Mr. Henry B. Allen, Secretary and Director, The Franklin Institute, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Allen:

Please accept my apologies for the long delay in replying to your letter of November 29th. This was received on the day that Dr. Urey left for an extended lecture trip in Europe, and was misplaced in the heavy correspondence which came through the office at that time.

Dr. Urey asked me to show your letter to Dr. Thorfin Hogness, a member of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. Dr. Hogness tells me that he would suggest your consulting Dr. Louis Ridenour, of the Department of Physics, University of Pennsylvania, who, he is sure, will be able to give you excellent advice.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille McCormick Secretary to Harold C. Urey THE FRANKLIN INSTITUTE OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA 3 , PENNSYLVANIA

FOUNDED FEBRUARY 5, 1824

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR

November 29, 1946

Sant Sant

Dr. Harold Clayton Urey Institute of Nuclear Studies University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois o tale.

Dear Harold:

We need your help and guidance in the following direction. The Franklin Institute particularly through its Science Museum feels a real responsibility today in interpreting to our public the potentialities of Atomic Energy as a useful tool and its implications if used as a means of distruction.

I heard your broadcast together with Dr. Einstein the other day on your Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists program, and it looks to me as if what we want to do here should be able to assist in carrying out your committee's objectives.

Any advice you can give will be greatly

appreciated by

Yours sincerely,

B. ALLEN & Director

HBA: mw

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN PRESIDENT SYMBOLS

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DR HAROLD UREY=

1946 SEP 9 PM 7 35

1201

INSTITUTE OF NUCLERA STUDIES UNIV CHICAGO CHGO=

HAVE SIGNED AND MAILED WAIVER OF MEETING TO SCHAFFNER BUT
BELIEVE IT BEST FOR ME TO RESIGN IN NEAR FUTURE. WILL WRITE
YOU UPON MY RETURN EAST=

R S BACHER ..

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE UNITED NATIONS ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION Empire State Building New York 1, N. Y.

Office of Scientific Panel

September 18, 1946

Dr. Albert Einstein c/o Mr. Joseph H. Schaffner 5 East 57 Street New York. N. Y.

Dear Dr. Einstein:

As you probably know, it was suggested last spring by Mr. Higinbotham that I participate in a campaign to raise funds for the National Committee on Atomic Information, in which the American Federation of Scientists is interested. This led to my association with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

It subsequently developed that the funds raised were not in the name of the National Committee on Atomic Information, but rather in the names of certain individuals. This unsatisfactory situation has quite understandably led you and others to set up a corporation to handle these funds, and this corporation included me as one of the trustees.

After a careful consideration it is my personal view that since I am participating in the work of the Scientific Panel of this office it is inappropriate for me to continue as a trustee of the corporation. Accordingly, I hereby present to you my resignation as a trustee of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists effective this date. It does not seem to me that my participation in the corporation will have much effect upon it one way or the other.

Regarding the disposal of any funds which have been raised by the corporation or turned over to it. I would be very happy to see them used for the purpose for which I thought they were intended, the National Committee on Atomic Information or the American Federation of Scientists.

Sincerely yours,

Lobert F. Backer Robert F. Bacher

cc H. A. Bethe

E. U. Condon

T. R. Hogness

J. H. Schaffner

L. Szilard

R. C. Tolman

H. C. Urey

V. Weisskopf

Mr. Frank W. Baldau, 13422 Lambert Street, East Cleveland 12, Ohio

Dear Mr. Baldau:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 20.

I would suggest that you make any contribution you wish to
Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner, Executive Director, Emergency
Committee of Atomic Scientists, Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Thank you very much also for your suggestions in regard to men who should be contacted. As I am leaving next week for Europe, I am passing this information on to Mr. Schaffner.

With best regards and thanks,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm cc: Mr. Schaffner The Honorable Robert A. Taft The Senate Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I am very sorry that I won't be able to be at the home of my neighbor, John Putnam, Sunday noon to have luncheon with you and discuss the Workers for World Security movement, but, as you know, all newspaper men in the country make a hejira to New York once a year and I have to be there from tomorrow morning until Saturday morning, April 24.

I want you to know, however, that I have reviewed at length with John Putnam the viewpoint, policy and program which is being considered, and hewill tell you of my full approval of it and its vital importance, both from the point of view of its inherent timeliness and soundness and its political acceptability.

I am fully convinced that the only alternative to the continuance of the armament race (which we are resuming) and atomic world war III which will wreck civilization as we know it, is a minimum world government with power effective to prevent war and without impairment of our national autonomy or control in other matters. This is the simple, constructive statement of the essential basic policy.

I am equally convinced that its attainment can be accomplished only by having this basic objective first accepted by a large majority of the nations of the world. Attempts to put forward any detailed program before the objective is accepted in principle only increases existing confusion and controversies. It is one thing for the nations' representatives to meet with instructions to accomplish this basis objective through the United Nations or otherwise, and a wholly different thing for representatives not so instructed to attempt to discuss ways and means prior to the acceptance by their countries of such basic objective.

When our responsible, informed representatives tell us that conditions in world affairs require us to intensively rearm for defense, we cannot risk disregarding their recommendations. But it is an historic tragedy of the gravest and most critical nature that we have again been brought to such pass for the third time in a generation without our responsible diplomatic and administrative officials having yet developed or even suggested a constructive foreigh policy which has any practical chance to eliminate the need for resuming such an armament race with its inevitable consequences,—particularly in the

Senator Taft -2-April 13, 1948 light of recent scientific developments which will make the next war many times more disastrous than anything we have yet experienced. As you know, we have developed in Cleveland, the support for this basic objective, to be developed in this way, by practically every religious, educational, social, labor, and business organization. I am fully convinced that the whole-hearted acceptance of this objective is not only vitally necessary but will rally to it as a constructive platform of hope and action all classes and groups of our citizens. In a word, the strength of the World Security movement as against the Word Federalist, consists in the fact that it is not a worked out, detailed plan. It is intended to generate enthusiasm and support for a world government, leaving to the statesmen of the world the working out of the details. It seems to me that, this being the case, there is much less chance of the movement going awry in its early days by arguments as to details. I very much hope that you will throw the full weight of your courageous personality and great influence into the accomplishment of the practical results along this line which I personally believe involve the most vital issue before the country today. Sincerely yours, Paul Bellamy PB/A

Dr. H. A. Bethe, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Dear Bethe:

I have the copy of your letter to Mr. Schaffner, and I should like to make a few comments in regard to it. In the first place, after the Atomic Scientists have taken the vigorous stand which they have during the past year, I think it is not possible for us to back out of the situation now without a most earnest attempt to find a proper alternative to present to the American people. I do not believe that we would be doing our duty if we did.

The situation is far more difficult in view of the fact that the Russians do not go along with our proposals, and there is no solution which would be as satisfactory as we have all wished for; but just because the situation is more difficult is precisely the reason why we must try as intelligent people to lay out for ourselves a proper line of action, and try to sell it to the American people.

My choice of alternatives is that we broaden the base of argument from atomic energy to war itself, and invite as many nations to go along on solving this broader problem, including atomic energy, as will. With this should go the most earnest desire and expression for the cooperation of Russia at any time in the future. This proposal would constitute in the minds of many people a coalition against Russia, and would offer the temptation to many people to use it as such. This would be a very serious danger, and would require the greatest effort to prevent its use in that way, but it is only because of the great danger that our group is badly needed to help in the enormous educational job involved.

Perhaps you have a better alternative solution. If you have, it is also a difficult one, and therefore will require the greatest effort to make it effective. Hence again we need our organization worse than we have ever needed it in the past.

I hope to be able to see you in New York on November 15, 16, and 17. With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

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

Dear Mr. Schaffner:

Thank you very much for your letter containing the proposed pamphlet to be sent out in our money collecting campaign.

I feel rather ashamed not having made any suggestions about this matter before, and I assume that my colleagues feel the same way. If I have not reacted, this is only partly due to the great amount of work I have to do. My reluctance mostly comes from the fact that I do not know what to say. We discussed this matter at the meeting in September, and since then I have become even more convinced that at present there is nothing constructive to be done by the scientists in the political field.

Half a year ago we had a vital issue; namely, to persuade the public of the United States and then the world that international control is the only solution to the atomic energy problem. We succeeded to a large extent inside the United States, but we and the United States Delegation failed completely in the international negotiations. We all know that there are deep reasons for this failure and that these cannot be overcome by work in this country, and especially not by work in the restricted field of atomic energy.

In this situation I sincerely believe that the less the scientists come to the forefront and the less the subject of atomic energy is stressed, the better. I am, therefore, looking forward with great misgivings to our money collecting campaign at this time. I realize, on the other hand, that we have definite commitments, commitments arising from our agreement with Mr. Oram and commitments to the committee for Atomic Information and to the Pederation of American Scientists and its member organizations. I do not see how we can disregard these commitments, and I believe

that we probably have to go through with part of the campaign. I personally wish that this could be restricted to the absolute minimum, let us say, to \$200,000. I shall continue to feel this way until a vital issue will again arise.

Peeling this way. I find it rather difficult to make constructive suggestions at to our campaign pamphlet. I believe that if we have to start a campaign, your suggestions are in general very good. I like particularly the first three sections of your proposal. I do not like so well the last section, and I wish this could be toned down considerably. Generally speaking, I miss the reference to the Federation of American Scientists which, after all. is the principal organization we should be working for. Many associations of scientists at smaller places, such as Cornell, Rochester, Cambridge, Massachusetts, work mostly through the Pederation: The Oak Ridge Association probably has been the most active in the past, next to the Chicago Association. and certainly has been much more active so far than the Northern California group. I am mentioning these facts, not as a criticism, but to help you to get the right balance between the various groups. I also believe that the "plus or minus \$5.00" in the initial outlay for the bulletin might better be omitted.

I am sending copies of this letter of grave doubt to Doctors Urey, Szilard, and Weisskopf, who are my personal friends. I did not circularize the entire committee because I did not wish at this time to make this destructive opinion too official. I shall be very glad, of course, if you show this letter to Dr. Hecht.

Yours sincerely,

H.A. Bethe

H. A. Bethe

HAB: MMCL CC: HAU; LS; VW

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

ITHACA, NEW YORK

LABORATORY OF NUCLEAR STUDIES

N. M.

November 5, 1946

Dr. H. C. Urey Institute for Nuclear Studies University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois

Dear Urey:

Thank you for your good letter in answer to my expression of doubts to Mr. Schaffner. I have, in the meantime, become somewhat more reconciled to our making an appeal and somewhat more convinced of the necessity for continued existence of the Federation of American Scientists. I still am doubtful whether too great prominence given to the problem of atomic energy will actually help, or will rather emphasize the great divergence between Russia and this country.

The main point of my worries is very well illustrated by the answers I have received from Weisskopf and from you. You both advocate a definite political stand, in your case the broadening of our efforts to include more definitely political issues, and close cooperation of all nations outside of the Russian block (with a cordial invitation to the Russians to join). Weisskopf advocates continuing our present efforts and insisting as we have in the past that there is no other solution than international cooperation in the field of atomic energy, and that this field can be treated separately from the other problems. The two opinions are as much opposite to each other as the opinions of intelligent and well-meaning people can be. This demonstrates, I believe, that in the present situation the scientists are no longer united but that the dividing line runs elsewhere. This must be so, once we get out of the scientific into the political sphere.

