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A. N. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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CAJ50 8= PRINCETON NJER 7 1 234P

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KINDLY RETELEGRAPH COLLECT PROFESSOR SMYTHES ANSWER INVITATION=

HAROLD L ORAM.

RETELEGRAPH.

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COLLECT

June 8, 1946

1206

HAROLD L. ORAM
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SMYTH SAID VERY DOUBTFUL IF HE COULD ACCEPT, BUT NOT A FLAT NO.

HAROLD C. UREY

The attached poem was shown to Mr. Schaffner by a member of the British Embassy staff, at a recent Council on Foreign Relations dinner. He thought the trustees would enjoy it, so we have made copies for you on the mimeograph.

L.P.

#### THE ATOM AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE

#### by Bernard L. Welland

The Atom and the Sovereign State Were walking hand in hand; They wept like anything to see Such thickly settled land: "If this were only cleared away," They said, "It would be grand."

"If seven planes with seven bombs Swept it for half a year Do you suppose," the Atom said, "That we could get it clear?" "Let's try it" said the Sovereign State, "Whom do we have to fear?"

"O Homo, come and play with us"
The Atom did beseech.
"A pleasant walk, a pleasant talk,
Forget Bikini Beach;
We cannot do with more than two,
(To give a bomb to each)."

And two young Homos hurried up
Both eager for the treat:
Their coats were torm, their faces worn,
Their shoes were far from neat-And this was so, because, you know
They'd been close to defeat.

Four other Homos followed them And yet another four; And thick and fast they came at last And more, and more, and more—All marching through their cities vast, They poured from every door.

The Atom and the Sovereign State Talked on, both con and pro, And then they shouted loud and long, "You dirty So-and-So;" While all the little Homos stood And trembled in a row.

"The time has passed," the Atom said
"To talk of all these things:
Of blocs- world states- and Union NowOf dictators- and kings;
And why the peace was never keptAnd whether pigs have wings."

"But wait a bit," the Homos cried, Before we have a war: For some of us are quite fatigued From two we had before." "So sorry," said the Sovereign State, "But you've become a bore." "A load of bombs," the Atom said,
"Is what we chiefly need;
Some poison gas and germs besides
Are very good indeed-Now, if you're ready, Homos dear,
The mop-up will proceed."

"It seems a shame," the Atom said,
"To play them such a trick,
After they made me what I am
And made me kinda quick! "
The Sovereign State said nothing but
"Just drop another 'Stick'."

"I weep for them," the Atom said:
"I deeply sympathize."
With sobs and tears he atomized
Homos of every size,
Holding his pocket handkerchief
Before his streaming eyes.

"You've had a pleasant run!"
Shall we begin from scratch again?"
But answer came there noneAnd this was scarcely odd, because
They'd killed off every one.



#### MEMORANDUM TO THE

#### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, INC.

#### ATTENTION: Mr. Joseph H. Schaffner, Executive Director

We are prepared to undertake a campaign in the effort to raise \$1,000,000.00 for your organization, in accordance with plans and programs which will be mutually agreed upon from time to time during the course of the campaign.

We would be prepared to supply lists of contributors, to organize and prepare appeals by mail, telegram, and printed literature, and to organize nation-wide groups and appeals at various centers in cooperation, we hope, with scientific groups who are deeply interested, including the members of your Committee.

No letters or telegrams or printed matter will be issued in your name which have not been previously approved by your office. We will provide you at your request with duplicate files of all letters and appeals sent from this time on and in the name of the Committee prior to its incorporation, lists of the persons contributing in response to such appeals, and copies of whatever correspondence and telegrams there may be. This will be done on the understanding that none of this material would be made available to any third party without our consent but would be kept in confidence by the Committee for their use only.

We would be prepared to terminate this agreement on sixty days! notice on either side.

Our charge for this service would be a \$7,500 fee for every \$300,000 raised. In the event of termination of the contract, the \$7,500 fee would be prorated over that part of the \$300,000 raised. In addition to the foregoing, our sole charge would be your fair share of our expenses for which we expect to be currently reimbursed. We undertake that the combination of the fee and our expenses shall not exceed 10% of the total amount raised.

We realize that you have employed accountants to audit your books. Your accountants will be welcome to verify our expenses, upon request we will furnish a written certificate.

In addition to the foregoing, it is of course impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the amount of stamps, telegraph tolls on appeals, stationery and printed matter that will have to be used over the course of the two years during which this campaign might run, but it would

be our hope, based upon our previous experience, that the Committee's total outlays for these expenses would not exceed \$60,000. We offer this figure at your request and with real reserve because nobody can foresee fully all the contingencies that may arise or the kind of mailing pieces that will have to be sent.

Obviously, our success and ability to continue to serve you will be dependent very largely on the full measure of the cooperation, willingness to appear and speak at meetings and to guide us in the preparation of literature and the meeting of essential timetables, that the members of the Committee and their interested scientific associates are willing to give. Without that cooperation we cannot hope for success.

> (signed) Harold L. Oram Harold L. Oram, Inc.

ACCEPTED BY

Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated

By (signed) Joseph Halle Schaffner
Joseph Halle Schaffner
As Executive Director

May 27th, 1947

#### Dear Professor Einstein:

I want to place before you a few facts within my field of competence in an attempt to counteract the current atmosphere of defeatism among the Committee members.

- 1. There is no truth in the feeling that the Committee lacks public support. This is indicated by the extreme respect with which the Committee is treated in the decent public press (see enclosed copy of the forthcoming May 29th column by Manchester Boddy of the "Los Angeles News" and copy of an editorial from the "Arizona Times" out of the many which have just come to hand) and in the fact that the Committee during the one year of its existence has been more adequately supported than any other non-sectarian public interest organization now appealing to the public for support. (See attached copy of letter to Mr. Schaffner which elaborates this point)
- 2. We are still taking in money at the minimum rate of \$25,000 to \$20,000 a month on the basis of a position made public eight months ago and with the help of your interview in the "New York Times" published almost a year ago. The fact is the Committee has an extraordinary hold on the public but has done little within the past six months to capitalize on this extremely favorable position.
- 3. If the Committee feels it has a mission and if it were willing to adopt a revised Statement of Purpose consistent with the changed situation, we could make a public appeal in June which would win the most serious respect and very substantial financial support.

The Committee is faced by a subjective problem and not an objective one. It is the problem of reaching basic agreements within the Committee as to what its position is and how the position is to be translated in terms of effective education. If these were clarified, there would be no lack of public support. I need only cite here that Lilienthal in his recent public address on May 26th made a plea for exactly the work which is the Committee's announced mission. If Lilienthal feels this work is important, and I am enclosing an editorial from the "New York Times" which emphasizes their conception of the importance of this educational work, I think it is rather odd that the scientists who are engaged in carrying it out have doubts as to the worth of their mission. If on the other hand there is no possibility of basic agreement within the Committee, which would make possible an effective approach to the public, then it seems to me that the Committeehas no option but to abandon the mission. The people who support this work have a right to know that the scientists responsible for it are unreservedly convinced of its worth.

Sincerely.

Charge to the account of.

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JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

1206

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July 23, 1947

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

RE ORAM LETTER OF JULY 22ND, I APPROVE PROPOSED LETTER FROM PROFESSOR EINSTEIN TO CONTRIBUTORS.

HAROLD C. UREY

Charge - Harold C. Urey, University of Chicago

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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LEO SZILARD

V. F. WEISSKOPF

July 22, 1947

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

Professor Einstein would like you and the other trustees to see the enclosed letter before it is finally sent by him to the contributors of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. If you object to any of the statements contained in the letter, will you please communicate immediately with the New York office, 625 Madison Avenue, (Eldorado 5-0904). It is of course desirable to get the letter out with the minimum delay. But Professor Einstein has suggested that it be held up until 10:00 a.m. Monday, July 28, to give you a chance to communicate by telephone or telegraph.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Oram

HLO/m

Dear

I am writing to you, as a friend who has helped during the past year. It is a difficult moment at which to write. All about us we see the wredkage of the 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 honestly 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 our 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 allmen 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 again, we are doomed.

We are asked: What is the solution of the scientists to the great question which their work has presented to the world? After having closely observed the progress of the discussions in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, we have come to the realization that, today, discussions restricted to the international control of atomic energy can lead to no definitive solution. While the spectre of a third World War overshadows the discussions, no great nation will relinquish any one of its military-technological advantages. America has the bomb in hand; Russia works to create its rival in unknown Oak Ridges. When within a very few years hostile national blocs possess atomic weapons, fear will have destroyed the last hope of peace. And the alternative to peace is the death of our civilization; men must realize

that even the attempt to prepare for atomic war will cost us our liberties and all that heritage of freedom which generations of men in the West have created with their blood.

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, we must understand the reasons for their profound distrust of everything foreign which has become the sickness of a hopeless isolationism, leading nowhere. We will attempt by words and by our actions to convince the Russians that the American people went peace and security for all peoples. We will work for understanding, not abject appearement.

In the time remaining to us we will seek to bring to all men the conviction that peace is not a dream. It can be a reality if we are prepared to fight for it. In this struggle we scientists count on the aid of all men and women who believe with us that peace is worth fighting for. 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. Einstein

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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 August 31, 1947

Dr.Harold C. Urey Brookhaven Laboratories Box 150 Patchogue, L. I.

Dear Dr. Urey:

I am enclosing the manuscript of a forthcoming book by Louis Fischer, "Ghandi and Stalin" to be published this fall by Harpers. Since his ideas follow in detail the plan you advanced in your article in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. He has asked whether you would be in a position to read his book, and if you were impressed by it, to say a few words which might be used in the blurbs.

Cordially

At any rate he would be very much interested in your having read the book prior to its publication.

HLO/m

INCORPORATED

118 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees

ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

HARRISON BROWN
Executive Vice-Chairman

REUBEN G. GUSTAVSON T. R. HOGNESS JOSEPH E. MAYER PHILIP M. MORSE LINUS PAULING FREDERICK SEITZ LEO SZILARD

V. F. WEISSKOPF

March 3, 1948

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

Dear Dr. Urey:

As you know, at the last Trustees' meeting it was agreed to reprint and use the exchange of "open letters" between the four Russian scientists and Professor Einstein for a test mailing piece for the Committee. You agreed to sign the covering letter. I have therefore drafted, and submit for your approval, the enclosed letter, in which please make whatever changes you see fit. I hope you will then return it to me with your signature.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

H. L. Orace

HLO: ef

INCORPORATED

118 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

March 3, 1948.

Trustees ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

Dear Friend:

HARRISON BROWN Executive Vice-Chairman

T. R. HOGNESS JOSEPH E. MAYER PHILIP M. MORSE LINUS PAULING FREDERICK SEITZ LEO SZILARD V. F. WEISSKOPF

The crucial problem facing modern man is that of the relations REUBEN G. GUSTAVSON between Eastern Communism and Western Democracy. This problem has been underlined recently by the fate of Czechoslovakia and, earlier, by the refusal of the Russian and Polish delegates to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to accept, as a basis for discussion, the United States proposal on international control of atomic energy. Since that refusal, no progress has been made towards organization and enforcement of atomic energy control. We are now face to face with a new formulation of the key question, and it is this: Are the Russians sincerely seeking acceptable and effective conditions of international control or are they delaying in the interests of ultimate international chaos?

> I believe that a light was thrown on this problem by a recent exchange of "open letters" between a group of Russian scientists and Professor Albert Einstein. I enclose a copy of this interchange for your consideration. It shows on our side a profoundly serious attempt to understand the Russian point of view and its background.

Such an attempt at understanding has to be made for the present situation is of the utmost gravity. The problem of international control of atomic energy is not one of diplomacy but of survival. Every significant implication in the field of atomic energy, short of the bounds of national security, can and should be communicated to the American people. If there is an enlightened public opinion, we need not fear for the future. It is only ignorance of the basic facts which can lead to the catastrophe which all peoples fear.

Because we scientists bear a heavy responsibility in the emergence of atomic energy, we have undertaken the task of acquainting our fellow citizens with its immense power for good or evil. This special responsibility now leads us to appeal to you for your subscription to our \$1,000,000 educational fund of which almost \$500,000 has already been subscribed. I hope that you will help us in this work to assure that atomic energy may be developed for the benefit of mankind and not for our destruction.

Sincerely yours,

#### memorandum

To: Dr. Harry Brown, Executive Vice Chairman Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists

Date: May 19, 1948.

(Miss Beth Olds)

From: Harold L. Oram

The substance of this memo was discussed by Eileen Fry and myself prior to her death, and we had agreed that its conclusions should be appropriately presented to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists at this time. For the following indicated reasons, I think it is best that our fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists cease as of the end of June:

1) The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists has attained an authoritative position in American life and thought through its work over the past two years, and enjoys the financial support of at least 15,000 Americans. During the past year, there has developed a lack of agreement within the Committee on positions to be taken to advance its stated purposes. This has been reflected by the inability to take a public position from time to time on the great issues confronting the nation and the world. This sadly curtails the possibility of effective fund raising which, in this field, is purely the presentation of an important point of view on which the appeal and support are based.

The April 12th Statement represents probably the maximum agreement possible at this time, and only eight of the twelve members of the Committee found it possible to sign this Statement. Under the circumstances, it seems advisable not to press the campaign for public support until such time as the Committee is really united with objectives which can be clearly formulated in a new Statement of Purpose and which will command impressive public support.

2) I suggest June 30th as the closing date for the campaign, since I anticipate that we will be able to raise a substantial sum of money by then through a widespread mail appeal making use of the April 12th Statement, which has not yet lost its timeliness. Up-to-date, this Statement has brought in approximately \$20,000 through the mail, and I anticipate that we will get a minimum of \$35,000 and a maximum of \$50,000 through proper exploitation of this Statement during the next six weeks. If this financial prognosis is borne out, I am told by Miss Olds that the Committee will have a fairly good balance in the bank at that time, at least sufficient to cary it over the summer.

If the Committee in the future feels that it can junite on a Statement of Purpose and on an important program to be carried out, I would be very happy to do everything in my power to help, if this is desired.

During the two years in which we have been associated, I need only say that both Mrs. Fry and I have done our best to advance the interests of the Committee in every possible way. I need not tell you that the Committee formed the principal and almost exclusive concern of Mrs. Fry during this period. She will be missed.

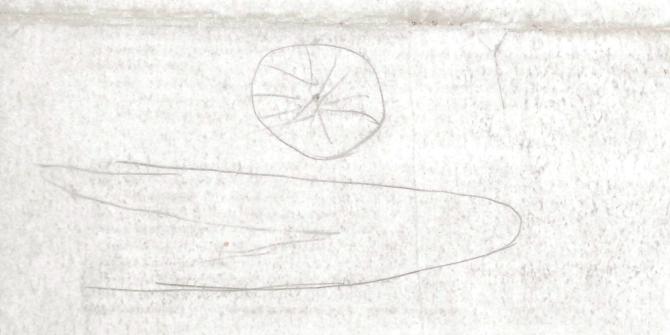
During the two years in which we have been associated, I need

deg only say that both Mrs. Fry and I have done our best to advance the interests of the Committee in every possible way. I need not tell you that the

deg committee formed the principal and almost exclusive concern of Mrs. Fry

during this period. She will be missed.

Belemiteta (1)



May 20, 1948.

To Professor Einstein, Dr. Urey and the Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists:

You may be sure that it is with the greatest regret that I think it desirable to conclude our fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. I take this step only after the most serious consideration and after having talked the matter over with Mrs. Fry in the few weeks prior to her death. The opportunity to work with the Emergency Committee and the association with its members have been among the most stimulating experiences of my life. I need not tell you how much Eileen Fry appreciated this same opportunity, and you all know with what devotion she worked for the interests of the Committee..

We both felt, however, that the Committee was so far divided on policy that it was no longer wise to count on securing the essential agreement on important issues which would make possible an effective campaign. Both she and I felt that the one thing which brought the minimum unity which made possible the very rare issuance of the Committee point of view in the form of Statements, and so forth, during the past year, was the sense of responsibility which Committee members felt for the projects going forward. We felt that it was unwise, from the point of view of the Committee, to allow such a consideration to determine whether a position was or was not to be taken. I am sure that this is also the point of view of all Committee members.

You may be sure that if, after the summer, a substantial unity is achieved by the Committee and you desire to call on me for any help that I em able to give, I shall be more than glad to do all that I can to further the interests of the Committee. Please feel free to call on me at any time for any assistance that I may be able to give. You may also count upon me to clear up all loose ends at the termination of the campaign.

It is my hope and expectation that, at the conclusion of our arrangement on June 30th, the Committee will have sufficient funds on hand to enable it to go through the summer without curtailment of its essential work. During the period of our association, we will have raised something over \$500,000 for the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. I regret greatly that the million dollars which we had set outselves as a quota was not obtained.

I do believe, however, that the contribution of the scientists and, in particular, of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists to the development of an awareness on the part of the American public of the great issues posed by the emergence of atomic energy, has been a contribution of

incalculable worth. It is not possible to measure this in any material terms, but I do know that the impress made upon American thought by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists is a lasting one, and one far more important than that of any other organization working in the public interest during the past two years.

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Sincerely yours.

Dr. Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California

Dear Linus:

Just for the record, I am writing this formal invitation to you to join the Board of Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated. As I told you over the phone, we wish to have men on the Board of Trustees who will take their responsibilities seriously and who will seriously consider how funds which may be raised should be spent. It is not expected that the duties of the trustees will involve a great deal of record work, since we have Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner to look after that work for us, but at the same time it is necessary that the Board of Trustees shall make the decisions in regard to the substance of our activities. The by-laws require four meetings a year, at specified dates, but it is possible for us to arrange meetings in such a way as to be most convenient for the Board of Trustees. Knowing how far you are from New York, we would naturally be willing to consider your plans most carefully in setting any dates for meetings. Also, you understand that we would expect to take care of expenses for such meetings.

It will take us a little time to get started on the fund reising because of the necessity of careful organization, but I hope that before long adequate funds will be available for doing educational work in this field.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm cc: Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner

October 14, 1946

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

Mr. Schaffner has asked me to say that there is a good deal of material to read in this envelope. He doesn't think it urgent that you read it within the next few days, but he does think you will want to read it before long because it contains reference to major matters of policy that must be decided upon in the near future. He will welcome your suggestions.

#### You will find enclosed:

- (1) Letter from Mr. John Simpson to Mr. Schaffner discussing the means by which the Emergency Committee might work with various groups in fund-raising campaigns.
- (2) Mr. Schaffner's reply.
- (3) Mr. Schaffner's letter to the Northern California Association with regard to fund raising.

Sincerely yours, hiey Vayson

From
Room 523
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

#### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, INCORPORATED

ROOM 523 - 625 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

October 14, 1946

Dr. Harold Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

You will find enclosed four signature cards for the First National Bank of Princeton. Will you be good enough to put your signature on all of them, on the second line, under Dr. Einstein's, and return them to us in the enclosed envelope.

