

December 1, 1948

Cable to Dr. Einstein from Usborne:

Impossible explain all details in cable, but personally convinced very important to have your signature to following petition to be presented to Evett (?), President of UN, on Saturday:

"We, the undersigned, have examined the attached declaration submitted by Garry Davis on the 19 November to the President of the Assembly of UN. It commands our full support. We are conscious of the anxious and desperate desire for peace of the peoples of the world and humbly request that the Assembly shall extend its session for another week or at least one extra day to consider the Davis declaration."

Declaration:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I entreat you in the name of the peoples of the world not represented here. Though our word may go unheeded, our common need for world law and order can no longer be disregarded. We the people want the peace which only a world government can give. The sovereign states you represent divide us and lead us to the abyss of total war. I call upon you no longer to deceive us by this illusion of political authority. I call upon you no longer to deceive us by this illusion of political authority. I call upon you to convene forthwith a world constituent assembly to raise the standard around which all men can gather, the standard of true peace, of one government for one world, and if you fail us in this, stand aside, for a peoples world assembly will arise from our own ranks to create such a government. Nothing less will meet our need. (end of declaration).

Please phone Urey, Oppenheimer, Szilard for additional signatures, and cable me reply at House of Commons. Boyd Orr and Bidault have already signed.

(signed) Usborne

5 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

September 10, 1946

Dr. V. F. Weisskopf
Department of Physics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Weisskopf:

I have just had a wire from Dr. Szilard saying that you had unfortunately lost the copy of the waiver of notice of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees which took place at Princeton on August 14th and asking me to send you another by special delivery. This I am doing herewith.

As you probably know, when a meeting of a board of trustees of a corporation is called without adequate formal notice to the trustees as prescribed in the by-laws, the meeting has never taken place unless all of the trustees sign a waiver of notice.

I understand that Harold Urey has talked to Bacher, who will send in his waiver at once and has apologized for the delay, but the scattering of academic people through the country has held up these formalities for an ungodly length of time. The Oram organization is extremely anxious to get started while the March of Time and other things are still fresh in people's minds.

Meanwhile, we have completed arrangements for a loan constituting a revolving fund from the National Committee on Atomic Information, which is to be repaid out of the first money raised. I have persuaded the head of a big business here to vacate some space as a public service so that we can have some offices and have managed to persuade a woman of unusual qualifications to leave her husband and child in Chicago to come on here and act as Assistant Secretary.

We have tentative arrangements made for opening bank accounts and other things of that sort and we cannot consummate any of them until the last of these waivers is in or until another meeting is called on due notice, which means bringing people east in order that they may meet. So I am enclosing a return stamped envelope and will be most grateful if you will be kind enough to send it back right away.

Dr. V. F. Weisskopf

-2-

September 10, 1946

I look forward with great pleasure to meeting you one of these days and am sorry that you have a temporary Executive Director whom so many of you have not met.

Sincerely yours,



Joseph Halle Schaffner

JHS/bw
Enclosure
Special Delivery

November 1, 1946

Mr. J. Halle Schaffner
5 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Schaffner:

I have received a copy of the letter of Hans Bethe which was in reply to your proposed pamphlet in our money collecting campaign. I was very interested in the attitude Dr. Bethe took and in the reasons which he brought forward. However, I would like to take issue with his main point, namely, that we should curtail our activities at this time.

I have thought a lot about this problem, and there was a time when I felt the same way Bethe does, but I now feel that it would be very dangerous to follow this line, and I would like to put my arguments before you for the sake of discussion.

What the scientists' movement has accomplished in the last year is certainly impressive. Not only have we succeeded in keeping many people, and I think also the important people, interested in the atomic problem, but we also have had an important influence on the legislation and on the foreign policy of this country. I may be wrong, but I believe that the Four Power Declaration of last winter and the adoption of the Lilienthal Report as the United States' line of policy is to a great extent traceable to the activities of the scientists. Therefore, we have achieved certain tasks to which further activity would not contribute much, but there are a number of tasks to which we still can contribute, and I would like to enumerate them.