I am reconciled to going ahead with our plans, and I believe that there are some useful things that we can do. Some of these were mentioned by Mr. Schaffner in his letter of November 1st. I believe, however, that we should make a frank statement that we do not know what to do next. We can certainly point to past success and to the need for further

education both in this country and abroad. But we, as well as the people who speak for the Federation, will have to be very careful in the future and will have to consider all the possible effects that our statements may have on the international situation.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bethe

HAB: MMcL

January 9, 1948 Dr. Hans A. Bethe, Laboratory of Nuclear Studies. Cornell University. Ithaca. New York Dear Hans: I shall present your letter to the Board of Trustees for formal action at the next meeting. I should of course like to say personally that I am sorry that you feel you should take this action of resigning from the Board of Trustees. I feel that you have been a valuable member of the Board, and that your advice and suggestions, though often not followed, were nevertheless valuable to the Trustees, and I wish to say emphatically that they were very valuable to me. I hope to see you regularly at scientific meetings, as you suggest. With best personal regards. Very sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey HCU/lm

To the Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated

You are hereby notified that a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, adjourned for lack of quorum on this day, will be held at the Institute for Advanced Study in Borough of Princeton, County of Mercer, State of New Jersey, beginning at one in the afternoon of Saturday, January 31, 1948, and continuing with additional sessions in the same location and in the Massau Tavern at Princeton, New Jersey, through Sunday, February 1, 1948, for the purpose of transacting the business outlined on the attached agenda as well as any other business that may properly come before the meeting, including possible changes and amendments to the by-laws.

Elisbeth O. Diderman

(Note: This is the formal legal call to the Princeton meeting.)

AGENDA FOR TRUSTEES! MEETING OF JANUARY 31-FEBRUARY 1, 1948

- 1. Approval of minutes of previous meeting
- 2. Revision of by-laws governing the times of annual, regular and special meetings
- 3. Election of officers
- 4. Resignation of Dr. Bethe
- 5. Election of Trustees to fill vecancies
- 6. Voting privileges of Associates en policy matters not involving fund raising or disbursements
- 7. Termination pay for Mr. Minett and Mrs. Harvey
- 8. Financial statement and report on operation of business during January by Dr. Brown
- 9. Report from Harold L. Oram organization
- 10. Report on New York Bulletin dinner by Orem organization
- 11. Report on raising of special funds for a series of conferences by Dr. Brown
- 12. Consideration of two special sllocations to MCAI and ASAE to clear outstanding debts
- 13. Consideration of letters from NCASAE and Committee for Foreign Correspondence to the Executive Vice-Chairman

The remainder of the egonda will be discussed by the Trustees in closed session

- 14. Report on Conference of Foreign Scientists
- 15. Consideration of future operations of Emergency Committee
- 16. Discussion of policy statement
- 17. Additional changes in by-laws or consideration of other business which may arise before date of meeting

March 30, 1948

To the Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated

You are hereby notified that a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, will be held at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Borough of Princeton, County of Mercer, State of New Jersey, beginning at one in the afternoon of Saturday, April 10, 1948, and continuing with additional sessions in the same location and in the Nassau Tavern at Princeton, New Jersey, through Sunday, April 11, 1948., for the purpose of transacting the business outlined on the attached agenda as well as any other business that may properly come before the meeting, including possible changes and amendments to the by-laws.

Elizabeth O. Biduman Assistant Secretary

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, INCORPORATED

AGENDA

for Trustees' Meeting of April 10-11, 1948

- 1. Decisions regarding the international conference of scientists
- 2. Proposal of Samuel Grafton and its relationship to the international conference
- 3. Approval of a statement for release to the press
- 4. Allocations
- 5. Financial report from Executive Vice Chairman
- 6. Report on Bulletin dinner
- 7. Decision on handling of proceeds from Bulletin dinner
- 8. Approval of two amendments to By-laws made at Trustees' Meeting January 31, 1948
- 9. Possibility of Emergency Committee's handling funds for movie to be made by Pare Lorentz

RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER EUCLID AVENUE TEMPLE 8206 EUCLID AVENUE CLEVELAND, OHIO

A movement has recently developed here in Cleveland of which I am a trustee and in which I have become personally and deeply interested. It is called "Workers for World Security" and seeks wide public support, first in this country and then in other countries, for a minimum world government with power effective to prevent war but without impairing national autonomy or control of other matters. It avoids controversial details, which must be left to the statesmen. It is being sponsored here by our recognized leaders in the various fields of religion, education, politics, business, labor, and publications, and has already engendered remarkably wide and strong public support.

The enclosed copy of our constitution, pledge blank, and instructions to workers will give you the structure of the program.

The movement is the logical development of the following facts and ideas:

- 1. Recent scientific developments of atomic bombs, germ warfare, and supersonic planes and rockets have changed the factual basis upon which national governments have been built and have created a situation under which security against the practical destruction of civilization through war can be secured only by the substitution of a world government, with power over the making of war, for the anarchy which now exists in the field of international relations.
- 2. Such a world government can only be created by the cooperative action of a large majority of the statesmen of the world, who are alone in a position to act effectively and are best qualified to determine all questions of form and detail.

- 3. Because of the force of thousands of years of nationalistic tradition, and because most statesmen are fettered by a lifetime's training in nationalistic politics, they cannot and will not act effectively in the creation of such a world government unless and until there is a wide public demand and support for it.
- 4. Such wide public support can only be secured for the simple basic principle, under sponsorship of the present leaders of our various existing social groups in each community and with methods and details left to the statesmen.

Your own experience will, I am sure, confirm and amplify these basic considerations.

We are not, of course, unmindful of the difficulties which will be involved in setting up even this minimum, essential governmental control over war. They must and will be solved by the statesmen under the pressure of united mass public opinion. The solution will be a changing and developing one. But I am told that Europe, for example, is far more ready to take this first, basic step than are we, and that there are ways and means for the taking of such steps which have been given wide consideration and present stronger possibilities of early progress than we dare now hope.

Particular thought has been given to the problem centering around Russia. The best hope is that Russia will come in, though, as in the case of our own federal Constitution, it will probably be several years before she will do so, as it was with several of the colonies. Until she does come in, however, such a basic world government, formed by the principal countries of the world outside of the iron curtain, will be tremendously more effective than the separate nations can be in dealing, both practically and through propaganda, with any continuing imperialistic program which Russia may have.

We do not by-pass the United Nations. We ask that <u>effective</u> action be taken "through the United Nations or otherwise".

The program envisions millions of signatures to the simple basic pledge pouring into Washington from communities all over this country, each acting under the sponsorship of its own leaders similar to those in our Cleveland group, and followed by the development of similar programs in other nations around the world. It is our conviction, supported by much expert advice, that such united mass demand of the people can be effective where smaller efforts of even our highest leaders have failed and will continue to fail.

Page Three

The response here has included all types of community groups, and, although there has been little publicity outside of Cleveland, the program is already being taken up by responsible people in a wide variety of towns and cities scattered in most of the states of the Union.

When we have sufficient signatures here, we plan to send delegations to Washington to deposit them with the President and prominent members of Congress in installments over a period of time and with appropriate ceremonies for the development of national publicity and interest.

Before that is undertaken, however, it is essential that the ground work be properly laid through the endorsement, and development of plans for the active cooperation, of a fairly wide group of national organizations capable of giving leadership to the program in each community when it spreads nationally.

The movement has already been endorsed by Father McGowan, who advises the various Catholic lay organizations and publications from Washington, and steps are being taken for its support by the Bishops' Council and by various Protestant organizations. It has been fully endorsed by the international Railway Brotherhoods here, whose presidents are trustees of our local chapter, and by William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and steps are being taken for the active cooperation of all labor groups. National groups in other fields will be canvassed by their representatives here.

You will see, of course, that this is an undertaking of great magnitude. Its importance and timeliness, however, are equally great. Its appeal seems to be almost universal; and if all groups will bring to it one percent of the effort and resources which its importance demands, or which we now have to spend for military defense, it can become effective in even the short time which may be remaining to the civilized world to replace the insane confusion which now dominates international relations.

At least, if we each try through this, the only practical program which has yet been developed, we will have that to the credit of our consciences if World War III should burst upon us.

I hope that you will refer this matter to the Chairman of your Committee on Peace and that that committee can be persuaded to endorse this program and incorporate it in its message to your next conference for its support. May I hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Barnett R. Brickner Rabbi

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

> New York Office December 30, 1947

Dr. Harrison S. Brown Atomic Scientists of Chicago, Inc. 1126 East 59th Street Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Harry:

I have been in touch with Archie Alexander, who feels very strongly that it would be wise to send all contributors to the Committee a copy of our financial statement. He suggests that this be in the form of the "Summarized Statement of Operations through January 30, 1947" which is the form attached to the tax returns now being filed. Price Waterhouse has agreed to this form, which is a condensation of their more complete report, and I could get Mr. Leitner of Price Waterhouse to add a formal certification, I am sure.

I am in agreement with Mr. Alexander's sentiments as expressed in his letter, which I quote:

". . . it seems to me that the officers and trustees are in fact trustees of the money given and that they should account to the donors for the manner in which it was spent. In view of the self-perpetuating character of the organization and the substantial identity between members and trustees, there is no possibility of a review by any person of the action taken by the trustees, and I should therefore want, if I were one of them, to have my actions placed before the donor, who will then be in a position either to approve and do nothing or make his complain and suggestions. I also believe that such a course of conduct will forestall one of the criticisms which might otherwise be made of the organization by hostile or uninformed outsiders."

I would assume that the cost of this mailing, which could be in the form of a brief covering letter and a multilith or printed one page statement, would run approximately \$800., on the basis of 14,000 contributors. I am sending copies of this letter to the other truste and am requesting by these copies that they notify you of their approval or disapproval. Will you let me know after you have heard from them, and I will take care of the arrangements with Price Waterhouse and the mailing, if you decide to go ahead.

EEM: am

cc: Trustees of the Emergency Committee
Harold Oram
Eileen Fry
A. Alexander

of filmer,

Ru

From: Harrison Brown 8 West 40th Street New York City

Telephone: IA. 4-2520

FOR RELEASE TO PRESS AND RADIO 7:00 P.M., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th

An imminent threat to our national security and our entire governmental atomic energy research program was called to the attention of President

Truman and Governor Thomas E. Dewey yesterday (Monday, September 6th) by eight distinguished physical scientists, all of whom had participated in the It was stated that government's atomic energy development./ tactics of the House Committee on

Un-American Activities, with the possibility of scientists in government employment being subjected "to irresponsible smears that may ruin them professionally for life" has made employment on atomic energy research so undesirable that "the combined full-time personnel of highly capable scientists and engineers in the various government laboratories is on the verge of reaching a dangerously low level." The hope was expressed that "the situation can be remedied before irreparable harn is done."

An original telegram outlining the position of the eight scientists was addressed to the President while Governor Dewey received a similar telegram in order that the responsible leader of the Republican party might be informed During of the danger threatening the country./ a press conference in New York at which Professor Philip M. Morse, until recently Director of the Brookhaven National Laboratories, George B. Pegram, Dean of the Graduate Faculties of Columbia University, and Professor Harrison Brown of the Institute for Nuclear it was Studies of the University of Chicago, representing the group,/pointed out that "their action was undertaken in the national interest and with the hope that this alarming situation would not be used for partisan purposes."

