

ARMY SERVICE FORCES  
UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE  
MANHATTAN DISTRICT  
OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE

IN REPLY  
REFER TO  
EIDME

Dr. Leo Szilard  
Quadrangle Club  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to recent letter from this office placing limitations on the release of information by any individual, group, or organization connected with the atomic bomb project and outlining procedure to be followed in securing clearance for utilization or release of information or data connected with the project.

Recent declaration of cessation of hostilities with Japan does not in any way alter limitations on utilization or release of information and data connected with this undertaking. Official public statements and releases still comprise permissible limits of disclosure of information. The provisions of the Espionage Act still apply.

Loose talk and speculation, particularly by individuals now or formerly connected with the project, jeopardize the future of the nation and must be controlled.

I am requesting your continued compliance and support during the future in the interest of national safety.

Very truly yours,

*K. D. Nichols*  
K. D. NICHOLS,  
Colonel, Corps of Engineers,  
District Engineer.

The Secretary of War  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

*believe*  
*the* ~~We hold~~ that the United States ought not to set a precedent ~~for~~ *of*  
using atomic power for purposes of destruction by using atomic bombs in  
the war against Japan. The United States is particularly vulnerable to  
atomic bombs and we may expect that within ten years other countries may  
have atomic bombs which will weigh less than a ton and which ~~may destroy~~ *be capable of*  
an urban area of about 16 square miles. We know of no way in which we  
can protect our cities against such bombs and the only way in which we  
can achieve safety and retain our cities is by exerting an adequate  
measure of control over the manufacture of atomic bombs both inside and  
outside of the United States.

We fear that the use of atomic bombs against Japan would at once  
precipitate an armament race with Russia.

*will*  
Sooner or later the Government ~~of the United States~~ *will* would want  
to demonstrate the action of atomic bombs to the world. The timing of  
such a demonstration is a question of expediency. Those who believe that  
later on our chances of reaching an agreement with Russia for the control  
of atomic bombs on the basis of reciprocity might be better and that in  
the interim period further fast progress in this field could be made, may  
be in favor of postponing such a demonstration. Others who think that  
postponing such a demonstration might create distrust on the part of  
Russia and other nations may be in favor of a demonstration at an early  
date.

A petition is being sent to the President of the United States  
asking him to rule that the United States of America shall not set ~~a~~ *the*  
precedent ~~for~~ *of* using atomic power for purposes of war.

The Secretary of War  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, believe that the United States ought not to resort to attacks on Japan by means of atomic bombs in the present phase of the war. The United States is particularly vulnerable to atomic bombs and we expect that within ten years other countries may have atomic bombs which may weigh less than a ton and be capable of destroying an urban area from ten to twenty square miles. We know of no way in which we can protect our cities against such bombs and the only way in which we can achieve safety and retain our cities is by exerting an adequate measure of control over the manufacture of atomic bombs both inside and outside of the United States.

We fear that the use of atomic bombs against Japan would precipitate an armament race with Russia.

Sooner or later the Government will want to demonstrate the action of atomic bombs to the world. ~~The timing of such a demonstration is a question of expediency.~~ Those who believe that later on our chances of reaching an agreement with Russia for the control of atomic bombs on the basis of reciprocity might be better and that in the interim period further fast progress in this field could be made, may be in favor of postponing such a demonstration. Others who think that postponing such a demonstration might create distrust on the part of Russia and other nations may be in favor of a demonstration at an early date.

In view of the foregoing as well as for other reasons, we, the

undersigned, propose to submit a petition to the President, the text of which is inclosed.

Respectfully,

Please note that the text of the petition emphasizes only the moral aspect of the issue. No doubt many of those who signed believe that we ought to refrain from using atomic bombs against Japan in the present phase of the war on the grounds of expediency as well as moral grounds.

The United States is particularly vulnerable to atomic bombs and we may expect that within ten years other countries may have atomic bombs which may weigh less than a ton and capable of destroying an urban area from 10 to 20 square miles. We know of no way in which we can protect our cities against such bombs and the only way in which we can achieve safety and retain our cities is by exerting an adequate manner of control over the manufacture of atomic bombs both inside and outside of the United States. Many of us fear that the use of atomic bombs against Japan at this particular time would precipitate an armistice with Russia and would create an international problem with which we will not be able to cope.

The committee appointed by the Secretary of War has not yet been in existence for sufficiently long time fully to appreciate the situation in all of its ramifications and any policy which they have formulated within this short time must be considered subject to revision. I personally fear that if atomic bombs were used before alternate policies have been formulated to take care of various contingencies which might arise in our international relations we will not be able to follow up perfectly as we should the first use of atomic bombs by ~~public reaction~~ <sup>public reaction</sup>. ~~Realize~~ <sup>Realize</sup>, however, that on such a question of expediency opinion must necessarily be divided.