10/10/46

When you were here in the office, you signed the cards for the Guaranty Trust Company account in New York, and this completes the signatures needed for the three accounts.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. J.) H. Payson)

October 31, 1946 Mrs. J. H. Payson, Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Dear Mrs. Payson: On the trip I made to New York the week of September 16, I attended the American Physical Society meetings and a meeting at Princeton as well as the meeting of the Trustees of the Emergency Committee. I received against these expenses \$100.00 from other sources, and I estimate that the total cost of the trip, including tickets and incidental expenses, was \$150.00. Would the Emergency Committee consider that this extra \$50.00 is due me for expenses in connection with that trip? Very sincerely yours. Harold C. Urey HCU/1m

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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JOSEPH H. SCHAFFNER Executive Director and Treasurer

MICHAEL STRAIGHT Secretary

LILY PAYSON
Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

November 6, 1946

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

It is, of course, entirely in order for the Emergency Committee to reimburse you for expenses incurred in connection with the trustees' meeting of September 19. I am enclosing a check on the First National Bank of Princeton for \$50.00 for this purpose. We do not yet have our printed checks but hope to have them before long.

Deposited

Mr. Schaffner would like to get the two enclosed copies of the resolution regarding Carter, Ledyard & Milburn to Mr. Alexander and to the firm itself before the meetings of next week, so I am sending them to you for your signature. An envelope is also enclosed for their return, and I shall appreciate your having them mailed back by return mail.

self place

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. J. H. Gayson)

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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SELIG HECHT Hon. Vice-Chairman

JOSEPH H. SCHAFFNER **Executive Director** and Treasurer

MICHAEL STRAIGHT Secretary

LILY PAYSON Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

New York Office ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE. NEW YORK 22, N.Y. Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

December 6, 1946

Miss L. McCormack Secretary to Dr. Harold Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Miss McCormack:

I am enclosing a check to Dr. Urey's order for \$61.90, in accordance with his letter of December 2. I imagine you will want to deposit this in his absence.

for deposit 12/16/46 As soon as you know a definite date for Dr. Urey's return, I shall appreciate your sending me word.

It was nice to meet you in Chicago, and I hope I shall be there often. I came back to New York by plane in a big wind, but arrived in safety.

Sincerely yours,

LP/MEK

Mrs. J. H. Payson, Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Payson:

I have just now figured my expenses for the trip which I made to the East on November 16. Since, as you will remember, I went on to Toronto from New York, I wonder if the Emergency Committee would consider it equitable to divide actual traveling expenses equally with the Toronto group. If we do this, traveling expenses (\$50.00) plus hotel and three meals in New York makes the share of the Emergency Committee amount to \$61.90.

I leave today for Europe. Since talking to you in Chicago my trip has become extended by a visit to Switzerland, and at present I do not expect to return to the United States until the middle of January.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/1m

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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LILY PAYSON
Assistant Secretary-

Treasurer

New York

December 21, 1946

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

Miss Lucille McCormick Institute for Nuclear Studies The University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Miss McCormick:

I think I failed to acknowledge your letter of the seventh which enclosed various letters that had been sent to Dr. Urey after his broadcast. Most of these were taken care of by the Oram organization that is handling the fund-raising campaign. I sent the one with the dollar attached to the New Republic and at the same time inquired of Mr. Straight's secretary whether or not something of Dr. Urey's were being published by them. She hasn't yet replied; if I find out something more about it, I will let you know.

Please send on to us anything more of this kind that you want taken care of, and we'll be glad to do it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. J. H. Payson)

Mrs. J. H. Payson, Emergency Committee of Comic Scientists, Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Payson:

Enclosed are several letters which Dr. Urey has received in connection with the Emergency Committee. As you know, I have no assistance here, and Dr. Urey wondered if it would not be possible for this correspondence to be handled in New York. None of the letters have been acknowledged - a few of them, you will note, are offers of donations, and should have been answered promptly. I am exceedingly sorry that they got buried in the rush of work here.

Neither Dr. Urey nor I understand the top letter in the group. Is the New Republic publishing something of Dr. Urey's, that you know of?

I am sorry to burden you with this, but I am sure that such correspondence will be handled more quickly and efficiently from your office, especially since Dr. Urey will be away for so long.

Sincerely,

Lucille McCormick

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

Enclosed is a draft of the minutes of the Trustees'
meetings held in Princeton from January 30 through February 1,
1947. A summary of the resolutions passed at these meetings
is attached for your convenience.

If you have corrections or changes to make in the minutes, please let us have them by April 5. We shall otherwise understand that they have been approved by you.

Please return the enclosed postal acknowledging the receipt of the minutes.

Lily Payson

sent alan

#### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, INCORPORATED

#### SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

#### ADOPTED AT BOARD MEETING 1/30 - 2/2/47

Page 1	Allocation of funds to group of six Northern California scientists instead of to Northern California Association of Scientists approved.
Page 1 & 2	Executive Director authorized to make grants and allocations between Board meetings, under certain conditions.
Page 2	Series of resolutions regarding the opening of brokers accounts and the sale and purchase of securities approved.
Page 2	Bonding of Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer approved.
Page 2, 3, 7	Series of resolutions regarding the holding of securities by First National Bank of Princeton approved.
Page 3	Authorization granted for execution of safekeeping agreement with Guaranty Trust Co.
Page 3, 4	Allocation of \$50,000 to Advertising Council, Inc. approved upon fulfillment of certain conditions.
Page 4	Committee appointed to discuss contract with Harold L. Oram.
Page 4, 5, 6	Allocation of funds.
Page 6	Resolutions regarding change in sponsorship of Bulletin approved.

Acting Executive Director appointed.

Page 6 Election of officers.

Page 6

# EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, INCORPORATED MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES

A special meeting of the Trustees of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, was held at 12:30 in the afternoon, January 30, 1947, at the Institute for Advanced Study, Borough of Princeton, County of Mercer, State of New Jersey, pursuant to notice, copy of which is attached. The following Trustees, constituting a quorum of the Board, were present: Albert Einstein, T. R. Hogness, Linus Pauling, Leo Szilard, Harold Urey. The Chairman presided and the Assistant Secretary acted as Secretary of the meeting.

The following officers who had been invited by the Trustees to attend the meeting were also present: Selig Hecht, Joseph Halle Schaffner, Lily Payson.

The Assistant Secretary submitted to the meeting the minutes of the third meeting of the Trustees, held on the 15th day of November, 1946, at the New Weston Hotel, New York City; the minutes of a special meeting of the Trustees held on the 3rd day of January, 1947, at Princeton, New Jersey; and the minutes of the regular meeting of the Trustees held on January 20, 1947, at 625 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the minutes of each of these meetings were approved.

The Treasurer reported that a ruling had been received from the Treasury Department, dated December 27, 1946, granting this corporation exemption from federal income tax upon certain conditions and stating that contributions made to the corporation will be deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income.

The Treasurer reported that the Secretary of State of the State of New York had issued his certificate authorizing this corporation to conduct its activities in the State of New York.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the action of the Executive Director in recognizing the following six scientists temporarily as a group to which funds allocated to the Northern California Association of Scientists might be given and in sending checks totaling  $\psi1500.00$  to this group, be approved: Leo Brewer, Lud. H. Dimpfl, Robert Loevinger, R. L. Meier, Louis A. Strait, Charles D. Wagner.

The Treasurer presented the financial statement of the corporation. Copy of this statement is attached hereto.

The Trustees having recognized that needs arise between meetings which it is in the interest of their objectives to meet, if finances permit, decided to grant a discretionary fund to the Executive Director for allocation to meet such needs. The Executive Director having stated that he would not make such allocation of such discretionary fund unless he had received previously by wire or mail the approval of at least five trustees, it was thereupon, upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried,

RESOLVED, that the Trustees delegate to the Executive Director authority when the Board is not in session to make grants and to expend to or in behalf of any one or more organizations qualified to receive such funds, whether hitherto recipients of grants from this

corporation or not, sums not to exceed \$15,000 in the aggregate, provided that in each case the finances of the corporation in his judgment permit such grant or expenditure; and further RESOLVED, that this authority shall expire on December 31,

1947, unless renewed previous to that time, or unless previously revoked by the Board; and further

- 2 -

RESOLVED, that so long as this authority shall remain in force, the Executive Director shall report the making of any grant or expenditure thereunder to the next succeeding meeting of the Board of Directors.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the action of the Treasurer in selling one Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. \$1000., First and Refunding Mortgage Gold 5% Bond, Series H #10142, on December 20, 1946, which had been contributed on November 27, 1946, to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, at a value of \$700., be approved, and further

RESOLVED, that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer of this Corporation, be, and each of them hereby severally is, authorized to sell, assign, transfer and deliver the stocks, bonds, evidences of interest and/ or indebtedness, rights and options to acquire the same, and all other securities, corporate or otherwise, now or hereafter held by this Corporation, and to execute any and all instruments necessary, proper or desirable for the purpose.

(Insert A from end of minutes) Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the action of the Treasurer in opening an account with Cowen & Co., 54 Pine Street, New York City, for the sale of the securities of this corporation be and the same is hereby authorized and approved; and further

RESOLVED, that the printed resolution attached hereto and made a part hereof, marked Exhibit A, authorizing the establishment and maintenance of a security cash account with Cowen & Co. be accepted as a resolution passed by this corporation, and that the Secretary be instructed to execute and send a copy of this resolution to Cowen & Co.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the President or the Treasurer or the Secretary or the Assistant Treasurer or one or all of them be authorized to open brokerage accounts for the purchase or sale of securities and to execute such papers as may be necessary in connection therewith.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer shalleach be bonded in the amount of \$10,000 per annum, and that the Secretary or Treasurer shall be authorized to execute the necessary papers in connection therewith and to pay the premiums therefor from the funds of this corporation.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the First National Bank of Princeton, Princeton, New Jersey, be and it is hereby appointed as Custodian to receive such cash, securities and other personal property of this corporation as may be from time to time deposited with it, to collect the income therefrom and to retain or dispose of such cash, securities and other personal property or the income therefrom or to take such action with respect thereto as may be directed in writing by the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer, or any one of them, and further

RESOLVED, that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer of this Corporation, be, and each of them hereby severally is, authorized to sell, assign and transfer to Muth & Company any and all certificates of stock, bonds and other securities required to be in registered form, which now are or hereafter may be owned by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, and further

RESOLVED, that any corporation, the stock, bonds or other securities of which may at any time be owned or held by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, its transfer agent or agents, its registrar or registrars, their administrators, executors, successors or assigns, be and hereby are authorized to treat Muth & Company as the helder in fact and owner of said stock, bonds or other securities for any and all purposes including but not limited to the payment of interest or dividends thereon, and further

RESOLVED, that any corporation, the stock, bonds or other securities of which may at any time be owned or held by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, its transfer agent or agents, its registrar or registrars, and their respective administrators, executors, successors and assigns, be and hereby are absolved from any and all responsibility in following the said stock, bonds or other securities as being the property of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer of this corporation, be and each of them hereby severally is, authorized in their discretion to make an arrangement with the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, by which a safekeeping agreement may be executed and the securities of the corporation may be held in the name of the nominee of the Guaranty Trust Company, and to execute with the Guaranty Trust Company for and on behalf of this corporation the necessary papers for the carrying out of this resolution.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the Executive Director be instructed to extend to Dr. Frank Aydelotte the thanks and appreciation of the Trustees for the use of the Institute for Advanced Study for its current meetings.

The Executive Director presented to the Trustees the following correspondence with members of the National Committee on Atomic Information: Letter from Dr. Ralph McDonald to Dr. Albert Einstein, dated January 28, 1947; letter from Dr. Helen Dwight Reid, National Committee on Atomic Information, to Joseph Halle Schaffner dated January 28, 1947.

An extended discussion took place, in portions of which Mr. Robert K. Lamb, a member of the Executive Committee and Finance Committee of the National Committee on Atomic Information, was invited to participate.

Upon invitation by the Trustees, Michael Amrine, of the Advertising Council, Inc., presented the contemplated program of the Advertising Council for educational work on the implications of atomic energy.

At 5:30 in the afternoon, the neeting was recessed, and was reconvened at 8:30 in the evening of January 30, in the Nasseu Tavern, Princeton, New Jersey, the same persons being present with the exception of Albert Einstein.

After discussion of cooperation with the Advertising Council, Inc., upon motion duly made, seconded and carried by affirmative vote of all Trustees present except Lec Scilard who asked that his negative vote be recorded, it was

RESOLVED, that the Executive Director be authorized to execute an agreement with the Lavertising Council, Inc. by which this corporation will make available to the Advertising Council, Inc., the sum of

\$50,000.00 under the following conditions: (a) that the Advertising Council, Inc. is, in the opinion of counsel, qualified to receive funds collected from contributors without impairing the tax-deductibility of the contributions; (b) that in the judgment of the Treasurer, the financial condition of this corporation permits payments on this allocation to be made; (c) that the Advertising Council, Inc. will agree to the setting up of a coordinating committee for decisions on its program of atomic education, and will further agree that it will send nothing on this subject which is not approved by this corporation, and will cause to be prepared a booklet on atomic energy and sample advertisements which will be submitted for approval to the Trustees of this corporation, and which will be used only if approved by a majority of the said trustees; and further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Director be authorized to make immediately available to the Advertising Council, Inc. upon the signing of the agreement outlined above, the sum of \$2,000.00 for the preparation of the booklet and advertisements specified in (c) above.

The Executive Director reported that Harold Oram, Inc. had requested a revision of the agreement with this corporation. Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that a committee consisting of the Executive Director, the Secretary and the Honorary Vice-Chairman, be authorized to consult with Harold L. Oram and to make any necessary modifications in his contract.

At 10 P.M. the meeting was recessed until the following morning.

The meeting was reconvened on Friday morning, January 31, at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, with the same persons present, including Albert Einstein. Victor F. Weisskopf joined the meeting.

There were also present, upon invitation of the trustees: Henry B. Cabot, Thomas Finletter, Robert K. Lamb, Harold L. Oram and Robert R. Wilson.

The morning and afternoon sessions were occupied with a discussion concerning national policy.

At 5:30 the meeting was recessed until the following morning.

The meeting reconvened at 9:30 in the morning of February first, at the Institute for Advanced Study. The following trustees were present: Albert Einstein, Hans Bethe, T. R. Hogness, Philip Morse, Leo Szilard, Harold Urey. There were also present, at the invitation of the Trustees, Selig Hecht, Joseph Halle Schaffner, Michael Straight, Lily Payson, Robert K. Lamb, Robert R. Wilson.

T. R. Hogness reported on an investigation with regard to the possibility of opening foreign offices of international atomic education. His inquiries indicated that it was unlikely that passports could be secured for sending atomic scientists abroad for such purposes, so that such a venture would not be practicable.

The Trustees gave consideration to the request of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence in Berkeley, California, for financial assistance. After discussion, and upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was thereupon

RESOLVED, that the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, make a grant of \$5000 to the Committee for Foreign Correspondence, \$2000 payable in February, and \$1000 a month thereafter to June 1, either directly or through the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, whichever the Committee for Foreign Correspondence shall elect, provided that in the judgment of the Executive Director sufficient funds are on hand to make the payments.

A letter was presented from Dean C. W. de Kiewie't in Cornell, suggesting cooperation of atomic scientists with social scientists and those in other fields. After discussion, the Executive Director was instructed to reply to the letter.

The Executive Director reported that the Viking Press, in lieu of a contribution to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, has offered to furnish free a large number of copies of its forthcoming "Understanding the Atom" by Selig Hecht, or an even larger number at cost price, to the Emergency Committee or its nominee. The Trustees recommended that the Executive Director take up this matter with the Federation of American Scientists.

At one o'clock the following persons joined the meeting: E. E. Minett, J. H. Rush, James Stangby, H. H. Goldsmith, Edward Teller, V. F. Weisskopf, Harold L. Oram. Selig Hecht, Michael Straight, Robert Lamb and Robert Wilson withdrew.

Edward Teller presented the position of the Atomic Scientists of Chicago with regard to joining the new Association of Scientists for Atomic Education.

- E. E. Minett described the organization of the new Association of Scientists for Atomic Education. He stated that formal budgets could only be prepared after the meeting of the Board of Directors, which would be held in the near future.
- E. E. Minett, J. H. Rush, James Stangby, H. H. Goldsmith, Edward Teller and Harold L. Oram withdrew.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the following allocations be made, subject to the advice of counsel, and to the judgment of the Executive Director that sufficient funds are on hand to make the payments:

To the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, \$3500 for organizational expenses in connection with setting up regional offices.

To the Cambridge Association of Scientists, an increase from \$200 to \$400 per month from February 1 to June 1.

To the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, an increase from \$1000 to \$1500 a month from February 1 to June 1.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that if and whenever any association to which funds have ben ellocated shall, over the signatures of two-thirds of the Executive Committee of such association, request that its allocation be paid through the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, the Treasurer shall be authorized to make payments in this manner.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, at the meeting of November 16, 1946 this corporation resolved to make a grant of #3350 a month for six months to the Federation of American Scientists, upon approval of counsel, and

WHEREAS, on advice of counsel it was decided that it would be preferable to make the grant in question to a scientific and educational association organized so as to be entitled to exemption under the Federal Tax statutes, and

WHEREAS, the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education was organized for this purpose, and in the opinion of counsel qualifies, and is expected to be entitled to exemption, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the grant to the Federation of American Scientists be withdrawn, and in lieu thereof the sum of \$6700 payable immediately, and \$3350 per month for four months beginning February 1. 1947. be granted to the Association of Scientists for Atomio Education, and further

RESOLVED, the the action of the Executive Director in advancing on January 22, 1947, \$1000 of the \$6700 referred to above be approved.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that upon written requestfrom H. H. Goldsmith, E. Rabinowitch and the Atomic Scientists of Chicago through its chairman, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, shall undertake to publish the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and to defray the expenses of the publication, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Director be authorized to conclude arrangements by which the sponsorship of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists may be either exclusively by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, or by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated and either or both of the following: the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the allocations to the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, to the educational group of the Association of Northern California Scientists, and to the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists and Engineers be each increased by \$500 a month for four months, beginning February 1, 1947 these additional sums to be paid only after all previous commitments have been met, and if, in the judgment of the Executive Director, sufficient funds are available.

The Chairman then stated that the next order of business was the election of officers of the corporation.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the following officers were elected to serve until the annual meeting of the corporation in January, 1948, and until their successors are elected:

President (and Chairman of the Board of Trustees), Albert Einstein

Vice-President (and Vice President of the Board of Trustees),
Harold C. Urey

Honorary Vice-Chairman,

Selig Hecht

Executive Director,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

Secretary,

Michael Straight

Treasurer,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

Lily Payson

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that in the absence from the city of the Executive Director, or in the case of his illness or inability to act, Lily Payson shall be acting Executive Director

There being no further business to come before the meeting, the same was, upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, adjourned.

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Approved:

#### Insert "A"

Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

RESOLVED, that the officers of the Corporation be, and they hereby are, authorized in their discretion to cause the Corporation to hold and retain any securities or other property now held, or which may be hereafter acquired by it, unless otherwise ordered by the Board of Directors; and further

RESOLVED, that the President, Treasurer, Secretary and Assistant Treasurer be, and each of them hereby severally is, authorized to invest and reinvest the funds of the Corporation in such securities as in their several judgments they shall deem advantageous for the Corporation; and further

RESOLVED, that at each meeting of the Board of Trustees, the officers shall report to the Board any changes in the investments of the Corporation which shall have occurred since the last previous meeting of the Board.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

May 28, 1947

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

Enclosed is a draft of the minutes of the Trustees' meeting held in Princeton on May 4th and 5th.

If you have corrections or changes to make in the minutes, please let us have them by June ll. We shall otherwise understand that they have been approved by you.

Please return the enclosed postal acknowledging the receipt of the minutes.

Lily Payson

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

Enclosed is a draft of the minutes of the Trustees' meeting held in Princeton on June 28-29, 1947.

If you have corrections or changes to make in the minutes, please let us have them by August 15.