Others signing the similar telegrams to the Democratic and Republican candidates for the presidency of the United States in the forthcoming election were such distinguished scientists as Karl T. Compton, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a member of the President's Loyalty Board; Professor T. R. Hogness, Director of the Institute of Radiobiology and Biophysics, University of Chicago; Professor Charles C. Lauritsen of the California Institute of Technology; Professor Harold C. Urey, Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago; and Dean John C. Warner of the Graduate School, Carnegie Institute of Technology. All united in appraising "the atmosphere which is being created by actions and smearing methods of the

House Committee on Un-American Activities" as creating "a situation within which it is becoming increasingly difficult for scientists and engineers to function."

It was stressed that "the Atomic Energy Commission is in no way to blame for the unfortunate situation that now exists. Since its formation, the Commission has worked vigorously to establish adequate centers for our atomic research. But the Atomic Energy Commission has been needlessly hampered because atomic energy has unfortunately become a 'political football'. As a result the Commission has had to adjust its own workings to the atmosphere created by the Un-American Activities Committee."

It was pointed out that of the 150 senior American scientists mentioned in the famous Smyth Report, "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," an account of the government's wartime atomic energy program, "fewer than 10% are now devoting their full energies to the various government atomic energy programs." It can be expected, the scientists asserted, "that the tactics of the Un-American Activities Committee, if they continue as in the past, will make the situation even more acute."

The messages asserted that, "With the greatest respect to those relatively few excellent men who are now attempting to carry out adequate programs at Brookhaven, Berkeley, Argonne, Los Alamos, Hanford and Oak Ridge, we are forced to the conclusion that the combined full-time personnel of highly capable scientists and engineers in the various laboratories is on the verge of reaching a dangerously low level." It was pointed out that many former workers on the atomic energy project have not remained "because they have found it increasingly difficult to reconcile themselves to government employment on secret projects where they are looked upon by groups such as the Un-American Activities Committee as men not to be trusted, where they must subject themselves to the possibility of irresponsible smears that may ruin them professionally for life. In many cases the men prefer to work elsewhere for considerably lower salaries on research programs completely unconnected with our atomic endeavors."

It was asserted that the climax of the Committee attacks on the scientists was reached this spring "when the Committee issued its attack against Dr. Edward U. Condon. That attack was so repugnant to scientists that it will be years before the damage can be undone. And in the face of rumors of attacks yet to come, it will become increasingly difficult to retain top scientists in government service."

(more)

The scientists called upon President Truman and Governor Dewey to consider that "No nation without adequate scientific resources can hope for any degree of security in the event of another war. In the face of this fact, it is important that the leaders of our nation attempt to understand the conditions under which scientific research can be and cannot be done. In particular, if our nation is to have a vigorous government research program, the unhealthy atmosphere that has been created by the Un-American Activities Committee must be removed." They urged the President "to investigate this situation, and then direct your powers in an attempt to secure a remedy."

The complete text of the message to the President follows.

The Honorable Harry S. Truman The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

As a group of Americans who during and since the war have had some part in the development of atomic energy, we feel impelled to call your attention, and that of the country, to a dangerous situation in this field that has been developing for some time. We believe that it is a situation which, if it continues, may seriously jeopardize research in atomic energy, and consequently our national security.

It is our sincere hope that the situation can be remedied before irreparable harm is done.

The problem we are concerned about has to do with the adequate staffing of the national atomic energy laboratories with scientists and engineers research of the caliber required to carry out a necessary vigorous/program. With the greatest respect to those relatively few excellent men who are now attempting to carry out adequate programs at Brookhaven, Berkeley, Argonne, Los Alamos, Hanford and Oak Ridge, we are forced to the conclusion that the combined full-time personnel of highly capable scientists and engineers in the various laboratories is on the verge of reaching a dangerously low level.

The factors which are creating such an undesirable situation are many and varied. But, in our opinion, a substantial portion of the blame can be placed upon the atmosphere which is being created by the actions and smearing methods of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We do not deny the possible need for investigations such as are being carried out by the Committee, but the fact remains that, in spite of its best intentions, the Committee is creating an atmosphere that makes men shun government work, thereby threatening us all.

Of the more than 150 senior American scientists mentioned in the Smyth Report who were actively engaged in the war-time projects, fewer than 10 per cent are now devoting their full energies to the various government atomic energy programs. An equally small percentage is devoting even part time to the endeavors. This might have been expected for most of them were older men who, during the period of the war, temporarily stepped out of permanent positions to assume wartime responsibilities. We can expect that the tactics of the Un-American Activities Committee, if they continue as in the past, will make the situation even more acute.

During the war atomic energy was a young man's business. On the Plutonium Project, for example, a count taken in 1944 during the height of the research activities showed that 60% of the scientists were under 30 years of age, 80% were under 35, and 90% were under 40. It is among these younger men that our nation must expect to find its leadership in atomic energy research during the coming years.

But few of these men remain in government service to assume leadership. Many have not remained because they have found it increasingly difficult to reconcile themselves to government employment on secret projects where they are looked upon by groups such as the Un-American Activities Committee as men not to be trusted, where they must subject themselves to the possibility of irresponsible smears that may ruin them professionally for life. In many cases the men prefer to work elsewhere for considerably lower salaries on research programs completely unconnected with our atomic endeavors.

It is not our desire to underestimate the possible damage that could be done to the United States by espionage agents of potential enemy nations. We recognize the likelihood that such agents may be operating in this country. We further believe that proper steps should be taken through responsible agencies of our government in order to minimize the effectiveness of espionage activities.

Even the necessary amount of security precautions presents obstacles to the progress of technological development. Any action that purports to be in the interests of security must be taken with great care. Every effort must be made to avoid creating any greater obstacles to research than are absolutely necessary. Should information ever be uncovered by well-trained potential enemy agents, it could scarcely jeopardize our security more effectively than the atmosphere which exists today.

Since the end of the war the Un-American Activities Committee has created a situation within which it is becoming increasingly difficult for scientists and engineers to function. The start was made in 1946 when a Committee delegation quizzed scientists in Oak Ridge. Following this, Mr.

J. Parnell Thomas wrote an article for Liberty magazine, which was a masterpiece of insinuation, entitled "Reds in our Atomic Bomb Plants". This was followed by a similar article in the June 1947 issue of American Magazine. The climax was reached this Spring, however, when the Committee issued its attack against Dr. Edward U. Condon. That attack was so repugnant to scientists that it will be years before the damage can be undone. And in the face of rumors of

attacks yet to come, it will become increasingly difficult to retain top scientists in government service.

We wish to stress that in our opinion the Atomic Energy
Commission is in no way to blame for the unfortunate situation that now exists.
Since its formation, the Commission has worked vigorously to establish
adequate centers for our atomic research. But the Atomic Energy Commission
has been needlessly hampered because atomic energy has unfortunately become
a "political football". As a result the Commission has had to adjust its
own workings to the atmosphere created by the Un-American Activities Committee.

No nation without adequate scientific resources can hope for any degree of security in the event of another war. In the face of this fact, it is important that the leaders of our nation attempt to understand the conditions under which scientific research can be and cannot be done. In particular, if our nation is to have a vigorous government research program, the unhealthy atmosphere that has been created by the Un-American Activities Committee must be removed. We urge that you investigate this situation, and then direct your powers in an attempt to secure a remedy.

Respectfully yours,

Harrison Brown

K. T. Compton

T. R. Hogness

Charles C. Lauritsen

Philip M. Morse

George Pegram

Harold C. Urey

J. C. Warner

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

HARRISON BROWN

Associate Professor, Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago; Assistant Director of Chemistry, Clinton Laboratories, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1943-1946.

KARL TAYLOR COMPTON

President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology since 1930; Member of President's Loyalty Board; Chairman, Research Board for National Security since 1945; Special Representative of Secretary of War in Southwest Pacific Area, 1943-1944; Member of President's Interim Committee on Atomic Energy, 1945, which advised on top-level atomic energy developments.

THORFIN R. HOGNESS

Director, Institute of Radiobiology and Biophysics, University of Chicago; Member, Office of Scientific Research and Development, 1941; Scientific Liaison Officer, American Embassy, London, 1942-1943; Director of Chemistry, Plutonium Project, University of Chicago, 1943-1945; Observer for War Department and Office of Scientific Research and Development, European Theatre of Operations, 1945.

CHARLES C. LAURITSEN

Professor of Physics, California Institute of Technology; Member, National Defense Research Commission during war; outstanding contributor to measuring techniques in nuclear physics.

PHILIP M. MORSE

Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Former Member, National Defense Research Commission; formerly Assistant Director, Office of Field Service, Office of Scientific Research and Development; Director of Operations, Research Group, U.S. Navy; Director, Brookhaven National Laboratories, 1946-1948.

GEORGE B. PEGRAM

Professor of Physics, Columbia University; Dean of the Graduate Faculties, Columbia University; Chairman, Columbia University Committee on War Research since 1941; Obtained first contract with government on Atomic Energy Research in March, 1939; Vice-Chairman of the Uranium Section of the National Defense Research Council, 1940.

HAROLD C. UREY

Professor, Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago; received Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 1934; Director of Research, S.A.M. Laboratories (isotope diffusion), Columbia University, 1942-1945; discoverer of heavy water; pioneer in the field of isotope separation.

JOHN C. WARNER

Dean of the Graduate School and Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Assistant Director, Chemistry and Metallurgy of Plutonium, Plutonium Project, University of Chicago and Los Alamos, 1943-1945.

June 5th.

Dear Harold,

I sincerely hope that you will find it possible to attend the Emergency Committee meeting in Princeton on July 10th. It is being held just two weeks after the Pocono Conference and on the basis of the **xxx** latter, we should be able to determine rather precisely our course of action.

I have been doing quite a bit of thinking about the Emergency Committee during the last few weeks, and I believe that the Usborne plan gives us the opportunity to accomplish something very worthwile and at the same time put a definite time limit upon oub existance.

Specifically I hope that the EC will devote its fund raising energies to the Usborne Plan, accumulate a bit of cash which can be turned over to the United States Committee around December or January. Following this we could either merge with them or go out of existance. We do have the opportunity however of giving the movement in the US a good start.

Won't you please make every effort possible to attend this meeting? You won't be called upon to attend another until October; I promise you that.

Best regards, and hoping to see you soon

Harrison Brown

June 11, 1948

Dear Dr. Urey:

We got this note from Harrison for you this morning. He had apparently not yet received our cable that you were planning to attend, which I am sure he will be exceedingly pleased to hear.

Anjin Mebane

Harrison said hold **EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS** INCORPORATED Chicago Office 19561 HASIMPINITE PAGETIEM STREET CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS AUG 27 1989 Phone Midway 3-0800 Ext. mate 2488 Trustees ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman 5630 Ellis Avenue HARRISON BROWN August 16, 1951 Executive Vice-Chairman HANS BETHE REUBEN G. GUSTAVSON Dr. Harold C. Urey signed forward

9-13-5) T. R. HOGNESS Institute for Nuclear Studies JOSEPH E. MAYER H. J. MULLER University of Chicago LINUS PAULING Chicago 37, Illinois FREDERICK SEITZ LEO SZILARD V. F. WEISSKOPF Dear Harold: As you can see from the attached notice, the final meeting of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists will be held on September 8 in Princeton. Einstein, Szilard and I have agreed to attend and close up shop. Our lawyers, Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, inform us that it is imperative that your signature be obtained upon the enclosed form, if we are legally to cease to exist in the State of New Jersey. I would appreciate it if you would sign the enclosed form and return it to me as soon as possible. The laws of the State of New Jersey require that all trustees sign these forms. If for some reason one person should not sign, it would mean that we cannot cease to exist without having a special meeting, which would, of course, be a very expensive affair. I am hoping that this will be the last time that you will be bothered with Emergency Committee affairs. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your past cooperation. It has been a privilege working with you on this venture, which, unfortunately, did not produce the dividends all of us had originally hoped to come to existence. With very best wishes, Sincerely, Harrison Brown Executive Vice-Chairman HB: omc

COMMON CAUSE

A Monthly Journal

Published by
THE COMMITTEE TO FRAME
A WORLD CONSTITUTION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO 975 EAST 60TH STREET CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

April 20, 1949

Dr. Harrison Brown c/o Professor Louis Slichter Institute of Geophysics University of California, Los Angeles Westwood, California

Dear Harrison:

The meeting is over. It was very interesting. It was rather harmonious. 17 yeas against \$1,000,000 nays: i.e., Scott Buchanan was immovably opposed. Why? All we could find out was that he does not believe in world government as something imminent, that he thinks we must first strengthen the world community, and then world government may come about in fifty or a hundred years, etc....

