor.

An additional point was made concerning the advisability of stating the Board's right of review of Professor Stachel's eventual appointment of Advisory Editors, and Dr. Woolf noted that should the Institute play a more formal and active role in the overall project, it would exercise its normal right of approval of all those working at the Institute.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Institute was the natural home for the project, and that he would welcome the Institute playing a more formal role. He further expressed the hope that the agreement of the Estate could be secured regarding the formalization of the academic role of the Institute.

In answer to a question about Professor Stachel's eventual status at the University or the Institute with regard to the necessary security of his appointment, Mr. Bailey indicated that if the Estate should agree on the desirability of Professor Stachel's continuing as Editor, then an arrangement could be found which was acceptable to everyone.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the third item on the Agenda.

~~The following motion was then put before the Board:~~

← The Board shares<sup>d</sup> the dismay expressed by Dr. Nathan at the errors of fact and of language contained in Professor Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF last year. It

-11-

discussed at length whether these errors were so serious as to disqualify Professor Stachel for the position of Editor-in-Chief. The Board concluded that the document in question, having been written under pressure of a deadline and in no sense intended as a scholarly publication, should be regarded as an indiscretion of no lasting significance, and the incident <sup>was</sup> accordingly regarded by the Board as closed.

*The following motion was then read before the Board:*

*Second / moved*  
*Memo*  
In light of the positive view of the Board of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performance to date, the Board recommends that John Stachel be continued in his post as Editor beyond the term presently agreed on and so long as his performance is deemed satisfactory by all parties involved in the project.

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was further agreed that the Press and Estate should seek advice as needed about Associate Editors, from the Executive Committee of the Board or from elsewhere.

The Chairman pointed out that the degree of formality thus attached to the appointment of the Associate Editors, strengthened the importance of their position.

It was then agreed that Professor Stachel should be asked to join the meeting so that Board members could discuss with him various aspects of the project.

The Chairman welcomed Professor Stachel, and opened the meeting to questions.

Professor Bergmann asked if as a matter of morale and marketability, the present decision to proceed with publication in chronological order might be reviewed, with the hope that some materials might be published as quickly as possible.

Professor Stachel replied that he was open to suggestions regarding the order of appearance of the materials, and that he looked upon the edition itself as primarily a responsibility for the future with a major requirement that of doing the work carefully

-12-

and responsibly. He also mentioned that the work on the papers was a nucleus around which a <sup>Einstein</sup> research center on ~~Einsteiniana~~ could be formed, which might eventually involve inviting people to the Institute to work on various pieces of the collection, with independent publications resulting from this work and drawing attention to the overall project.

Professor Holton expressed the hope that a Center of Einstein Studies could be planned early in the development of the project. Professor Stachel stated that Dr. Woolf was already working along similar lines, and suggested that the Center should be established at an early stage under the sponsorship of the Institute.

Mr. Bailey made the point that the Press was making a huge investment in the project, and pointed out that there is a legitimate need to protect the Collected Works so that the edition is not an anticlimax. He expressed approval of Professor Stachel's position that the principal need was to do the work properly, and stated that he favored the chronological approach.

Professor Stachel was asked how the appointment of Associate Editors would work. He replied that this would involve a group of people who would make a long-term commitment to the project, plus others who would be available for short-term collaboration. He stated that he would appreciate receiving as much advice as possible on this and other matters.

The Chairman then stated that the Board would like assurances that while it is recommending a single Editor-in-Chief, it understands that there will also be Advisory Editors and that the overall direction of the project will be collegial rather than <sup>arbitrary</sup> arbitrary. He further indicated that the choice of Advisory Editors would need the approval of the Estate, the Press, the Board, and possibly the Institute, and asked for Professor Stachel's views on these points.



-13-

Professor Stachel replied that he had no objection of any kind, and that the collegial group must have day-to-day responsibility for managing the project on a basis of day-to-day autonomy with ultimate accountability to those parties named by the Chairman.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Press and probably the Estate would be willing to take the advice of the Executive Committee of the Board on such appointments, and that he was personally quite satisfied to have the Editor-in-Chief solicit advice but exercise the day-to-day authority.

At the request of the Chairman, the following members of the Board were recommended *act as the* to the Executive Committee:

Valentine Bargmann

Peter Bergmann

Charles Gillispie (Chairman)

Harry Woolf

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

It was then suggested that Professor Jost personally convey to Dr. Nathan the sense of the meeting as a contribution to his thinking from the scholarly community, in full awareness of the extraordinary responsibility he had assumed for more than two decades.

Professor Jost agreed, stressing that the Board's main concern was to bring out the published work as quickly as possible, in an appropriate manner.

The following statement of Professor Bergmann was entered in the minutes. ~~It will not be forwarded to the NSF.~~

The Board appreciates the interest that the NSF has shown in the Einstein Project. It feels obligated, however, to point out that to have NSF share managerial control as envisaged in the letter to

-14-

Professor Stachel from Dr. Overmann of July 20, 1977, would be likely to be counterproductive, and to endanger <sup>SCHOLARLY</sup> ~~the~~ integrity of editorial independence.

Mr. Bailey pointed out that NSF had very substantially changed its position from that stated in the letter of July 20, 1977 and now appeared to be eager to help, as stated in Dr. Clark's letter of April 26, 1978.

At the Chairman's suggestion, it was agreed that the letters from Dr. Nathan, Professor Wheeler, and Dr. Eloise Clark would be included in the minutes, and are accordingly attached.

There being no further business, the Chairman adjourned the meeting at 3:30 p.m.

John Hunt  
Secretary

May 5, 1978

To the Editorial Advisory Board:

As I am unable to attend your meeting on May 6th because of developments that occurred since the meeting was called by letter of April 5, 1978, I should like to submit to you in writing some of my thoughts on what I consider the best possible organization of the editorial work needed in the preparation of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein."

I hope that my absence will not be interpreted as a lack of interest in that project. Ever since Einstein's death I have considered the promotion of a well-edited publication of Einstein's published and unpublished papers as my most important responsibility as the Executor of his Will and - later - as one of the two Trustees of his Literary Estate.

The first meeting which I arranged on this task took place twelve days after Einstein's death, on April 30, 1955, when I asked two of Einstein's assistants - Professor Valentine Bargmann, a member of your Board, and Dr. Bruria Kaufman - to discuss with me the initial steps considered necessary in advancing the project. We decided that nothing should be done and nobody should be approached before the matter could be discussed with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, then the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study who was absent from town at the time. I believed the Institute, with which Einstein had been associated for twenty-two years, would be the most appropriate body to take the initiative and responsibility for the project. Dr. Oppenheimer, whom I visited shortly after his return to Princeton, did not share my attitude about the project and did not consider it necessary to arrange for an edited publication of all of Einstein's papers many of which have, even now, never been published.

I shall not want to discuss the very many other efforts which Helen Dukas and myself have made in furtherance of the "Collected Works" throughout these many years. I shall only like to remind Professor Sambursky, also a member of your Board, of my visits to Jerusalem in 1963 and 1965 in the hope to arrange for the publication of the "Collected Works" in Israel. But I do want to use this opportunity for stating that Helen Dukas' partnership in that work has been inestimable. Whoever will be in charge of the "Collected Works" in the future, nobody can possibly make as great a contribution to that work as Helen Dukas has.

The question before you today has emerged only lately. Until some time ago, I myself had felt that an editor-in-chief should be in charge of Einstein's "Collected Works." Consultations, which I had with scientists and long-time editors, as well as the actual experience with the project have convinced me that the whole authority over Einstein's gigantic work should not be given to one single human being, unless we find an "Einstein" for that job. My reasons are primarily

p. 2 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

the following:

- (1) Einstein's work in physics, as has been impressed upon me by scientists and as the members of the Board would no doubt confirm, was not confined to relativity - for which he gained world-wide fame - but was massive in various other important fields of theoretical physics to all of which Einstein made most outstanding contributions. It was pointed out to me that no one single, individual physicist - even if surrounded by specialized assistants - should have sole responsibility for the editorial decisions on Einstein's papers in those many different aspects of physics.
- (2) It has unfortunately not been sufficiently recognized that Einstein was possibly the only outstanding scientist who devoted an enormous amount of time, thought and effort to many non-scientific problems and activities. There is no need to enumerate here the many noble causes in which he was untiringly active. The amount of non-scientific, unpublished material in our archives is considerably larger than the unpublished writings on scientific problems. Many of Einstein's non-scientific papers are not only most significant - particularly in view of contemporary political, economic, and social developments -, but they are also remarkably beautiful. An "editor-in-chief," who would be a theoretical physicist or an historian of science, should not have alone the authority to make final editorial decisions about the non-scientific papers.
- (3) The work should not depend on the assumed indestructability of one single human being. If an editorial board exists, there are, in the event of resignation, illness, or death, or even discharge of one of the editors, other editors available who are thoroughly familiar with the guiding principles and the logistics of the work which can be continued without major interruptions until that particular editor is replaced. Such continuity could, of course, not be expected in case all authority is vested in one person, as it would be if an editor-in-chief were in charge. The point is in my opinion very important.

As I well know, it will be pointed out that differences of opinions among the members of the Board may arise. They certainly may; if they did, it might possibly be helpful to producing an optimal manuscript. In such a case, the members of the Board will have seriously to discuss their divergent views in an attempt to come to an agreement. If they cannot reach agreement, they may have to submit their differences for a decision by Press and Estate.

It will no doubt also be pointed out that many other similar projects were carried out, or are being carried out, by a single editor-in-chief. This argument is not convincing since I do not know of any projects that are, or were, "similar" to our undertaking. There has not been anyone who was "similar" to Einstein. Einstein was unique,

p. 3 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

not in the sense that every human being is actually "unique." The Einstein project is unique, and we must find arrangements which, after very mature consideration, are appropriate in this unique case, even if the procedures applied in other projects of the same type were different.