We shall otherwise understand that they have been approved by you.

Please return the enclosed postal acknowledgment of the receipt of the minutes.

Lily Payson

Dear Dr. Urey:

Dr. Morse wants to know whether you have had any response from Dr. Seitz about membership in the Emergency Committee.

Lily Payson

July 18-1947

40- sent letter accepting to Mrs. Payson 8/11/47. Rucl.

1663 So. Central Porth Ave. Chicogo 23, Illinois December 12, 1947 Dear Dr. Vrey: The briggins of this letter as well. The briggins of this letter as well. Patience and reticence are often the better parts of valor. In post

months it has not always been easy for me to be patrent or retrient, but I sunfully confident that my patrione will have been fully rewarded April 25?

In his great-and very timely-letter of August 23, 1863 to Hr. James C. Coulling of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln wrote: "The promise, being made, most be 'Kept'

Dr. Vrey, the promise mode at the Elbe sul at San Francisco at high noon

on April 25, 1945 shall be Kept.

It would I sun sure not be irreverent or unseemby it, at the approach of the holiday when our thoughts turn with increased devotion to the child in the manger, the thoughts of to many of us also turn with a spirit of cornect rededication to the child at the Elbe.

Merry Christmas.

Sweredy sed fathpelly yours, Loseph Polowethy

#### APR 2 1 1948

#### WORKERS FOR WORLD SECURITY

APR 2 ...

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Chairman, National City Bank

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

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

(TELEPHONE: SUPERIOR 2775; AND 2295)

April 19, 1948

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

Dear Mr. Urey:

Judge Wilkin is away recuperating from a very serious sinous attack, but we are all here much interested in the statement of your Emergency Committee released April 11.

Our program here, as you know, is based largely on the facts and argument of your Committee's pronouncement.

We believe, however, that through a formula produced by the combined efforts of many practical leaders in this community, we have produced a sounder and more practical formula for the effective accomplishment of the desired objective. It eliminates, at least in the vitally important, initial stage, the need for the secret negotiations which your Committee suggests but deplores.

It is briefly outlined in the enclosed copy of letter from Paul Bellamy, Editor of our Cleveland Plain Dealer, to Senator Taft, and the general approach and program of our movement here is outlined in the enclosed copy of a letter which Rabbi Brickner addressed some weeks ago to the two national Jewish church organizations and which is being used as a model by various of our trustees in similar appeals which will be made to the Mayors of all of the cities of the country by our Mayor, to the Governors of the different states by our Republican Governor and Democratic Ex-Governor, and to many other national organization by their counterparts here when we start the trek of pledges in lots of 100,000 to the President, then to Congress and then to Senator Austin at the United Nations.

These are scheduled to start around the first of June and spaced at periods of ten days to two weeks.

If you and your organization approve of this simple, practical approach, you can, of course, be of great assistance in spreading it around the country.

We believe that its soundness and appeal have been demonstrated by our experience here where we have united every type of organization and are now securing every week more pledges in support of the basic objective than the entire membership which United World Federalists or Ely Culbertson or any of the other educational organizations have been able to develop in their efforts throughout the country - some of them extending over many years.

We believe an educational method alone is not adequate to meet the existing time factors and practical difficulties, and that a program of this kind through which all religious, educational, social, labor, business and other organizations may unite under their own local leadership is the practical solution.

I believe you have seen copy of our basic literature. In case they are not readily available, I am enclosing another set.

Sincerely yours,

JBP:M Encls.

Vice Chairman

May 14, 1948 Mr. John B. Putnam. 1882 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio Dear Mr. Putnam: Thank you for your letter of May 4 and the copies of Mrs. Clark's and Jawaharlal Nehru's letters, which I read with considerable interest. I realize that I have not replied personally to your earlier letter concerning the Cleveland Workers for World Security, and was glad that the New York Office of the Emergency Committee had written to you. As you will perhaps understand, there are so many demands on my time that it is not possible for me to take an active part in many of the matters that interest me, although I try to follow them closely. Very sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey HCU/lm

ANDREWS, HADDEN & PUTNAM

HORACE ANDREWS 1861-1939
JOHN A. HADDEN
JOHN B. PUTNAM
EDWIN A. HOWE
HORACE ANDREWS
JOHN S. BEARD, JR.
CLYDE COMSTOCK
QUENTIN ALEXANDER

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
1882 UNION COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND
14

May 4, 1948

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

Dear Mr. -rey:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed letter from Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, endorsing the program of Workers for World Security; also a letter from Mrs. Clark with advice of the taking up of a campaign for one-half million of our pledges in Bombay.

Sincerely yours,

JBP:M Encls.

21st April 1948 Bombay, India

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Putnam:

Edward had an hour long interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister for all India, the other day and Nehru was gracious enough to afterwards send him a long letter, a copy of which is enclosed. This letter has been released to Reuters and received wide publicity here in India and we thought you might like to utilize it in the American or Cleveland Press.

In a conversation with the Premier of Bombay yesterday, Mr. Kher, he offered us half a million signatures to the Cleveland Pledge. We are trying to "collect" on this offer.

The Tour is being very successful. The beginnings of national organizations now exist in Greece, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and India. The Tour and its purpose has had wide publicity in the national newspapers of all these countries.

We hope to see you personally on our return.

With all kind regards,

Sincerely,

Anne Clark

PRIME MINISTER, INDIA.

No. 660/P.M. NEW DELHI

April 16, 1948.

Dear Mr. Clark:

I was happy to meet you today and find out from you the progress that had been made by the World Movement for World Federal Government. As I told you, I have no doubt in my mind that the only way for the solution of the world's major problems is for some kind of a World Government to develop. I have stated as much in public on many occasions. I welcome, therefore, every attempt that is made to educate and direct public opinion to this end and I wish you success in your endeavors.

The actual working out of a scheme would naturally involve very careful consideration of all the aspects of the problem. Yet I think that the mechanical part of it is not so very difficult. The real difficulty is how to tackle the psychological and to some extent economic barriers that come in our way. The first step therefore should be to try to remove these psychological barriers and the movement you are working for will no doubt help in this process.

So far as India is concerned, we have repeatedly expressed our opinion in favour of the development of an international organization or some kind of world government which gives full autonomy to its various national units and which at the same time removes the causes of war and national conflict. The Indian National Congress has expressed itself on these lines on several occasions and even during the course of the last World War. I have little doubt that Indian public opinion will support any such movement.

I have read the pledge which has been issued by Workers for World Security, Ohio, copy of which you gave me. The purpose mentioned in this pledge has my entire agreement.

While I appreciate and welcome all efforts to promote international peace and good-will and world government on the basis of freedom of nations and peoples, you will appreciate that, in view of my official position, I cannot associate myself formally with pledges and non-official organizations. When the time comes, I have little doubt that the Government and people of India will gladly take part in this great movement for World peace, freedom and welfare.

Yours sincerely,

Sd - Jawaharlal Nehru

Mr. Edward T. Clark,
Treasurer & Vice President of the World
Movement for World Federal Government,
Maiden's Hotel
Delhi.

## EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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E. EVERET MINETT Acting Executive Director, Ass't Secretary-Treasurer 2 April 1948

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

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

Dear Dr. Urey:

Eileen thought you might be interested in the enclosed list of sponsors who have accepted invitations to the Condon dinner to date.

In connection with the press conference which Dr. Condon is especially interested in and which will probably take place sometime before the dinner—do you want to have all the sponsors notified in the event they would like to be present or do you prefer to select certain ones to be invited?

Eileen, of course, may be reached at 8 W. 40th St., La 4-2520.

Looking forward to seeing you in Princeton next week-end,

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Schachman, Secretary Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Inc.

EHS: e

# LIST OF SPONSORS WHO HAVE ACCEPTED INVITATIONS TO DINNER APRIL 2, 1948

Vincent du Vigneaud, Cornell University

Ross G. Harrison, Yale University

Earle H. Kennard, Cornell University

Duncan A. MacInnes, Rockeffer Institute for Medical Research

Robert Marshak, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.

Leonor Michaelis, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research

W. Albert Noyes, Jr., University of Rochester

Marlow Shapley, Harvard University

Oswald Veblen, Institute for Advanced Study

Selman A. Waksman, N.J. Agricultural Experiment Station

Herman Weyl, Institute for Advanced Study

M. W. Zemansky, College of the City of New York

September 6, 1946 Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner, 5 East 57th Street, New York 22. N. Y. Dear Mr. Schaffner: I have returned from my vacation and have seen your letter to me and the one to Dr. Szilard. I am wondering very much if we got out waivers from the other trustees. I have a bad feeling that our trustees are impatient at the way the incorporation was handled, and that we may have difficulty because of this. I should be very glad to learn from you what the situation is at the present time. You did not get the notes in regard to how Oram should start because I do not know how to start this publicity program. It seems to me that a statement of the urgency of the problem, its long-time character extending from now to infinity, and the necessity for constant presentation of the situation to the American people for years should be emphasized. I have compared atomic energy to the discovery of fire, which was made in prehistoric times, and so far as I know, there is no discovery through all historic time of similar kind and significance to atomic energy. My Air Affairs article, which was badly reported in the press, presents this point of view, and it may be a good way to emphasize the importance of the subject. With best regards, Very sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey HCU/1m

5 East 57th Street. New York 22, New York

August 22, 1946

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

PLEASE FORWARD PROMPTLY

Dear Dr. Urey:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have just written Szilard.

You will remember that both of you were going to jot down a few notes as a kind of starting point and guide for Oram in his thinking. They need be nothing more than informal notes and it would be very helpful if we could have them by the first of the week. It is hard for a money raiser to work in an intellectual vacuum and I want to be sure that your ideas and not his imagination control the thinking to be done.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

JHS/bw

Enclosure

August 22, 1946

One thing we do need very badly at the moment is some informal jotted notes from you as to the ways in which the Committee is likely to spend the million dollars we try to raise. I am asking Harold Urey to give me the same thing and then I will have Selig Hecht screen it and then pass it over as sort of informal first thoughts to Oram so he can be dreaming up ideas for promotion literature and a promotion campaign. You have to feed these boys with things of that sort to keep them stimulated and their minds working at top speed. This is just the kind of thing to do in an hour after dinner and then add to after having slept on it. You can put it in the mail without polishing it off. I should be grateful if you would do this within the next few days and send it on to me here air mail.

Meanwhile, I am still waiting for those waivers to be returned. We are not in business until they are signed and back, but I shall probably give them until Monday before I start in calling the boys on the long-distance telephone. Some of them I will probably let Selig call instead of myself.

Have a good holiday and take an extra look at those mountains for me.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

JHS/bw

5 East 57th Street New York 22, New York

August 22, 1946

Dr. Leo Szilard Echo Lake Lodge Idaho Springs, Colorado

Dear Szilard:

You are as good as your word and I was delighted to have your telegram giving me your address. I hope you find it pleasant and restful. The mountains to me are always stimulating and refreshing, and I have a yen for the West, as does my wife, which only the atom is causing us to suppress.

So far things are proceeding quietly and a little slowly. The interview during the weekend with McDonald, Father Conway and Selig went pleasantly, and I think they went back to Washington happy. If I don't hear from McDonald by Monday, I shall give him a ring to find out what progress they are making with their executive committee and getting our \$25,000.

Meanwhile, I have the assurance of office space for you in a building within three blocks of here. There is also a possibility we might be able to get some space in this building because of the nature of this but I am still trying to get space for combined offices in a building within a few blocks where I very much want to be. I have the contact to open a bank account as soon as we have something to open it with.

I had given up hope of getting the woman whom I told you I wanted as Assistant Secretary of the Committee - I know no one her equal - but she is now near Chicago. I had a telephone call from her today and there is still a glimmer of hope I may still be able to get her. She is the kind of person you and Einstein would be very happy to have connected with this.

I had a luncheon engagement with Bacher tomorrow but he was called back to Cornell and I hope to see him here next week.

Tuesday I had a preliminary conference with Oram and Mrs. Fry discussing the problems of this new committee and the kind of arrangements it would be decirable to make. They will submit a proposal to us within the next few days for our acceptance. It all went in a friendly and amicable way and I am raising the general understanding that they are to originate ideas and proposals but we will have veto power on whatever they propose to do. I assured them that on most minor things Hecht and I here will be able to speak for you but that on some things we will want to say that we cannot make that decision, it is one the Trustees themselves must make, and we will be able to get them prompt decisions.

5 East 57th Street New York 22, New York August 27, 1946 Dr. T. R. Hogness University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois Dear Dr. Hogness: May I acknowledge receipt of the waiver of notice which you returned and thank you for sending it. We of course are not officially in business until all of these waivers have been received. I hope very much to have the pleasure of meeting you in the not too long distant future. Up to now I have met only half of the group and I hope to be able to make up for that deficiency as soon as possible. Sincerely yours, Joseph Halle Schaffner

+ Wowen

- Manual

- M JHS/bw Dr. Szilard cc Prof. Hecht Dr. Urey

Jul - - gi · L- ) 5 East 57th Street New York 22, New York September 9, 1946 Dr. E. U. Condon, Director National Bureau of Standards Washington 25, D. C. Dear Dr. Condon: Thank you so much for your letter of the sixth enclosing your signed waiver. The understanding that I had of the action taken was that after talking to Selig Hecht you were writing a new and revised letter of resignation to Einstein withdrawing your previous letters of resignation but asking that it be accepted for reasons of your official position as of the date of the meeting. In accordance with your wishes verbally transmitted, the Committee took action on your letter not yet received and accepted your resignation with regret. Up to now we still lack two waivers - Bacher, whom Szilard wires me Harold Urey talked to on the telephone Sunday and who apologized for his delay and promised to send in his waiver, and Weisskopf, whom Selig Hecht had told me you were going to be good enough to communicate with but from whom nothing has been heard and whom Urey was unable to reach by telephone from Chicago on Sunday. Until all the waivers are received, under corporate law the meeting legally did not take place since due notice of the meeting as provided in the by-laws was not given to the trustees. As soon as the last two waivers have been received the acceptance of your resignation will be official and your name will not be used in the future in connection with the organization. We are all, however, heartened by the assurance which Selig Hecht transmitted to us that your interest was as great as ever and that you would do everything you could informally and unofficially to be helpful. I still hope that when you come to New York I may have the pleasure of meeting you. Sincerely yours, Joseph Halle Schaffner JHS/bw Would you be good enough to send me a copy of your P.S. letter of resignation to Prof. Einstein withdrawing

the previous two and resigning as of the fourteenth of August so that I may have it for the Committee's files. If he has received it, it has not been forwarded to me and we really need to have it in our files here since the action was taken on the basis of a letter supposedly in transit. If by any chance you overlooked sending it, sending it now dated as of that date I am sure will serve

the purpose.

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED.	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be	

# WESTERN UNION

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PREPAID - PERSONAL

Sept. 27,1946

1206

JOSEPH HALLE SCHAFFNER 5 EAST 57th STREET NEW YORK CITY

PAULING ACCEPTS INVITATION.

HAROLD C. UREY

Extension 1029

#### CLASS OF SERVICE

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# ESTERI 1201

JOSEPH L. EGAIN. .

SYMBOLS DL = Day Letter

NL=Night Letter LC = Deferred Cable

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Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

HAROLD

19.16 SEP 24 PM 2 418

MEMBERS OF EMERGENCY COMMITTEE NEW ME NAMES

WIRE REPLY=

HALLE SCHAFFNER

Pile Miller

5 East 57th Street New York 22, New York September 30, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Urey:

I don't know whether you ever relax with a novel, but on Friday I stopped in a bookstore and asked for something amusing for relaxation over the week end. The book which they sold me - "Mr. Adam" - I found so entertaining and likewise so pat that I thought you, too, might enjoy it and I am sending you a copy of it.

I was very glad to have your wire about Pauling. We can now proceed to have stationery printed including the names of the two new members.

The negotiations with Oram progressed fairly smoothly after you left. I have gone over his offer with Alexander and shall see that you have a copy when it is changed in accordance with one suggestion which he made. By the way, Oram feels that October 21 is too early a date for the money-raising luncheon at Princeton, and that we should postpone it to the week end of the next trustees' meeting, November 16 and 17.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

LAUX Melide up

ROOM 523 - 625 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Phone Eldorado 5-0904

October 4, 1946

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

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the agreement executed on October second, under the authority granted to me by resolution at the meeting of August fourteenth, with Harold Oram, Incorporated, to conduct a money-raising campaign on our behalf.

I should like to call your attention to the fact that the figure for the maximum over-all cost of the campaign was volunteered by Mr. Orem originally and confirmed later without pressure or suggestion from me, and that the total figure of 10% is directly comparable to the 17% figure on which his agreement with the National Committee had previously been based. Mr. Orem has had misgivings after signing this as to whether he has been fair to himself, and reserves the right, should he find that he has underestimated the costs of the campaign, to raise the question with the Committee after the first \$300,000 has been raised, of revising it. He recognizes that they will have no obligation to do so and is willing to leave it to their fairness.

I should like to point out to you that if \$60,000 worth of printed matter, and so forth, were used in raising a million dollars, plus the 10%, that the total cost might be 16%, but I felt that we ought not to try to see how hard we could bargain but that a fair offer made by the organization had best be accepted in the interest of good morals and enthusiasm. I am confident that as we work together, we can introduce an element of pride in seeing how inexpensively this money can be raised, and we will do so. The items appresented by the estimate of \$60,000 referred to above and mentioned at the top of page 2 of Oram's memorandum, were likewise an additional cost to the 17% of the National Committee's figure - although no figure was given them for these items - so that the figures of 10% and 17% are strictly comparable.

I hope you will be pleased with the agreement as executed. How good or bad it is depends basically upon how effective the organization is on raising the monies which we require.

If I may emphasize to each one of you one thing, it is the importance of the last paragraph. In fact, the fulfillment by the trustees individually of the responsibilities therein referred to is a condition so

precedent to the success of the campaign that I had wanted to circularise each of you before signing this on your behalf. The time schedule did not permit that, but I hope that you will each confirm that we can count on the kind of assistance to which this paragraph in the agreement refers.

Joseph Halle Schaffner

ROOM 523 - 625 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

October 4, 1946

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Urey:

The enclosed formal acceptance has come in from Dr. Morse and probably we shall hear later from Dr. Pauling. You are a pleasure to work with, the way that when you take on an assignment, you get it done. These two acceptances are very heartening.

If you have written Dr. Pauling a formal notice of his election, may we have a copy of your letter for the files? Do you think we need to wait for his written reply before we have stationery printed? I also want to prepare a letter to both of these men for Dr. Einstein to sign and to write them myself.

I am enclosing for your information copy of the agreement executed with Oram, together with covering letter to all the trustees, which I hope you will be able to take time to read.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

Enclosures

Room 523 625 madison aug

October 5, 1946

#### To the Trustees:

On October 2 and 3, members of the National Committee on Atomic Information and the Federation met with the Advertising Council to discuss their program. Just before he returned to Mashington, Mr. Casgrain, Consultant for the National Committee, called Mrs. Payson on the telephone. The following are her notes of the conversation.

Mr. Casgrain: I am putting together sort of an overall plan of operation which I will send to Mr. Schaffner. It seems to me advisable that the various programs, including the program of the Advertising Council, tie into one overall program so that there is, in a sense, a master plan.

For our own purposes, I feel we need some material written on the eighth-grade level, sort of headline type of stuff, so it will reach larger numbers of people.