Apart from this dissent, the meeting was very conclusive. The enclosed report will tell you how.

It is really essential a) that a good Statute be presented to the Congress next fall; and b) that it be accepted by the Congress, i.e. the American vote and the French vote must be fixed.

If the Statute is good, it must integrate the Garry Davis movement and the Peoples Convention Movement into the World Movement. This is the purpose of the rough draft I sent you a couple of weeks ago, which is being used as a basis of discussion.

The next practical problem is, alas, money: not much, though, this time. We assume that three meetings of the National Liaison Council would be sufficient: one meeting by the end of May, one by the end of June, one by the end of July. To the last meeting, all American delegates to the Stockholm Congress should be invited. The only other expense involved, would be an assistant to me, for four months. Without such help, I cannot assume responsibility for the job of Secretary of this Council, having already two full time jobs on hand. The total amount needed to be ep this work going until the Stockholm congress would thus be around \$3,000.

Since this action may be decisive for the development of the World Gov ernment Movement; since it provides a new "approach"

to the Peoples Convention which, left to itself, with 1950 drawing closer, is in serious danger of petering out; since this approach is, in the opinion of the Atomic Scientists and others with whom we have discussed it, more practical and direct than any other proposed so far; since it seems to be a more urgent task to get this approach embodied in the new Statute of the Movement, and to get that Statute adopted than to provide now for the Statute of the Peoples Convention, I wonder whether the \$3,000 of the Emergency Committee you mentioned in our previous conversations might be made available for this purpose.

I would be grateful if you could let me have your reactions to all of this at your earliest convenience. With only four months at our disposal we must not waste any time. It is essential that the first meeting of the Liaison Council take place not later than the end of May; by which time I understand you will be back in Chicago, and could participate.

I hope the spring is pleasant in California.

Cordially yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

EMB:cb Enc.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INSTITUTE OF GEOPHYSICS LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

April 28th 1949

Profs. H. Urey and L. Szilard and J. Mayer

Dear Harold, Leo and Joe,

received a few days ago from Elizabeth Borgese. She is requesting specific funds for World Government purposes, and my personal feelings are that the money would be spent better that way than any other thus far proposed. My specific recommendation is that we allocate \$3,000 to the Committee and then call it quits. Please let Anjin know whether you agree or disagree. If we can agree on this, then we can send a memo to the other trustees, and eventually get some action. I do not believe that we should sit on our funds forever, and I personally would rather see the money go to a worthy world government cause than to any other.

With best regards to you all

Harrison Brown

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

118 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees

ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

HARRISON BROWN
Executive Vice-Chairman

September 8, 1948.

REUBEN G. GUSTAVSON University of Nebraska

T. R. HOGNESS University of Chicago

JOSEPH E. MAYER University of Chicago

PHILIP M. MORSE Brookhaven National Laboratory

H. J. MULLER
University of Indiana

LINUS PAULING
California Institute of Technology

FREDERICK SEITZ

Carnegie Institute of Technology

LEO SZILARD
University of Chicago

V. F. WEISSKOPF
Mass. Institute of Technology

Professional affiliations for identification purposes only

Professor Harold C. Urey

The Institute for Nuclear Studies

The University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Professor Urey:

Mr. Harry Moore told us that he had had corres-

pondence with you, and that you had agreed to send notes

to trustees of the Emergency Committee concerning "Survival

or Suicide." Mr. Moore asked me to forward to you a list

of people to whom the book is being sent.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Caples

Assistant to Mr. Oram

awa Caple

encs.

AC:ja

O P Y

September 7, 1948.

Mr. Richard McAdoo Harper and Brothers 49 East 35th Street New York, New York

Dear Mr. McAdoo:

Mr. Harry Moore has asked me to send to you the enclosed list of persons who are to receive copies of his book, "Survival or Suicide." The list includes the names of the officers and trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Caples
For the Committee

enc.

AC:ja

- Propert Albert Einstein, c/o Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists,
 - Dr. Harrison Brown, The Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
 - Dr. Reuben G. Gustavson, Office of the Chancellor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln 8, Nebraska
 - Dr. Thorfin R. Hogness, The Central Administration, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 3, Illinois
 - Dr. Philip M. Morse, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts
 - Dr. Joseph E. Mayer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 - Dr. H. J. Muller, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
 - Dr. Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California
 - Dr. Frederick Seitz, Department of Physics, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Schenley Park, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.
 - Dr. Leo Szilard, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
 - Miss Anna Caples, Room 512, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

* by personal request of Mr. Moore

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

side

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

IN YOUR REPLY
REFER TO FILE

EUC: DEK

August 5, 1946

D

Dr. Albert Einstein, 112 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J.

Dear Dr. Einstein:

Please accept my resignation from the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. From this date I do not wish my name to be used in connection with any of its fund raising activities.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

E. U. Condon, Director.

EllCondon

CC to:

Harold L. Oram

Ralph McDonald

R. F. Bacher

T. R. Hogness

Victor Weisskopf

Hans Bethe

M. C. Urey

Lee Szilard

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

EUC: DEK

August 9. 1946

IN YOUR REPLY
REFER TO FILE

D

Dr. Albert Einstein, 112 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J.

Dear Dr. Einstein:

After sending my letter of resignation from the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists to you on Monday, Dr. Szilard telephoned me Wednesday evening asking that I reconsider this decision. I have given his request careful consideration but must ask that my resignation be accepted and that I be permitted to dissociate myself completely from these activities as of August 5.

In insisting on this decision I owe the others some words of explanation. I do not want to take the position of approving or disapproving the action of the National Committee on Atomic Information Executive Committee in dismissing Mr. Daniel Melcher. But, now that the action has been taken, it leavesthe affairs of the National Committee on Atomic Information in a rather uncertain state as to future policy. Likewise, I understand that the future plan of the Emergency Committee is perhaps to assign some of the funds raised to other activities. I feel I would be in the position of aiding to raise funds for purposes and plans which I understand only very inadequately. Therefore, I would like to withdraw in a completely neutral spirit, without any implication of criticism or disapproval of the activities.

I hope that this position seems reasonable to you and assuring you as ever of my best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Suc.

E. U. Condon, Director.

Harold L. Oram
Ralph McDonald
R. F. Bacher
T. R. Hogness
Victor Weisskopf
Hans Bethe
H. C. Urey

Leo Szilard

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

ROOM 28, FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING 90 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, N. J.

Provisional Committee

ALBERT EINSTEIN, Chairman

R. F. BACHER

HANS A. BETHE

EDWARD U. CONDON

T. R. HOGNESS

LEO SZILARD

DEC COLUMN

HAROLD C. UREY

V. F. WEISSKOPF

96

July 11, 1946

sent alto

Dear Dr. Urey:

Dr. Harold C. Urey

Chicago, Illinois

University of Chicago

I am enclosing a copy of the agreement reached by you and the others this afternoon. It has been signed already by Dr. Szilard, Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Higinbotham. Will you authorize me to add your signature to the original copy?

I hope you got to Chicago pleasantly. Will you give my best wishes to your daughter, Mary?

Sincerely yours,

Eden A. ty

April 15, 1947

Professor Albert Einstein, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Einstein:

It seems to me that at our forthcoming meeting in May there are several things which should be discussed very seriously, and I am accordingly writing to you and sending copies of this letter to other members of our Committee.

- l. Our present Committee has a membership of just eight men, and we also have the effective help of Professor Hecht.

 During the summer Professor Hecht and Professor Pauling will be abroad, and my doctors have ordered me to avoid outside activities. I find that I am able to carry my university work and that is about all. Otherwise I become very tired, unable to sleep, and generally quite unable to take care of any of my work. This leaves six members of the Committee to carry on the activities. It is necessary that public speaking be done in connection with our campaign, and some of the members are not very good public speakers; and you yourself are unable to be away from Princeton. Also, it is necessary to carry on proper liaison with the National Committee on Atomic Information and the scientific groups. It seems to me that we should consider adding other men to our Committee who can help with the many problems that face us.
- 2. Our Committee consists at present of some men who took an active part in the development of the atomic bomb, but others did not work on the atomic bomb and do not now work on problems of atomic energy. Though they are all prominent men and help in establishing a certain prestige for our Committee, the Committee's position would be much stronger if there were other outstanding men associated with us. In raising funds, the public naturally raises certain questions in regard to the membership of our Committee, as has been reported to me by Mr. Schaffner. This, it seems to me, is a second reason why we should add other members to the Committee who would help us in this way.
- 3. Another important question which should be brought up at our meeting in Princeton is the question of proper liaison with the operating groups. This is necessary in order to know how effectively the funds are being handled and also as a means of

supplying information to Mr. Oram in his fund raising campaign. This means that someone of the Committee must take an active part in contacting these groups and understanding what they are doing.

4. I would suggest at this time that the discussion of policy be made the last item of business for our Committee. It would be very good indeed if we could agree on what should be done in the future, and our position would be vastly strengthened, but I greatly fear that there will be no substantial agreement in the group and hence this item should be referred to the last of the program.

I should be very glad to see Dr. Karl Compton, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, and Dr. Arthur Compton added to our group. They would add much in prestige and if they will work with us would be effective working members, at least in their own localities. It may be that others of the Committee will have other names to suggest, and I hope that this will be the case.

With best personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm
cc: H.A.Bethe
Selig Hecht
T.R.Hogness
P.M.Morse
Linus Pauling
J.H.Schaffner
Leo Szilard
V.F.Weisskopf

In answer to the questions asked on page 13 of Mr. Schaffner's memorandum of May 23, 1947, the following telegraphic replies have been received from the Trustees:

Dr. Einstein

APPROVE OF ALLOCATIONS RECOMMENDED IN YOUR MEMORANDUM AND AUTHORIZE YOU TO INFORM THE RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

Dr. Bethe

AGREED TO ALLOCATIONS SUGGESTED AND TO SPECIAL MEET-ING OF THREE TRUSTEES. AUTHORIZE YOU TO WRITE LETTER GIVING PROBABLE ALLOCATIONS. GREATLY PREFER PRINCETON JUNE 28.

Dr. Hogness

(See telephone conversation quoted in body of letter.)

DR. Morse

AGREED TO AUTHORIZE THREE MAN QUORUM IN CHICAGO. (Dr. Morse's secretary informed us by telephone before this telegram was sent that he fully agreed with the proposals and would send a telegram. Since his telegram was incomplete we asked her to let us know what his attitude was and he has just phoned saying that he is in full agreement with the proposals of the memorandum of May 23, 1947 and also authorizes the sending of the letters. This he will confirm in writing. It probably will not reach us until Monday since the office will be closed over the Memorial Day weekend.)