In the International field, it seems at first sight that the next step is up to the Russians and that we in the United States have done all that we could and "failed completely" as Bethe puts it. This is not quite true in my opinion, I think that the situation in the United Nations Commission is not completely lost, and the activities of the informal committees do a tremendous amount of good in the mutual understanding of the facts of life between the Russians and us. We know from our own experience that only a long time acquaintance with even the trivial facts leads to agreement, and usually leads to the right agreement. There is a beginning in this direction within the informal committees in New York. This is, as well as I can express it, also the opinion of H. A. Kramers. On the other hand,

November 1, 1946

the apparent failure of any reasonable progress has made a great impression upon this country, and it acts, together with our fear propaganda of the last year, in a direction which we do not like, namely, the direction of preventive war. "If we cannot get agreement with the Russians, let us get rid of them before they have the bomb". I do not think it is necessary to explain that this is a very dangerous development full of illusions and unrealities. The preventive war would be an atomic war, and very probably on both sides, because the duration of wars has always been underestimated, especially by the attackers. Therefore, I see the following activities for the scientists' organizations:

1) To go on with the propaganda of last year. It has been shown that the most primitive facts which we tried to teach are known only to a very small fraction of the population.

2) To supplement this propaganda with arguments which prevent the conclusion, "Let us start the war now". This can be done by a more explicit discussion of the effects and possible courses of a preventive war.

3) Further popularization of the Lilienthal Report in order to make clearer the positive sides of this plan which in my opinion have been somewhat neglected in the official presentation of the Baruch Committee. It is not only a plan to police other countries but to develop atomic energy on a large scale. Of course, the Federation should never come out against the Baruch Committee but the Federation may even have an influence on the policy of that Committee by means of discussion of the problems on a somewhat higher level directly with members of the Committee, or with other influential people. In this connection, it should be pointed out that some of the features in the Baruch plan, especially those which irked the Russians most, are not necessarily bound to the Lilienthal idea. An example is the connection of sanctions and punishments with the introduction of the ADA. These are two different problems and could perhaps be solved in two different steps.

4) This is the most important point, and I am afraid I can only formulate it in a general fashion. We must be sure that the population at large adopts the attitude that there is no alternative to International collaboration; that there is no possible, "Take this or else", because there is no else; that there is no discussion of what shall we do if the agreement fails, because the only thing to do is to try again. Therefore, I strongly disagree with Bethe's statement that, "The less the subject of atomic energy is stressed, the better". It seems to me that our only hope of a solution in the whole field of International collaboration lies in the fact that the atomic problem provides a field in which a separate solution may be

possible. I also take issue with Bethe's statement, "These failures cannot be overcome by work in the restricted field of atomic energy". It seems to me that the fundamental idea of the Lillenthal report lies in the possibility of this restricted solution. It lies in the fact that this field is so novel and in a way little dependent on other factors that a separate solution is hopeful. This solution then will give the initiative to the peaceful solutions of other problems. If this principle is adopted, our main task is to stress the subject of atomic energy to keep it in public discussion.

5) A great deal could be done also in respect to contacting foreign scientists and propagating our ideas in foreign countries. The situation among scientists outside the United States seems to be very critical. From my contacts with people from outside, I get the impression that the foreign scientists think that the American scientists are completely enslaved by the American Government and by the armed forces. They grant us that we have good will to improve the situation, but they think we are completely powerless to do anything. Therefore, they have mostly discounted any help from our side; they think they will never get any information of a scientific nature out of this country even on subjects that have been declassified. You can find a characteristic example in a recent issue of the British Medical Bulletin which contains a lot of information on radiation problems. This Bulletin lists its distribution sources all over the world but does not mention any in the United States. An American physicist in Britain has asked the editor why they left out the U.S. His answer was, "We are not interested in helping the United States in any respect since we do not get any help from them". A great deal could be done to improve this situation, for example, by accelerating the declassification of declassifiable material and by sending this material as soon as possible to foreign scientists. There is a danger of creating a bloc of all foreign scientists against us, wherein they develop their own ideas and their own plans, discounting any collaboration with America. This attitude is extremely understandable in view of the present state of world affairs. However, if it is not changed, it will be very harmful for any international understanding.