At present, the Advertising Council is plugging our program by putting in, here and there, some such remark as, "You should know the social and economic implications of atomic energy," or "The Baruch plan is workable." But there is no kind of follow-up. I think we ought to have a pamphlet prepared that could be sent out to people. The radio line could then add, "If you will write to the National Committee, you will receive a copy of a pamphlet, etc." In the back of the pamphlet we could have reading lists, including "One World or None."

I think either the National Committee or the Emergency Committee should quickly produce such a pamphlet, that could be tied in as a mailing piece with what the Advertising Council does over the radio, otherwise they are really just shooting a lot of stuff into the air.

We would need probably \$50,000 to produce such a pamphlet and get our organization geared up to the place where we could handle the response to the radio.

The work the Advertising Council might do on the radio can be of great help to us, but there are some aspects of the matter that concern me greatly. For instance, they are planning some full-page spreads in the newspapers on atomic energy, and are also talking about car cards.

NOTE They are also talking about starting a money-raising campaign for this effort on their own, which would seem to me unfortunate considering that your campaign is just getting started. I have tried to put the brakes on this but thought you ought to know what is being contemplated.

It seems to me that what each group is trying to do and should do ought to be very clearly defined, and each ought to understand its place in some overall, master plan.

I am getting this information out to you at once as it raises some points to which we will have to give careful consideration.

Joseph Halle Schaffner

ROOM 523 - 625 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

October 7, 1946

Dr. Robert E. Connick Northern California Association of Scientists 2008 Channing Way Berkeley 4, California

Dear Dr. Connick:

This is in reply to your night letter of October sixth, received here this morning. I must seem derelict in not having replied previously to your letter of September sixteenth. I hope the following explanation will cause you to revise that feeling.

Your letter was presented to the trustees at their meeting on September nineteenth and sympathetically received. It was decided at that meeting to authorize two of us to enter into arrangements on behalf of the Emergency Committee with various groups throughout the country, but before any specific arrangements were made, to have the thing discussed at the meeting of the council of the Federation of American Scientists which was taking place over the succeeding week end. It was hoped that members of your group would be present at the council meeting.

On the following Monday afternoon, by request, we held a meeting at this office, attended by Leo Szilard, J. H. Rush, John Simpson, Bernard Feld, Mr. Orem and Mrs. Fry of the Oram organization, and myself. Rush and Simpson reported on the attitude of the council and some of their fears and misgivings, and maght the views of the Emergency Committee, with regard to methods of procedure. The council representatives were to return to the meeting and we were to hear as promptly as possible the outcome of decisions reached.

John Simpson in Chicago, reporting on the status of the discussions and the clarification of ideas of the Federation and its member groups. Meanwhile, on the second of October, we signed an agreement with Harold Oram to undertake a nation-wide campaign for the Emergency Committee, the agreement actually taking effect as of October first. This involves the interests of all groups throughout the country, the idea being that they would be able to draw on funds available even before drives in their own communities have taken place, and it also takes into consideration our awareness of the fact that the principal monies will have to come from a half a dozen different states whereas some of it will have to be expended by groups such as the Oakridge or Los Alamos groups who are not in communities that obviously can raise substantial funds.

I think it is going to take us a little longer to get under way but our tentative plans are to start off our national campaign with a luncheon

or dinner meeting in Princeton some time next month, held at Einstein's invitation and attended by twenty-five or fifty people from all over the United States, among what you would call the large donor class and representing what would tend to be "sophisticated money." At this meeting we hope to get an underwriting of the costs of our campaign so that from that point forward we can say that all of the costs have been underwritten and that all money contributed will go directly for educational work.

While the planning for the lunch or dinner is going on, about which we hope to have details later this week, we likewise want to plan campaigns in two or three localities in the United States and we hope that the next week or two will clarify the views of the Federation and the council of the Federation so that the Emergency Committee will not be running into conflict with different points of view in the arrangements it makes with local committees. Mr. Oram has suggested in an informal discussion that the first two communities in which we might run campaigns would be Chicago and Northern California and we discussed in a preliminary way last week the feasibility of going on to those two points quite shortly and trying to work out arrangements on the spot for the conducting of the campaigns at agreed times. I hope that all this will clarify within the next few days.

Meanwhile, Oram has sent me a questionnaire which he would like to have me send out to local groups with whom we might be cooperating in the raising of funds and I am copying off the five questions he has submitted and making them part of this letter. I hope that by the end of this week or the first of next week, we will be able to communicate with you more definitely. I hope you will not find us as slow in moving, once we get started, as we must have seemed to you up to now.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

#### Questionnaire

1. What plans for, if any, and to what degree has actual work progressed in prospective fund raising campaign?

2. How much money was reised, if any, to finance your work during previous year? How was it raised? How much money do you need this year and do you have reason to believe that you can raise it?

3. What lists of prospective donors are available and what workers available?

4. What community support for campaign is available? Will you be able to reach the highest economic group in your community through the workers now available?

5. Who is in charge of your campaign?

ROOM 523 - 625 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

October 8, 1946

Mr. John A. Simpson Argonne National Laboratory P.O.Box 5207 Chicago 80, Illinois

Dear Simpson:

This is just a note to thank you for your informative letter of the fourth.

I got a hurry-up wire from Connick in California, asking for a reply to their letter of September sixteenth, and I am enclosing herewith a copy of my reply for your information. We can hardly move to fix any definite arrangements until your group has clarified its position, and time appears to be getting very urgent for many of these groups, including the National Committee, so that I hope the early date that you refer to can be made very early indeed.

I find nothing in your letter with which I don't agree in general principles - the working out of details would have to be done in conference anyway - and I realize the limitations that you place upon what you have written as given in your next to the last paragraph.

I am sending copies to the members of our Committee of both your letter and of my letter to the Northern California Association. I am not sending this material on to Higinbotham and Rush and Wilson, feeling that if you think they ought to be informed of this reply, you will take care of that.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner Executive Director

## THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL, Inc.

A non-profit organization, representing all phases of advertising, dedicated to the uses of advertising in the public service

1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 5, D. C. Telephone: DIstrict 9043



11 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y. Telephone: BRyant 9-3641

New York 18, N. Y. October 10, 1946

Mr. Joseph Schaffner
Emergency Committee of Atomic
Scientists, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Schaffner:

Following our conversation of yesterday this letter will attempt to outline the basic facts concerning The Advertising Council. It is hoped that these facts will assist you and your committee in deciding whether the Council's Atomic Energy campaign deserves financial support.

#### The Advertising Council - What It Is

The Advertising Council is a non-profit business institution. It is composed of the national manufacturers who are the advertisers, the advertising agencies, radio networks and stations, newspapers, magazines, and outdoor advertising. Each of these groups contributes to its support.

The Advertising Council has one purpose - to promote the use of advertising in the public service. During the war, as the War Advertising Council, it cooperated with the Office of War Information in approximately 150 wartime campaigns (war bonds, WAC, WAVE and other armed forces recruiting, salvage of scrap and paper, etc.). The Council currently cooperates with such government or private campaigns as it believes are important and are in the public interest. Selection of the Council's campaigns is determined chiefly by its Public Advisory Committee, a list of whose names is attached.

Each Advertising Council campaign is headed by a coordinator who is a volunteer from private industry. The creative work on each campaign is done by a leading advertising agency who volunteers its services. All Advertising Council services are rendered without charge.

#### Advertising Council Facilities

In order to obtain outlets for its messages The Advertising Council has since the end of the war mobilized the following services:

Radio - Virtually all commercial shows carry the Council's allocated messages every sixth time they are on the air. This produces approximately 300,000,000 listener-impressions a week. Because virtually all popular radio shows are included in the plan a single week's allocation reaches a vast nation-wide radio audience.

In addition the Council has two other radio plans which need not be outlined here.

- Highway Posters The outdoor advertising industry makes available to the Council 2,000 highway poster spaces each month. However, the Council must provide the paper to fill these spaces, buy the art work and lithography, pay shipping costs, etc.
- Car Cards The car card industry makes available to the Council between 70,000 and 100,000 spaces in street cars and buses each month. Again to fill these spaces the Council must provide the actual cards.
- Magazines Virtually all principal magazines are included in a pool of space made available each month to The Advertising Council. 982 magazines contribute space monthly for Council messages. This pool is 100% booked at the moment for the sale of U. S. Savings Bonds.
- Newspapers The Council has no regular pool of space from newspapers. However, when funds permit the Council prepares advertisements on its campaigns and ships mats (or plates) of these advertisements to all daily newspapers who request them. It is not unusual that as many as 7,000 individual newspaper advertisements appear in support of a single Council campaign.
- Other facilities The Council has still other facilities for reaching the public, such as farm publications, etc., but these facilities are not relevant to the Atomic Energy campaign and therefore need not be outlined.

#### History of the Council's Atomic Energy Campaign

Following a request for help from the Federation of American Scientists the Public Advisory Committee of The Advertising Council, on June 6, 1946, directed the Council to execute a campaign of public information on atomic energy. The policy laid down by our Public Advisory Committee was that this campaign should give information concerning the United States' proposals for international control of the atomic bomb and insofar as is practical point out the necessity for international control. This therefore becomes the Council's policy on this campaign and could not be deviated from unless a change in direction is ordered by the Public Advisory Committee.

The subject was then explored in detail with the 'then' officials of the Committee for Atomic Information and the Federation of American Scientists. A basic platform for the campaign was drafted in the form of a radio fact sheet, copy of which is attached. The Council then presented this fact sheet to the Department of State and the U. S. Delegation to the Atomic Energy Commission. Changes suggested by the State Department, Mr. Baruch's people, etc., were incorporated and the attached fact sheet includes these changes.

Newspaper advertisements were then prepared but we are unable to proceed with these because of lack of funds to buy art work, pay for typography, mats, shipping costs, etc.

#### The Need for Funds

The Council will continue to use radio actively to promote this campaign. However, it finds itself severely handicapped in extending the campaign because of the lack of funds to pay the campaign's out-of-pocket costs. The Council therefore requests the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists to consider the allocation of \$100,000 to The Advertising Council, this sum to be used exclusively for the promotion of the Council's Atomic Energy campaign.

While it is impossible to predict the amount of free space and time this investment would produce, it is possible to cite past experience. The National Safety Council allotted The Advertising Council approximately \$60,000 to be used for printing, etc., on the traffic accident campaign. To date, The Advertising Council has secured \$24-worth of free space and time for every \$1 spent by it for materials.

#### How the Money Would Be Spent

It is impossible to detail exactly how the \$100,000 would be broken down for various expenditures but it is possible to give a general forecast. The major portion of the funds would be used to prepare in simple non-technical layman's language an illustrated booklet which would make clear the basic facts in the campaign. This booklet would then be offered on all radio programs carrying the Council's Atomic Energy allocation. Since this would reach an audience of many millions it is hoped a heavy volume of requests for the booklet would be received. It is felt that such a booklet offers a way to get across the story that cannot be entirely duplicated by shorter messages.

As a secondary effort the Council would use a portion of the funds to prepare and distribute mats of newspaper advertisements to all daily newspapers. There are 1750 daily newspapers in the United States and it is hoped a substantial number of these would request that mats be sent them.

It is possible that shorter messages on car cards or outdoor posters might be useful at a later time when the story becomes more generally known. However, the Council would not plan to use these facilities for the present.

A rough breakdown of the possible use of the \$100,000 follows. This should be considered as only a rough estimate.

Art, type setting, plates, etc. for the booklet

\$ 5,000

Printing of first edition of booklet (500,000 at five cents each)

25,000

Mailing costs - First edition

7,500

Booklet containing possible revisions to meet changes in the situation Mailing costs - second edition Production of two series of newspaper advertisements (6 to a series at \$10,000 per series) 15,000 Reserve for unforeseen activities \$ 100,000

-4-

#### Method of Operation

The method of operation of this campaign could be worked out by further conversations. One method which has proved successful on other Advertising Council campaigns is to set up a small steering committee with representatives from the various interested groups. Such a steering committee for this campaign might consist of representatives from the State Department, the Baruch Committee, the Emergency Committee for Atomic Information. To this steering committee would then be submitted all Advertising Council material. Advertising Council ads, booklets, etc., would carry no Advertising Council identification other than its seal. This material could, if desirable, credit the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and/or other organizations as the information source.

I am sure I do not need to say that the advantage of the advertising method is that it makes use of modern streamlined techniques for the distribution of information. Whereas committees of speakers, press releases and such devices reach thousands, The Advertising Council method reaches millions.

If there are any further questions we shall be delighted to try to answer them.

Sincerely,

s/ T. S. Repplier

President

TSR eab

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

As all of you who were original members of this Committee know, from the time of its formation we have been striving to get put down on paper for the guidance of Er. Oram in running the campaign and for the Executive Director in derrying out your wishes, your ideas of the objectives and programs and the means of achieving those programs which should be adopted. Various of you at one time or another have agreed to give us at least some impromptu notes but with one or two conspicuous exceptions, nothing has come our way.

Meanwhile we are up against a deadline. We are going to ask for a million dollars, beginning with the luncheon on November seventeenth at which we are hoping to get the first hundred thousand underwritten. You cannot ask people for a million dollars and hope to raise a hundred thousand from an intelligent and sephisticated group, brought from all over the country, without giving them something reasonably concrete as to why you need a million, and therefore semething must be in print at each person's place on that moon which will supplement the story with which Harold Grey will lead off, and which will justify our appeal. The progres, however, is yours to work out and mine to help you to execute, so far as possible.

It is no part of an executive director's duties to try to sake the bricks of somey without the straw of your thinking, but in a desperate moment, hoping that anything I did might serve as a catalyst to bring your thinking into focus (if I may mix my metaphore) I wrote out longhand on Sunday before catching a train, and part of Sunday afternoon and again Monday evening while on the train between here and Cincinnati, a statement which I have had typed, but without ravision.

It is not something which I expected to have to prepare at all. However, I have tried to make it general enough so as not to tie you down beyond the point at which your present collective thinking makes it possible for you to be tied down, and yet have tried to justify in terms which would sopeal to the layman, the appeal which you were making.

No one knows better than I do how much revision any such document as this, written by me, requires. If you were not going to revise it, I should attempt to do extensive revision myself. But the purpose of sending it to you is not to get your approval for using it as it is, but to get you to rewrite it wholly or in part. That purpose I hope it may serve.

In view of the fact that you are all scattered as you are and that the views of each of you will undoubtedly differ in some particulars, I suggest that you leave to Selig Hecht and me, here in New York, the job of reconciling and putting together the various suggestions which come in from each of you.

Time is of the essence. Today is the seventeenth of October. We should have suggestions from each one of you for revision, or your completely alternative suggestions, in our hands not later than the twenty-fifth, in order to get a consolidated manuscript, have it printed, proof read, and prepared.

There are a number of question marks and a number of gaps which I hope these of you who can, will fill in, in the process of revision. I have had to do my best to get this thing started without opportunity of making inquiry because of the shortness of time, and there is a certain element of b'guess and b'gosh in it.

I am enclosing a postal card for your acknowledgment that you have received this. We will know that you have it and that you will get the suggestions into our hands quickly.

Sinderely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

October 21, 1946

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

We are sending to you herewith a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees which was held in New York on September 19, 1946.

In order to make certain that these minutes have reached each trustee, we are enclosing a return postal card acknowledging their receipt. Will you be good enough to return it at once.

If you do find that corrections need to be made, please wire us, as the postal requests, by October 25. We shall then appreciate your sending the corrections on by mail, special delivery, as soon as possible.

We want to be able to rely on the accuracy of these minutes and on everyone's agreement to them. This procedure will likewise save time at the next board meeting if all trustees have read the minutes, unless corrections are made. We want to devise procedures that will keep your meetings as free from routine detail as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

My.

November 1, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Bethe:

You are not the only person who feels ashamed now and then. In fact, since I have been connected with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists in their pre-natal and post-natal stages, I have been so far in arrears on so many duties that I sometimes feel as though I were leading a continuous life of shame.

Your very thoughtful letter deserved a much prompter reply and it is only because I have been working very hard in your interests as well as trying to carry one or two other duties, that I haven't replied to you previously. Please forgive me.

First, the fact that the scientists have no immediate political objective and no immediate legislative program that they are now contemplating and fostering is the one best chance that they have of getting an immediate tentative ruling that contributions to the Emergency Committee are deductible from income tax. This arises from a ruling of Mr. Justice Learned Hand in which he overruled the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and in which he set up the criterion that if there was not an immediate legislative program overhanging an organization, it was entitled to tax exemption. I sent a special emissary to Washington last Monday who spent from eight to ten-thirty at night with the General Counsel of the Treasury, discussing this matter, and finally the General Counsel was sufficiently interested so that he indicated that if we would send him an addendum to our application, quoting substantially the language in which Justice Hand had reversed him, he would favorably consider the application. That is now being done. Second, may I say that I honor and respect your scrupulousness in not wanting to ask for soney when you don't know exactly what you are going to do with it. It is what one expects of scientists who are accustomed to asking for grants for specific and defined purposes from sources from which money will be available if their purpose is approved. What I think we must face in this matter is two things: first, that in the field of public education, an understanding of this problem has not reached down into the grass roots, and an awareness and insight into the implications of it is no part of the basic consciousness of the average citizen of this country; and second, unless we have an informed electorate, I don't believe that we have a chance of endorcing a decent choice and a decent program when critical issues are put up to us. That may be soon or it may be some time off.

In the mean time, the Oak Ridge group, for example, is participating this month in a project in North Carolina similar to the one held in Kansas, which is certainly the kind of effort at general education which is worthy of support. As an indication of how difficult mass education is, however, I was tramendously impressed with a report of the Denver National Opinion Research Center, which took a public opinion poll to see how many persons could identify the Bill of Rights. 31% had never heard of it, or weren't sure whether or not they had; 36% had heard of it but couldn't identify it; 12% gave confused, unsatisfactory, or entirely incorrect identifications; and only 21% gave responses indicating a reasonably accurate idea of the content of the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

The basic facts and the basic insight and understanding have to be made a part of the consciousness of the mass of the electorate now if they are to have proper judgment and be able to follow right leadership when the right time comes.

As far as the failure abroad goes, I quote from a recent letter from Hogness that impressed me very greatly:

"In connection with this foreign effort, I'm wondering whether it would not be possible for the Emergency Committee to set

up four offices in Europe, entirely for educational purposes, say in London, Paris, Stockholm, and Prague. One of my friends on the faculty, here, has just returned from Prague where he spent the summer, and he reports that the Csechoslovakien Government is very eager to have some cooperation with the American scientists. This Government, while it is communistic, is, nevertheless, not too heavily controlled by Moscow. If an educational program could be effected in Czechoslovakie and perhaps in Sweden, then that program might be reflected by these peoples to the Mussians. I am thinking that the activities of such offices would be limison in nature and might consist in providing translations of articles and documents going both ways.

"As you perhaps know, the scientific workers have organized in Europe, and they have made Joliot-Curie, president, and Bernal of England, vice-president, and some other fellow whose name I have forgotten, their secretary-treasurer. All of these men are avowed communists. This organization wants the cooperation of the American scientists, but I am certain that this would never do in this country. In Europe these men have a good standing, but if we were associated with them in any way, I am sure that we would lose our good name. For this reason, it seems to me that it would be even more desirable that the American atomic scientists penetrate Europe, if they could."

Selig Hecht and I, among others, saw the Philadelphia film at an advance showing on Bonday. We thought highly of it. There is fifteen to twenty thousand dollars involved in just paying for that.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists could increase its circulation to 75- or 100,000, probably, with a budget of \$5000 a month instead of the \$1000 which is its present monthly budget.