Dr. Pauling

I APPROVE HAVING MEETING AFTER ASAE CONFERENCE. I ALSO ANSWER YES TO QUESTIONS 1 and 3.

Dr. Szilard

(first telegram) SORRY CANNOT AGREE THAT ALLOCATION BE DECIDED ON BASIS OF POLL BY YOUR OFFICE AND SPECIAL MEETING OF THREE TRUSTEES. CONSIDER MEETING OF TRUSTEES AROUND JUNE 7 FOR THIS AND OTHER REASONS INDISPENSABLE. WILL CALL YOU AFTER LUNCH AFTER HAVING DISCUSSED SITUATION WITH CHICAGO MEMBERS. REGARDS.

(second telegram) AUTHORIZE YOU TO WRITE LETTERS TO ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SUPPORTING GIVING YOUR ESTIMATE OF ALLOCATIONS IF YOU STATE THAT THESE ALLOCATIONS ARE SUBJECT TO DECISION BY MEETING OF TRUSTEES AND MIGHT ACTUALLY COME OUT LESS THAN THE AMOUNT STATED.

Dr. Urey

SZILARD THINKS MINOR MODIFICATIONS OF YOUR MEMORANDUM NECESSARY. BELIEVE SOME DISCRETION SHOULD BE LEFT TO THREE MEMBERS MEETING IN CHICAGO. MEETING CALLED FOR MONDAY FOUR P.M. WILL YOU BE AVAILABLE BY PHONE TO DISCUSS ANY POSSIBLE CHANGES? HOGNESS AND I AUTHORIZE UNDERWRITING MEETING TO EXTENT OF THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS AND NOTIFICATION OF CHICAGO GROUP. ALSO THREE MAN QUORUM TO TAKE NECESSARY FORMAL ACTION NEXT MONDAY.

Dr. Weisskopf

I FULLY AGREE WITH YOUR OPINION CONCERNING FUTURE ACTIVITY SZILARDS PLAN AND ALL OTHER POINTS AS STATED IN YOUR EXCELLENT AND CONSTRUCTIVE MEMORANDUM. I AGREE CALLING SPECIAL MEETING FOR ALLOCATIONS AND TO AUTHORIZE YOU TO WRITE LETTERS TO ORGANIZATIONS AS PROPOSED PAGE 13 OF MEMORANDUM. PREFER PRINCETON MEETING JUNE 28th.

In regard to Mr. Schaffner's telegram of May 27, 1947, re. the partial underwriting by the Emergency Committee of the proposed Lake Geneva Conference, the following telegraphic replies have been received from the Trustees:

Dr. Einstein

APPROVE OF ALLOCATION OF THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS TO CHICAGO GROUP. AUTHORIZE CALLING OF THREE MEN QUORUM AS SUGGESTED AND AUTHORIZE YOU TO NOTIFY CHICAGO OF MY APPROVAL.

Dr. Bethe APPROVE GRANT FOR CONFERENCE PROVIDED ASAE GENERALLY INVITED.

Dr. Pauling I VOTE TO APPROVE ACTION PROPOSED YOUR TELEGRAM MAY 27.

DR. SZILARD IN AGREEMENT WITH YOUR TELEGRAM SUGGESTING THREE THOUSAND DOLLAR ALLOCATION TO CHICAGO CONFERENCE.

DR. WEISSKOPF I AGREE WITH ALL PROPOSALS IN YOUR TELEGRAM.

(For replies from Dr. Hogness and Dr. Urey see Urey telegram quoted on preceding page.)

substitute

Though there are fundamental difficulties between the United States and Russia, every attempt should be made to solve our problems without recourse to war.

From the desk of HAROLD C. UREY

Though there are fundamental difficulties between the United States and Russia, every attempt should be made to solve cur problems without recourse to war.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

118 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees

ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

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REUBEN G. GUSTAVSON University of Nebraska T. R. HOGNESS University of Chicago JOSEPH E. MAYER University of Chicago

PHILIP M. MORSE

H. J. MULLER University of Indiana LINUS PAULING

FREDERICK SEITZ Carnegie Institute of Technology

LEO SZILARD University of Chicago

V. F. WEISSKOPF Mass. Institute of Technology

Professional affiliations for identification purposes only April 24, 1948.

Dear Friend:

We are confronted by a war crisis. Almost imperceptibly, we have moved from our post-war ideal of world cooperation to an acceptance of acute national rivalries. At the highest official level and among ordinary people, talk of the next war is commonplace. Governments proceed as if war were inevitable. Yet there-Brookhaven National Laboratory are no fundamental issues separating the United States and Russia which necessitate a solution by war. A sincere and whole-hearted attempt by both sides to reach a peaceful solution can succeed; California Institute of Technology the alternative to such a solution is an atomic war which no nation can win -- all humanity will lose, and civilization as we know it must orumble.

> I ask your thoughtful consideration of the enclosed Statement, which presents the essentials of a policy that we believe will bring about world peace rather than international chaos and the destruction of civilization. The fateful adjournment of the United Nations negotiations on atomic energy control has ended, for the time being, our hope of controlling the development of atomic weapons. Now, more than ever, the immediate responsibility for insisting on a peaceful solution of the world crisis rests with thoughtful citizens. If you agree with our proposals, I ask your support in our efforts to impress them as strongly as possible upon the American people.

We are all citizens of a world community sharing a common peril -- the imminence of war and the inevitability of the use of atomic weapons in that war. This catastrophe would expose us all alike to the most terrible danger in which man has ever found himself. We atomic scientists who have worked together to defeat Fascism and who are primarily responsible for the emergence upon the world stage of this great new force, atomic energy, have a direct and special responsibility in this crisis of humanity. It is our duty to do all within our power to assure that this historic achievement of mankind does not become his trap and his tomb.

I ask for your help in our campaign of education to ensure that this great achievement of science shall be used for the benefit of mankind, and not for his destruction.

Yours faithfully,

A. Timbein

August 6, 1947

This mailing is going today to approximately 10,000 persons who have previously contributed to the Emergency Committee.

L. P.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 29, 1947

Trustees
ALBERT EINSTEIN
Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

HANS A. BETHE
HARRISON BROWN
T. R. HOGNESS
PHILIP M. MORSE
LINUS PAULING
FREDERICK SEITZ
LEO SZILARD
V. F. WEISSKOPF

Dear Friend:

I write to you out of a feeling of grave concern, which I believe you share. I am convinced that if the present bitterness continues to dominate international relations we face catastrophe.

We can not count on the prestige or strength of any single nation to bring about international stability. The power that one country possesses today, tomorrow will belong also to others. Industrial installations, however complex, can be duplicated; inventive ingenuity and economic resources can be exploited under other systems of government. So long as international relations are determined by rival national sovereignties, the threat of atomic war will remain.

We scientists believe that a clear and widespread understanding of the facts and implications of the atomic discoveries is indispensable to a reasonable public stand on questions of international politics. Given this understanding, men and women will recognize that only international cooperation through effective institutions can ensure security against humanity's destruction.

The enclosed article sets forth my beliefs as to the reasons for the stalemate which confronts us today in the vitally important negotiations on international atomic energy control. It proposes certain actions on the part of our people and our government which I think would be helpful in lessening the present tensions. Because each one of us must bear his share of the burden of this generation, I ask you to consider these suggestions, and to discuss them with your neighbors. Only through clear formulation and frank discussion of concrete proposals can men of good will in all countries help to achieve a solution.

Now still a little time remains for us to consider different paths leading to the establishment of a federation of nations in which men may develop and use their creative capacities to serve mankind. Each one of us can do his part by working to bring about responsible public action based on understanding of the present crisis. Through our campaign of public education on the simple facts of atomic energy and its social implications, we of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists have pledged our utmost effort to this end. Friends have already subscribed nearly \$400,000.00 of the one million dollars we need to carry out our minimum program. I ask you to help us in fulfilling our task.

Faithfully yours,

A Countein.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

August 6, 1947

Trustees
ALBERT EINSTEIN
Chairman
HAROLD C. UREY
Vice-Chairman
HANS A. BETHE
T. R. HOGNESS
PHILIP M. MORSE
LINUS PAULING
LEO SZILARD
V. F. WEISSKOPF

I am writing today to you and other friends who have helped us during the past year. It is a difficult moment at which to write. All about us we see the wreckage of great hopes which mankind held for the building of peace. The gulf between East and West which men of good will have worked to close is widening daily. Some people believe that no reconciliation is possible and that another World War must decide the issue; we scientists reply that it is no longer possible to decide any issue by such means - an atomic war will bring no real decision but only unprecedented death and devastation on both sides.

Such a time in history breeds defeatism and despair. But there are those among us who believe that man has within him the capacity to meet and overcome even the great tests of our times. What we must not lose, or we lose all, is our willingness to seek the truth and our courage to act upon the truth. If we maintain these, we cannot despair.

We scientists believe upon ample evidence that the time of decision is upon us - that what we do or fail to do within the next few years will determine the fate of our civilization. That is the gist of the enclosed statement of this Committee which was published on June 30th, 1947. We call for a "higher realism which recognizes that....our fate is joined with that of our fellowmen throughout the world." Great ideas may often be expressed in very simple words. In the shadow of the atomic bomb it has become apparent that all men are brothers. If we recognize this as truth and act upon this recognition, mankind may go forward to a higher plane of human development. If the angry passions of a nationalistic world engulf us further, we are doomed.

The task of the scientists, as we conceive it, is untiringly to explain these truths, so that the American people will understand all that is at stake. We believe that with such understanding, the American people will choose from among many paths to reach a peaceful solution and that they will move toward such a solution and not toward war. And we believe that, in the long run, security for all nations demands a supra-national solution.

We will strive unceasingly to bring this understanding to the American people through all the avenues of public discussion open to us. If we are to have any hope of influencing the Russians, and of convincing them that America wants peace and security for all peoples, we must understand the reasons for their profound distrust of everything foreign which has become the sickness of a stubborn isolationism. We will work for understanding, not abject appearament.

This letter goes to you on the second anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. On that day the American people assumed responsibility before the world for the release of the most revolutionary force since the discovery of fire. Each of us, whether as scientists who made the bomb possible, or as citizens of the nation that applied the knowledge, stands accountable for the use we make of this tremendous new force. To our generation has come the possibility of making the most fateful decision in the recorded history of the human race. By an act of the collective will, made now, in this fraction of historic time, we can ensure that this great and painful achievement of man's intellect, instead of turning upon humanity, may be secured for the benefit of future generations. I believe that mankind, capable of reason, restraint, and courage, will choose this path of peace.

No one can predict the events of the coming year but each of us has it in his power today to act for peace. You have helped us in the past. I ask you to help again.

Faithfully yours,

A. Binsteins.

AE:mr

SCIENCE



Members of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists at a meeting in Princeton, 17 October. The Committee is considering means of raising \$1,000,000 to conduct an educational campaign on the social implications of our new knowledge of nuclear energy.

Left to right, seated, Harold C. Urey, University of Chicago; Albert Einstein, Institute for Advanced Study; Selig Hecht, Columbia University; standing, Victor F. Weisskopf, M.I.T.; Leo S. Szilard, University of Chicago; Hans A. Bethe, Cornell University; Thorfin R. Hogness, University of Chicago, and Philip M. Morse, on leave from M.I.T.