The foreign scientists are not even informed of our well known activities here. For example, Dr. Amaldi who is one of the foremost Italian physicists, has received only two copies of the Atomic Bulletin and that was the only source of information he had about any activity going on in this country. A lot of good could be done by the simple device of sending great amounts of literature to Europe and also by the exchange of people, and common conferences would help enormously. I know that it is practically impossible to get in touch with Russian scientists, however, I think that a good closed contact with the non-Russian

Mr. J. Halle Schaffner

-4-

November 1, 1946

circles in Europe is equally important and useful. These foreign activities are especially expensive and will need the support of our Committee.

I am aware that these ideas are very preliminary and not well-expressed. I have put them down in a hurry, but I do not want to lose time trying to formulate them better, so I would like to present them in this form to you. They may serve as a basis for discussion.

I have read your proposed pamphlet which you sent to me and I agree very much with its formulation. You, as a non-scientist, are much better able to formulate these ideas in a way that non-scientists (the people who contribute the money) will understand.

I am sending copies of this letter to Urey, Szillard and Bethe, the people to whom Bethe sent his letter. I would be glad for you to show my letter to anyone you wish, and especially to those who saw Dr. Bethe's letter.

Yours sincerely,

V. F. W.

Victor F. Weisskopf

VFW:ff
CC to Urey, Szillard and Bethe

May 24, 1948

Professor V. F. Weisskopf,
Department of Physics,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Viki:

I have received a copy of your letter of resignation and also of Seitz's letter to you, and I have been wondering what to write to you in regard to this. You will probably know also by this time that Oram is resigning from his position in charge of the fund raising campaign. I am sorry that you feel you should resign, but in a way what I am really sorry about is the situation in the Emergency Committee that has existed almost from its beginning, in which there was no unanimity of opinion in the Committee. Without unanimity in the Committee it can't do anything, and as you know, this has been the situation. I believe it is true that none of us are so sure that our particular view is correct but what we are awfully glad to see other people putting forward their views as well as putting forward our own. What none of us wishes to do is to appear in public saying things which we do not believe to be true.

At the last meeting of the trustees I took a very vigorous stand in regard to what should be said in the news release. I should like to tell you what the situation was in regard to me. As you know, on these news releases and press interviews I turn out to be spokesman for no particular reason except perhaps a glib tongue, and I cannot face newsmen in that way saying things with my tongue in my cheek. Otherwise I just fail completely on that sort of operation. If somebody else would face the newsmen and I could drop into the background I could more easily give way on details of a statement than I can when I must be the spokesman. In this case it is not only a matter of saying things in public with which I do not quite agree, but it is attempting to say these things convincingly.

I do not know whether you primarily feel that you disagree with me, or whether you also feel that you disagree with Professor Einstein. I think Professor Einstein and I agree very, very closely; certainly closely enough to work together in a practical way.

Professor Weisskopf

- 2 -

May 24, 1948

Since there is the difficulty of Mr. Oram, since you feel so strongly about the difficulty of working with the Committee, since I myself at the last meeting offered to resign if it would make for unity, and feel the same way today, I wonder if it would not be well for all of us to let Professor Einstein have a little time to think over the situation, consult with various people, and then perhaps try to make a decision about what is best to be done about the whole Emergency Committee, rather than just your resignation from it.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm

MAY 20 1948

May 17, 1948

Professor V. F. Weisskopf
Department of Physics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Viki:

Naturally I was very sorry to hear that you have decided to resign from the Emergency Committee. I have heard that you objected to the newsrelease of Monday, April 12th and hoped to see you at the Washington meeting to talk to you about it. I now regret that I did not write a letter.