But this above all things I think you should have in mind: while in my view, for the purposes to which we contemplate putting it, a million dollars is a drop in the bucket rather than an excessive sum and can only be made to meet our needs through the originality, personal standing, and the unconventional means of public aducation that the scientists have used in the past and will undoubtedly use in the future, it is of the utmost importance that you be not penniless but have substantial resources at the time when you are going to need the money desperately to take public action and to guide and instruct the public, and that may come in one month, six months, or a year. When that time comes, it will be too late to raise the money. There is too much at stake for this country to have their chief guides penniless at the time that they need to be equipped.

You don't aiss the reference to the Federation of American Scientists any more than I do. It is the support of the scientists,

not the support of the lay members of the National Committee, which has enlisted me and has me working far harder than I ought to be and not sleeping nights. He have now gotten their lawyers in consultation with our own on a practical program of incorporation to be the recipients of tax-free funds, and this will, I think, be carried out quite soon. They are all so scattered that it is hard to get a pattern agreed upon and the action taken. Until that is done, we cannot put down in print that we mean to support them, even though it is the project nearest to our hearts, because the Treasury would justifiably withhold a tentative ruling, and we all know that we do not mean to play false with our donors by giving the Federation or the constituent groups tex-free money until they have taken the legal steps to qualify for it. The only reason the Federation did not have the conspicuous position you would like them to have is that they have been so slow in making it possible for us to say publicly that we regard them as our responsibility.

Your letter is being sent to Hecht. I am grateful that you have sent copies to Urey, Sailard, and Meisskopf. I want you to think of me as the creature of the Committee in the things it wants to do, whose concern is only to make practical the carrying out of their basic purposes.

The only persons to whom I think all your doubts should not be too completely disclosed are the members of the Oram organization, because they have to have a certain fervour to be effective, and while the doubts that assail all of you at the present time are to me most encouraging, it might take some of the enthusiasm out of them because they would think they were working on a quicksand.

A year ago last August, when I first saw Selig mecht after my return from oversess, I found a very desperate man. It was just post-Miroshima. Not long after that, the unpublished atomic conference was held at the University of Chicago. I don't believe anybody can measure the good which came from that conference nor do I believe that practically any of you would have thought it possible at that time that the official policy of the United States government would be as far along the path of the angels as it has subsequently gone. We, I am scared but not disheartened, I believe in brains, I believe in giving men a chance to think and a favorable environment in which to do it, and if one of the projects to which this Committee were to devote some of its funds was to make possible another one or two or three such conferences, I can think of no better way in which the purposes of the donors in giving the money could be advanced.

The enswer doesn't lie wholly in our hands, of course. In the international field, for instance, we are subject to a considerable number of restrictions. Next week I shall be sending you the proposal of the Advertising Council. They are offering to devote to atomic education advertising space on the radio, in magazines, newspapers, billboards, etc., that has a cash value somewhere in the order of magnitude of two and a half million dollars, according to them. To make effective use of it, they require about \$100,000, in their view. You can carry a lot of messages to people if you want to use that medium. You may or may not want to do it; but this country is tinder in some ways, and if because of difficulties, disappointments and failures in international negotiations, we let some demagogue set the country afire, we would be culpable because of our timidity.

Let's stick to our guns on raising a million dollars. I have no doubt that the group of men who compose the Committee will be able to think of fruitful ways in which to spend it in the public interest within the purposes of our charter, and while I am not a betting man, I would be entirely willing to make you a wager of a drink or a dinner that within one year from now, or two at the utmost, you will be saying to me, "Schaffner, you let us set our sights much too low, you shouldn't have let us do that. We are not men of affairs, we don't know costs on public education and things of that sort. We counted on you, and you didn't steer us right."

I am sending a copy of this reply to the ones to whom you sent copies of your letter to me.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

e.c. to

Dr. Szilard

Dr. Urey

Dr. Weisskopf

Dr. Hecht



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

On the agenda for discussion at the meetings, on November 15 and 16 will be the request for support of its program by the Advertising Council.

Mr. T. S. Repplier, President of the Council, and Dr. G. Edward Pendray, who is working with the Council on its atomic energy program, called on me to explain what they propose to do. You will find enclosed a copy of an explanatory letter from Repplier, together with their Radio Fact Sheet.

I believe it will be advisable for you to read this material before the meeting, and I shall appreciate it if you will bring it with you. While we may take no action on the request for funds at this time, it will be necessary to discuss the Advertising Council in connection with our general program.

Joseph Halle Schaffner

November 30, 1946

Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

In this brief note I wish to tell you that the whole Emergency Committee is very grateful to you and to Mrs. Aydelotte for your entertainment of the Emergency Committee group at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I was very much pleased with the words which you spoke on our behalf. Please extend to Mrs. Aydelotte my thanks for her generous help.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/1m

### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

November 26, 1946

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37 Illinois

Dear Urey:

May I speak a word of quiet and sincere admiration for the way you handled that meeting a week ago Sunday. I shall always regret that I did not hear your broadcast. I tried my best to, but our information was faulty. But the things that you did say, and the way in which you said them, were to me deeply impressive, and the modesty with which you arranged your introduction of Dr. Einstein so that there could be no applause of yourself did not escape my notice.

The results so far, I think, have been as good as we had any right to hope. One man who spoke to me after the meeting was full of ideas that he wanted to discuss of how we could advance our purpose, and I told him I would call him on Monday and we would have lunch together. He is vice-president of a company which had quite a part in the whole project, and when I called him on Monday he told me that he had thought about the thing all the way back to New York, and that it had come back to him so vividly that he had gone in and talked to the president about it, with the result that practically all Monday morning had been spent by the executive staff of the company discussing the problem. They had gotten a sense of the danger and the immediacy of the situation which they had never had before.

Another man, the head of Price Waterhouse in New York, who had given us \$1,000, came back to the office to tell me that he would promise us four contributions of \$1,000 from four other people, and that in addition

he would discuss the matter with both his Chicago partners and his Pittsburgh partners, so that if we wanted to do something in Chicago or Pittsburgh they would be prepared to help us. On Monday I was in the Price Waterhouse office, and found that Mr. Brundage wanted to see me. He came in and brought the Chicago partner, and said, "Chris wants to give you \$1,000, and will be prepared to help you when you get to Chicago."

There have been some other moving evidences of the way in which people were influenced by you. We have received to date from that luncheon over \$75,000. A pledge card of Mr. Russell Maguire stated that a substantial contribution would be made in the near future by his charitable organization. This has not yet been received. One other very wealthy man who was present wanted to investigate a little further. He required being satisfied about certain things. I think he is, and we shall hope to get a contribution from him, which might be substantial. One brother and sister, each of whom were prepared to give \$1,000, decided that they would like to talk it over first with other members of the family, to see if it couldn't be substantially larger.

So we may not come too far from my first suggestion of reaching \$100,000 at that luncheon. That should gratify you for the efforts and sacrifice that you have made.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

Dr. Frank Aydelotte Institute for Advanced Study Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

This is an effort, and a very inadequate one, I am sure, to express to you the gratitude and appreciation that the whole of the Emergency Committee feels for all that you did to make possible the launching of their work. A finer environment than the Institute for the launching of such an appeal by the group of men concerned could not have been chosen, and I shall always be grateful that the inns in Princeton could not have handled us those days. Otherwise we would have lost something quite essential.

Second, we are beholden to you for your own warm words of endorsement with which you introduced the speakers, and third, for your and Mrs. Aydelotte's own generous contributions.

Beyond that, I know of your continuing interest and efforts in behalf of the Committee, and I speak for all of them in sending you our heartfelt thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

IHS/MEX

P.S. You might like to add a personal note to this. Mrs. Aydelotte gave \$100, and Dr. Aydelotte has already asked for a number of additional pledge cards and programs.

Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner, Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Schaffner:

Thanks very much for your letter of January 23 and for all the congratulations. Yes, the gown is a very colorful one, but it has its disadvantages, for my colleagues are now proposing to elect me permanent representative of the Department for all Commencement Exercises at the University of Chicago.

I am finding it very difficult to decide to be in New York on Friday. I have a class on Friday which has been taken by another man while I was in Europe, and it is not possible to keep a class going properly and miss lectures. It is this which makes it so difficult for me to be in New York. I suppose that I will manage to get there, but I find that I am very unhappy about doing so. I am very glad to hear that the scientists have finally succeeded in organizing themselves in such a way as to make use of our money. It seems to me most amazing that the group has been unable to agree on any way to make themselves tax exempt.

Mrs. Urey and I will be very glad to be present at the dinner in honor of Selig Hecht, and thanks very much for the invitation.

It does seem to me that the California people should be able to run their campaign in California without my help. Again, it is a matter of being away from my classes. I regard a class as an appointment just as definitely as any other appointment, and also I feel that it is highly unfair to shove my university work off on my colleagues. They have other good men in California; for example, Joel Hildebrand, who is a prominent man and has been one for many years. He takes a very active interest in problems of this kind, and I think would be willing to help us. Also, Linus Pauling is a big name in chemistry and a big name in California. You see, it is impossible even to fly to California for such an engagement for fear that the planes will not be operating and hence if I cut the time short I might not get there, and the train trip takes a day and a half. In fact, the whole thing would run about a week, and I just do not see how I can possibly to it.

Mr. Schaffner January 24, 1947 I am glad that things are moving along well for the Committee. I am skeptical about the way things are going in the United Nations, and the conversations I had in Europe do not make me feel any happier. The world is getting split into two groups, those who for some reason or other think the Russians are angels, and those who believe that they are angels but have black wings. My own classification is in the latter group rather than the former. I dread false solutions to problems, and I think it is possible that we can drift into that sort of situation. Please give my best regards to Mrs. Payson, and thanks again for your kind congratulations. Very sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey

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Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

New York Office January 23, 1947

Dr. Harold C. Urey University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Urey:

Since you are a man who undoubtedly feels an obligation to answer letters, I have been extraordinarily humane where you are concerned, in not sending you congratulations on your newest batch of honors while you were overseas, because you would probably then have had to sit down and push a pen. I have withheld doing so until you got back to the United States and could just tell Miss McCormick to write and thank Schaffner for his congratulations. Of one thing, however, I do want to assure you, that while I am suggesting that your thanks be perfunctory, my congratulations are far from that. I have forgotten whether it is Oxford or Cambridge that has the beautiful crimson gown and beret for its honorary doctors, but since after your Nobel prize and the various honors you have accumulated there can be relatively little satisfaction in a new one, I do want to express my hope that the addition to your wardrobe will be really decorative. You can see that even when I deal with scientists the Achilles heel of the clothing merchant will come out.

We are looking forward very much to having you here for the meetings beginning Thursday and extending through, probably, until dinner time on Sunday. The original proposal was that the Committee get off to some fairly remote place, in order to have a chance to think things through and reach some basic conclusions, and we thought of trying to do it perhaps in the west, where we would not be too subject to interruptions, but then, to everyone's amazement, Szilard having taken it for granted that Dr. Einstein would not want to be bothered to attend the meetings, Dr. Einstein said that he would like to participate in all of them.

There has been a terrific series of compromises to get these meetings together. We had been afraid that you might not get back as you had planned, because of airplane difficulties at this time of year, and everybody on the Committee wanted to set this meeting as late as possible in the month so that you would surely be able to attend. Then Szilard felt that it would be useful to devote one day to a consideration of what our national policy should be, and to invite a few outsiders to join us. That day is Friday. Not all of the persons invited have been able to accept, but those who are coming are as follows: Robert Lamb, Thomas Finletter, Henry Cabot, Robert Wilson. We have invited, but not heard from Philip Morrison and Robert Oppenheimer.

One real advance has taken place. After months of fiddling around and being unable to make up their minds how to qualify for tax-free money, a group of the boys got together weekend before last in Washington and put together the "Association of Scientists for Atomic Education." Minett, of Oak Ridge, who, in a simple, forthright way gets things done, has been made chairman, and his first desire was to meet with the Emergency Committee to talk plans and to dovetail their work as closely as possible. This will be a most helpful thing. We shall really have some clients to raise money for, outside of a vacuum and the National Committee, and the difficulties with which you had to deal that Saturday morning in New York will not have to arise to plague us in the future. I am sure that will be a great load off your mind.

The next thing I have to talk to you about is of a more personal nature. Saturday, the 8th of February, happens to be your old friend Selig Hecht's birthday. As you know, he is awfully fond of Celia, but he is being a terribly good soldier, and leaving her here to come out to Chicago to make a speech at the Quadrangle Club. It seemed to me that it would be very pleasant to get together some of the people who really care about him for dinner on the night of his birthday, and I thought we might make it a surprise. I am accordingly inviting you and Mrs. Urey to come to dinner on Saturday, February 8th, at 7:45, at my mother's, where I will be staying. Her name is Mrs. Joseph Schaffner, and the address is 4819 Greenwood Avenue. I hope that it will be possible for you to accept.

The repercussions of the Princeton luncheon have been many, and the promise for the future is substantial. Among those who were completely infected, and it appears to have been a virulent disease with those whom it took hold of, has been Mrs. Henrietta Durham of Berkeley, wife of a professor at the University of California, who gave us \$5,000 that day, and then offered to get together a committee to put on a similar luncheon in San Francisco. After a great deal of high level manoeuvering on her part, and without any help except by letter and long distance telephone from Oram and Mrs. Fry, she has gotten an absolutely top-flight committee. It consists, among others, of Palmer Fuller, President of the board of trustees of Stanford, and William Crocker, Crocker's First National Bank, and a lot of good, estimable Republicans, definitely of the right wing. They have undertaken to raise \$75,000 for this Committee. Like all Californians, they want to set the thing up in their own way and pretty well pick whom they want to have talk for them. The only member of the Committee whom they really care about, and have stipulated from the first should come, is yourself. They also want Morrison to

Dr. Harold C. Urey -3-January 23, 1947 talk about Hiroshima, and Linus Pauling, so as to tie all of California together. As you are in many ways the most generous member of the Committee with your time and effort, I am especially reluctant that this has to fall on you, but if Northern California is to go through and the \$75,000 is to be raised, you are the sine qua non. I hope that you won't find it too difficult to do. I simagine that you are buried under an accumulation of things and would like to sit in Chicago, bury your head in a laboratory, and not take it out for months. After consultation with your secretary while you were away, we found that she seemed to think that the 4th and the 11th of March were the best dates for you. They have selected the 11th. Will you let me know as quickly as possible that you can do it. The Chicago set-up seems to be moving along very well. We have got a powerhouse of a sponsoring committee, and the ratio of acceptances to regrets is far beyond what we expected, From a quality standpoint, as of last night, The percentage of those that one especially wanted to have is also much greater among the acceptances than among the regrets. You fellows certainly have got a hold on your community. I hope you have returned not too tired, and with some sense of stimulation and refreshment from your varied experience abroad. I likewise hope that we can learn from you clues as to how to deal successfully with foreign scholars. Sincerely. Joseph Halle Schaffner JHS:MEK

March 17, 1947

Professor Selig Hecht, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Selig:

As Mrs. Payson probably told you, I have been in difficulties in the last week in regard to my political activities. I got so that I was unable to sleep soundly, and hence got very tired and went to the doctor. During the war I was in this condition for a long time, and I just could not stand such a situation again. The doctors wanted to send me to Florida for a rest. I objected to this, saying that what I really needed was a rest for a while from everything else except my own scientific work, and so they compromised, saying that I might stay here in Chicago, give my university lectures, and look after some research, but said I should not take any part in any political activities here or elsewhere for six months. They put me in the hospital for two days and found nothing wrong at all, and by the weekend, with the phone shut off and no outside mail coming to my desk, I felt much better. The doctors did permit me to go to Indianapolis to deliver the Lilly Lecture; I went down one night, slept an hour, gave the lecture, and returned to Chicago that night. I did not feel too badly, but Saturday night did not sleep well again.

Before the Indianapolis trip I had been feeling so well that I was thinking I might get to California, on the 25th, but after Saturday night I have decided definitely against it. It seems to me that I shall just be forced to stay out of political business for some months, and avoid traveling. I am exceedingly sorry about this, because of the importance of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and the position which I have accepted in that group. I wish to assure you that if it seemed to me at all possible to carry the load without serious danger to my health, I would do so. I hope that you will explain this to anyone in the group who may inquire.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm cc: Mr. Schaffner March 17, 1947

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Joseph Halle Schaffner, B-Bar-H Ranch, Palm Springs, California

Dear Joe:

The enclosed letter to Selig Hecht will explain the difficulties I have gotten into, hence I need not repeat them.

I had a very pleasant luncheon with Edgar and Edith Stern in New Orleans. They mentioned nothing about putting on an affair in New Orleans, and I am afraid I was negligent in not bringing the subject up.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm Enclosure The Chapman Park

3401 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

As from B-Bar-H Ranch, Palm Springs, California, March 6, 1947.

Professor Harold Urey, Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Dear Harold:

A note from Mrs. Payson tells me that you had lunch with Edgar and Edith Stern in New Orleans, had a pleasant time and said that they had already sent in their contribution. It turned out as a matter of fact to be for \$4,500 against a pledge for \$4,000. I shall be enormously interested if you should find time to dictate to Miss McCormick a letter more in detail about what took place. Did they indicate any willingness to put on an affair in New Orleans and to take leadership in forming a sponsoring committee?

San Francisco seems well in hand and I shall write you about it within the next few days when I am at Palm Springs so as to give you the feel of it. They are certainly looking forward to your coming and feel deeply grateful to you.

I hope you are getting caught up a little and are not too tired.

With warm regards,

Since Rely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner.

Mr. Joseph H. Schaffner Emergency Cornition of Asomic Scientists 625 Medison Avenue New York, H.Y.

Dear Jos:

I have reed your confidential measurantum and it certainly is a clear statement of the position with the emperion of your prognosis of the financial situation. I present you painted it as black as possible by design. I think that the frustees should know that the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, and its predecessor organization the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists (unincorporated) has raised a larger hadget by voluntary contributions in the past year them any other non-sectarism public interest cause (as distinguished from charity) in the country. Between May 22, 1946 when the original Minestein telegram want out and May Mad of this year, a total of a little over \$510,000 in cash has been received, despite a period of three months, July, August and September sheat we were forced to mark time while the Committee was being organized as an incorporated group. I am thoroughly familiar with this field and I will give you same comparative figures.

United World Fodoralist - The three groups coalesced into the United World Federalist at the Asheville conference several months ago all tegether during the past year have raised a total sm of \$200,000.

raised something just about \$200,000 during the year 1946.

\$230,000. The Foreign Policy Association - They reised during 1946

less then 865,000 in 1946.

I cite these convertive figures merely to indicate the favorable postion the E.C.A.S. occupies before the public and to explasize the following feat:

public statement. This samely has ease in in response to a position them eight mentles are. Mine then owing to factors with which we are all familiar the shallisty of the members of the Cosmittee to aid in the fund raising has reached almont the vanishing point. And not statement of Purpose made public in Movember, 1256 and an interview with Professor Binstein published almost a year ago. This is morely a promable to the following: If the Commistee were to the a position and were to adopt a revise Statement of Purpose in commonance with the change of events I could guarantee. Pairing a very substantial are in short order. We have done nothing of consequence save mailings since the Porthing meeting. Obviously in any recognization of the Cosmittee there would have to be added personnal to do some of the opening which is essential. As

Cordinally,

Harold L. Orem

HLO:oh

CLASS OF SERVICE

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# WESTERN UNION

PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

1201

DL=Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

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Ship Radiogram

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SIA126 NL PD=SI NEWYORK NY 27

947 MAY 27 PM 8 24

DR HAROLD UREY=

INSTITUTE FOR NUCLEAR STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHGO=

COUNTING ON GETTING REPLY TO MY MEMORANDUM BY WEDNESDAY
AND LIKEWISE TIME WHEN MEETING IS TO BE CALLED ON MONDAY
IN ACCORDANCE WITH MY CONVERSATION WITH THORFIN TODAY=

JOSEPH HALLE SCHAFFNER.