Calorie Intake and Industrial Output H. A. Kraut and E. A. Muller

SCIENCE

Editor: Willard L. Valentine

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Business Manager: Theo. J. Christensen

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and continues so through the noon hour. The intensity of the reaction gradually decreases after 1:30 P.M., becoming feeble again at approximately 4:30 P.M. For this study, single joined pairs were isolated as soon as formed and then placed in the microcompression chamber for observation.

In conjugation the three pregamic divisions occur as follows at 25° C.: completion of first division, approximately 14 hours after mating; completion of second division, an hour after the first; the third division, involving exchange of pronuclei and syngamy, 16-18 hours after mating. One can see that the micronuclear product, which remains near the paroral region after the first and second divisions, generally is the one destined to undergo a succeeding division. The one farthest from that region degenerates. The dividing spindle of the third pregamic division is seen to arrange itself at nearly right angles to the long axis of the conjugant and press against the membrane at the point of crossing. It takes about 20 minutes for the migratory pole of the spindle to pass from one conjugant to the other. Cyclosis in each conjugant is slower than usual, and crystals are

seen to bunch themselves around the dividing spindles.

After syngamy, the three amphinuclear (metagamic) divisions are completed, respectively, as follows: the first, approximately 20 hours after mating; the second, 22 hours; and the third, 24 hours. Conjugants frequently are seen completing the third amphinuclear division at the time of separation 24 hours after mating. All of the time relationships given here were recorded at a temperature of 25° C. and differ widely from those of Hamburger (3). Temperature is an important factor regarding the length of time the animals remain joined together in the process.

It is noteworthy that in no case was a visible transfer of cytoplasm or of zoochlorellae observed during the conjugation of these mating types.

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News and Notes

The recently organized Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists of which Albert Einstein is president and Harold C. Urev is vice president, met on 17 November in Princeton, New Jersey, to devise means of raising a \$1,000,000 educational fund to aid in enlightening the public on the social implications of nuclear energy. The Committee has announced six objectives of the educational campaign and various members of the committee and others are available to speak on these points in various parts of the country.

The six statements of fact follow:

- 1) Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive.
- 2) There is no military defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected.
- 3) Other nations can rediscover our secret processes by
- 4) Preparedness against atomic war is futile, and if attempted, will ruin the structure of our social order.
- 5) If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used, and they will surely destroy our civilization.
- 6) There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy and ultimately, the elimination of war.

Aside from Prof. Einstein and Dr. Urey, the other

members of the Committee are: Selig Hecht, Columbia University; Victor F. Weisskopf, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Leo S. Szilard, University of Chicago; Hans A. Bethe, Cornell University; Thorfin R. Hogness, University of Chicago; Philip M. Morse, on leave from Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Linus Pauling, University of California.

A Committee on a Junior Scientists' Assembly, with Morris Meister, president of the National Association of Science Teachers, as chairman, has recently been appointed by the AAAS. This Committee is working to bring together young scientists who are still in the midst of their scientific training, so that they may share their experiences and opinions. The Assembly of Junior Scientists was planned in realization of the increasing importance of the role of young scientists. Many young persons during the war were taken directly from their studies and placed on important research teams where they assumed great responsibility. Most of these young men and women have now returned to school and are in a position to look back at their recent secondary studies and evaluate them for teachers and for science-minded high school pupils. They are also looking ahead toward

their work as scientists in a period of unparalleled technological advancement.

The theme for the first meeting of the Junior Scientists' Assembly is: "The Young Scientist Looks at Education and at His Work." This meeting will be held at 2:30 P.M. on 27 December, in the Lobby Ballroom of the Bradford Hotel, Boston. Those invited to participate in the panel discussion include winners of the Science Talent Search, honorary members of the AAAS from the Junior Academies of Sciences, former members of science clubs, and individuals whose initial progress in scientific work has been outstanding.

Special effort is being made to call the attention of science teachers and all scientists to the first Junior Scientists' Assembly. The Committee plans to make this Assembly a special feature of AAAS meetings, and it is interested in the cooperation of members of the Association who feel that it is their concern to guide the future of youth in science.

About People

Clifford C. Volkerding has been named associate soil scientist and assistant dean of agriculture at the North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo. Dr. Volkerding was formerly employed by the Du Pont Company.

Lester R. Aronson, assistant curator, Department of Animal Behavior, American Museum of Natural History, has been appointed acting chairman and associate curator of the Department. Dr. Aronson succeeds Frank A. Beach, who received an appointment as professor of psychology at Yale University.

C. H. Connell, recently a lieutenant colonel in the Sanitary Corps, AUS, is now with the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health, University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston. Dr. Connell was connected with the Department of Municipal and Sanitary Engineering, A. and M. College of Texas, as associate professor prior to his military activity.

Vernon D. Tate, director of the Division of Photographic Archives and Research of the National Archives, Washington, has been appointed librarian of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, John E. Burchard, director of libraries, announced on 26 October. Dr. Tate will take active charge next July when William N. Seaver, librarian since 1925, retires. Since 1938 Dr. Tate has been editor of the Journal of Documentary Reproduction.

E. M. Hildebrand, formerly plant pathologist, Research Department of the Food Machinery Corporation, Dunedin, Florida, has recently joined the staff of Texas A. and M. College as associate professor in the Biology Department.

Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington Uni-

versity, St. Louis, and W. Albert Noyes, chairman of the University of Rochester Chemistry Department and president of the American Chemical Society, are attending the first general conference of UNESCO, which opened in Paris on 19 November. Dr. Noyes was appointed by the State Department as scientific adviser, and Dr. Compton is one of the voting delegates.

Visitors From Abroad

Marcel Riesz, of the Lunds Universitets Matematiska Institution, Lund, Sweden, has accepted an invitation as visiting lecturer at the University of Chicago for the winter and spring quarters, 2 January to 13 June 1947. He expects to offer a course on hyperbolic differential equations (wave equations) during the winter quarter. Professor Riesz will also organize a seminar during his term of residence, according to Marshall H. Stone, chairman of the Department of Mathematics.

Sir Lionel Whitby, Regius professor of physic, University of Cambridge, spoke on "Chemotherapy Yesterday and Today" at the Institute of Medicine of Chicago on 18 November.

Paulo Borges, pathological and anatomical laboratory, University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizante, Brazil, is working at the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, Bar Harbor, Maine, under a fellowship from the Institute of International Education.

Announcements

The Lasker Awards for two types of outstanding service in mental hygiene have been conferred on W. Horsley Gantt, Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine; Rev. D. R. Sharpe, president of the Ohio Mental Hygiene Association; and Walter Lerch, reporter on the Cleveland Press. The presentations were made at the annual luncheon meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, on 31 October.

One award of \$500, for experimental investigation into behavior deviation, was presented to Dr. Gantt by James R. Angell, vice-president of the Committee and public service counsellor of the National Broadcasting Company. Jules Masserman, of the Division of Psychiatry, University of Chicago, received honorable mention.

The other award of \$500, for efforts to improve hospital care for mental patients, was conferred jointly on Dr. Sharpe and Mr. Lerch by Samuel W. Hamilton, adviser, Mental Hygiene Division, U. S. Public Health Service, and president of the American Psychiatric Association. Albert Deutsch, feature writer on PM, received honorable mention.

The Lasker Award of \$1,000, established in 1944 by

On bu

April 13, 1948.

MR. GILBERT A. RALSTON, Director Nightime Eadio, Procter and Gamble, Gwynne Bldg. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Ralston:

Dr. and Mrs. Simon Ruskin and Mr. Halberstadt were present, I spoke to Dr. Harold C. Urey regarding an educational program on atomic energy which might be financed by Procter and Gamble. As I explained to you, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has undertaken an educational campaign to acquaint the American people with the vital importance of a general understanding of atomic energy. You expressed the view that, if Dr. Urey and perhaps also Prof. Albert Einstein, and Dr. K.T. Compton would sponsor an essay contest on a National scale among highschool students, your company would consider financing the project.

Dr. Urey expressed the view that such an educational campaign would be of great value and, if the project were carried out on a dignified plane, he and his associates would give it serious consideration. Dr. Urey left it to me to write to you suggesting that you call to see him at the University of Chicago for further discussion of how the project could be consummated. I hope your discussion will lead to a fruitful conclusion, as I regard the work of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists as of great importance.

Sincerely yours,

Original signed by Mr. W. Fondiller

AN OPEN LETTER TO PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN

Dear Professor Einstein

You say that the only defence against the atom bomb is in the human heart, mind and spirit. You say that the decisions will be made not in the legalistic, diplomatic sessions of the United Nations but in the village squares, neighbor speaking with neighbor.

I would like to talk with you about the retooling of man's thinking so that he may survive in a revolutionary world. Unadaptable he'll be as extinct as the dinosaur. I want to talk with you about it as a neighbor - perhaps we may find a way to effectuate the needed changes in man's minds and hearts. I was a close neighbor of yours, living but a few doors away from you in the Haberlandstrasse in the Schöneberg district of Berlin when I was a foreign correspondent there. I feel very neighborly to you now for I am in heartfelt accord with all you say. I, too, have been thinking about the problems of our new world - a world in which we must attain something the peoples of the world have never had before everywhere, except for two single years: PEACE.

Nou say that it is "easier to denature plutonium than it is to denature the evil spirit of man." How can we galvanize the energies of the people to battle vigilantly against this evil? How can we instil the patriotism of peace? How can we translate into deed the teaching that the way to peace is through control, not of the atom, but of ourselves? Perhaps a valid suggestion may emerge from one neighbor's talk to another that my lead to the conquest of

yesterday's ideas, yesterday's thinking, yesterday's inertia and on to the great new adventure of tomorrow: Peace based solidly on the beneficences of an atomic age.

We have won a military wictory, costly in blood and enxiety, over Germany and Japan. We won it because we and our allies pooled our resources of genius and guts and treasure. We can win the peace we lost after World War I, the peace which is slipping through our fingers now, if we retain this formula. It's as logical as that. But logic does not rule man's heart and mind.

That can only be done imaginatively. We can learn something from Hitler

-- in reverse. Almost the first thing he did after he came to power in 1933

was to advertise and sell war. In Berlin, for instance, he transformed the

palatial showrooms of an automobile firm on Unter den Lindem into a war museum.

And the people flocked to it. There were similar exhibits in other sections of

the city. They sought to demonstrate that Germany had not really lost World WarI,

that Germany could regain its prestige and power by formally winning a second

edition of that war.

Hitler also radically changed the curricula in the schools and colleges, substituting the cult of war for culture, death for life, palaver for truth, rhetoric for fact.

We can alter our syllabi as radically and teach the necessity for peace, the obstacles to its attainment and the ways these obstacles can be overcome in our schools and colleges.

But our thinking, on all levels, can most effectively be changed by the use of our special American genius for advertising. America responds to advertising. Why not sell - along with soap, automobiles, breakfast cereals, mink coats for dogs - PEACE.

We Americans like seeing things and taking home souvenris. Let's build a Peace Fair - why not in Flushing Meadows? - and exhibit the machinery of peace

as the machines of war have been displayed in innumerable exhibits. Let us see what is needed to build peace and how we can make the structure permanent. The Fair can show the new world in which we may live without fear and in plenty by using atomic energy for human welfare instead of, satanically, for human woe. Traveling exhibits can take this knowledge everywheres, with local or countrywide contests in civic and human relations, with films and forums.