I consider it vitally important that the editors be not burdened with administrative work. A great deal of work will have to be done (done, in the past, by Helen Dukas and myself, as much as at all possible) in trying to locate additional Einstein material. A systematic search through correspondence will be necessary which we could not undertake because of lack of time and lack of the necessary financial means (although we have succeeded in adding to the archive a large amount of important material). Moreover, a great deal of correspondence will be required to clear copyrights for non-Einstein material which the editors will consider desirable to incorporate into the manuscript. There will be other administrative tasks to be fulfilled. I suggest that an administrator or co-ordinator be appointed who will have over-all responsibility for the work and who might possibly chair the meetings of the editors. I suggest that the Board consist, at least, of three editors: a theoretical physicist, an historian of science, and a political scientist or general historian well acquainted with the history of this century.

I realize, of course, that much larger financial resources will be needed if the suggestions outlined in this note should be adopted. But the magnitude, significance, and uniqueness of our project compels us to be as realistic as possible in making decisions even if it should prove more difficult to carry out those decisions than we assumed so far.

Sincerely,

*Otto Nathan*

Otto Nathan

May 3, 1978

The Einstein Papers Project Committee  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Colleagues:

Warm good wishes to all of you and to the great enterprise with which we have the honor to be associated. Of all the wonderful achievements of the mind of man I do not know any that more than Einstein's symbolizes to human beings everywhere the power of reason to penetrate the mystery in which we all live. I do not know any whose power of expression was better matched to his power of penetration. I do not know any whose life and work will be a richer source of inspiration and instruction in the years and centuries to come.

I know that we are all sad that the letters and papers of Einstein have been delayed so many years. We are all distressed that scholars and students from the Western world do not have the collected works of Einstein in their hands, while those of the Eastern world have had his papers available in a four-volume edition for a decade.

We have come to the critical choice of an editor to go on with the enterprise from here. We have reviewed the possibilities not only from this country but from other countries. We know the requirements. We have learned if we did not already know that it is not enough for our eyes to fall on someone to have him give up heavy commitments for a single-minded devotion to this project. However we also know that no one is perfect and that no mortal can possibly fulfill every single expectation that we have. Therefore we are extremely fortunate to have found John Stachel who has a wonderful background not only in relativity but also in other fields to which Einstein gave his attention. We know he is not an historian; but we know also that it would be difficult to name any physicist with his special expertise who has a greater interest in history; and certainly none who has since taken more positive measures to prepare himself for historiography.

We have now the clear choice whether to go on with John Stachel or not. If we were to give him up, all the world would then look askance at us, at the Einstein project, and at every institution connected with it. I cannot possibly conceive of this stain ever thereafter being erased. No man who is a man would want to join a project conducted on such principles.

If, on the other hand, we make the straightforward choice to appoint Stachel as editor we will capitalize on the progress, the very substantial progress, that he has already made. We will be meeting the responsibilities to Einstein, to the Einstein Estate, and to the world of scholarship. I cannot see how anybody could possibly criticise such a forward-looking decision.



The Einstein Papers Project Committee

Page 2

May 3, 1978

Some question has been raised about replacing a single editor by a group of three editors. I cannot but think that such a move would set back the enterprise. When a job is set up so that it is everyone's responsibility it becomes no one's responsibility.

Unless you counsel me otherwise--and I'm very sorry not to be able to be present--I would like to cast my vote for Stachel as the continuing responsible editor.

John Archibald Wheeler  
Director, Center for Theoretical Physics  
University of Texas  
Joseph Henry Professor Emeritus, Princeton

P.S. There is a fine young science writer here, Thomas Sietfried, whom John Stachel would find an enormous help in the enterprise if he is in a position of wanting help.

This letter was dictated by Professor Wheeler over the telephone and transcribed.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1973

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Bailey:

As you requested in your conversation with Dr. Overmann, I am writing to explain the current position of the National Science Foundation vis-a-vis the Einstein project. After the meeting of the Advisory Panel for History and Philosophy of Science and members of the NSF staff with you, Dr. Stachel, and Miss Dukas last June, we were left with several questions concerning the organization and governance of the project. Our lawyers also wanted to examine some legal issues concerning royalties, etc. But there was a considerable degree of agreement on these issues:

1. The project should be headed by an editor-in-chief who would have the primary responsibility for the running of the project.
2. The editor, working with appropriate assistants and associates, had to be guaranteed the normal freedom and responsibilities which ordinarily belong to the position.
3. Dr. John Stachel had demonstrated that he is an appropriate choice for the position of editor.

As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

*Eloise E. Clark*

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

EINSTEIN PAPERS

CCF FILE

AW

May 19, 1978

Professor R. Jost  
Theoretische Physik  
ETH-Hönggerberg  
CH-8093 Zürich

Dear Professor Jost:

Before I answer your very full and interesting letter of May 9th, please allow me to say how very much I enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you during the deliberations of May 6th, and how agreeable our conversation at lunch was to me. Somehow, one does not often have an opportunity to talk about such matters with American colleagues, few of whom have read Jakob Burckhardt and even fewer of whom seem to me to appreciate the inwardness of his insight and his scholarship. The occasion of our meeting was certainly distressing but it does seem as if the good will felt towards the obvious importance of bringing the Einstein edition into being ought to be able to prevail over the obstacles that have been created.

Please do feel free to write in German. I speak your language badly but naturally read it easily as everyone must do who has any concern at all with history of science, or indeed with history or civilization in general.

6/ It is extraordinarily good of you to have taken the pains and exercise<sup>d</sup> the patience to act as the committee's emissary vis-à-vis Dr. Nathan. I hope it was more convenient for you that he came to Princeton rather than that you should have had to stop off in New York. Even so, it can only have been an arduous encounter, requiring patience, charity and understanding. Those qualities are apparent in everything you say. I shall not communicate the detail of your impressions or the text of your letter to others unless you wish me to do so. I have conveyed the gist of it to Herbert Bailey, and also the sense of your counsel on how to proceed.

I hope that Mr. Hunt, who took the minutes, will have a draft for us in a few days' time. We shall then have that typed up properly and circulated to all members of the committee for their approval, and offer them an opportunity to make either corrections or to submit additions that might be attached in the way of further observations. Where we go from here is unclear to me at this juncture. Clearly, Mr. Bailey and the authorities of the press will have to act as protagonists in this affair. The role of the committee can only be advisory. Once our advice is formulated, I think we should then wait to be consulted.

Prof. Jost  
May 19, 1978  
page 2

All of us hope very much, of course, that it will not be necessary to resort to an adversary relationship with Dr. Nathan or to invoke formal legal proceedings in the way of arbitration. We must try very hard to find a way short of that, though my own view is that if it becomes necessary, justice both to the importance of producing the Einstein papers, and to our sense that it is reasonable to let Stachel proceed, would entail moving in that direction.

What a shame that Dr. Nathan has become surrounded with such unhappiness. One would think that taking on the mission of trusteeship for Einstein's scientific and humane legacy ought rather to have conduced to the serenity and selflessness than made him the figure that he was. But how often matters of conduct and personality work differently from patterns of rationality.

Whatever good our meeting may have accomplished, I think it will be largely owing to your presence and your intervention with Dr. Nathan, and though the others do not know the details of your letter, I know that all felt a great gratitude when you were willing to undertake this mission at the time, and that they would join me in expressing it if they knew that the actual conversation turned out to be every bit as difficult as everyone undoubtedly feared. So, thank you very much. I hope that the minutes will be in condition to send along in less than a week, and look forward to hearing from you again after you have had an opportunity to review them.

With warmest regards, I am,

Yours most sincerely,

CCG:tkc

Charles C. Gillispie

ETH

EIDGENÖSSISCHE TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE  
ZÜRICH

Theoretische Physik

Zürich, 9.5.1978

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Prof. R. JOST

Prof. Dr. Charles C. Gillispie  
220 Palmer  
Princeton University  
Princeton, N.J. 08540

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege Gillispie,

verzeihen Sie, wenn ich mich, zur Beschreibung der Abwicklung des mir vom Advisory Board überbundenen wenig angenehmen Auftrags, einer fremden Sprache bediene, nach dem Wahrspruch: wer über Einstein redet, kann auch Deutsch. Verzeihen Sie weiter, dass ich wenigstens durch Vermittlung der Kenntnis des Alphabets versuche, etwas Struktur in meine Erzählung zu bringen.

- (a) Herr Otto Nathan hat mich, das war sein ausdrücklicher Wunsch, am 7. Mai um 1130 in Princeton getroffen und wir haben uns ohne Unterbruch und Atempause bis etwa 1400 unterhalten.
- (b) Von dieser Unterhaltung habe ich kein Protokoll, was ich schreiben entspricht meiner Erinnerung und die kann durch Senilität und transatlantische Amnesie sehr unzuverlässig sein.
- (c) Herr Nathan dagegen kennt die Kunst der Stenographie und hat sich ihrer bedient. Sollten Widersprüche wichtig werden, dann ist er im Vorteil.
- (d) Ich versuchte Herrn Nathan meinen Auftrag zu erklären, betonte aber, dass ich auch hier nur aus Erinnerung über die Sitzung des Boards vom 6. Mai berichten könne. Massgebend wird das Protokoll sein, das ihm, meiner Erwartung gemäss, zugestellt würde.
- (e) Ich begann meine Ausführungen mit dem Vorwurf, dass Herr Nathan ohne zureichenden Grund der Sitzung vom 6. Mai ferngeblieben sei. Darauf folgte eine lange, weit ausgreifende Erklärung seinerseits, die in Vorwürfe an die Herren Bailey und Stachelauslief, von denen Herr Nathan sich in die Lage eines Angeklagten gedrängt fühlte. Hier schon zeigte sich, dass Herr Nathan durchaus nicht nur mit Herrn Stachel überworfen ist, vielmehr lebt er in einer Art Kriegszustand mit einer Vielzahl von Personen, die sich um die "Writings of Albert Einstein" gekümmert haben. Besonders



dunkle Gestalten sind dabei Oppenheimer, Rearadmiral L. Strauss, J. Wheeler, T. Kuhn, H. Bailey u.a.m. Die NSF aber ist eine konspirative Einrichtung. Das verteilt die Schwärze auf einen weiten Personenkreis und ist ein Vorteil.