Charge to the account of

		VICE DESIRED	Ï
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER	"M	URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	
desired; others transmit	vise t	ck class of ser the message will a a telegram or cablegram.	

## WESTERN UNION

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

COLLECT

May 28, 1947

1206

JOSEPH HALLE SCHAFFNER ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

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 PM. 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.

HAROLD C. UREY

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## WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS

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Ship Radiogram

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DR HAROLD C UREY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO=

INSTITUTE FOR NUCLEAR STUDIES=

RE NEXT TO LAST PARAGRAPH PAGE ONE MY MEMORANDUM MAY 23

1. UREY PHONED HUTCHINS IN NEW YORK SEEKING UNIVERSITY'S

UNDERWRITING COST OF CONFERENCE ESTIMATED AT \$4500. HUTCHINS

ENTHUSIASTIC AND SUGGESTED TWO FUNDS FROM WHICH COSTS COULD

BE MET.

- 2. ONE FUND HAS :ONLY \$800 ==
- 3. CHICAGO GROUP HAS ASSURANCE OF PRIVATE CONTRIBUTION OF \$500 ADDITIONAL IF REQUIRED.
- 4. REDFIELD AND HARRISON BROWN HAVE APPOINTMENT WITH WILLITS
  OF ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION TO SEE WHETHER THEY WILL BEAR COSTS
  OF CONFERENCE BUT CANNOT SEE HIM BEFORE JUNE 6.
- 5. CANNOT DEFER ARRANGEMENTS UNTIL AFTER THIS DATE.
- 6. THEY THEREFORE URGENTLY REQUEST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO UNDERWRITE COST TO EXTENT OF \$3000 IF ALL OTHER SOURCES FAIL.=

23:\$4500 2 \$800 3 \$500 4 6 5 6 \$3000.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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## WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS

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CAB 10/2=

1947 MAY 28 AM 7 43

- 7. DESPITE OUR OWN STRINGENT FINANCIAL CONDITION BELIEVE CONFERENCE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE THAT I SO RECOMMEND.
- PLEASE WIRE COLLECT IMMEDIATE REPLY AUTHORIZING THREE N
  MAN QUORUM AT MEETING BEING CALLED FOR NEXT MONDAY IN CHICAGO
  TO TAKE THIS ACTION AND AUTHORIZE ME TO NOTIFY CHICAGO OF
  YOUR APPROVAL SO PLAN CAN GO FORWARD IMMEDIATELY. TIME
  VERY LIMITED FOR PREPARATIONS OF CONFERENCE=
  JOSEPH HALLE SCHAFFNER.

## EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees

ALBERT EINSTEIN Chairman

HAROLD C. UREY Vice-Chairman

HANS A. BETHE

T. R. HOGNESS

PHILIP M. MORSE

LINUS PAULING

LEO SZILARD

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HAROLD C. UREY Vice-President

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MICHAEL STRAIGHT Secretary

LILY PAYSON

Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

New York Office 29 May 1947 New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

Dr. Harold C. Urey, Vice-Chairman
Emergency Committee of Atomic
Scientists, Incorporated
Institute for Nuclear Studies
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Harold:

For the information and guidance of the three trustees meeting in Chicago next Monday afternoon I enclose herewith copies of the telegrams received in reply to my memorandum.

As you can see, six of the eight trustees gave unconditional approval of all proposals made in my memorandum. This includes Thorfin Hogness who gave whole hearted approval in a long distance conversation May 27th and who promised to confirm it in writing or by wire within the next day or two. Szilard's two telegrams speak for themselves and represent a dissent. Your own telegram indicates that you believe some discretion should be left to the three members meeting in Chicago.

In view of the fact that Thorfin's telegram has not yet been received I will quote from his long distance conversation:

JHS How did you feel about my memorandum?

TH I thought it was swell. I agree with you completely.

JHS Lee Szilard is in violent dissent. Doesn't want to hold a meeting on which action is taken ahead of time. (Mr. Schaffner then read him Dr. Weisskopf's reply.)

TH It is a swell memorandum. You are to be complimented on it.

JHS Our friend Leo doesn't think so. Tell Harold to get a wire off to me this morning answering the four questions and in addition giving me the time of the meeting...

It is not for me to decide how much discretion you take at this meeting to vary the program on which six of the eight members of the Committee have already expressed themselves as favoring. That is entirely between you and your co-trustees. It has always been my understanding in the past that because of the difficulty in getting a full meeting of the Board quickly the trustees would be polled on various matters and then a quorum of three would get together to put through the action. If you feel that you can take action at variance with the telegraphic replies of the other six without communicating with them it is up to you. You are a fully constituted trustees meeting. You have the legal power that a fully attended trustees meeting has to do any of the things referred to in the notice of meeting. In a special meeting you are limited to do only those things. But I believe the question is a purely moral one between co-trustees, and not a legal one.

Second, you received a copy of my telegram of May 27th with regard to the allocation of \$3,000 for underwriting the Lake Geneva conference. I assume that the Chicago group will receive the allocation as the agent calling this conference, and I enclose herewith copies of the replies received to date. (Since your own telegram above includes both matters as well as Thorfin's approval of the latter I am not including it the second time.)

As you will see, the approval is unanimous, and the only limitation is Bethe's who approves of the grant on the condition that "ASAE generally invited." How one would interpret the word "generally" I don't know. I assume that Bethe does not mean that all members of the ASAE should be invited but that a fair proportion of the scientists invited should be ASAE members.

I hope you will have a pleasant and successful meeting on Monday. Lily Payson will attend and act as secretary of the meeting.

I don't know that there is anything I can answer for you by long distance telephone. You may call me, of course, as you indicated you might, but I feel bound by my recommendations, and the question of how much discretion you take is really for you to decide.

As I told you this morning, I will be available, either at Eldorado 5-0904 or Plaza 8-0254, or at my new home where the telephone number is Plaza 5-3591. We are moving today from 993 Fifth Avenue to 3 Riverview Terrace, New York 22.

I might also state to you that we are spending weekends in the country now and my telephone number there is Bedford Village (N.Y.) 7070. We are going there Friday morning and will stay until early Monday morning. After my daughter's school is over on the 12th or 13th of June we shall be living there pretty much although I may occasionally spend a night in town. I hope to leave for the west some time in July.

Your meeting which begins at 4 o'clock Chicago time is of course 5 in New York and I would normally be leaving my office not very long afterwards. However, each office will know where I am unless it gets to be after 6 o'clock, New York time, when they will probably close and then I shall be at home.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Halle Schaffner

JHS/h Enclosures

#### ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTISTS FOR ATOMIC EDUCATION Post Office Box 1251 Oak Ridge, Tennessee

June 4, 1947

Mr. Joseph H. Schaffner Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists Room 523, 625 Madison Avenue New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Schaffner:

A letter very similar to this one was sent to Urey for consideration at the meeting which was held on June 2. I am enclosing a number of copies for distribution among the other members of the Emergency Committee in the event you think there is any point to such distribution.

At the fourth meeting of the Directors of the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"We recognize that our present program is not in all respects adequate, yet we recognize too that it is essential to provide the public with the facts necessary for individual thinking and to raise the questions which are currently pertinent to the solution of the atomic energy control problem whether or not we believe we can offer solution to the problem itself.

"It is the conviction of the Board of Directors that:

- 1. Presenting background material to leaders in this country and throughout the world and provoking thoughtful discussion is just as essential now as it ever was to constructive thinking toward atomic energy control; and that
- Atomic energy control is one necessary step toward the attainment of world peace.

"In view of these beliefs and in view of the feeling of the Board that the present program of the ASAE is not precipitating a movement toward preventive war:

"Be it resolved that the Board of Directors move in a forward direction by formulating and presenting to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists a program of action resulting in

a. Continuation of the education of social leaders by the regional and

local groups in the Association.

b. Continuation of the program for a series of conferences between social leaders and community leaders on a statewide and local level. Further alternative courses of action will become apparent and will be developed as a result of these conferences.

c. Eventual formation of an International Information Center to carry on and expand the work of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence."

Because sufficient money is not now available for such a program of action, it was further resolved that the Emergency Committee be requested to raise the funds necessary for the pursuance of such work.

In view of the general decline in activity during the summer months, each of the Regional Councils has been asked to cut expenditures to the absolute minimum for June, July, August and September and will carry on only those programs for which commitments have already been made and such other activities as may be necessary to keep the organization operating until the fall revival.

In order to acquaint you with the present financial position of the ASAE and to enable you to evaluate the expenditures proposed for the next four months, I have prepared the statements attached to this letter. The \$2,567.35 must be held by the ASAE to provide for unforeseen contingencies, and should not be used for running expenses during the summer.

In addition to the funds required by the various ASAE groups, I have been directed to request an additional sum of \$600.00 for use by the ASAE in effectuating the specific program proposed by Fhilip Kennedy, the Oak Ridge High School teacher who sponsored the Youth Council on the Atomic Crisis and who has been devoting all of his time and energy to these problems. A copy of Mr. Kennedy's proposal is also attached.

An early reply to this letter, informing us of any action taken by the Emergency Committee, would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

James Estangly

James G. Stangby

Treasurer

Attachments

### ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTISTS FOR ATOMIC EDUCATION

Minimum Monthly Requirements for June, July, August and September
Atlantic Regional Council
Cash Position as of May 31, 1947
Cash on Hand
National Office
Total \$9,567.63
Obligations
National Office
Miscellaneous 200.00
Committee for Foreign Correspondence
Northern California ASAC
Southern Regional Council
Total \$7,000.28
Balance

Initial Plan of Summer Projects to be Undertaken by P. E. Kennedy Under Sponsorship of Association of Scientists for Atomic Education

#### OBJECTIVES

- To cause as many teachers colleges as possible to include specific instruction in the social implications of atomic energy as part of their courses of study to be followed by all prospective teachers now in training.
- Through the teachers colleges to reach as great a number as may be possible of experienced teachers who will enroll for summer courses and who will return to teach in the secondary schools next year.
- 3. Directly and indirectly to reach superientendents and secondary school principals in the towns worked.

#### METHODS

- 1. Presentation and discussion of ASCD resolutions.
- Presentation and discussion of University of Illinois Resource Unit.
- 3. Discussion of problems:
  - a. What the schools have done about it.
  - b. What needs to be done.
  - c. How it can be done.
- 4. Direct contact, interviews with school officials.
- 5. Distribution of literature.
- 6. Demonstration of audio-visual aids.

#### MATERIALS

- 1. Publications of ASCD and of NEA.
- 2. Atomic Energy publications -- NCAI, Atomic Scientists, YCAC.
- 3. Audio-visual aids:
  - a. Encyclopedia Britannica film "Atomic Energy".
  - b. March of Time-forum edition.
  - c. "One World or None",
  - d. Keystone View Slides.
  - e. Llewellen Club Production Recordings.

#### POSSIBLE APPROACHES:

- Introductory letter mailed to teachers colleges by Gertrude Hankamp, ASCD.
- 2. Edgar Johnson, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.
- 3. Marren Seyfert, Director, University of Chicago Demonstration School.
- 4. Harold C. Hand, University of Illinois.

#### PLANS

Since what may be done will in some measure depend upon the type of transporation available and its amount, three possible courses are outlined below. I think it likely that if my approach to the colleges can be through an introductory letter from the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development that the schools will contribute to the expense of the operation. This might extend the range of operations somewhat.

#### I. Transportation by car;

If I go by car, I hope to be able to take Dee Chambliss to discuss the NCAC, to operate the projector, to talk with classes in summer demonstration schools, and to help with the driving.

- A. Mechanical aids:
  16 mm projector
  lantern slide projector
  appropriate films and slides
  approrpiate recordings
- B. Literature: Resource units, classroom project units, study outlines, appropriate magazines and pamphlets.

#### II. Transporation by Bus or Train:

I shall follow above plan, except that I shall not be able to carry audio-visual aids equipment, except, perhaps the films. The amount of literature I shall be able to carry will be limited. (Will need someone to collect and mail material to me enroute.) I can plan an itinerary that will let me use Fairmont, W. Va., State College Pennsylvania, Irvine Kentucky, and Oak Ridge as miling points and bases of operation for short trips by bus.

#### III. Operation limited to Oak Ridge:

In this event I shall write at least one, perhaps as many as three articles for national educational journals. I have on hand invitations for two articles which I have not yet had time to write.

I shall mail, with a carrying letter, reprints of an article on YCAC to the deans of instruction of any teachers colleges as possible. Supplementing this mailing with copies of the H.C. Hand Unit, "Education for the Atomic Age".

I shall follow up the questionnaire study which I made earlier in the year by mailing the results to the superientendents questions.

5 East 57th Street New York 22, New York

June 11, 1947

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

Dr. T. R. Hogness Department of Chemistry University of Chicago Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Harold and Thorfin:

Your very heartwarming telegram, which I deeply prize, reached me only this morning, with the enclosed note from Miss Dukas.

I have not seen Dr. Szilard since he came east. Last Friday, either just before or just after lunch, he phoned me and said he understood from Mrs. Payson that I was not planning to be in Princeton, and I told him no, that I had not been invited and had not thought I was wanted at this session; that Mrs. Payson would be available to go there and act as secretary for the meeting. He said he had not actually determined whether there would be a formal meeting as yet and that they would simply adjourn for lack of a quorum if they decided not to have the meeting on Sunday and he had told her he would let her know on Saturday whether she would be needed. He said - Why don't you come? I told him that it was now too late since I was leaving town on a 4:50 train and would not be back until Sunday night or Monday morning and would be tied up at a directors meeting in New York most of Monday.

As it turned out, Mrs. Payson, not having heard from him, called him from Philadelphia around eight o'clock Saturday evening, and he called her back at about quarter of ten in Philadelphia and told her she need not come to Princeton on Sunday.

He has been here this week, and the girls in the office have been kept very busy preparing various papers which he has given them. The only ones I have seen or have knowledge of are the letter of June ninth addressed to you, Harold, and the two enclosures. I understand from Mrs. Payson that Dr. Szilard acted as secretary of the meeting, and the minutes and resolutions will therefore come to us from him. The minutes will in due course be circulated, I am sure. I therefore have no more knowledge of what took place at the meeting than you do, but I do appreciate very much your kindness and

Dr. Harold C. Urey -2-June 11, 1947 Dr. T. R. Hogness thoughtfulness in sending me the wire that you did. There are certain things that come to a man in life that he treasures, and I shall preserve your telegram in my "flowers for the living" file. I really prize it deeply. I am leaving for Chicago on Monday night and will be at my mother's on Tuesday, going to Lake Geneva on Wednesday morning. Sincerely yours, Joseph Halle Schaffner JHS/w

### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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

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SELIG HECHT Hon. Vice-Chairman

JOSEPH H. SCHAFFNER Executive Director and Treasurer

MICHAEL STRAIGHT Secretary

LILY PAYSON

Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

July 3, 1947

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

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

Dear Harold:

As you will remember, when the Emergency Committee decided to yield to Lily Payson's plea that she be allowed to resign as Assistant Secretary and Treasurer and to permit her to return to the joys of mother-hood and married life, she offered to remain on until the audit of the fiscal year was completed and to stay until such time as Minett and her successor were ready to take over and the business prior to June thirtieth was cleaned up. This will presumably keep her busy until some time in August.

You offered a very beautiful resolution of appreciation which accepted her resignation with regret, to take effect I suppose at a time deemed convenient by Philip Morse as Acting Executive Director, and provided that out of gratitude for her services and her remaining on for the convenience of the Committee she be given two months' terminal pay. You likewise said that you would put that resolution in writing. Since Lily ordinarily has to draft the detailed phrasing of the resolutions, this is one which she should not have to do, and I am sure that coming in your handwriting it will not get into the files of the Committee. She will probably abstract it and keep it in her "flowers for the living" file.

I am simply trying to remind you of the facts that you had covered and not of your phrasing. That I shouldn't attempt to equal. I know few people who deserve the gratitude of the Committee more than she does or who have made a greater contribution.

If you could send this in within the next few days, it would be helpful because she is trying to get the minutes out quickly.

I hope the trip to Tulsa wasn't too strenuous and you are back rested and refreshed.

Jøseph Halle Schaffner

JHS/w

May 4, 1948 Mrs. Sara H. Schaffner. 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois Dear Mrs. Schaffner: I was very touched by your letter to me of April 6 donating to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists 6 shares of stock. The letter has come to me only recently, but I hasten to tell you how much we appreciate your confidence in us. I also hope very much that we will see each other often now that we are neighbors. Mrs. Urey and I enjoyed the last dinner at your house very much indeed, and find it very pleasant to be only a half block away from Mrs. Schaffner. Very sincerely yours, Harold C. Urey HCU/lm

4819 Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois

April 6, 1948

Dr. Harold C. Urey Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated 118 Nassau Street Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Urey:

Your letter of April first with its enclosure is one to which I cannot be unresponsive. Freedom of speech and freedom of research, the liberty of the individual and the free progress of science are causes to which all good citizens must be dedicated. I am very happy to make a contribution to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, earmarked for the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, as you suggest. I regret I shall not be in New York and cannot attend the dinner.

By this letter I give to the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Incorporated, for this purpose six shares of The M. A. Hanna Company common stock at \$82. a share. (This closed last night according to the Wall Street Journal at 80 bid, 84 asked.) By a letter to Mr. W. S. Davis, Assistant Secretary, First National Bank of Chicago, which holds these securities in a custody account for me, a copy of which letter is enclosed, I have instructed him to deliver these shares to the Emergency Committee at 118 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

I cannot close without telling you how much pleasure it gave me to have you and Mrs. Urey at dinner on Sunday, and I hope that it is the first of many occasions at which I shall have that pleasure. In my view 4819 Greenwood Avenue has become increasingly valuable through having acquired such nice neighbors.

Sincerely yours, Sara H. Schaffner

Sara H. Schaffner

Argonne National Laboratory P. O. Box 5207 Chicago 80, Illinois

October 4, 1946

Dear Mr. Schaffner:

I am sending this memo to outline in more detail the proposals which we discussed in a meeting of a few representatives of the Emergency Committee and of the Federation of American Scientists on September 23, 1946.

The meeting was attended by Mr. Feld, Mr. Szilard, Mr. Rush, Mr. Oram, Mrs. Fry, you, and myself. It was our understanding that the meeting was arranged:

- 1. To clarify the probable move on the part of the Federation to become an educational, and hence, a tax-free organization.
- 2. To clarify methods whereby member organizations of the Federation may aid in fund raising with the Emergency Committee, and in cases where organizations have fund raising programs under way, to clarify the position which their programs would have with respect to the Emergency Committee's program.
- 3. To clarify procedures whereby the central office of the Federation of American Scientists can be assured of having a minimum budget each year in order to carry on its activities.
- 4. To clarify procedures whereby the Emergency Committee of the Atomic Scientists will receive acceptable budgets from the individual organizations year by year.