"To educate," Thomas Jefferson said, "Is to govern." Educators teach that participation is a primary method of learning. In war there is participation, a sacrificial, galvanizing participation. We need a dynamic, exciting participation in peace. Mobilize the country through bord buying rallies -- bonds for slum clearance, bonds for lifting the level of education in the south, bonds for medical research (so far behind industrial research.) Public subscription for exchange scholarships so that the peoples of the world may learn to know each other. Public action against inflation and race prejudice. And lots of other things the Advertising Council can think up as it did in its concerted, national advertising campaigns for war bonds, Red Cross contributions and Army and Navy charities.

Remember how we got production on the home front? The war would have been lost without it. Remember how Roosevelt's goals were pooh-poohed as impossible? Remember how they were wine achieved, and more, much more? We did it to kill in war. We must do it to live in peace. Get everybody talking, thinking, understanding, buying PEACE. Peace for survival. Peace lest we perish.

Peace a safeguard against widowhood. How can the people purchase the scarce commodity PEACE? What is its price?

Well, we the richest nation in the world, can set an example of noblesse oblige: we can invest our sovereignty as a member of a world federation ruled by law instead of by war, just as our original separate states invested their so vereignty, their right to wage war in order to become a united peaceful

union of states. Sovereignty is the cause of all wars, personal, national, international. If I mistakenly believe that I have the sovereign right to be at you to death with a club I am misusing an invention of man as grievously and as wrongly as as a nation which exercises its sovereign power aggressively by the use of bacterial warfare or atom bombs.

Nobility, too, can be infectious. We have the encouraging example of Britain's offer of independence to India. Let's advertise it. Let's educate the people to get a thrill out of working constructively together equal to the exaltation of facing danger together.

Indeed, today we face a crisis of such gravity that its solution lies only in building peace. There will be no soap, no suspenders, no bluberry pies to sell after an atomic war, no customers to sell to. If the advertising and public relations men want to save their jobs they've got, first, to save themselves through peace. We have no leaders in high office. We must, therefore, all, as citizens of a democracy, assume our share of leadership: we must lead the politicians. Perhaps that is our supreme destiny, and the worth of an individual neighbor's suggestion.

You caution us: "We must realize that we cannot simultaneously plan for war all and peace." Jesus said: "Put up again they sword into his place; for/they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." How can these sage counsels, these words become finally a part of man's consciousness and deeds?

A public opinion poll last year showed that 14% of the people believed a third global war is inevitable. Today's poll reveals a jump to 75%. PEACE, the great business of the world, is more distant today than it was yesterday. How can this be? The addict returns to do pe. Hardly have the hombs ceased dropping, hardly have the casualty lists disappeared. Can man be freed from the thraldom of war? Can war -- rather than man -- be obliterated?

The answer is *Yes. But not necessarily. Man may blunder and be unbuild his
adaptable and kerner surely dooms is a substanting again to

- 5 -

the soothing drug of war we can attack and destroy the causes of wars. That will require the surrender of certain privileges, it will mean casting bread upon the waters. But unlike the dope, it will cure rather than exacerbate the disease. Are we, undefeated in war, to be defeated in peace?

> I hear mano bravely, indignantly, prayerfully - but impotently - shouted. is not the final, fearful word.

Today's "public opinion", can xha made xso xmuch xayewash. The people have a passionate desire for peace but it is vague, diffused, inchoate, uninformed. It calls for a crystallizing, unifying force. As individual we cannot do it. But together all of us can do it. Let your Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists set up a mammouth PEACE FAIR, as suggested above. Let the National Committee on Atomic Information collaborate with the Advertising Council to resolve the doubts and fears, to strengthen the hopes and will of the people. The people know that a Peace Treaty does not necessarily establish peace. Nor will a union of sovereign nations. The people cry: What doew spell peace? How is it written?

Thomas Paine possessed the necessary imagination to fire man's spirit into action in another time of revolution. Paine reached them with "Common Sense," which found millionfold distribution in the then tiny American colonies. There are men and women today who know what the score is and who have the ability to capture the public imagination with the help of your Committee of Atomic Scientists, with the help of our advertising machinery. We mobilized the home front, we bought bonds to finance a monstrous and costly war. We can make it more thrilling to do similar things finally to establish peace. An idea can spread like prairie fire, can grow and thurder like an avalanche and destroy the urge for sovereignty, for power, for war and build a world where decency, thoughtfulness and humanity prevail.

Hitler knew the pragmatic character of ideas: that they have their own motor power, propellers, flight range. He skillfully sold ideas of possessiveness, cruelty, power. Our military victory will again prove worthless if we do not beat Hitler on the psychological level and gain a victory for our ideas of justice, and of sharing a world.

"Merely reading about the bomb," you say, "promotes knowledge in the mind, but only talk between men promotes feeling in the heart." Science has given us a tool which reaches the heart of men: radio. Radio has a voice and people are responsive to voices. Voices have rhythm and tone that can synchronize with man's dreams. Franklin D.

Voices are people. Just as/Roosevelt never talked down to the people, radio's voice of information and discussion on the atom and peace can be one of dignity and serenity. (It can save radio as well as the world.....) I can see it stirring the people to a mighty merch together, armed with the tools of peace. And the picture has the beauty of the simplest and grandest beauty in the world: one of our limitless mid-western wheat fields, yellow with ripe grain, swept by the wind in one vast wave. Man shall talk peace, understand one another and share the world's bounty in brotherhood and joy.

Walt Whitman has given us Americans the inspiration: "Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadcast doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation but a teeming nation of nations." And: "I speak the password primeval. I give the sign of democracy. By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Individually, or in groups, we shall be importent to realize that inspiration. As a foreign correspondent in Central Europe I aimed to write no story that sowed seeds of international dissension. With several of my colleagues I tried to the interpret the evident perverse intent of him Hitler. But people preferred to think him just a buffoon. Are we going to continue to abet the perverse forces, the destructive energies by unconcerted action?

You, together with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and the Advertising Council and such radio voices as Raymond Swing, Edward R. Murrow, Robert St. John, Clifton Fadiman, Frank Kingdon, Raymond Walsh, Emery Reves, Claude Pepper,

Henry A. Wallace, Harlow Shapley, Howard Fast, Charles Bolté, Bill Mauldin, Millard Lampell, Henry Kaiser, Eric Johnston, Irving Berlin, Danny Kaye, Frank Sinatra, Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary Margaret MacBride, Helen Gehagen Douglas, Helen Hayes and others - for I am not attempting a definitive list - can take the necessary steps to organize and put into effect a concerted national advertising and education campaign. Not for a short period, but for the duration. Mikker It must teach today's common sense: that there are no victors in atomic warfare, that peace is necessary and that it is attainable if we have the will to purchase it. This campaign should include all men and women of good will, all organizations earnestly working for a federated world at peace. It should be clear, specific and united.

Let's get it started right away. It is woefully late -- but not too late for reason to overome the evil of dogma, hysteria and inertia.

Faithfully yours,

Emily Z. Friedkin

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

ROOM 28, FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING 90 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, N. J.

Provisional Committee

ALBERT EINSTEIN. Chairman

HANS A. BETHE

EDWARD U. CONDON

LEO SZILARD

HAROLD C. UREY

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Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

As I told you on the phone yesterday afternoon, Professor Einstein had just been talking to me about the legal status of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. He asked me to give you the substance of our conversation.

It is our understanding that the Emergency Committee functions as an informal association to aid the National Committee on Atomic Information. Legally, it can be considered a sub-committee of that organization, and is therefore able to make use of the tax-exemption privileges granted the National Committee on Atomic Information. Its main function is to strengthen and implement the educational campaign of the National Committee on Atomic Information. All funds collected by the Emergency Committee will be assigned to the work of the National Committee on Atomic Information, as stated on the official receipt of the Emergency Committee which goes to every contributor for tax exemption purposes. Under these circumstances it did not seem necessary to incorporate the Emergency Committee, or to seek separate tax exemption.

The legal responsibility of the members of the Emergency Committee consists in seeing that all money collected by that Committee is turned over to the National Committee on Atomic Information for its work, with the exception of such gifts as may be specifically earmarked by their donors for the work of the Federation of American Scientists. Any such gifts will be turned over to the Federation. No bills of any sort are incurred by the Emergency Committee, since all its expenses (including printing, mailing, rent, telephone, salaries of fund-raising personnel, etc.) are paid by the National Committee on Atomic Information.

Should this arrangement not seem adequate to you, it is Dr. Einstein's earnest hope that as a member of the Committee you will suggest whatever changes would seem appropriate. The whole subject can then be laid before the meeting of the Emergency Committee, which I understand is planned for some time in July.

Sincerely yours,

Eileen A. Fry

EAF/m

(over)

June 29th, 1946

6/29/46

P. S. To date, June 29th, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has received \$73,528.55, of which \$50,000 has been paid over to the National Committee on Atomic Information. The balance, \$23,528.55, is in the account of the Emergency Committee, in the First National Bank of Princeton, N. J.

In addition to the above total, the Emergency Committee has received two checks for \$100 each, specifically designated for the Federation of Scientists.

SAF.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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V. F. WEISSKOPF

November 25, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Urey:

Are you planning to be in the East at any time between now and January 20th? There are possibilities of getting together small groups of people, both in New York and Boston, at private dinners at which your presence would be very helpful.

It is not necessary to make a trip especially but I would like to take advantage of your presence here, if you are going to be here and have a few hours to spare.

very sincerery

Eileen A. Fry

EAF: eh

HAROLD L. ORAM, INC.

CONSULTANTS IN PUBLIC RELATIONS AND FUND RAISING

EILEEN A. FRY Secretary-Treasurer 8 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. TELEPHONE LACKAWANNA 4-2520

April 3, 1947

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

I want to give you a brief account of the proceedings at San Francisco last week. There were about 200 people at the dinner which was held at the St. Francis Hotel. Dr. Deutsch, Provost of the University of California was chairman. The talks were given by Dr. Fowler(who came up from Pasadena at the last moment to substitute for Dr. Pauling who fell ill in New York, and was unable to get to the coast in time); Dr. Philip Morrison; Dr. Hecht; and Dr. Szilard. Dr. Hecht gave some account of the work, but there was no appeal for funds, by decision of the San Francisco Committee, in view of your absence. They have expressed their intention of making a complete follow up asking for money from all who attended the dinner. There was no guest list, but everyone assured me that a distinguished, influential and wealthy group was present!

It was unquestionably disappointing to everybody that you were unable to be present, and a number of expressions of sincere sympathy and regret were given me for you. Your telegram was read at the dinner and made an excellent impression. I want to thank you for sending it.

Two conferences were held on the succeeding days by the Northern California Association of Scientists; one in Berkeley, and one in San Francisco. Dr. Morrison, Dr. Hecht and Dr. Szilard spoke at the first of these; the latter two only at the second. There were many questions on problems of international control raised, most of which were answered by Dr. Szilard; that was the liveliest part of the discussion. In my judgement the Atomic Scientists made a distinct impression on San Francisco life during the three days, and I am hopeful of a satisfactory financial result.

I considered carefully going down to Los Angeles to organize a committee there who might sponsor a similar dinner in Southern California. However, the uncertainty as regards speakers decided me that it would be wiser to

April 2, 1947

wait a while before doing this. There is a little work and interest going on down there already, and I believe that before we plan a successful major function it would be best to wait until you are able to go, or else give very careful consideration to the question of a possible substitute.