Unless you actually attended the meeting that accompanied this release it would be very difficult to understand the circumstances that led up to the particular form given. The fact of the matter is that the Emergency Committee has been successful in raising funds only when it has something to say that has some news value. Funds were in such bad shape that it was absolutely necessary ~~for them~~ to make a statement with some content. The release given was about the best compromise that could be worked out. Perhaps it would have been different if you had been there.

You must also remember that the Federation of Atomic Scientists has been among the first to criticize the Emergency Committee for not raising funds at a greater rate. Somewhere along the line compromises had to be made.

I realize that the things I say in this letter will probably have very little bearing on your decision, but I have ~~some~~ hope that you will reconsider the matter and attend at least one more meeting. Without the degree of centralization which a strong Emergency Committee can provide, I have great fear that the scientists will wander about so much that their efforts will have a vanishing, if not actually negative, average value. Your loss from the Committee will be a very deep

one.

You realize, of course, that I am speaking for myself not for the Committee, but I am sure that they share my views about you. I now regret very much that I did not write you after the Condon dinner when I heard the rumor about your views on the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick Seitz

FS/jhy

cc: Harrison S. Brown
Philip M. Morse
Leo Szilard
Harold C. Urey ✓
Albert Einstein

MAY 17 1948

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Department of Physics

Cambridge 39, Mass.
May 12, 1948

COPY

Dr. Albert Einstein
Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
Room 28, 90 Nassau Street
Princeton, N.J.

Dear Dr. Einstein,

I wish to submit with great regret my resignation from the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. I have thought about this step for a long time, and would like to give you an account of the reasons behind my decision to resign. The reasons are two-fold.

I feel that I disagree fundamentally with some of the political opinions that the Emergency Committee has expressed in its recent publications. I feel that I cannot support a program of World Government now without Russia. I am in complete agreement with the recent statement of Secretary of State Marshall on this point, in which he said that any attempt in this direction would split the world into two military camps. Any hope that Russia would eventually join such an organization seems to me completely futile.

It seems to me that the only way to solve the present situation is to try to stabilize Europe, and to change the fundamental assumption which underlies the present Russian behavior. This assumption is based on the "misconception" (as Secretary Marshall calls it) that two different economic systems cannot live together in peace. I cannot see how World Government without Russia would help in this direction, and I can see many obvious ways in which it can harm.

My second reason for resigning is the fact that I have unfortunately not been successful in my attempts to improve relations between the Emergency Committee and the Federation of American Scientists. It seems to me that the unity of the scientists' movement can only be preserved if very close relations are maintained between our group and the Federation,

May 12, 1948

which does represent the body of politically interested scientists. The recent policy of the Emergency Committee, instead of narrowing its differences with the Federation, has only widened them. It has emphasized the unhappy cleavage between old and young scientists which General Groves has recently used to discredit the scientists' movement.

I have been aware of these two points for some time, but have not taken this step before because I hoped that I would be able somehow to influence the policy of the Emergency Committee to the contrary. Lack of time and opportunity, however, made this impossible, and it seems to me now that the divergence between my point of view and that of the group become more and more apparent.

I hope that you will understand my reasons for leaving your group. Our common endeavor to support the cause for which we all are fighting has been a most stimulating and exciting experience for me, and I am grateful for the privilege of having been asked to participate.

Sincerely yours,

V.W.

Victor F. Weisskopf

cc: Harrison S. Brown
Philip M. Morse
Frederick Seitz
Linus Pauling
Leo Szilard
Harold C. Urey

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS
Room 6-305

April 22, 1955

Dr. Harold C. Urey
4900 Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Harold:

I am very sorry that I did not answer your letter earlier. It was very much on my mind all the time, and I thought much about it. Let me just tell you in a few words what my present position is. I wish I could spend more time with this problem. It seems to me that the matter which you raise has very little to do with our special competence as scientists and is, I think, in much better hands if dealt with by people who know better how to transfer their use to the public. As an example, I include Walter Lippmann's column on that issue. This is why I think we should not revive the Emergency Committee for that purpose.

I am dictating this letter in a hurry in order that it gets off before the week-end. This subject should deserve a longer letter. Please excuse me.