- (f) Es liegt mir fern, die Gefühle und Befürchtungen von Herrn Nathan als völlig unbegründet rein in die Psychopathologie zu verweisen. Meines bescheidenen Erachtens wurden Fehler gemacht und werden Missgriffe begangen, die überflüssig waren und sind; und da die Toten nicht mehr reklamieren (de mortuis!) vermute ich solche etwa bei Oppenheimer.
- (g) Im Hinblick auf den 2. Punkt der Traktandenliste vom 6. Mai erwähnte ich die Gründlichkeit, mit welcher der Board Nathans Brief vom 5. Mai besprochen hatte und betonte, dass er, innerhalb der Möglichkeiten des Agreements vom 22. Februar 1971 zwischen Estate und P.U. Press, den Wünschen von Herrn Nathan durch die Aufwertung der Funktion der Ass. Editors Rechnung getragen hätte. Dem scheint O. Nathan nicht zu widersprechen, jedoch
- (h) hält er dieses Agreement für revisionsbedürftig und behauptet, es sei von der Gegenseite (P.U.P.) mehrfach gebrochen worden (keine Einsichtnahme in den Budget-Vorschlag vor der Einreichung beim NSF als Beispiel). Ueberhaupt zöge Herr Nathan "eine harmonische Zusammenarbeit" mit der P.U.P. ohne Agreement dem heutigen Zustand vor (Aufhebung des Vertrags im gegenseitigen Einverständnis, ohne Anrufung des Schiedsgerichts (Arbitration)).
- (i) Auch auf den Brief der NSF vom 26. April machte ich aufmerksam, um die Unmöglichkeit eines Triumvirats im Sinne von Herrn Nathan zu demonstrieren. Herr Nathan ist der Meinung, dass er sich von der NSF nichts zu diktieren lassen brauche. Weiter zeigt er sich äusserst erstaunt, dass der Estate von diesem Brief noch keine Kenntnis hatte. Auch schien es ihm durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass der Inhalt des Schreibens zuvor zwischen NSF und der PUP ausgemacht war.
- (k) Weiterhin kritisierte ich die Argumentation, dass es zur Herausgabe von Einsteins Nachlass eines "Einsteins" als Herausgeber bedürfe. Hier schien es mir möglich, Herrn Nathan zu überzeugen.
- (l) Ich erwähnte, dass die Eignung von Herrn Stachel als Herausgeber eingehend diskutiert worden sei. Herr Nathan schien erstaunt darüber und schien dies als eine Abweichung von der Traktandenliste aufzufassen. Ich erklärte ihm, dass Punkt 3 der Traktandenliste die Diskussion der Qualitäten des Herrn Stachel einschliesse. Dem schien er nichts entgegenzuhalten. Darauf wies ich ihn auf den Tadel hin, der über die liederlich-geschmacklose erste Version des Gesuches an die NSF ausgesprochen worden ist. Welche Defekte menschlicher und charakterlicher Art man aber daraus bei Herrn Stachel herleiten könne: seine Fähigkeiten als Herausgeber und sein Fleiss und Arbeitseinsatz würden dadurch in nichts tangiert. Im Sinne des beiliegenden Briefes versuchte ich den Unterschied zwischen Interpretation und Kommentierung einerseits und der Herausgabe von Quellenmaterial andererseits zu erklären. Auch erläu-

terte ich, dass Herr Stachel als Angestellter und unter Kontrolle des EAB arbeiten werde. Wieweit ich Herrn Nathan damit überzeugt habe, weiss ich nicht; jedoch

(m) war er sichtlich betroffen, als ich ihm vorhielt, dass jetzt der Estate und der Estate allein die Verantwortung dafür trage, ob in den nächsten Jahrzehnten eine Gesamtausgabe der Einsteinschen Werke stattfinden werde oder nicht. Er schien das Gewicht dieser (wie mir scheint richtigen) Feststellung zu fühlen. Im übrigen paraphrasierte ich die Aussagen meines beiliegenden Briefes, den ich ihm nicht zu lesen gab, und den er wohl erst in New York erhalten hat. Genau diese Frage: "Können Sie es verantworten, mit der Gewissheit zu sterben, die Herausgabe der Werke Einsteins verhindert zu haben?" scheint mir einer der wenigen Stützpunkte für eine Hebelwirkung zu sein.

Sehr geehrter Herr: ich fand in Herrn Otto Nathan einen verbitterten alten Mann, dem vielleicht viel Unrecht geschehen ist, der viel unverdientes Unrecht erfahren zu haben glaubt, der ein Vierteljahrhundert nur einem Ziel gelebt hat, den man (etwa Oppenheimer) deswegen zum Teil mit Herablassung behandelt hat; einen Mann, der natürlich auch die Schwäche hat, sich vorzustellen, dass er auf dem grossen Gefährt "Einstein" in die Unsterblichkeit reisen könne, einen Menschen, der mit allen Schwächen behaftet, doch Respekt erheischt. Als Verhaltensweise ihm gegenüber scheinen mir angezeigt

erstens, eine unbedingte Korrektheit in jeder Art des Verkehrs - damit das Agreement nicht ausgehöhlt wird;

zweitens, eine möglichst freundliche und höfliche Art im menschlichen Kontakt;

drittens, eine absolute Härte und Unbeugsamkeit in der Verfolgung des Hauptzieles, der Herausgabe der Einstein Papers. Kurz "suaviter in modo fortiter in re."

Lassen Sie mich mit zwei Bemerkungen schliessen. Stellen Sie sich erstens einen Mann vor, der eine grosse Tat ins Auge gefasst hat und in lieben Träumen den Ruhm, der aus der Vollendung ihm zuströmen werde, genossen hat und der sich schliesslich auf den Mist geworfen sieht: dieser Mensch ist Jedermann und Otto Nathan. Folgerung: man lasse ihn an Ruhm und Anerkennung geniessen, was immer man ihm zuhalten kann.

Zweitens: juristisch ist unser "point de repère" das Agreement. Meine ziemlich konkrete Vermutung ist es, dass im Zuge des 1979'er Einstein-Rummels hinreichend viele Aasgeier dem Herrn Nathan in den Ohren liegen und ihm in die Augen dienen mit der Behauptung, dass dieses Agreement seine Bewegungsfreiheit und damit die Herausgabe der Schriften hindere. Verbunden werden solche egoistischen Schmeichelreden mit absolut verbrecherischen Vorspiegelungen von leichtfertigen Finanzierungsmöglichkeiten.

Sehr geehrter Herr Gillispie, wir haben allen Grund uns gegenseitig möglichst wenig Unglück zu wünschen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Ihr

Res. Jm.

P.S. Ich wäre froh, wenn Sie die Einzelheiten des Briefes als vertraulich behandelten. Zur Orientierung sende ich als Beilage eine Kopie meines Briefes vom 5. Mai an O.N.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF NATURAL SCIENCES

5. Mai 1978.

Sehr geehrter Herr Nathan,  
Schönen Herzens bin ich hergekömmt, schönen Herzens werde ich morgen an die Sitzung des Editorial Advisory Board's gehen, und schönen Herzens werde ich voraussichtlich am friendly friendly fliegen. Ich habe die Verhältnisse hier verstanden angehoben als ich befürchtet hatte. Ich habe diese für mich eine Operation Reise auf mich genommen, in der Hoffnung ein wenig ein Stück Einsteins beitragen zu können; nun zweifle ich daran.

Lassen Sie mich vorerst meine Enttäuschung darüber äußern, dass Sie an der morgigen Sitzung nicht teilnehmen werden. Der „Eskal“ wird durch Helen Dukas allein vertreten sein, und diese wunderbare Frau, die ihr Leben im Dienst an Einstein verbracht hat, wird vermutlich stillschweigend Analen leiden.

Und nun zur Sache: ich bekomme nur eine höchste Priorität, die Publikation der Schriften Einsteins. Dieser Teil von dem Teil gehoben und sichtbar geworden sind, dieser Teil darf nicht länger der Menschheit als ganzes vornehmthalten werden. Eine zuverlässige Edition muss in die Wege geleitet werden; eine Ausgabe, sachmännisch betreut, so perfekt als dies in Gottes Namen möglich ist – nicht mehr aber auch nicht weniger. Normenlose, Urteile, Meinungen haben keinen Platz. Die Aufgabe, dies zu lösen, ist vorwiegend eine technische. Dass der Text in gewissen Fällen auch eine Rolle spielt und wichtig ist, versteht sich. Soweit Text möglich

vorgebraut werden kann, ist dies ein Agreement vom 22. Februar 1971 geschehen.

Bei Erschrecken habe ich von dem tiefen Herwünschen wird dem Ersten und John Stadel Kenntnis genommen. Es liegt unferne, die Vorwürfe, die ich im Kunstwerk vorgekommen habe, zu beschönigen, aber diese, soweit sie mir bekannt geworden sind, tauglichen nirgends die, für die Herausgabe allein unangemessen, technischen Fähigkeiten. Sie disqualifizieren Herrn Stadel nicht in der Funktion als Herausgeber. Man kann ihn nicht kündigen. Tut man es trotzdem, dann sind die Folgen leicht vorhersehbar: ~~Es~~<sup>bedeutet</sup> in dem noch zu meinen letzten können die Schriften Einsteins publiziert werden, die Eindeutigkeit auf möglichen Kandidaten für das schwere Amt eines Herausgebers wünscht mit der schmerzhaften sein.