I am enclosing a letter to you from Dr. Hanszen of Houston. This is the long deferred answer to the letter you sent him in early February. I have had a copy made in this office of Dr. Hanszen's letter, so that the file may be complete. I am also sending you a copy of a letter that Harold Oram recently received from Percy Straus, of Houston, who has been the center of our activity down there. I think his letter makes quite clear the actual reasons which prompted Dr. Hanszen's decision. This question of Conant's attitude towards the Committee crops up in various places and causes difficulty when there is not some person of at least equal stature and reputation, like yourself, to reassure the doubtors. Apparently the question of his attitude was raised in San Francisco (after they learned that you were not going to be able to go) Through the efforts of Dr. Szilard, a general benediction was secured from Dr. Karl Compton from Honolulu, which reassured some minds apparently.

I hope these details are not annoying to you at this time. I bring them to your attention so that you may be informed of the general picture, though I well understand it is not in your power at the moment greatly to participate. You have the warm and very sincere wishes of Harold Oram and myself, and our hopes that you will soon again feel free to give your quite invaluable help to the job of the Committee.

Very sincerely,

Elem Fry

EF/t Enc. EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

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December 8, 1947

Dr. Harold C. Urey

Dear Dr. Urey:

In case you have not already seen it, I am enclosing a copy of the current mail appeal sent out during the last week of November to about 90,000 names. This mailing is doing well; in the first ten days we have received 1300 contributions totalling almost exactly \$13,500, and the returns are still coming in heavily. A large number of requests for reprints of the folder have also been received.

In view of the distinct success of this appeal, we should like to mail out the same material to further lists as soon as possible. It seems likely that up to 25,000 additional names can be secured immediately.

Dr. Szilard suggested that before doing this we should enquire whether any of the trustees object to our repeating this mailing. He himself has no objection to this material going to further lists. If you for any reason do not wish this letter or folder used again, will you please indicate your objection to Mr. Minett, or to me at 8 West 40th Street, NYC (Lackawanna 4-2520), not later than Friday, December 12.

If no objections are received by that date, we shall assume that the trustees are willing to have Professor Einstein's letter, with the reprint of his Atlantic Monthly article, sent to such further lists as we consider suitable.

Sincerely yours,

Silon A. Fry

Eileen A. Fry

EAF:mr Enc.

88

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FREDERICK SEITZ

LEO SZILARD V. F. WEISSKOPF March 16, 1948.

Dr. Harold C. Urey Institute for Nuclear Studies Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

I think you may be interested in the enclosed memorandum from Harold Oram on a conversation he had this morning with Dr. Zlotowski.

Sincerely yours,

Eileen a. Frya

enc.

EAF: ja

Ourfriend offered the following advice:

- *1. That the form of the conference should be changed owing to the non-participation of the Russians. The form of the conference should be a gathering of nuclear physicists to discuss all developments in their field, a part of which would be, of course, the question of international control of atomic energy.
- 2. That in its original form with the Russians not participating, it would be merely another effort in which the Russians do not participate and would lead to the same ends, i.e., propaganda against the Russians.
- 5. That the reason for the Russians turning down the original proposal was summed up by Mr. Ambassador as follows: If our scientists get together with other scientists they will present our viewpoint which is well known and which I flatter myself I have presented capably heretofore, so obviously nothing new can come of it.
- 4. Our friend has cabled to Europe to see if he can find a few scientists East of the iron curtain who would participate with him in the originally proposed conference since he does not feel that he wants to be the sole representative of that certain point of view. He will have an answer to his cables by the end of this week at which time he will get in touch with me and acquaint me or any of the committee members in New York.

Harold L. Oram

* Russians would still not participate.

MAR 2 9 1948

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V. F. WEISSKOPF

March 27, 1948

Dr. Harold C. Urey Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists 1126 East 59th Street Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

I should like to make a brief report to you on the progress of the dinner for Dr. Condon on Monday April 12th. As far as I know, the Speakers are: yourself, Dr. Hutchins and Dr. Condon. I understand that you have written to Senator McMahon inviting him to take part, and that Secretary Harriman has promised to send a message if he cannot be present himself.

As regards someone to make the financial appeal, since Dr. Gustavson cannot be present, I think it is best to defer decision for a few days until we have a clearer picture of who our guests are likely to be. The reservations have only just started coming in.

Dr. Condon has called me several times this week, and has each time expressed great satisfaction with this whole project. He was pleased at the size and membership of the Sponsoring Committee; said that your letter of invitation presented the matter in just the way that he would have wished, and in general seems to attach great importance to this dinner as a demonstration not only of confidence in him but, more important, of disgust at the methods of the House Committee.

I believe that his counsel, Mr. Abe Fortas, is calling a press conference today or Sunday, stipulating that the results appear in Monday's papers. This will make, I think, an effective tie-in with the release we sent out yesterday which is also for Monday's papers. I am enclosing a copy. It went to leading newspapers all over the country and to the chief wire services and columnists.

All the members of the Sponsoring Committee have received a copy of the invitation together with a covering letter urging them



to attend the dinner if they are in or near New York at that time.

As things stand now, the Emergency Committee is likely to get a good deal of favorable publicity indicating effective action, around the time of the dinner. You will remember that if the Trustees agree on a Statement, it will be released to the Press on Sunday, April 11th, for Monday morning's papers. Then Monday night will be the dinner, which ought to get a good deal of attention in Tuesday's papers. These are, of course, two quite distinct activities, but they will react favorably on each other.

I cannot yet form any estimate as to what the probable financial returns to the Bulletin will be. This depends on the guest list which is of course very fragmentary so far.

This has been a very poor month financially, owing to our inability to announce, as yet, the International Conference, and therefore to ask for money to finance it. I think it is essential that a definite decision be reached as to the wisdom of holding this Conference, if possible, before the next Trustees' Meeting, and that a Statement be issued at that time defining the stand of the Committee and proposing the Conference (if it is decided to hold it) or, conversely, making clear by implication why such a Conference would be useless. I trust that these various matters can be worked out on schedule.

I will keep you informed of developments as regards the Condon dinner. A room has been reserved for you at the Hotel Biltmore for Sunday night. The Condons will also be staying there.

Sincerely yours,

Elen Fry

P. S. Friday's and today's dinner reservations total seventy, which is a good start. I have just heard that Harrison Brown has arranged with Merle Miller to make the appeal.

EAF:mr

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LEO SZILARD

(V. F. WEISSKOPF)

Mrs. McCormick

Muller and. Secretary to Dr. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mrs. McCormick:

Would you please ask Dr. Urey to sign the enclosed letter of thanks to Mrs. Willard H. Durham, whose letter is attached, or, if he does not care for this letter, to write Mrs. Durham another? She has been a generous friend to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists for nearly two years, and headed up the whole effort in San Francisco last year.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Detter surged + sent ou 48

April 17, 1948

Eileen A. Fry

EAF: mer

Enclosures: Letter from Mrs. Durham

Letter of thanks to Mrs. Durham, with carbon

ECAS receipt #20510 for \$250

april 21, 1948 Mrs. Willard H. Durham 610 Woodmont Avenue Berkeley 8, California Dear Mrs. Durham: May I send you my warm thanks for your gift of two hundred and fifty dollars in support of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. This, as you know, was included in the quite substantial gift which we were able to present to the Bulletin at the dinner in honor of Dr. Edward U. Condon in New York City last week. I should like to take this opportunity to convey to you the sincere appreciation of Dr. Condon for your confidence in him, and for your condemnation of the methods of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as expressed in your long-distance association with the dinner held in his honor. Sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey

> HCU: eaf Enclosure

610 Woodmont Avenue Berkeley 8, California # 250

Den Fr. hey -

The attack ou

Do. Conden by this "un American" Congressional committee was opecious, infair, and heguly danger-no in my opinion, him to airi Westes and to predon y scientific research. I wish I might be me Now York to altered The denner in honor of Dr. Gradon. Suce mes is not possible, I am especially grateful to you for group me his ipportunity to voice

a remote, but no less indegrant, protest.

Wint all good wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Henriette Durham.

April 6# , 19+7.

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April 17, 1948

Dr. Harold C. Urey Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists 1126 East 59th Street Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

I imagine you have already received the original of the enclosed carbon copy from Judge Robert Wilkins, Chairman for the Workers for World Security in Cleveland. I have sent him two copies of the Princeton Statement of the Emergency Committee which was issued April 12th, in the hope that he will go ahead and get the Cleveland newspapers to publish it in full. I have also advised him that it would not be possible to have the Statement altered to include an endorsement of the Workers for World Security since the various Trustees who signed it were now widely scattered.

Sincerely yours,

EAF:mer Enc.

Sud to N.y.

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

(TELEPHONE: SUPERIOR 2775; AND 2295)

April 12, 1948

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

My dear Mr. "rey:

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 theworld 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 a 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

Chairman

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April 21, 1948.

Dr. Harold C. Urey
The Institute for Nuclear Studies
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

Professor Einstein has asked me to submit to you the enclosed draft of the proposed fund-raising letter which we should like to send out with the recent Statement.

This letter has been already approved by him and, in his opinion, if you approve the letter also, it can go out without the further formality of submitting it to the entire Board of Trustees, which would inevitably cause a long delay. If you are in agreement with this, and approve the letter, will you please ask Miss McCormack to call me collect at Lackawanna 4-2520. If you have minor changes to suggest, she can perhaps give them to me over the telephone. If not, would it be possible for us to meet when you are in New York this Friday? I am very anxious to get this mailing out as quickly as possible, since funds are very low.

Sincerely yours,

Eiteen Fry.

EAF: ja

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Mass. Institute of Technology

Professional affiliations for identification purposes only

April 21, 1948.

Miss Lucille McCormack
Secretary to Dr. Urey
The Institute for Nuclear Studies
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss McCormack:

I have just now sent by airmail a draft of a proposed fund-raising letter on which I need Dr. Urey's OK. Anything you can do to bring this to his attention and to get his decision on it with a minimum of delay and to convey his decision to me by telephone will be most deeply appreciated by

Yours gratefully,



April 28, 1948

Mrs. Eileen A. Fry, Room 512, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Fry:

Dr. Urey signed the letter of thanks to Mrs. Durham which you sent out, and I sent it on April 21.

Thank you for taking care of the Cleveland Workers for World Security matter. I am writing a letter this afternoon to Judge Wilkins for Dr. Urey's signature when he returns to Chicago tomorrow. He told me to say just about what you have already told them - that we would be glad to have the statement published, but that it would not be possible to alter it to include an endorsement of their group. Do you know whether the Cleveland papers did publish the statement?

Sincerely yours,

Lucille McCormick

EILEEN AVERY FRY 1901-1948 T WAS our common activity for the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists which brought us together. Her sensitive understanding of situations and of people was as unmistakable as her selfless devotion to a task of high importance. Their effect was to create that absolute mutual confidence which is so rarely found where human beings are working together.

She was passionately devoted to her task; the energy with which she gave of her strength bordered on the heroic. People of her kind are often felt by their less selflessly disposed fellow men as a silent reproach to themselves. But she could never give rise to such a feeling: her zeal was unobtrusive, her speech was always modest and full of humor.

Now she has been taken from us; and the wisdom and intelligence which she brought to our day-to-day tasks will be sorely missed by everyone in our group.

To those of us who survive her, what remains is a happy memory, and that intangible but abiding influence which a person of her rare qualities leaves behind.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Princeton, N. J. May 13, 1948