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Viki

Victor F. Weisskopf

VFW:nb

Dr. Harold C. Urey
4900 Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

April 13, 1955

Dr. V. F. Weisskopf
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Vicky:

During the last weeks there has been a considerable segment of opinion among some political and military leaders in Washington which has favored the use of atomic bombs on the mainland of China in response to an attack on Matsu, Quemoy, and Formosa. I believe this would be a disastrous action. I do not know whether all members of the former Emergency Committee would agree with me or not. However, it does seem that consideration of such action would be something which an Emergency Committee would wish to discuss. Therefore, I propose a reactivation of this Committee. Would you please express your view in regard to this proposal and your interest in being a member of the Committee.

It seems to me that the activities of a reconstituted Committee might be different from what they were before, particularly with respect to money-raising, publicity, etc. Such matters should be discussed by the Committee if it decides to resurrect itself.

I am enclosing a copy of a draft letter which I have prepared as an "Open Letter to the President." I would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Dr. Harold C. Urey

HU/ra

Letter to: L. Szilard, Harrison Brown, Weisskopf, L. Pauling, F. Seitz,
A. Einstein, J. Mayer, H. Urey, H. Bethe, R. Gustavson,
H. Muller

APR 14 1948

WORKERS FOR WORLD SECURITY

222 UNION COMMERCE BUILDING

CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

(TELEPHONE: SUPERIOR 2775; AND 2295)

**TRUSTEES AND SPONSORS
OF
CLEVELAND CHAPTER**

PAUL BELLAMY
Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer

ALFRED A. BENESCH
Cleveland Board of Education

REV. PHILIP SMEAD BIRD
Pastor, Church of the Covenant

RABBI B. R. BRICKNER
Euclid Avenue Temple

P. W. BROWN
President, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce

LOUIS BROMFIELD
Writer

HON. THOMAS A. BURKE
Mayor of Cleveland

H. K. CARPENTER
Executive Vice President, United Broadcasting Co.

RANDOLPH EIDE
President, Ohio Bell Telephone Co.

WM. FINEGAN
Secretary, Cleveland Federation of Labor

HON. THOMAS J. HERBERT
Governor of Ohio

W. T. HOLLIDAY
President, Standard Oil Co. of Ohio

N. R. HOWARD
Editor, Cleveland News

ELTON HOYT, II
Senior Partner, Pickands, Mather & Co.

ADRIAN D. JOYCE
Chairman, The Glidden Co.

S. J. KORNHAUSER
Chairman, National Tool Co.

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
Former Governor of Ohio

DR. W. G. LEUTNER
President, Western Reserve University

WM. G. MATHER
J. P. McWILLIAMS
President, Youngstown Steel Door Co.

RT. REV. MSGR. ROBERT B. NAVIN
Director, St. John College

V. H. PRIBBLE
General Manager, National Broadcasting Company

JOHN B. PUTNAM
Andrews, Hadden & Putnam

D. B. ROBERTSON
International President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen

LOUIS B. SELTZER
Editor, Cleveland Press

SAM SPONSELLER
Regional Director, C.I.O.

DR. C. V. THOMAS
President, Fenn College

J. K. THOMPSON
President, Union Bank of Commerce

RT. REV. BEVERLEY D. TUCKER
Bishop of Ohio Protestant Episcopal Church

MRS. KEITH E. WEIGLE
President, Ohio Congress Parents and Teachers

RT. REV. F. E. WELFLE
President, John Carroll University

A. F. WHITNEY
President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

DR. ROBERT B. WHYTE
Pastor, Old Stone Church

HON. ROBERT N. WILKIN
Judge, Federal District Court

L. B. WILLIAMS
Chairman, National City Bank

DR. SHEPARD L. WITMAN
Ex. Dir., Council on World Affairs

MRS. NORMA E. WULFF
President, Cleveland Board of Education

April 12, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Urey,
Vice Chairman
Emergency Committee
1126 E. 59th St.
Chicago 37, Ill.