Sehr geehrter Herr Nathan, ich will die Folgen eines solchen Schrittes nicht dramatisieren. Der Name Einsteins, der Eindruck seiner Persönlichkeit, überdauert alles. Verglichen mit ihm sind wir alle Zwerg - Käfer, die im Laub und Unterholz eine Frikung herumkriechen und vergehen. Eine einzige Ausnahme ist Helen Dukas, denn ihr Leben hat Einstein über Jahrzehnte hindurch begleitet. Diese Frau zu ehren ist unsere erste Pflicht. Die erste gilt ihm und, da Er nicht mehr ist, seinem Werk.

Hochgeehrter Herr, dieses Werk zu bewahren vor der Aufgabe der vergangenen 23 Jahre Ihres Lebens. Ihre Treue an diesem Werk macht Sie mir verdankungspflanzlich. Ich bitte Sie, lassen Sie es jetzt erscheinen, auch wenn das Instrument, mit dem es an die Welt gebracht wird, Ihnen unangenehm ist. Es ist hohe Zeit, dass jetzt etwas geschieht, es ist unsere Aufgabe, jetzt eine Geburt zu ermöglichen. Wir können nicht auf den idealen Geburtshelfer warten, der uns kommen wird.

Ich verbleibe Ihre Sorgen um die schriftliche Heilung - schaff des großen Rimmers. Sie ist unbegründet, denn auch Sie



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF NATURAL SCIENCES

werden vergessen sein, wenn sein Name noch steht.  
Es schanden davon, sein Werk in unverständigen Händen  
zu sehen. Das Werk ist vollendet und gehört der Welt.  
Die Arbeit eines Herrn Stadel ist überliefert. Er kann  
und darf nicht tun, was er will. Er muss und wird  
„dieses alles“ seine Hebräerinnen dienst leisten. Andere werden  
kommen, deren Name uns unbekannt ist, und sie werden  
sich vor dem Reichen bewähren müssen. Er wird der Maß-  
stab sein, an seiner Norm wird nichts verändert werden.

Wie wollen Sie, der verehrte Herr, es verantworten,  
die Veröffentlichung der Werke zu verzögern?

Ist so lang, versetzen Sie uns!

Ihre Versicherung

Ihr

Res. Jm.



Heu

Princeton University Press PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540 (TEL. 609-452-4900)

*President*, HAROLD W. MC GRAW, JR. *Trustees*, CYRIL E. BLACK, JOHN TYLER BONNER,  
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CHARLES SCRIBNER, JR., ARTHUR H. THORNHILL, JR., THOMAS H. WRIGHT

May 10, 1978

Dr. Harry Woolf, Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Harry,

The purpose of this note is to thank you again for playing host to the Einstein Editorial Advisory Board last Saturday, and for all your help along the way with the Einstein project. I hope that the project will evolve in such a way that the Institute can play a more integral role. Certainly we could not have come this far without the help of the Institute, and I want to continue to work with you in every way possible.

The meeting, I thought, was entirely satisfactory in its results, although I haven't yet heard the result of Jost's talk with Nathan. In any case the minutes will be useful in one way or another, and it was very kind of John Hunt to be willing to act as secretary. I am thanking him separately.

With best wishes, and thanks again,

Sincerely,



Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

/ba



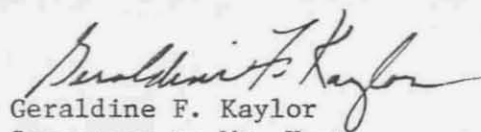
THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

May 15, 1978

To Fay Angelozzi:

Attached are the draft minutes of the Meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board of The Writings of Albert Einstein for Professor Gillispie's approval. I would appreciate it if you would tell Prof. Gillispie that this is a first draft and has not as yet been read or edited by Mr. Hunt. After Prof. Gillispie has read them, we can arrange for an appointment between he and Mr. Hunt if he so desires.

  
Geraldine F. Kaylor  
Secretary to Mr. Hunt

DRAFT

MINUTES

Meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board  
The Writings of Albert Einstein  
May 6, 1978

Members of the Board  
Present:

Messrs. Gillispie (Chairman); Bargmann, Bergmann, Clagett,  
Dyson, Hoffmann, Holton, Jost, Klein, Sambursky, Scribner,  
Woolf.

Members of the Board  
Absent:

John Wheeler

Invited Guests Present:

Herbert Bailey, Helen Dukas, John Hunt (Secretary)

Invited Guests Absent:

Otto Nathan

The Chairman opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. and asked that a  
Secretary be named, at which time John Hunt was appointed Secretary.

In response to an expression of disappointment by Professor Jost  
at the absence of Otto Nathan, the Chairman called on Herbert  
Bailey to provide a status report of the project before moving  
to the formal agenda.

Mr. Bailey then expressed his gratitude to the Board for coming  
to the meeting, and particularly to Professors Jost and Sambursky.  
After pointing out that this was the first meeting of the Board  
since the Contract between the Estate and the Press was  
established (1971) and stressing that a primary role of the  
Board is to advise the Estate and the Press on the choice of an  
Editor of the project. Mr. Bailey then stated that the contract  
with the present Editor, John Stachel, would be the terms of the  
existing arrangement be terminated on July 14, 1979.

-2-

By way of background, Mr. Bailey reported that it had been anticipated that once Professor Stachel was named Editor, it was anticipated that he would remain in this capacity until the project was completed. Then in the autumn of 1977, Mr. Nathan speaking for the Estate said that he wanted Stachel's contract, which had never been signed by all parties, to be declared null and void. As the Press did not share this point of view, it was agreed that Professor Stachel's working arrangement or contract would be extended to July 14, 1979, at which time it would be terminated.

Mr. Bailey indicated that Mr. Nathan's reasons for this decision were contained in his letter of May 5, 1977, to the Board. He went on to say that this decision was a blow to everyone who wanted to see the project brought to completion, since it followed a long search both for an Editor and for the necessary funds, at the conclusion of which Stachel had been named Editor, an anonymous donor had agreed to endow the editorship in the amount of \$1 million, and the NSF had taken a favorable attitude toward providing operating expenses of \$150 thousand per year for five years. All of these arrangements have now been postponed, pending further action.

Mr. Bailey concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that the Board would now advise on how best to proceed.

The Chairman then asked for a brief summary of what Professor Stachel had accomplished thus far, and what he is likely to accomplish.

Mr. Bailey replied that this was covered in the report which he had circulated earlier, and noted that Professor Stachel would be available throughout the day to answer any questions.

The Chairman then suggested a brief break during which Mr. Nathan's letter could be read by all members of the Board. At the conclusion of the reading of the letter, he asked that it be made part of the minutes of the meeting.

The Board then agreed to note with regret his absence, and to proceed without him by means of a discussion of his views as presented in the letter.

-3-

The Chairman then turned to the second point on the Agenda, which called for a discussion of the question of a single editor, a board of editors, or possible other arrangements.

Professor Bergmann opened the discussion by describing the background of the decision to appoint Professor Stachel. He pointed out that the original Search Committee had held varying views about the nature of the editorship and that he had recommended a Board of Editors as a compromise. After discussion of the idea, it was agreed by the Search Committee that such a compromise was the worst possible solution, and this compromise proposal was accordingly withdrawn. Professor Bergmann declared himself convinced that an editorial board formula was not a workable scheme, and spoke of the need of a single editor-in-chief who can make decisions which must be made comprehensively and not in pieces, and who can represent the editorial apparatus in negotiations with all interested parties. He also pointed out that the financing of the overall project and the necessary working conditions would be impossible if a number of senior editors were asked to give up their present positions and to work together on a basis of equality. In this connection, he noted the similarities between his views and those expressed in Professor Wheeler's letter to the Board.

Professor Jost then cited the contract of 1971, and asked if Point 4 of the Appendix which agrees on a single Editor was binding.

Mr. Bailey stated that it is binding, and that Mr. Nathan would like to change the contract. In the case of a fundamental disagreement, arbitration procedures would be the last resort, in which eventuality the views of the Editorial Board would be a significant factor.

Professor Klein pointed out that it had always been assumed that at a certain stage in the project, associate editors would be appointed. He asked if such an arrangement would meet Mr. Nathan's objections.



-4-

Mr. Bailey mentioned that the NSF proposal envisaged the appointment of associate and assistant editors. He then pointed out that a single editor has been the rule for similar projects, and that the agreement with Professor Stachel called for the formation of a small advisory committee.

A general discussion then ensued in which a variety of views were expressed with regard to a single editor working with a group of advisory and associated editors as opposed to several editors working together with the same degree of authority and responsibility. There was general agreement on the validity of Otto Nathan's positions in his letter, with the important difference that the Board felt that the conclusions of these positions pointed to the need for one individual, working with a group of associate and advisory editors, who would be in charge of the project and empowered to make editorial decisions. There was further agreement, and it was stated unanimously, that the Board was obliged as a result of its friendly and collegiate relationship with Otto Nathan to express to him its wide experience of scholarly projects, and that on the evidence of the Board's collective experience in such matters, there was need to invest one editor with the necessary authority to take decisions, realizing that his judgments would be tempered by the normal intellectual give and take with the advisory committee, the presence of the archives, and the judgment of later generations of scholars who would have access to the archives. In recognition of the fact that between 1955 and 1978, for a variety of reasons, nothing cohesive has been published, the Board felt that it was essential that the project must go ahead with the best support system possible, so that wide access to the material could be given to the scholarly and scientific community.

The question was then raised of Mr. Nathan's view of Professor Stachel as Editor. The discussion which followed revealed that Mr. Nathan did not have confidence in Professor Stachel acting as the sole editorial authority for all of Einstein's work, and objection which the appointment of associate and advisory editors would be designed to meet, and that various members present at the meeting felt that they had been insufficiently consulted by Professor Stachel, particularly as regards the preparation of the NSF



-5-

application. In this connection, it was agreed that Mr. Nathan should not merely be consulted on technical matters, but should be treated as one central to the entire process, given his historic role with regard to Einstein and the Einstein legacy. Mr. Bailey then explained the time factor involved in preparing the NSF application, and pointed out that Professor Stachel was faced with the problem of securing the necessary funds to proceed. The sense of the meeting was that Professor Stachel's error in this regard was unintentional, and could be corrected by adopting as future practice full and free consultation with Mr. Nathan and all others concerned with the project, as dictated by circumstance.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the second item on the Agenda.