With respect to the Federation of American Scientists' change of status, the following can be said. At the Council meeting, it was decided to form two organizations without stating in detail the nature of these organizations other than that one will be educational and the other political. The discussion in the meeting, however, leaned very heavily toward accepting the Federation of American Scientists as the educational group and the formation of the new organization as the political group. This group could presumably be rather small, represented by one observer, perhaps in Washington. (It has since been pointed out that even an observer in the Washington area can come under the educational program of the organizations.) It seems clear that most individual organizations throughout the country will become members of the tax-free organization. The group at Chicago is carefully studying the position of the Atomic Scientists of Chicago as to the possible forms of organization which it may adopt and yet remain effective. Their shift in structure in the near future may set a precedent for other organizations in the country. We are at present working with lawyers and plan on making a direct appeal to Washington for an early tax-free ruling, if this seems appropriate.

With respect to the second point, it is my understanding that an extensive campaign and an intensive campaign for funds will be started by Mr. Oram. The extensive one is composed of a mailing campaign and telegram campaign

throughout the United States. The intensive campaign is designed to move from city to city canvassing the important people of each area who may be able to contribute funds. The scientific organizations will share in this latter program by providing speakers and other manpower to assure the success of the program. It is my understanding that Mr. Oram, several weeks before such a program would get under way, would come to the area to be canvassed and discuss the problems and the necessary organization problems with the local group concerned. It is pointed out by Mr. Oram that the canvassing technique employed will not in any way damage any given area for future yearly canvassing by the scientists or other groups working with them, so that we may expect continual reception of funds year by year.

It is further my understanding that the returns from fund-raising campaigns will go directly to the Emergency Committee treasury and will be disbursed by periodic checks to cover budgets of the individual organizations. This will be discussed later.

Thirdly, it is most likely that a fixed budget for the central office and staff will be approved by the Council of the Federation of American Scientists and submitted to the Emergency Committee at an early date. This does not appear to be a serious problem.

It is essential that the individual organization, the Council of the Federation, and the Emergency Committee agree on budgets against which funds are to be raised. The method of working out such an agreement periodically is important and should be discussed in detail. Criteria must be established to determine the type of budget and the expenditures for activities which each association could most probably handle in any given six months or twelve months period. It has been suggested: (1) that a write-up be made, outlining all the past twelve months' activities of the given association; (2) a write-up of the program of education which the group seriously plans to carry forth for the next twelve months be made; (3) to establish a definite budget for the association, in considerable detail under two headings, the first being the staff, and the second being the program.

The criteria which appear evident for establishing the budgets of individual associations will be: (a) the past performance of the organization and its ability to organize and handle programs of considerable magnitude; (b) the desire to share in the fund-raising campaign of the Emergency Committee while the Emergency Committee is in its particular area; (c) the potential ability of the organization to carry forth a program (by this I mean the ability of the organization to hold the interest of its members and utilize the spare time of the members in contributing to the over-all effort); (d) the approval of the Council of the FAS on the programs desired throughout the United States. These criteria can be more clearly defined at a later date.

It must be pointed out clearly that this note I am sending to you will in no way state the official policy of any individual organization or the FAS, but rather it is a first attempt to try and clarify the positions and procedures by which the organization will receive funds and cooperate with the Emergency Committee.

I am sending copies of this letter to Messrs. Hogness, Higinbotham, Rush, Wilson, and Szilard. I hope that we may pursue these discussions at an early date and that we will soon hear from Mr. Oram as to what his plans may be for the late fall and winter program.

(signed) John A. Simpson

#### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS URBANA

April 15, 1955

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

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of April 13th concerning the issue of the use of atomic bombs in the event of an outbreak in China. Like everyone else I have worried about this issue through the years and no longer feel that I would be willing to take a strong stand against such use. A decision of our government to declare openly that it would not use fission weapons first would seem to me to be very poor strategy because it would give the Communists another great advantage of decision. Moreover, the issue, who uses such weapons first becomes academic if we must be so well prepared that the delay in such use is only a matter of hours after they have been used against us.

To summarize, I am definitely not in favor of rejuvenating the Emergency Committee on this particular issue.

Best regards,

Frederick Seitz

FS:ra

Hope to see you in Woshington next week.

December 15, 1947

Miss Margaret Snyder, 508 Sixteenth Street, Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Snyder:

Your letter of December 13 has been received during Dr. Urey's absence from Chicago on a trip abroad. I regret that he is not expected to return to the United States until the last week of this month, and so it will not be possible for him to arrange to see you during your Holiday.

I shall be glad to call your letter to Dr. Urey's personal attention when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille McCormick Secretary to Harold C. Urey

### UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

## EXTENSION DIVISION CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

SPECIAL PROJECTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

December 13, 1947

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

Dear Dr. Urey:

Two weeks ago today I wrote and mailed to Dr. Einstein a letter proposing certain action in behalf of more effective education on the issues now confronting us in world relationships. My letter has had no reply, and I can readily understand how it might have been lost in the piles of mail which go to Dr. Einstein. A group of friends here who share my concern in this matter have urged that I repeat the proposal to you, as a member of the Emergency Committee for Atomic Scientists.

Briefly, it is that your Committee give careful consideration to the possibilities of using two people on the staff of this Extension Division to formulate and direct a program of adult education on the issues of atomic energy. The two persons whom I have in mind are Jean and Jess Ogden, a husband-and-wife team who have been on the staff here since 1939, and have developed some really remarkable methods for bringing together small groups of adults to study community problems and carry through programs for solving those problems. I believe that the methods they have developed could be adapted and expanded into a genuinely significant program of education-and-action in the field of the atomic issues and world government.

My thought is that the Ogdens might draw together a small staff to formulate the details of such a program, and then give intensive training to sucdessive small groups of persons already experienced in the general field of adult education for community leadership, and send them out to work in the country at large. The Ogdens know virtually everybody in the adult-education field, and are greatly respected and loved by the people in that field; they would be well able to draw together such a staff and group of workers as would be needed -- or at any rate, such as would be possible. I am of the considered opinion that your committee could find no better way of working than to sponsor this sort of education-by-radiation, if I may use a scientific term somewhat unscientifically.

I have worked with the Ogdens for more than two years and am impressed beyond all else by the quality of the wholeness of the response they evoke in the adults whom they undertake to 'educate.' And that is the kind of response which Dr. Einstein's recent Atlantic article suggests you are seeking: "The atomic scientists . . . have become convinced that they cannot arouse the American people to the truths of the atomic era by logic alone. There must be added that deep power of emotion which is a basic ingredient of religion."

There are other persons, or teams, here and there, that are doing much the same kind of education-for-social-decision that the Ogdens are doing. Among them are the Committee for Kentucky, which has developed remarkable methods for finding and enlarging areas of agreement in matters of social decision. I would think that one or more persons of that Committee might be drawn into the training staff I have suggested. Another source of personnel might be in Michigan, where Howard McCluskey, and the Overtons, are doing fine work in educating for creative leadership. I conceive it as possible that Paul Sears, ecologist, of Oberlin College, might also be valuable to the staff. . . . I know none of these persons directly but hear such things of their work as embolden me to make these suggestions. They would all, I think, work well with the Ogdens.

These are only the people who happen to come within the scope of my limited knowledge. There may very well be many other persons working in the fields of adult education and/or sociology who have comparable, or even larger, abilities in education for social action. The important point of this letter is, believe, the suggestion that workers in the social sciences be drawn into the effort to establish adequate social control over problems intensified by the workers in the physical sciences. I would be glad to do all within my power to put at your disposal such materials as can offer for the consideration of this idea.

You may ask why the Ogdens are not already at work on this job of atomic education. The answer is, I think, three-fold. Their own first response would be, as 1 have learned, that they feeld their field of work is with the local community. The second, I feel pretty sure, is that they have only very recently emerged from the year-long strain of a lingering death in the family (Jean's mother suffered from cancer) that has absorbed so much of their energies that they have had no margin for fresh thinking beyond their immediate jobs. The third lies in the administrative problems of our Division. Our director, George B. Zehmer, returned in October from a year's leave; in that same month the University inaugurated a new president, Colgate W. Darden, Jr., formerly governor of Virginia. The press of administrative detail has as yet prevented our new president from discussing our Division's program, though he has made numerous public statements indicating his strong interest in enlarging the University's program of adult education. I incline to think that if some such program as I have suggested were presented to him by a body with the authority of your 6ommittee, he would give it very sympathetic attention, and might very well be persuaded to release the Ogdens to work in it. With that kind of approval I am certain Mr. Zehmer would welcome the idea. And I feel cuite sure that the Ogdens could not refuse a challenge that came in that sort of way.

My own part in this is merely to lay the idea before you for consideration. I am working as I can, outside my jab requirements, with a local group affiliated with the United World ederalists. My particular skills have to do with what is called in the current jargon "research translation," or "letting the people know in such a way as to make them care," through printed materials. As part of that job I managed last winter to get approval for a series of newspaper articles, "You and the Atomic Age," which were printed in about a third of Virginia's newspapers. I have been unable to focus our Division's attention on any undertaking in the way of peace education this year, partly because of the administrative suspense which I have suggested above. It would be unwise, I believe, for my name to appear in any presentations you might decide to make to University administration: the hierarchic pattern here is quite definite and my place therein does not entitle me to make policy suggestions. Infeel, indeed, that response to any proposal for the Use of University staff in an atomic-education

would be more favorable if the proposal came from your committee rather than from any source within the University. The reasons for this judgment might be labeled political, and of course my estimate may easily be in error.

This may be of practical interest: the Ogdens are on a nine-months basis: whatever summer work they undertake is separate from their year's program. This suggests that they might be released for part-time work, in conferences and planning, while they continue to carry through the skeleton of their present program, then turn their full energies to the atomic-aducation program for the summer.

Should you wish to discuss this whole matter with me I have these two suggestions to offer as to how such a conference could be managed. First, I could take some of my Christmas holiday time to meet you, either in Chicago or washington. My present plan is to leave Charlottesville on December 20 for a week in Toledo. If you wished me to go to Chicago I could do so from Toledo; it could even be possible that I might take a little additional time for such a trip. (My Toledo address will be Box 201, R.R. 11, care of Carroll Cone; telephone Jordan 4985.) Or I could go to Washington for a day or two of the week after my return on December 29; I could charge such a day or two to my 'vacation' time. Incould make a week-end - Saturday afternoon to Monday morning - trip to Washington almost any time after Christmas, so far as I now see.

I feel a certain presumption in my attempting to advise so eminent a group as the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. My decision to act upon this — hunch, I think it would have to be called — was based largely upon the strong effect that the final sentence of the Einstein-Swing article has upon me. The whole analysis of that article is so fine, so mastered, and then in the end the first mind of our generation can find no stronger word than "It is to be hoped . . . " with the trailing piety of traditional forms of leadership. It is as sharp an indication as I have seen of the confused and tragic imbalance of our science — so far in physics, so limited in sociology. It is because I really believe that our little part of the Extension Division staff has some inklings of a wider science of social decision that I thrust myself thus upon your notice.

And because the pressure of catastrophe is so imminent that I cannot quiet my own conscience except by acting to the limit of whatever insight I can achieve.

Perhaps I should add that I saw Mr. Glasheen of NCAL in September and suged him to consult the auged him to consult the Oadens; he said he would but has made no more to do so.

Margaret Snyder
Margaret Snyder
Please address me at
508 Systeenth Street
Charlottesville, Virginia

## COPY HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

Percy S. Straus, Jr. Attorney At Law Esperson Building Houston, Texas

Mr. Harold L. Oram Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists 90 Nassau Street Princeton, New Jersey

March 13, 1947

Dear Harold:

I am very much perturbed by the way things are turning out here. It doesn't look as though Mr. Hanszen is going to cooperate with us. The reasons he gives are that Rice is inaugurating a new president, building new buildings and the Board is so tied up and busy that they have no time for outside activities. However, in view of the fact that Dr. Compton is coming down here for Dr. Houston's inauguration, and also that Dr. Conant who was down here said, in the course of his speech to the Harvard Club, that the time has not yet come for the civilians to participate in atomic knowledge to any great extent, I wonder if the reasons given by Mr. Hanszen are really the true reasons.

Conant dismissed the idea of atomic power in anything like the near future and didn't even mention the medical progress that can be made by its bi-products. He stated that he didn't think that the Russians would be in a position to manufacture the bombs in the next five to ten years, probably ten, that in the meanwhile, he was in favor of the so-called "get tough" policy. Mr. Hanszen was present at that dinner as he also is a Harvard graduate. That being the case, he may have interpreted the committee as being opposed to the views of Conant.

I am not sure whether that is a fact, he may be telling the exact truth when he says he is too busy. The Institute is doing all the things he says they are doing. Furthermore, he states that he will write Dr. Urey and until he has written Dr. Urey, he hasn't made his final decision and thereby forecloses me from attempting to contact any other group. He admitted that Dr. Pauling was very close to Dr. Houston. Apparently they are on very good terms. I don't know how much freedom Dr. Houston has.

All these things pose problems which are at this point slightly beyond me. If we don't go to Rice, I am not quite sure where we could go. There is an Anderson Foundation down here but they do not have any buildings and plants where a dinner of this sort could be held and I am not sure that they are the right sort of organization to put this sort of thing over. They are a research organization and a foundation which gives money to hospitals, medical schools and finance the research along various lines. I understand that they are now working with funguses, but their principal job is cancer research. Whether such a group would be the proper ones to go to if and when Rice definitely makes up its mind, I am not sure.

We have a Houston University but it is definitely third rate and very local and I doubt if it would be a fit organization. In fact, if we don't get Rice, we will probably have to make up our own committee, hire our own hall and the project would be set back a great deal. I am absolutely convinced that they are by far the best group that could possibly put the thing over in this area. A. & M. is too far away and Texas University is, of course, in Austin and as far as I can see, there is absolutely nothing else that one can do. If you ar any of the scientists have any new ideas, I would certainly be glad to get them because I am pretty at a loss.

much

Mr. Harold L. Oram

-2- March 13, 1947

The reason you haven't heard from me is because I have been waiting for Mr. Hanszen to break his silence. When he did break it, it didn't sound too good for our cause. I did persuade him to give the question further consideration. Just how much that means, I do not know.

Best from

Percy

PSSjr:asf

Prof. Albert Einstein 112 Mercer St. Princeton, N. J. Dear Prof. Einstein: Following the meeting which Dr. Urey and I had in your house I spent the week, as I said I would, looking into the questions connected with the operation of the "Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists." In New York I met Mr. Melcher and Father Conway of the National Committee on Atomic Information in Mr. Oram's office. I told Mr. Melcher that when he talked with me over the telephone and when I agreed that my name be used in connection with an appeal for funds to be made by the National Committee on Atomic Information, I was merely agreeing to serve on a Committee sponsoring an appeal made by the National Committee. Participating in a committee, "The Emergency Committee on Atomic Information," which makes an appeal in its own name and collects funds, involves responsibilities, both moral and legal which I am not able to take on unless the Committee is formalized and its relationships with other organizations is clearly defined. It was Mr. Oram's view that it would be very difficult to raise money for the National Committee of Atomic Information if the plea were made directly by that organization and your group would merely sponsor that plea. Mr. Oram thought that if the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists actually existed as a working organization, it would have a good chance of raising fairly large funds. With this possibility in view I had repeated conversations with Michael Straight, Professor Hecht of Columbia University, and Joe Schaffner in the hope that two out of the three might be

willing to serve as officers if the group should decide to formalize the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and continue as a fund raising organization. Mr. Joe Schaffner was recommended in the capacity of Treasurer, both by Professor Hecht and Beardsley Ruml.

Naturally, if such an organization is incorporated and is built up in a fund raising drive before the American Public, it will have both moral and material responsibilities. It is my personal view that, apart from having certain well defined commitments with respect to the National Committee of Atomic Information and possibly also A the Federation of American Scientists, it should be its own responsibility to decide how funds entrusted to it might be best used. If the organization is incorporated it will have meetings at regular intervals and the best use of the funds which might be entrusted to it would be the natural topic of discussion at such meetings. As a matter of fact, I can see how such meetings held at regular intervals might lead to a clarification of our own thought and how the results of our deliberations, provided we take sufficient time in our discussions to thrash out controversial issues, might be of some general value. If we are lucky, out of such discussions there might emerge some real contribution toward the solution of the problem around which all this activity revolves, namely, the abolition of war.

There would be of course no objection to giving the National Committee of Atomic Information an assurance that your group would not make any donations to other organizations as long as the National Committee has not received the amount corresponding to the goal of the present fund raising drive as specified by the arrangement which the National Committee made with Mr. Oram. This amounts to \$160,000 or perhaps \$200,000, and the larger amount might perhaps also take care of the immediate needs of the Federation of American Scientists.

Otherwise, however, if the appeal is made by your group in the manner in which the campaign has hitherto been conducted, your group ought to be free to decide according to its own conscience when and in what form to appeal for funds and what the best use of those funds may be which are not earmarked. My feeling is that even if your group were formalized and incorporated, I would rather not be part of it if it is expected to act as a dummy, that is if it cannot exercise any judgment, for in those circumstances I do not believe that your group can discharge its responsibilities which are implied in appealing for funds in its own name.

These are of course only my own personal views and no one else is bound by them. In presenting them yesterday to members of the National Committee of Atomic Information I made this fact clear to all those concerned.

Having stayed away from Chicago for more than a week in place of just the week end as originally intended, I find that I have to return now and will be unable to do anything further about this matter for the time being. Yesterday the National Committee on Atomic Information thought perhaps of proceeding to call a meeting of your group, of officers of the National Committee and of the Federation of American Scientists. I do not know whether this plan will go through but the procedure is so complicated that I personally would rather not become involved in it.

I hope that it will be possible to reach a clarification of the relationship of your group in discussions with the officers of the National Committee and that it will not be necessary to resort to the cumbersome process of calling the meeting mentioned above. If the result of these discussions is consistent with the general views presented in this memorandum I should be glad to serve on a properly formalized committee and to actively participate as much as circumstances permit.

Sincerely, Lard

To: Condon, Bethe, Bacher, Weisskopf, Hogness and Urey

Dear Urey:

As you probably remember, some time ago you were approached by Mr.

Melcher asking to lend your name to a fund-raising drive aimed at \$200,000 for
the benefit of the National Committee on Atomic Information in which the

Federation of American Scientists was also supposed to be included in one way
or another. I originally understood that we were supposed to act as sponsors
for a fund-raising drive carried out in the name of the National Committee and
discovered only rather late that the fund raising was carried out under the name
of Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists with Mr. Rinstein Chairman and the
rest of us as members of the committee. The committee maintained an office in
Princeton and accepted checks which were deposited in a bank account carried
in its own name.

Urey, Einstein and I had repeatedly discussed this matter and came to the conclusion that if the fund raising is carried out in our name and if the committee operates as it did by having an independent office in Princeton and actually accepts checks, we had better formalize this kind of operation. Only if this group is incorporated and has responsible officers can it function satisfactorily and can the legal requirements be properly met. Selig Hecht in New York offered to help us with this matter, and he brought into the picture an old friend of his, Joseph Shaffner, (formerly Director of Hart, Shaffner and Marx) who worked during the war for the State Department and has at present some free time, being meinly occupied by being executor of some large estates. Shaffner, with the help of a reputable law firm, made all the

The document which was drawn up proposes to name as trustees the same people whose names were hitherto used in connection with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, and one purpose of this letter is to advise you to this fact and so ask you whether or not you are willing to accept your nomination as a trustee. Your acceptance is essential if the fund-raising machinery (which had been halted by us as soon as we realized the need for incorporation) is to be given the green light to continue its operations.

