

October 28, 1953

Rudnik

SHALL WE SPEAK ^{up} NOW?

*If certainly
did not
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this certainly
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project*

Shall we speak ^{up} ~~at~~ now or is it still too ^{low} early? How much worse must the ^{up} ~~must~~ ^{low} ~~will~~ ^{perhaps} ~~be~~ ^{up} ~~situation~~ become before people will be willing to make their effort to sit down and try to think it through?

In writing this ^{up} ~~up~~, I am breaking a self-imposed ^{low} ~~self-imposed~~ silence which I have observed ^{for} ~~over~~ three years now ^{or to} ~~to~~ be ^{marked} ~~marked~~ precise. Ever since February 10, 1950, ^{on} ~~the~~ date I discussed with Hans Bethe, Frederick Seitz and Harrison Brown the "Hydrogen Bomb" on the Round Table Broadcast of the University of Chicago. It was an improvised discussion and as such discussions go, more suitable for raising questions than finding solutions.

All four of us had refrained from expressing an opinion in the semi-private debate which ~~pre~~ ^{took} ~~ceeded~~ the official decision to develop the "Hydrogen Bomb"

^{But} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~public~~ ^{the} ~~understood~~ ^{the} ~~how~~ ^{little} ~~the~~ ^{public} ~~understood~~ how ~~this~~ ^{important} ~~decision~~ ^{may} ~~effect~~ ^{there} ~~lives~~ ^{within} ~~a~~ ^{few} ~~years~~ ^{to} ~~come~~.

Unsuspected by the ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~United~~ ^{States} ~~has~~ ^{embarked} ~~on~~ ^a ~~development~~ ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{likely} ~~to~~ ^{put} ~~before~~ ^{long} ~~into~~ ^{the} ~~hands~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{Government} ~~the~~ ^{power} ~~to~~ ^{destroy} ~~all~~ ^{human} ~~life~~ ^{on} ~~this~~ ^{planet}.

The same of course, would be true of the Govern- ment of Russia. We believe ^{this} ~~to~~ ^{be} ~~true~~ ^{and} ~~we~~ ^{said} ~~so~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{broadcast}.

The public was so unaware of the fact that the cost of developing the "Hydrogen Bomb" cannot be appraised in terms of actual cost, ^{to} ~~build~~ ^{these} ~~bombs~~ ^{and} ~~airplanes~~ ^{suitable} ~~for~~ ^{the} ~~delivery~~, that I must think of the cost of the ^{defensive} ~~measures~~ ^{which} ~~we~~ ^{shall} ~~be~~ ^{forced} ~~to~~ ^{take} ^{if} ~~there~~ ^{is} ~~arms~~ ^{raised} ~~in~~ ^{Thermo} ~~Nuclear~~ ^{Bombs}.

After the decision to develop the "Hydrogen Bomb" was announced, the Secretary of Defense, ^{Johnston} ~~kept~~ ^{talking} ~~of~~ ^{reducing} the defense budget which at that time was around 15 million dollars. We es- ^{ti} ~~ma~~ ^{ted} ~~that~~ ^{the} ~~arms~~ ^{raised} ~~in~~ ^{"Hydrogen} ~~Bombs"~~ ^{will} ~~force~~ ^{us} ~~to~~ ^{raise} ~~our~~ ^{defense} ~~budget~~ ^{to} ~~about~~ ⁴⁰ ~~billion~~ ^{dollars}.

The public's reaction to this broadcast was ^{now} ~~expected~~ ^{and} ~~violent~~. Our state- ^{ment} ~~that~~ ^{the} ~~Governments~~ ^{of} ~~a~~ ^{nation} ~~like~~ ^{ours} ~~or~~ ^{Russia's} ~~may~~ ^{before} ~~long~~ ^{have} ~~the~~ ^{power} ~~to~~ ^{destroy} ~~all~~ ^{human} ~~life~~ ^{on} ~~earth~~ ^{reverberated} ~~around~~ ^{the} ~~world~~. The reaction of the press was with exception behind both the ^{United} ~~States~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{iron} ~~curtain~~.

There was no comment from any official source. ^{No} ~~Government~~ ^{spokesman} ~~has~~ ^{then} ~~or~~ ^{ever} ~~since~~ ^{then} ^{the} ~~issue~~ ^{until} ~~about~~ ^a ~~month~~ ^{ago} ~~when~~ ^{Secretary} ~~of~~ ^{State}, ^{John} ~~Foster~~ ^{Dulles} ~~said~~,

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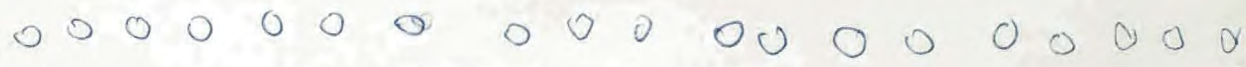
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In the numerous conversations which Harrison Brown and I had with publishers and editorial writers in the weeks following this broadcast, ^{it very quickly} became evident that no one was interested in finding out whether the facts supported our conclusions. ^{ed} That they were interested in finding out was ^{what} our purpose was in stating these conclusions. ^{them}

On this occasion, it was brought to me for the first time how far here in the United States we have gone along the road where intellectual leadership has all but vanished and where the public's decision of the most vital issues which confront us



When a scientist speaks in public on an issue which he feels the public should be informed, ^{then} stating what he believes to be true is good and sufficient reason for him ^{for} to stating ^{it} this. But the public is not accustomed to listening to scientists except perhaps ^{to} those who hold some important administrative office ^{his} in which case they may have long ceased to be scientists and ^{may have} become politicians. Even business men who have become prominent by having made a spectacular success of their business are rarely heard. The voice the public mostly years these days are the voices of those who ^{hold} ~~hold~~ some important elected office, hold some high office in the administration, as well as generals or admirals who take an interest in politics. All of these men are politicians in the sense that ^{if} ~~even~~ they say something in public - even though it may be true what they say - they don't say it because it is true. ^{They say it for a purpose.} But no man can speak for a purpose in public on major issues without impurity for ^{very} long. He will soon end up speaking for a purpose not only in public but also in private. ^{And can't much longer will it take} Not long afterwards he will not only speak for a purpose but ^{he will} also think for a purpose. ^{After a while he may succeed} in convincing ^{others} there is and then he will succeed in ^{convincing} himself.

deceiving others - in the end

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