The following motion was then put before the Board:

After due consideration of the uniqueness of the Einstein project, and after due consultation with the appropriate scholarly community, and in full recognition of and admiration for the courage and tenacity of Otto Nathan in bearing for so long the extraordinary responsibility of this historic task, and with a sincere desire to share with him this burden and thus to help bring to fruition his noble dream, the Members of the Editorial Advisory Board gathered here at the Institute for Advanced Study recommends that a single editor be appointed who will coordinate the entire project and who will have overall responsibility for the work, in accordance with the original contract between the Estate and the Press.

The motion was seconded and unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board.

The following related motion was then put before the Board:

The Members of the Editorial Adivsory Board further recommend the

-6-

appointment of Associate Editors who will assume a major share of the decision-making about the project as a whole and who will be selected in view of providing appropriate additional expertise in the fields of theoretical physics and historical, political, and social problems.

The motion was seconded and unanimously approved by the Editorial Advisory Board.

The Chairman then opened the discussion on Point 3 of the Agenda with regard to the manner in which the Estate and the Press should proceed in light of the above recommendations. Specifically, he put the question to the Board as to whether Professor Stachel should or should not be continued as editor of the project.

A general discussion ensued in which a variety of views were expressed. There was general agreement on Professor Stachel's qualifications, and the acceptance of the validity of these qualifications by the Advisory Board and by NSF, as well as on the need to assure appropriate editorial freedom to the Editor and his editorial team, including normal access to the archive. At the same time it was stressed that the security requirements of a great scholarly project must be taken into consideration, with due attention being given to proper security arrangements and to the proper clearance of the people involved in the project.

At this point the meeting was adjourned for lunch.

#### Afternoon Session

The meeting resumed at 2:00 p.m., and the Chairman asked that the Board direct its discussion to the question of the recommendation of John Stachel as Editor of the project.

In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that the preliminary work had been carried out by Professor Stachel in a serious and competent way. It was also noted that it would be very difficult to secure the working cooperation of other highly qualified scholars if Stachel were not continued.

-7-

An additional point was made concerning the advisability of stating the Board's right of review of Stachel's eventual appointment of Advisory Editors, and it was noted that should the Institute play a more formal and active role in the overall project, it could exercise its normal right of approval of all those working at the Institute.

In answer to a question about Stachel's eventual status at the University or the Institute with regard to the necessary security of his appointment, Mr. Bailey indicated that if the Estate should agree on the desirability of Stachel's continuing as Editor, then an arrangement would be found which was acceptable to everyone.

The Chairman then asked for a recommendation from the Board for the third item on the Agenda.

The following motion was then put before the Board:

The Board shares the dismay expressed by Dr. Nathan at the errors of fact and of language contained in Professor Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF last year. It discussed at length whether these errors were so serious as to disqualify Professor Stachel for the position of Editor-in-Chief. The Board concluded that the document in question, having been written under pressure of a deadline and in no sense intended as a scholarly publication, should be regarded as an indiscretion of no lasting significance, and is accordingly regarded by the Board as closed.

In light of the positive view of the Board of Professor Stachel's qualifications and performance to date, the Board recommends that John Stachel be continued in his post as editor beyond the term presently agreed on and so long as his performance is deemed satisfactory by all parties involved in the project.

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.

-8-

It was further agreed that the Press and Estate would seek advice as needed about associate editors, from the executive committee of the Board or from elsewhere.

The Chairman pointed out that the degree of formality thus attached to the appointment of the associate editors, strengthened the importance of their position.

It was then agreed that Professor Stachel should be asked to join the meeting so that the Board members could discuss with him various aspects of the project.

The Chairman welcomed Professor Stachel, and opened the meeting to questions.

Professor Bergmann asked if as a matter of morale and marketability, the present decision to proceed with publication in chronological order might be reviewed, with the hope that some materials might be published as quickly as possible.

Professor Stachel replied that he was open to suggestions regarding the order of appearance of the materials, and that he looked upon the edition itself as primarily a responsibility for the future with a major requirement that of doing the work carefully and responsibly. He also mentioned that the work on the papers was a nucleus around which a research center on Einsteiniana could be formed, which might eventually involve inviting people to the Institute to work on various pieces of the collection, with independent publications resulting from this work and drawing attention to the overall project.

Professor Holton expressed the hope that a Center of Einstein Studies could be planned early in the development of the project. Professor Stachel stated that Dr. Woolf was working along similar lines, and suggested that the Center should be established at an early stage under the sponsorship of the Institute.

Mr. Bailey made the point that the Press is making a huge investment in the project, and pointed out that there is a legitimate need to protect the Collected Works so that the edition is not an anti-climax. He expressed approval of Stachel's position that the

-9-

principal need was to do the work properly, and stated that he favored the chronological approach.

Professor Stachel was asked how the appointment of associate editors would work. He replied that this would involve a group of people who would make a long-term commitment to the project, plus others who would be available for short-term collaboration. He stated that he would appreciate receiving as much advice as possible on this and other matters.

The Chairman then stated that the Board would like assurances that while it is recommending a single editor-in-chief, it understands that there will also be advisory editors and that the overall direction of the project will be collegial rather than arbitrary. He further indicated that the choice of advisory editors would need the approval of the Estate, the Press, and the Board, and asked for Professor Stachel's views on these points.

Professor Stachel replied that he had no objection of any kind, and that the collegiate group must have day-to-day responsibility for managing the project on a basis of day-to-day autonomy with ultimate accountability to those parties named by the Chairman.

Mr. Bailey then stated that the Press and probably the Estate would be willing to take the advice of the Executive Committee of the Board, and that he was personally quite satisfied to have the Editor-in-Chief solicit advice but exercise the day-to-day authority.

At the request of the Chairman, the following members of the Board were recommended to the Executive Committee.

Valentine Bargmann

Peter Bergmann

Charles Gillispie (Chairman)

Harry Woolf

The motion was seconded and approved by a unanimous vote of the Board.



-10-

It was then suggested that Professor Jost personally convey to Dr. Nathan the sense of the meeting as a contribution to his thinking from the scholarly community, in full awareness of the extraordinary responsibility he had assumed for more than two decades.

Professor Jost agreed, stressing that the Board's main concern was to bring out the published work as quickly as possible, in an appropriate manner.

The following statement of Professor Bergmann was entered in the minutes. It will not be forwarded to the NSF.

The Board appreciates the interest that the NSF has shown in the Einstein Project. It feels obligated, however, to point out that to have NSF share managerial control as envisaged in the letter by Overmann of (date) would be likely to be counter-productive, and by endangering the integrity of editorial independence.

At the Chairman's suggestion, it was agreed that the letters from Dr. Nathan, Professor Wheeler, and Eloise Clark would be included in the minutes, and are accordingly attached.

There being no further business, the Chairman adjourned the meeting at 3:30 p.m.

John Hunt  
Secretary



May 5, 1978

To the Editorial Advisory Board:

As I am unable to attend your meeting on May 6th because of developments that occurred since the meeting was called by letter of April 5, 1978, I should like to submit to you in writing some of my thoughts on what I consider the best possible organization of the editorial work needed in the preparation of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein."

I hope that my absence will not be interpreted as a lack of interest in that project. Ever since Einstein's death I have considered the promotion of a well-edited publication of Einstein's published and unpublished papers as my most important responsibility as the Executor of his Will and - later - as one of the two Trustees of his Literary Estate.

The first meeting which I arranged on this task took place twelve days after Einstein's death, on April 30, 1955, when I asked two of Einstein's assistants - Professor Valentine Bargmann, a member of your Board, and Dr. Bruria Kaufman - to discuss with me the initial steps considered necessary in advancing the project. We decided that nothing should be done and nobody should be approached before the matter could be discussed with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, then the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study who was absent from town at the time. I believed the Institute, with which Einstein had been associated for twenty-two years, would be the most appropriate body to take the initiative and responsibility for the project. Dr. Oppenheimer, whom I visited shortly after his return to Princeton, did not share my attitude about the project and did not consider it necessary to arrange for an edited publication of all of Einstein's papers many of which have, even now, never been published.

I shall not want to discuss the very many other efforts which Helen Dukas and myself have made in furtherance of the "Collected Works" throughout these many years. I shall only like to remind Professor Sambursky, also a member of your Board, of my visits to Jerusalem in 1963 and 1965 in the hope to arrange for the publication of the "Collected Works" in Israel. But I do want to use this opportunity for stating that Helen Dukas' partnership in that work has been inestimable. Whoever will be in charge of the "Collected Works" in the future, nobody can possibly make as great a contribution to that work as Helen Dukas has.

The question before you today has emerged only lately. Until some time ago, I myself had felt that an editor-in-chief should be in charge of Einstein's "Collected Works." Consultations, which I had with scientists and long-time editors, as well as the actual experience with the project have convinced me that the whole authority over Einstein's gigantic work should not be given to one single human being, unless we find an "Einstein" for that job. My reasons are primarily

p. 2 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

the following:

- (1) Einstein's work in physics, as has been impressed upon me by scientists and as the members of the Board would no doubt confirm, was not confined to relativity - for which he gained world-wide fame - but was massive in various other important fields of theoretical physics to all of which Einstein made most outstanding contributions. It was pointed out to me that no one single, individual physicist - even if surrounded by specialized assistants - should have sole responsibility for the editorial decisions on Einstein's papers in those many different aspects of physics.
- (2) It has unfortunately not been sufficiently recognized that Einstein was possibly the only outstanding scientist who devoted an enormous amount of time, thought and effort to many non-scientific problems and activities. There is no need to enumerate here the many noble causes in which he was untiringly active. The amount of non-scientific, unpublished material in our archives is considerably larger than the unpublished writings on scientific problems. Many of Einstein's non-scientific papers are not only most significant - particularly in view of contemporary political, economic, and social developments -, but they are also remarkably beautiful. An "editor-in-chief," who would be a theoretical physicist or an historian of science, should not have alone the authority to make final editorial decisions about the non-scientific papers.
- (3) The work should not depend on the assumed indestructability of one single human being. If an editorial board exists, there are, in the event of resignation, illness, or death, or even discharge of one of the editors, other editors available who are thoroughly familiar with the guiding principles and the logistics of the work which can be continued without major interruptions until that particular editor is replaced. Such continuity could, of course, not be expected in case all authority is vested in one person, as it would be if an editor-in-chief were in charge. The point is in my opinion very important.