In the past, the fund raising was carried out by Mr. Oram under contract with the National Committee, and I understand that there are 50,000 addressed envelopes ready for mailing. Mr. Oram, who has to keep his machinery running, (he had his machinery running empty for four to six weeks) is naturally anxious to continue. Having cooperated with the March of Time (who I understand prepared a rather good release on atomic energy which will be turned loose at different times in different parts of the country starting August 6th) Mr. Oram hopes to have a successful drive for funds.

As to disposition of the funds, the committee is, of course, entirely free to decide what the best use of the funds colleted in the future appears to be. However, on the basis of discussions which we had with the National Committee, represented by Mr. Ralph McDonald, and lith the Federation of American Scientists, represented by Highnbotham, Dr. Urey and I will recommend that as far as the first \$200,000 are concerned which will be raised by Mr. Oram (about \$55,000 of the total of \$200,000 has already been raised by Mr. Oram prior to the incorporation) no objections should be raised to have this sum go to the above mentioned two organizations. Neither Urey nor I have any committments beyond that sum, and Mr. Oram expressed confidence that it should be possible

to raise about one million dollars in the course of a fund-raising campaign extended over a period of a year. It will then be our responsibility to see that the money so raised shall be wisely used where it is most needed.

Hecht advised me over the telephone from New York that Shaffner is willing to give up his vacation to look after these matters during the summer, and he also advised me that it is necessary to have a meeting in the course of next week of at least three of the trustees, which means two in addition to Mr. Einstein. I intend to go to Princeton for this meeting and hope that either Urey or Condon will be able to come. If any one of you is able to come, he will be advised of the exact date of the meeting which will be either Wednesday, Thursday or Friday of next week provided he advises me by telegram giving his present address. I can be reached by telegram between now and Wednesday at 1155 East 57th Street (the Quadrangle Club) Chicago. From Wednesday to Friday, I can be reached by telegram at the King's Crown Hotel at 420 West 116th Street, New York City, and it is requested that your acceptance of the trusteeship be sent by telegram to that address at the latest by Friday. On Friday I am leaving for my vacation and can not be reached any longer so after that time you should wire to Selig Hecht, Pupin Physics Laboratories, Columbia University.

At the Princeton meeting it is proposed to appoint Joseph Shaffner as secretary or director, or whatever the suitable title may be, so as to make him the responsible officer of our committee. This will put all business arrangements into experienced hands. Whether or not we can get Selig Hecht to accept some official position in connection with the committee, I do not know, but in any case he promised to remain in close touch with Shaffner, who is one of his friends of long standing, in all matters relating to this committee.

In the last few days, the National Committee has asked Melcher, its director, to resign, and Melcher has resigned. I had known for some time through having set in in place of John Simpson at one of the executive committee meetings of the National Committee that it was contemplated to carry out a reorganization and that opinion was rather unanimous that someone other than Melcher ought to head up the organization when the reorganization is completed. I was, however, rather surprised and disappointed to hear that Melcher was suddenly asked to resign. I have no doubt that this act was ill-advised, but in spite of this I feel that the National Committee ought to be given a chance to work out its own salvation its own way. I also feel that we should try to save the successful fund-raising machinery which more or less by accident has arisen through the cooperation by the National Committee with Mr. Orem.

Mr. Oran believes that if Joseph Shaffner takes an active interest, as he seems to be willing to do, and that if our committee emergestfrom its twilight existence into something more clearly defined, there will be no difficulty to raise the funds which may be required for such purpose as may emerge in the course of the next one or two years.

Two days ago I received a copy of a letter which Condon wrote to Einstein in which he resigned from the committee. I talked to Condon over the telephone in order to learn his reasons, and I found that the reason for his resignation was the mess created within the National Committee by their request that Melcher resign. I asked Condon to reconsider his decision, and I hope he will do so. I believe that our enterprise can be successful only if a sufficient number of the odder and more established scientists are willing to carry their share of the responsibility rather than try to shift too much responsibility on any one single person.

I am sending this letter air mail special delivery and will mark the envelope "please forward" since I do not know where most of you may be at this time of the year.

Sincerely, Youkoland

L. Szilard

P.T. O.

P.S. It is not proposed to take any decision at the meeting next week which would bind the committee concerning the use of its funds. Such a decision will be required, however, rather soon, and it is contemplated to bring the matter up at a meeting late in September or early in October in the hope that most of the trustees will be able to attend such a meeting. The only decisions which have to be taken during August are those which are necessary to enable the continuation of the fund raising without prejudice to the use of the funds so raised.

L. Szilard

# EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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LILY PAYSON

Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

Cold

New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

June 9, 1947

Dear Urey:

I am writing to you to report about the discussions which I had with Mr. Einstein and others over the week end. These discussions took place according to the plans explained in my letter addressed to Mr. Einstein, of which you and the other members of the Emergency Committee had been sent copies, but I am enclosing another copy of it with this letter for your convenience.

Last Wednesday it occurred to me that we could on this occasion have a formal meeting and include in every motion that is passed, a provision which would make sure that no action would be taken on the motion until at least five out of the seven trustees who are within reach (Pauling being out of the country) have expressed their approval. I also thought that we should specify that you should be among those who have expressed their approval before action could be taken. My reason for singling you out on this particular occasion was the fact that your

views on the political situation are those furthest removed from those who expected to be able to be present at this meeting, and that I wanted to be sure to preserve the unity of the Emergency Committee in any action that we might take.

Having cleared this with you Wednesday afternoon, I advised all the trustees that I was going to ask Mr. Schaffner to send out a formal call for such a meeting, set for Sunday afternoon, and that I should include the above mentioned proviso in all motions which I might offer.

On Saturday, Mr. Weisskopf, Joe Mayer, Harry Brown and I had informal discussions with Mr. Einstein. Mr. Einstein told us that he had considered the role which the Emergency Committee ought to play and that he does not think that we ought to spend much of our time and attention on trying to reach the masses. We are scientists, and as he put it, "You must not use razor blades for chopping wood." He thought that the most important function of the Emergency Committee would consist in issuing from time to time statements interpreting the current situation which faces us and bringing it into relation with the long-range aims upon which we are all agreed.

Mr. Einstein thought that if we could find any way to go beyond this and exert influence by thorough discussions with key people, that also could come into the scope of the functions of the Emergency Committee proper.

He was not opposed to the proposal that we should support the National Committee on, say, a \$2500 a month basis for some time to come, in order to enable this group to explore what they could do and perhaps to come back to us with some new proposals.

He also agreed that the Emergency Committee might do well to continue to support the various organized groups of scientists, such as the Atomic Scientists of Chicago and the other groups which are affiliated with the ASAE, but I understood that his general feeling was that we should put a limit on the amount of funds and efforts which we want to channel into these activities.

The Bulletin was not discussed but my guess would be that everyone present thought that the Bulletin is one of the enterprises in which the Emergency Committee ought to take a major interest.

It was my impression that all those who took part in the discussion on Saturday agreed that the Emergency Committee, if it wants to remain active, will have to go beyond simply stating the scientific facts involved in the problem which was raised by the existence of the atomic bomb and that it should present not only part of the pertinent facts, but all the pertinent facts, many of which do not lie in the field of science proper. I also believe that we were agreed to draw the line at taking stands with respect to day to day foreign policy, which has largely to deal with questions of expediency, an example being whether or not aid to Greece or Turkey is a good or a bad move at the present time.

In a meeting which Harry Brown and I had with Oram on Friday, Mr. Oram told us that if the Emergency Committee could agree on a statement, and if agreement could be also secured to such a statement at the Lake Geneva conference, by releasing the statement in conjunction with the news of the Lake Geneva conference, a substantial sum of money could be raised by him during the summer.

There was substantial agreement of what the main thoughts are which should be incorporated in such a statement and on the basis of this discussion a statement was drafted which Mr. Weisskopf, Mr. Einstein and I reviewed on the next day, and which we decided to circulate among the trustees as a basis of discussion. It is not thought that the text of this statement ought to be retained, but rather that the thoughts expressed in this statement ought to be incorporated into the final statement which might be prepared. (See enclosure.)

The discussions were continued on Sunday between Mr. Einstein, Mr. Weisskopf and myself. I believe there was a strong feeling that though the Committee is divided on rather important issues relating to our national policy, it can hold together because the members of the Committee are scientists, and as scientists have something in common which will enable the group to take joint action in spite of the divergency of views. There was a general feeling that similar divergency of views in a group mixed with social scientists and natural scientists would make joint action impossible, but I believe there was also agreement that if we are going to continue to operate, we will need the advice of men other than scientists, particularly when it comes to formulating public statements.

As a result of these discussions, Mr. Einstein, Mr. Weisskopf and I adopted certain recommendations to be submitted to the trustees (see enclosure).

A formal meeting was held Sunday afternoon with Mr. Einstein, Mr. Weisskopf and myself present, in which I acted as secretary. I proposed four motions which were seconded by Weisskopf and unanimously adopted. All of these four motions were proposed with the provision that action shall be taken on them only when at least five trustees shall have expressed their approval with Dr. Urey being among those who approve. These motions were as follows:

- 1. That Article III, Section 1, of the by-laws be amended so as to increase the number of trustees from eight to ten.
- That the vacancies existing if the by-laws are so amended be filled by the election of Joseph Mayer and Frederick Seitz.
- 3. That the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists be compensated at cost for copies which the Emergency Committee takes over for disposition to donors, this compensation to be paid to them when funds for allocation become available, this allocation to the Bulletin to have priority over all other allocations.

4. That Mr. Harrison Brown be offered a full time position with the Emergency Committee, starting in September or later, with a salary of \$10,000 per year, for such period of time not exceeding one year which Mr. Brown may be willing to accept, with the proviso that the offer is void if the Emergency Committee should decide to become inactive at the meeting scheduled for the end of June.

Very sincerely yours,

Leo Szilard

Professor Albert Einstein 112 Mercer Street Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Einstein:

I am writing to you to explain further why I called you yester-day over the telephone. I understood from Miss Dukas that you were under the impression that a meeting is scheduled for the 6th and 7th of June in New York. No such meeting is scheduled at present. As you perhaps remember, at our last meeting we tentatively agreed on a meeting on the 24th of May. Believing that the situation could not be clarified sufficiently by that time, I suggested to Mr. Schaffner that the meeting be postponed until the weekend of the 1st or 7th of June. Mr. Schaffner's office then got in touch with the Trustees and found that it will be possible to hold a meeting on the weekend of the 7th in New York.

Subsequently when it developed that a meeting will be held around the 18th of June under the auspices of the Atomic Scientists of Chicago in the Chicago area, Mr. Schaffner came to the conclusion that the Emergency Committee will have to meet at the end of June in any case and that it will be very difficult if not impossible to get the Trustees to come to a meeting on June 7th also. He has therefore decided not to call the meeting which was tentatively scheduled for that date.

Since in the circumstances it might be impossible to hold a formal meeting of the Emergency Committee around the 7th of June and since I feel that we can not postpone discussing our situation until the end of June without endangering the continued existence of the Emergency Committee, I called you over the telephone in order to see if I can arrange for a discussion with

you in <u>Princeton</u> Saturday and Sunday, June 7th and 8th, on an informal basis. It was my understanding that you also felt that such a discussion of the situation at an early date is desirable.

If this is still agreeable to you, I propose to ask some others to gather with us on this occasion. I am thinking particularly of Professor Harrison Brown and Professor Joe Mayer and Mr. Oram or Mrs. Fry. I might try to get Bob Lamb to come up from Washington, and I shall try to think of some others who could help us reach a decision, particularly those on whose cooperation we would want to lean in case we should decide to remain in business. If I can think of some others in the meantime, I propose to go ahead and ask them to come also.

Since Urey finds it difficult to go East at this time, I arranged with him that we can get in touch with him over the long distance phone if it becomes necessary.

I am advising the members of the Emergency Committee of the plans for this informal discussion in Princeton, and I shall ask them to let me know whether they will be able to join us. I shall also explore with them the possibility of holding a formal meeting of the Emergency Committee sandwiched in somewhere between our informal discussions. It might be that our thoughts can be sufficiently clarified to make it possible and necessary to take formal action. It would be therefore very desirable to be in a position to hold a formal meeting if necessary.

It will not be possible to find accommodations in Princeton, and therefore those who participate will have to stay either in New York or Trenton and commute to Princeton.

Very sincerely yours.

(s) LEO SZILARD

## MEMORANDUM

## from Leo Szilard

As the result of an informal discussion held on June 7th and 8th in Princeton with Joseph Mayer and Harrison Brown, Mr. Einstein, Mr. Szilard and Mr. Weisskopf arrived at the following recommendations which are herewith submitted to the other trustees:

- I. That if the Emergency Committee remains in operation after October 1, 1947, it would be desirable to have a regular meeting scheduled for once a month in Princeton and to have the By-Laws so changed that such meetings can deal with all issues, whether or not the agenda had been circulated in advance. Three of the trustees should pledge themselves to attend regularly these meetings and there should be an understanding that motions passed at such meetings will contain a provision so that they will not go into effect until the majority of the trustees (not counting those on leave or abroad) have expressed their approval.
- II. That the total number of trustees should not be permanently increased above eight, and that all the trustees should be expected to come to four major meetings during the year. If any of the present trustees feel that they cannot put in this much work, they ought to join the Advisory Board of scientists which ought to be set up for this and other purposes. The members of this Advisory Board would be invited

to all meetings of the trustees but would not vote, the idea being that the business of the Emergency Committee should be carried on by men who can devote enough time and attention to this work. In this way we can avoid the situation of having subsequent meetings attended by different groups of trustees and thus having the responsibility for the conduct of the business not clearly defined.

- III. Since the Emergency Committee, if it continues in existence, would be much more of an operating group than it has been in the past, it seems essential that a scientist should devote his full time to the work of the Committee. It is therefore proposed that Mr. Harrison Brown be offered a full-time position with the Emergency Committee, starting in September or later, with a salary of \$10,000 per year, for such a period of time not exceeding one year as Mr. Brown may be willing to accept. It is desirable that this offer be communicated to Mr. Brown as soon as possible, so that he can explore, with other participants at the Lake Geneva meeting on the eighteenth of June, what cooperation he could count on from his colleagues and also explore with his university the possibility of obtaining a leave of absence without pay.
- IV. That the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists be compensated (at cost) for copies of the Bulletin which the Emergency Committee takes over for distribution to donors, such numbers being not more than 5,000, and that this compensation be paid to them when funds for allocation become available and rank before all other allocations.

V. It is recommended that the draft of the statement discussed at the present meeting be examined by the trustees in order to see whether the thoughts expressed in it would be suitable for incorporation in a general statement to be released prior to July 15, and to be signed not only by the Emergency Committee but also by a large number of participants of the Lake Geneva conference and such other scientists who might beapproached for this purpose.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

2 more to the

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees

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LILY PAYSON

Assistant SecretaryTreasurer

New York Office June 10, 1947 New York Office

ROOM 523, 625 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Phone ELDORADO 5-0904

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

Dear Urey:

Enclosed I am sending you material relating to the discussions which were held in Princeton over the last weekend. At the subsequent meeting four motions were passed which will not become operative until you express your approval.

The first two were motions relating to the election of Joe Mayer and Seitz as trustees. I would suggest that you withhold your approval until we can make sure that they actually accept and that they will be able to put in as much time as a trustee ought to.

The other two motions relate to the Bulletin and to Harrison Brown, and I would appreciate it if you would let me know as soon as you have studied the matter whether or not you approve of these two motions.

Very sincerely yours,

2. Tard

Leo Szilard

LS/h Enclosures To the Trustees of the Emergency Committee:

Mr. Oram explained to Mr. Minett and me today that on the appeal which went out over Dr. Einstein's signature (90,000 letters) the Committee can count on a minimum of \$25,000 gross and a strong possibility of \$30,000.

Assuming the minimum figure of \$25,000, by the end of December we would be in the hole by \$1,000 after having paid all expenses and having paid in December allocations of \$9,187 (this latter amount represents a reduction of the original allocations made at the Princeton meeting of \$12,587. The specific reductions, I understand, were decided upon by Mr. Minett in consultation with Mr. Morse.)

I am advised by Mr. Oram that the earliest date for another mailing that he would consider advisable would be the second of January. If we want to make this mailing on this date it will be necessary to decide all details connected with it by the thirteenth of December. If we are not willing to let Dr. Einstein's article go out again or if we are not willing to have it go out with the same covering letter that was used in the last mailing, an alternative proposal must be decided in all detail by the thirteenth of December. If the decision concerning the details of the next mailing are not reached by the thirteenth of December but are reached at the next Trustees' meeting on the twentieth of December, the next mailing cannot go out until the fifteenth of January.

LEO SZILARD

1155 East 57th St. Chicago 37, Illinois December 8, 1947

To the Trustees

Doar Chey:

While in New York, I had conversations with Mr. Minett, Mr. Oram and Mrs. Fry about the financial situation of the Emergency Committee. Mr. Oram explained to Mr. Minett and me today that on the appeal which went out over Dr. Einstein's signature (90,000)letters) the Committee can count on a minimum of \$25,000 gross and a strong possibility of \$30,000.

Assuming the minimum figure of \$25,000, by the end of December we would be in the hole by \$1,000 after having paid all expenses and having paid in December allocations of \$9,187. (This latter amount represents a reduction of the original allocations made at the Princeton meeting of \$12,587. The specific reductions, I understand, were decided upon by Mr. Minett in consultation with Mr. Morse.) I am basing these conclusions on data supplied to me by Minett.

I am advised by Mr. Oran that the earliest date for another mailing that he would consider advisable would be the 2nd of Jenuary. If we want to make this mailing on Jenuary 2nd, it will be necessary to decide all details connected with it by the 13th of December. If we are not willing to let Mr. Minstein's article go out again or if we are not willing to have it go out with the same covering letter that was used in the last mailing, an alternative proposal must be decided in all detail by the 13th of December. If the decision concerning the details of the next mailing are not reached by the 13th of December but are reached at the next Trustees' meeting on the 20th of December, the next mailing cannot go out until the 15th of Jenuary.

If the groups who are expecting allocations from us will, because of lake of funds or for any other reason, not receive such allocations from the Emergency Committee in January, they ought to be advised at once of this and they also should know at the earliest possible time whether we intend to support them during next year. Since there will be no meeting of the Emergency Committee until the 20th of December, I do not know how such a decision can be made prior to that date. But the 20th of December is rather late for advising any group to enable them to give reasonable notice to their employees.

I regret that I am unable to offer any solution and can do no better than to draw your attention to these problems.

Links trust

Leo Szilard

1155 East 57th St. Chicago 37, Illinois

Professor Albert Einstein 112 Mercer Street Princeton, New Jersey

for Unerlies of L. G. Dear Professor Einstein: I am writing to you to explain further why I called you yesterday over the telephone. I understood from Miss Dukas that you were under the impression that a meeting is scheduled for the 6th and 7th of June in New York. No such meeting is scheduled at present. As you perhaps remember, at our last meeting we tentatively agreed on a meeting on the 24th of May. Believing that the situation could not be clarified sufficiently by that time. I suggested to Mr. Schaffner that the meeting be postponed until the weekend of the 1st or 7th of June. Mr. Schaffner's office then

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