My dear Mr. Urey:

I am writing you to let you know that the editors of the papers in Cleveland have expressed a willingness to publish the statement as was made on the radio Sunday night calling on the people of the world to rise up and form a world government with or without Russia in time to save civilization. If you would be willing in this statement to enthusiastically endorse Workers for World Security, I think it would be helpful in getting many of our pledge blanks returned that are partially filled and still in the hands of workers.

Mr. Howard, President of the Editors' Association of America, who is a sponsor of this organization, will have as the guest of honor on his right President Truman at their dinner next week. At this time Mr. Howard is planning to arrange with the President to receive the thousands of names that have been pledged to the purpose of this organization. At the same time a representative of every foreign country will be there to flash the news of this organization to the world. It has already been arranged that the news release and broadcasting companies will cooperate in endeavoring to get the people of the world to rise up and demand a world government so strong that wars cannot exist.

Anything that you could do to help crystalize the desire behind this organization will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours

Robert N. Wilkin
Chairman

November 30, 1946

Mr. Robert E. Wilson,
Standard Oil Company,
910 South Michigan Avenue,
Chicago 80, Illinois

Dear Bob:

Your letter to Dr. Einstein relative to the Emergency Committee was forwarded to me for reply, since Dr. Einstein is in very frail health. I am leaving next week for Europe, and so cannot make an opportunity to see you. I will not get back until the middle of January, but after that I would like very much to talk with you about the problem of this Committee.

Briefly, during the past year the Atomic Scientists have worked under almost impossible conditions from a financial point of view, and as a great deal of discussion pro and con it was felt that their work was not done by any means. The real problem now is not magazines, radio and the press, but reaching a large number of people who never listen to or read serious articles. This large mass of people have the votes, and it is only by getting down to them that we will be able to really establish a fundamental understanding of this problem. This can be done mostly only by personal contact through various organizations and their membership.

But I wish to talk to you about this when I return. With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm

STANDARD OIL COMPANY

(INDIANA)

910 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

ROBERT E. WILSON,
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

CHICAGO 80, ILL.

November 4, 1946

Dr. Albert Einstein, Chairman
Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
90 Nassau Street - Room 28
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Einstein:

Thank you for your kind invitation to a luncheon and meeting with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists on Sunday, November 17. Unfortunately, I shall be unable to accept this invitation because of previous engagements, as I am sure the subject matter would be very interesting.

I am, however, rather surprised at the proposal to raise a large sum for educational work. It had seemed to me that the Committee of Atomic Scientists had pretty well accomplished their initial objectives when they got the civilian commission, and the Baruch Plan agreed to; and that since magazines are quite ready to print articles by recognized scientists bearing on atomic problems, it should not be necessary to spend large sums for education beyond that which can be secured through magazines and the press.

However, I know Dr. Urey very well, and would be glad to discuss the matter with him on his return, if he so desires.

Very truly yours



HAROLD L. ORAM INC.

8 WEST 40 STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

November 20, 1946

Dr. Harold C. Urey
5442 Hyde Park Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. Urey:

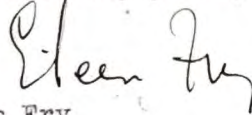
I am enclosing a letter from Mr. Robert E. Wilson which I think may be of interest to you. Since you know Mr. Wilson you may be the best judge as to whether it will be a waste of your time or not to give him the facts of the situation.

I wish you could hear the many very enthusiastic comments that have been reaching us ever since the lunch. People seem to have been universally impressed by the occasion. We have about \$72,000 to date in pledges, with reasonable expectations of considerably more, ~~to come in.~~

I suppose it is out of place for me to thank you for the extraordinary and unfailing job you did at Princeton, but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for your remarkable competence in this field, *based on long experience of Chabrier!*

Harold Oram, as you perhaps know, expects to be in Chicago from the 3rd through the 5th or 6th of December and is eager to have a meeting with you. I am asking Miss Olds to arrange this in advance at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,



Eileen Fry

ef;emf