As I well know, it will be pointed out that differences of opinions among the members of the Board may arise. They certainly may; if they did, it might possibly be helpful to producing an optimal manuscript. In such a case, the members of the Board will have seriously to discuss their divergent views in an attempt to come to an agreement. If they cannot reach agreement, they may have to submit their differences for a decision by Press and Estate.

It will no doubt also be pointed out that many other similar projects were carried out, or are being carried out, by a single editor-in-chief. This argument is not convincing since I do not know of any projects that are, or were, "similar" to our undertaking. There has not been anyone who was "similar" to Einstein. Einstein was unique,

p. 3 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

not in the sense that every human being is actually "unique." The Einstein project is unique, and we must find arrangements which, after very mature consideration, are appropriate in this unique case, even if the procedures applied in other projects of the same type were different.

I consider it vitally important that the editors be not burdened with administrative work. A great deal of work will have to be done (done, in the past, by Helen Dukas and myself, as much as at all possible) in trying to locate additional Einstein material. A systematic search through correspondence will be necessary which we could not undertake because of lack of time and lack of the necessary financial means (although we have succeeded in adding to the archive a large amount of important material). Moreover, a great deal of correspondence will be required to clear copyrights for non-Einstein material which the editors will consider desirable to incorporate into the manuscript. There will be other administrative tasks to be fulfilled. I suggest that an administrator or co-ordinator be appointed who will have over-all responsibility for the work and who might possibly chair the meetings of the editors. I suggest that the Board consist, at least, of three editors: a theoretical physicist, an historian of science, and a political scientist or general historian well acquainted with the history of this century.

I realize, of course, that much larger financial resources will be needed if the suggestions outlined in this note should be adopted. But the magnitude, significance, and uniqueness of our project compels us to be as realistic as possible in making decisions even if it should prove more difficult to carry out those decisions than we assumed so far.

Sincerely,

*Otto Nathan*

Otto Nathan

May 3, 1978

The Einstein Papers Project Committee  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Colleagues:

Warm good wishes to all of you and to the great enterprise with which we have the honor to be associated. Of all the wonderful achievements of the mind of man I do not know any that more than Einstein's symbolizes to human beings everywhere the power of reason to penetrate the mystery in which we all live. I do not know any whose power of expression was better matched to his power of penetration. I do not know any whose life and work will be a richer source of inspiration and instruction in the years and centuries to come.

I know that we are all sad that the letters and papers of Einstein have been delayed so many years. We are all distressed that scholars and students from the Western world do not have the collected works of Einstein in their hands, while those of the Eastern world have had his papers available in a four-volume edition for a decade.

We have come to the critical choice of an editor to go on with the enterprise from here. We have reviewed the possibilities not only from this country but from other countries. We know the requirements. We have learned if we did not already know that it is not enough for our eyes to fall on someone to have him give up heavy commitments for a single-minded devotion to this project. However we also know that no one is perfect and that no mortal can possibly fulfill every single expectation that we have. Therefore we are extremely fortunate to have found John Stachel who has a wonderful background not only in relativity but also in other fields to which Einstein gave his attention. We know he is not an historian; but we know also that it would be difficult to name any physicist with his special expertise who has a greater interest in history; and certainly none who has since taken more positive measures to prepare himself for historiography.

We have now the clear choice whether to go on with John Stachel or not. If we were to give him up, all the world would then look askance at us, at the Einstein project, and at every institution connected with it. I cannot possibly conceive of this stain ever thereafter being erased. No man who is a man would want to join a project conducted on such principles.

If, on the other hand, we make the straightforward choice to appoint Stachel as editor we will capitalize on the progress, the very substantial progress, that he has already made. We will be meeting the responsibilities to Einstein, to the Einstein Estate, and to the world of scholarship. I cannot see how anybody could possibly criticise such a forward-looking decision.

The Einstein Papers Project Committee

Page 2

May 3, 1978

Some question has been raised about replacing a single editor by a group of three editors. I cannot but think that such a move would set back the enterprise. When a job is set up so that it is everyone's responsibility it becomes no one's responsibility.

Unless you counsel me otherwise--and I'm very sorry not to be able to be present--I would like to cast my vote for Stachel as the continuing responsible editor.

John Archibald Wheeler  
Director, Center for Theoretical Physics  
University of Texas  
Joseph Henry Professor Emeritus, Princeton

P.S. There is a fine young science writer here, Thomas Sietfried, whom John Stachel would find an enormous help in the enterprise if he is in a position of wanting help.

This letter was dictated by Professor Wheeler over the telephone and transcribed.



NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1978

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Bailey:

As you requested in your conversation with Dr. Overmann, I am writing to explain the current position of the National Science Foundation vis-a-vis the Einstein project. After the meeting of the Advisory Panel for History and Philosophy of Science and members of the NSF staff with you, Dr. Stachel, and Miss Dukas last June, we were left with several questions concerning the organization and governance of the project. Our lawyers also wanted to examine some legal issues concerning royalties, etc. But there was a considerable degree of agreement on these issues:

1. The project should be headed by an editor-in-chief who would have the primary responsibility for the running of the project.
2. The editor, working with appropriate assistants and associates, had to be guaranteed the normal freedom and responsibilities which ordinarily belong to the position.
3. Dr. John Stachel had demonstrated that he is an appropriate choice for the position of editor.

As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.



Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Eloise E. Clark".

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

Preamble  
to note on  
Stachel

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We share the dismay expressed by Dr Nathan at the errors of fact and of language contained in Dr Stachel's draft proposal to the NSF last year. We discussed ~~the~~ at length ~~the question~~ whether these errors are so serious as to disqualify Dr Stachel for the position of editor-in-chief. We conclude that the document in question, having been written ~~in~~ under pressure of a deadline and in no sense intended as a scholarly publication, should be regarded as an indication of no lasting significance, and we regard the matter as now closed.

(F. Dyson)

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1978

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

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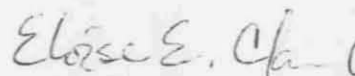
As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Eloise E. Clark".

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

May 5, 1978

To the Editorial Advisory Board:

As I am unable to attend your meeting on May 6th because of developments that occurred since the meeting was called by letter of April 5, 1978, I should like to submit to you in writing some of my thoughts on what I consider the best possible organization of the editorial work needed in the preparation of the "Collected Works of Albert Einstein."

I hope that my absence will not be interpreted as a lack of interest in that project. Ever since Einstein's death I have considered the promotion of a well-edited publication of Einstein's published and unpublished papers as my most important responsibility as the Executor of his Will and - later - as one of the two Trustees of his Literary Estate.

The first meeting which I arranged on this task took place twelve days after Einstein's death, on April 30, 1955, when I asked two of Einstein's assistants - Professor Valentine Bargmann, a member of your Board, and Dr. Bruria Kaufman - to discuss with me the initial steps considered necessary in advancing the project. We decided that nothing should be done and nobody should be approached before the matter could be discussed with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, then the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study who was absent from town at the time. I believed the Institute, with which Einstein had been associated for twenty-two years, would be the most appropriate body to take the initiative and responsibility for the project. Dr. Oppenheimer, whom I visited shortly after his return to Princeton, did not share my attitude about the project and did not consider it necessary to arrange for an edited publication of all of Einstein's papers many of which have, even now, never been published.

I shall not want to discuss the very many other efforts which Helen Dukas and myself have made in furtherance of the "Collected Works" throughout these many years. I shall only like to remind Professor Sambursky, also a member of your Board, of my visits to Jerusalem in 1963 and 1965 in the hope to arrange for the publication of the "Collected Works" in Israel. But I do want to use this opportunity for stating that Helen Dukas' partnership in that work has been inestimable. Whoever will be in charge of the "Collected Works" in the future, nobody can possibly make as great a contribution to that work as Helen Dukas has.

The question before you today has emerged only lately. Until some time ago, I myself had felt that an editor-in-chief should be in charge of Einstein's "Collected Works." Consultations, which I had with scientists and long-time editors, as well as the actual experience with the project have convinced me that the whole authority over Einstein's gigantic work should not be given to one single human being, unless we find an "Einstein" for that job. My reasons are primarily

the following:

- (1) Einstein's work in physics, as has been impressed upon me by scientists and as the members of the Board would no doubt confirm, was not confined to relativity - for which he gained world-wide fame - but was massive in various other important fields of theoretical physics to all of which Einstein made most outstanding contributions. It was pointed out to me that no one single, individual physicist - even if surrounded by specialized assistants - should have sole responsibility for the editorial decisions on Einstein's papers in those many different aspects of physics.
- (2) It has unfortunately not been sufficiently recognized that Einstein was possibly the only outstanding scientist who devoted an enormous amount of time, thought and effort to many non-scientific problems and activities. There is no need to enumerate here the many noble causes in which he was untiringly active. The amount of non-scientific, unpublished material in our archives is considerably larger than the unpublished writings on scientific problems. Many of Einstein's non-scientific papers are not only most significant - particularly in view of contemporary political, economic, and social developments -, but they are also remarkably beautiful. An "editor-in-chief," who would be a theoretical physicist or an historian of science, should not have alone the authority to make final editorial decisions about the non-scientific papers.
- (3) The work should not depend on the assumed indestructability of one single human being. If an editorial board exists, there are, in the event of resignation, illness, or death, or even discharge of one of the editors, other editors available who are thoroughly familiar with the guiding principles and the logistics of the work which can be continued without major interruptions until that particular editor is replaced. Such continuity could, of course, not be expected in case all authority is vested in one person, as it would be if an editor-in-chief were in charge. The point is in my opinion very important.

As I well know, it will be pointed out that differences of opinions among the members of the Board may arise. They certainly may; if they did, it might possibly be helpful to producing an optimal manuscript. In such a case, the members of the Board will have seriously to discuss their divergent views in an attempt to come to an agreement. If they cannot reach agreement, they may have to submit their differences for a decision by Press and Estate.

It will no doubt also be pointed out that many other similar projects were carried out, or are being carried out, by a single editor-in-chief. This argument is not convincing since I do not know of any projects that are, or were, "similar" to our undertaking. There has not been anyone who was "similar" to Einstein. Einstein was unique,



p. 3 Nathan to Editorial Advisory Board, May 6, 1978 continued

not in the sense that every human being is actually "unique." The Einstein project is unique, and we must find arrangements which, after very mature consideration, are appropriate in this unique case, even if the procedures applied in other projects of the same type were different.

I consider it vitally important that the editors be not burdened with administrative work. A great deal of work will have to be done (done, in the past, by Helen Dukas and myself, as much as at all possible) in trying to locate additional Einstein material. A systematic search through correspondence will be necessary which we could not undertake because of lack of time and lack of the necessary financial means (although we have succeeded in adding to the archive a large amount of important material). Moreover, a great deal of correspondence will be required to clear copyrights for non-Einstein material which the editors will consider desirable to incorporate into the manuscript. There will be other administrative tasks to be fulfilled. I suggest that an administrator or co-ordinator be appointed who will have over-all responsibility for the work and who might possibly chair the meetings of the editors. I suggest that the Board consist, at least, of three editors: a theoretical physicist, an historian of science, and a political scientist or general historian well acquainted with the history of this century.

I realize, of course, that much larger financial resources will be needed if the suggestions outlined in this note should be adopted. But the magnitude, significance, and uniqueness of our project compels us to be as realistic as possible in making decisions even if it should prove more difficult to carry out those decisions than we assumed so far.

Sincerely,

*Otto Nathan*

Otto Nathan

May 3, 1978

The Einstein Papers Project Committee  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Colleagues:

Warm good wishes to all of you and to the great enterprise with which we have the honor to be associated. Of all the wonderful achievements of the mind of man I do not know any that more than Einstein's symbolizes to human beings everywhere the power of reason to penetrate the mystery in which we all live. I do not know any whose power of expression was better matched to his power of penetration. I do not know any whose life and work will be a richer source of inspiration and instruction in the years and centuries to come.

I know that we are all sad that the letters and papers of Einstein have been delayed so many years. We are all distressed that scholars and students from the Western world do not have the collected works of Einstein in their hands, while those of the Eastern world have had his papers available in a four-volume edition for a decade.

We have come to the critical choice of an editor to go on with the enterprise from here. We have reviewed the possibilities not only from this country but from other countries. We know the requirements. We have learned if we did not already know that it is not enough for our eyes to fall on someone to have him give up heavy commitments for a single-minded devotion to this project. However we also know that no one is perfect and that no mortal can possibly fulfill every single expectation that we have. Therefore we are extremely fortunate to have found John Stachel who has a wonderful background not only in relativity but also in other fields to which Einstein gave his attention. We know he is not an historian; but we know also that it would be difficult to name any physicist with his special expertise who has a greater interest in history; and certainly none who has since taken more positive measures to prepare himself for historiography.

We have now the clear choice whether to go on with John Stachel or not. If we were to give him up, all the world would then look askance at us, at the Einstein project, and at every institution connected with it. I cannot possibly conceive of this stain ever thereafter being erased. No man who is a man would want to join a project conducted on such principles.

If, on the other hand, we make the straightforward choice to appoint Stachel as editor we will capitalize on the progress, the very substantial progress, that he has already made. We will be meeting the responsibilities to Einstein, to the Einstein Estate, and to the world of scholarship. I cannot see how anybody could possibly criticise such a forward-looking decision.

The Einstein Papers Project Committee

Page 2

May 3, 1978

Some question has been raised about replacing a single editor by a group of three editors. I cannot but think that such a move would set back the enterprise. When a job is set up so that it is everyone's responsibility it becomes no one's responsibility.

Unless you counsel me otherwise--and I'm very sorry not to be able to be present--I would like to cast my vote for Stachel as the continuing responsible editor.

John Archibald Wheeler

Director, Center for Theoretical Physics

University of Texas

Joseph Henry Professor Emeritus, Princeton

P.S. There is a fine young science writer here, Thomas Sietfried, whom John Stachel would find an enormous help in the enterprise if he is in a position of wanting help.

This letter was dictated by Professor Wheeler over the telephone and transcribed.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20550

April 26, 1973

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Director  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Bailey:

As you requested in your conversation with Dr. Overmann, I am writing to explain the current position of the National Science Foundation vis-a-vis the Einstein project. After the meeting of the Advisory Panel for History and Philosophy of Science and members of the NSF staff with you, Dr. Stachel, and Miss Dukas last June, we were left with several questions concerning the organization and governance of the project. Our lawyers also wanted to examine some legal issues concerning royalties, etc. But there was a considerable degree of agreement on these issues:

1. The project should be headed by an editor-in-chief who would have the primary responsibility for the running of the project.
2. The editor, working with appropriate assistants and associates, had to be guaranteed the normal freedom and responsibilities which ordinarily belong to the position.
3. Dr. John Stachel had demonstrated that he is an appropriate choice for the position of editor.

As you are aware, many questions were raised by the previous application; until they are satisfactorily resolved, it would be fruitless to submit a request for funds. If all the issues can be met and a new proposal submitted--which presents an acceptable plan for preparation of the volumes, we are prepared to recommend the project formally to the National Science Board, which has final authority over long-term and larger-scale commitments. No assurance on the disposition of the application can be provided prior to the complete review of the new proposal, but the Foundation continues to be interested in considering a proposal directed toward assisting publication of the Einstein papers.

Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.

2

I hope this provides you with the information you need. If you have any further questions, please contact either Dr. Overmann or me.

Sincerely yours,

*Eloise E. Clark*

Eloise E. Clark  
Assistant Director  
Biological, Behavioral,  
and Social Sciences

JW

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540  
Telephone-609-924-4400  
EINSTEIN PROJECT

April 24, 1978

TO: Members of the Editorial Advisory Board  
FROM: John Stachel  
SUBJECT: Board Meeting on May 6, 1978

*John Stachel*

A copy of my report to the Estate and Press, submitted January 14, has been sent to you, and may have raised some questions which call for further information and discussion. I have been invited to attend the Board meeting by the Estate and Press; but I believe there may be somewhat conflicting needs on the part of the Board: on the one hand, you may want to obtain some further information from me; on the other, you may feel the need to discuss some (or all) questions in my absence.

Therefore,

1. Please feel free to contact me in person or by telephone before the day of the meeting;
2. On the day of the meeting I shall be working in my office at the Institute, and thus available to attend as much or as little of the meeting as the Board may decide useful;
3. I shall be happy to show any Board members what I have been working on during the last year.

A small problem may arise in contacting me before the meeting. A major illness in the family will take me away from the office part of the time. My present secretary is also leaving at the end of this week, and her replacement will not be able to work full-time until May 8. Thus, I ask for your patience in trying to reach me at the following telephone numbers:

Office: (609) 924-4400, ext. 225  
Secretary's extension 211

Home: (609) 896-2443

Please leave a message asking me to contact you if you do not reach me directly.

JS/fsb



THE ESTATE OF ALBERT EINSTEIN  
AND  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

April 13, 1978

TO: The Editorial Advisory Board  
THE WRITINGS OF ALBERT EINSTEIN

FROM: H. S. Bailey, Jr.

SUBJECT: May 6 Meeting

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Because Prospect Club on the University Campus is closed on Saturdays, we are transferring the meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board to the Board Room at the Institute for Advanced Study, where lunch can be provided in the cafeteria. Therefore please come directly at 10:00 a.m. on Saturday, May 6 to the cafeteria building at the Institute, where the Board Room is adjacent to the cafeteria.

Again, I hope that all of you can attend.

*H. S. Bailey*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

MINUTES

Regular Meeting of the Board of Trustees  
January 14, 1978

- Present:** Messrs. Petersen, Dilworth, Doob, Drell, Forrestal, Hansmann, Segal, Straus; Dr. Woolf, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hunt.
- Absent:** Messrs. Byrom, Houghton, Opel, Simon, Solow, Taplin; Mesdames Gray and Whitehead.
- Presiding Officer:** The Chairman, Mr. Petersen, opened the meeting at 10:40 a.m.
- Minutes:** On the motion of Mr. Segal, the minutes of the meeting of October 8, 1977, page 2, paragraph 5 were amended to provide that the Director resubmit Phase I of the Development Plan for further consideration at the January meeting.
- Report of the Finance Committee:** Since all those members of the Board present at the regular meeting of the Board were also in attendance at the meeting of the Finance Committee, it was agreed to waive any further oral report of the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee Minutes will be attached for all members. The amendment to Mr. Hansmann's letter regarding his fiduciary responsibility, as described in the minutes of the Finance Committee, was unanimously approved by the Board.
- Director's Report:**
- a) **Profile of the Institute:** The Director reported that the total membership in the academic year 1977-78 was 165 academic members, both permanent and visiting. This year's visiting members come from 18 countries and are affiliated with 81 universities; 19 of them are women and 88 are under the age of 35.
- Approximately \$3,900,000 accounts for the direct and indirect costs of these members of which \$2,400,000 comes from Institute General Funds. The largest portion of this is spent for visiting members in the School of Historical Studies followed by Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Social Science.
- b) **Vitality of the Institute and a Sample of Seminars:** The Director reported that he continued to be impressed with the importance of the Institute in the field of American education. One clear example of this was the great variety of seminars and colloquia and the high attendance not only by our own members, but colleagues from Princeton University and other sister institutions.

-2-

Some of the subjects treated in the regular weekly Social Science luncheon seminars have included: Alleged Economic Factors in Latin American Authoritarianism; The Notion of a Well-Ordered Society, Impressions of Contemporary Brazil; The Canadian Political Tradition; The Socialist Nation of the German Democratic Republic; Why Lawyers and Economists Do Not Think Alike.

- c) **Director's Letter:** The Director referred to his letter, which has already been distributed to Trustees, Faculty, Alumni, Presidents of major universities and colleges, Corporate Officers and other potential donors and friends. The total circulation to date has been 4,500, but an additional 1,000 will be mailed in the near future.
- d) **Alumni Reply Cards:** The Alumni Reply cards are of great interest. If they are returned in sufficient numbers, they will form the basis of an eventual Alumni Directory.
- e) **Director's Fund:** An invitation has been issued to Dr. Abba Eban to visit the Institute in the year 1978-79 for the academic year as a member supported by the Director's Fund. The invitation has the courtesy approval of the full Faculty.
- f) **Farmhouse:** Because of the doubling up of office space and the general crowding in the academic area, it has been decided to remodel the farmhouse at the foot of Olden Lane in order to provide nine additional offices. It will be possible to start work on this remodeling in this academic year because there are sufficient funds available in the capital expenditures budget, set aside originally for a major project connected with the roofs of the housing project. Preliminary plans have been submitted by Mr. William Short and an estimate has been received from a reliable builder for \$64,000. With architectural fees and furnishings the total will probably not exceed \$90,000.  
  
The transfer of capital funds for this project was unanimously approved by the Board.
- g) **Brochure:** A description of the history and activities of the Institute has been sent to all members of the Board and is also included in the agenda booklets for the day. Two members of the Board pointed out the errors in the descriptions of their current professional positions. The Director said that it was his hope that once additional corrections and suggestions have been received and incorporated, the present description might be published in the form of a brochure.
- h) **Development Activities:** The Director reported that the total of grants, gifts and contracts awarded in fiscal 1977 was \$1,556,475. \$197,000 of this came from private sources and \$1,360,000 from government sources.  
  
Similar figures for fiscal year 1978 to date are as follows: total \$4,030,000; \$816,000 from private sources and \$3,213,000 from government sources.

-3-

- i) Mellon Grant: A major proposal was submitted to the Mellon Foundation for a joint effort between the Schools of Historical Studies and Social Science for a three-year period. A copy of the intellectual proposal will be sent to the full Board shortly after the meeting. The grant has been approved in the amount of \$370,000. This provides for the support of a certain number of people working on the project and overhead support of approximately 40% of actual academic support expenditure. At this point Professor Drell raised the question as to whether this was not the first application of its kind for joint or applied research as compared with the individual research that has been more common at the Institute.
- j) Other private gifts: The Director also discussed an effort with some very optimistic possibilities for the raising of other private funds.
- k) Government Grants: The Director reported that the renewal of the major grant from the National Science Foundation for the support of the visiting members in Mathematics had come through with a semi-commitment for five years (renewal applications must be made each year). Government support is also assured in the other three Schools from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Department of Energy (successor to ERDA).
- l) Challenge Grant to NEH: A Challenge Grant application in the amount of \$900,000 has been filed with the NEH. This provides for \$1.00 from them for every \$3.00 that the Institute raises from private sources. The intention of the grant is to support existing humanities activities at the Institute, particularly in the form of academic overhead, which is currently being provided from Institute funds.
- m) Other Gifts: The three commemorative funds now stand as follows: total donors, approximately 265; Oppenheimer - \$20,000; Morse Fund - \$10,000; Neugebauer Fund - \$5,000.
- n) Development Plan: The Director reported that a revised Development Plan had been forwarded to the Board prior to the meeting and was also included in their folders. This was in response to the amendment suggested by Mr. Segal and passed by the Board earlier in this meeting. The Director spoke specifically to page 9, No. 4A, "Trustees Endowment Fund". He emphasized the role of the Trustees in introducing the Director and Mr. Hunt to potential donors, both individual and corporate. He also described extensive conversations that he had had with Mr. Francis Plimpton regarding the development of a Bequests Program.

The revised Development Plan was approved by the Board.

-4-

- o) Feasibility Study on Institute Lands: The Director described conversations that he had had with respect to a feasibility study of the use of Institute lands. He emphasized the fact that this would be accomplished by Richard S. Weinstein Associates and that the feasibility study itself would be done without the use of Institute funds. There followed a general discussion among members of the Board with regard to the wisdom of this course of action. It was the sense of the meeting that a luncheon meeting should be held attended by Messrs. Forrestal, Segal, Woolf, Weinstein and Elliott. If an agreement were reached at this meeting, the Director would then be empowered to go ahead with the Feasibility Study.
- p) Einstein Centennial Celebration: A full description of the Einstein Centennial Celebration in March of 1979 has been distributed to the members of the Board and is also included in the booklets for the day's meeting. The following steps have already been taken with respect to the Symposium:
1. An application has been made for support from the National Science Foundation;
  2. A grant from Mr. Joseph H. Hazen of \$25,000 for seed money for planning has been received;
  3. All of the rooms at the Educational Testing Service Conference Center have been booked;
  4. The support of the major Learned Societies has been successfully sought;
  5. An approach has been made to the Smithsonian Institution to follow up the Symposium with an extended public program in Washington and elsewhere in the country. The officers of the Smithsonian have indicated interest and probable approval.
  6. An approach has been made to the President of the United States to participate in the Symposium. He cannot make commitments this far in advance, but he will almost certainly be represented if he is not here in person;
  7. Most of the participants in the Symposium have agreed to attend, at no stipend.
  8. A further commitment from Mr. Joseph H. Hazen in an amount up to \$75,000 has been made for a Memorial Sculpture of great distinction.
- q) Einstein Films: The Director went on to describe the plans for the three Einstein films. A complete description of the films and the legal protection of the Institute from any expense will be sent to the members of the Board immediately after the meeting.



-5-

**Discussion of the  
Einstein Celebration:**

The balance of the meeting of the Board, including luncheon, was devoted to the entire Einstein Celebration and a great deal of the discussion centered about the advisability of the film project. The Director reiterated that the Institute would be fully protected from I.A.S. costs. Mr. Segal emphasized the point that no member of the Board was qualified to supervise this production and that it was bound to have pitfalls regardless of whatever legal protection appeared to be existent in advance. There were strong expressions of approval that it was appropriate to retell the Einstein story, but there were serious questions as to the role of the Institute in this production.

The lengthy discussion was resolved to some degree by the following three motions:

Motion 1: That the Director's proposals for the Einstein Celebration with the exception of the three films be approved.

This motion was unanimously approved.

Motion 2: That the Institute withdraw from sponsoring the three films.

This motion failed.

Motion 3: That the Director be authorized to continue his exploration of the production of the three films and that final approval of his plans be referred to a sub-committee composed of Mr. Dilworth, Chairman, and Messrs. Drell, Forrestal and Hansmann.

This motion carried with Messrs. Doob and Segal requesting that their votes be recorded as negative.

**Adjournment:**

There being no further business before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

*Minot C. Morgan, Jr.*  
Minot C. Morgan, Jr.  
Secretary



THE ESTATE OF ALBERT EINSTEIN  
and  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

April 5, 1978

TO:       The Editorial Advisory Board for The Writings of Albert Einstein

FROM:     The Estate of Albert Einstein (Miss Helen Dukas and Dr. Otto Nathan) and Princeton University Press (Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.)

SUBJECT:  A call to meet on Saturday, May 6, 1978, 10:00 a.m. at the Press. The meeting will end by 4:00 p.m.

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We apologize for the long period which has passed without a report from us, but you will find enclosed a report from Professor Stachel on his year's work. We hope you will find it interesting.

Until July 15, 1979, Professor Stachel will continue his work, and by that time he expects to have completed the computer-index to the Einstein archive and the conformed full-size duplicate copy of the archive (so it will not be constantly necessary to work with the originals). He will also continue circulating Einstein correspondence to living Einstein correspondents in order to get their comments and background information; this task should be largely completed by July 1979.

We are enclosing herewith a list of the present members of the Editorial Advisory Board; we hope you will all come. Professor Gillispie has consented to act as chairman. Your expenses for the meeting will of course be covered. Please fill out and return the enclosed form as soon as possible.

Also enclosed is a proposed agenda for the meeting. The principal question on the agenda is whether we are wise to continue to think in terms of a single chief editor who would have appropriate associate and assistant editors or consultants in other disciplines than his own, or whether there should be a group of perhaps three co-equal editors from different disciplines with a coordinating administrator. Depending on the views of the Board on this question, we should like to have your advice on how to proceed further.

The editing and publication of the Einstein Papers has been too long delayed. We hope you will help us and we urge you to attend.

If there are any questions please telephone Mr. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr. (609-452-4902) or Dr. Otto Nathan (212-477-2948).

TO: Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.  
Princeton University Press  
Princeton, NJ 08540

FROM:

-----  
I will ( ) will not ( ) be able to attend the meeting  
of the Editorial Advisory Board of the Writings of Albert  
Einstein at Princeton University Press at 10:00 a.m.,  
Saturday, May 6, 1978.

I will need a room overnight in Princeton for the night  
of Friday, May 5--yes ( ), no ( )

Saturday, May 6--yes ( ), no ( )

I understand that my expenses will be paid.

I am arriving by (method and time) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
I will leave by (method and time) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_