Sooner or later the Government will want to demonstrate the action of atomic bombs to the world. ~~Those~~ Those who believe that later on our chances of reaching an agreement with Russia for the control of atomic bombs on the basis of reciprocity might be better and that in the interim period further fast progress in this field could be made, may be in favor of postponing such a demonstration. ~~Others~~ Others who think that postponing such a demonstration might create distrust on the part of Russia and other nations may be in favor of a demonstration at an early date.

June 6, 1945

Chairman of the Committee  
on Nucleonics

Dear Sir:

Recently, we have been informed of the appointment of a National Committee to guide policy and programs in the field of nucleonics. In addition, a Panel, consisting of four scientists of high repute and who are thoroughly acquainted with nucleonics, has been appointed to serve in an advisory capacity. Since the problems which will arise inevitably will embrace a number of fields of science, in particular many aspects of chemistry; we, the undersigned, suggest for your consideration the addition to this Panel of a chemist of outstanding ability and judgment, and who is familiar with the chemical problems associated with nucleonics. Among the few outstanding chemists familiar with this field, Dr. Harold C. Urey of Columbia University is the best qualified for membership on the Panel.

*David N. Hume*

*Waldo E. Cohn*

*Spofford D. English*

*Raymond W. Stoughton*

*Norman Elliott*

*Alvin M. Weinberg*

*L. W. Nordheim*

*Eowollan*

*Charles D. Coryell*

*Henri A. Lery*

*G. E. Boyd*

*T. H. Davies*

*A. A. Snell*

*Harrison A. Brown*

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/s/

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Charles D. Coryell

David N. Hume

Henri A. Levy

Waldo E. Cohn

G. E. Boyd

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T. H. Davies

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Norman Elliott

Harrison S. Brown

Alvin M. Weinberg

L. W. Nordheim

E. O. Wollan

c  
o  
p  
y

July 2, 1945

Dear

*Moran*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running

risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

The fact that the people of the United States are unaware of the choice which faces us increases our responsibility in this matter since those who have worked on "atomic power" represent a sample of the population and they alone are in a position to form an opinion and declare their stand.

Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Leo Hilard*

July 2, 1945

Dear *Hughes and Wobkenberg*

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*Leo K. ...*

*Manning is two extremes*  
~~W. H. R. C.~~ *Am. Univ. W. H. R. C.*

July 3, 1945

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power for a number of years. Until recently we have had to reckon with the possibility that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today with this danger averted we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and the destruction of Japanese cities by means of atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such an attack on Japan could not be justified in the present circumstances. We believe that the United States ought not to resort to the use of atomic bombs in the present phase of the war, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan after the war are publicly announced and subsequently Japan is given an opportunity to surrender.

*That is not right*

If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender, our nation would then be faced with a situation which might require a re-examination of her position with respect to the use of atomic bombs in the war.

Atomic bombs are primarily a means for the ruthless annihilation of cities. Once they were introduced as an instrument of war it would be difficult to resist for long the temptation of putting them to such use.

The last few years show a marked tendency toward increasing ruthlessness. At present our Air Forces, striking at the Japanese cities, are using the same methods of warfare which were condemned by American public opinion only a few years ago when applied by the Germans to the cities of England. Our use of atomic bombs in this war would carry the world a long way further on this path of ruthlessness.

Atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of this development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief to rule that the United States shall not, in the present phase of the war, resort to the use of atomic bombs.

*Robinson (16)  
Cunningham (9)*

*59*

- ~~(see above as to address)~~
- 1.) Robinson  
University of Chicago  
Philosophy (1 year course in  
humanities)
  - 2.) Edith Adams (would like to have prisoners)
  - 3.) Jaffey
  - 4.) Plutmann
  - 5.) Melvin Fredmann
  - 6.) Edwin Sherburne
  - 7.) Greedy
  - 8.) Waters (Cabell for prisoners)
  - 9. Katzin (Seabury)
  - 10. Cunningham

Jensen [Univ. of Chicago] 25  
| no confusion | ~~being~~

city

draws line at different point.

Telford [Univ. of Ill.] 29

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Templeton (Univ. of Texas)

Mark Fred (Univ. of Chicago)  
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is freshmen 30,000 have  
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useful  
effect of  
demonstration

25

Templeton (~~Univ. of Texas, Austin~~)  
Kansassville ~~Ind.~~

small town Polytechnic Inst.)

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two extremes point of view

Katze (Univ. Cal.)

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Jama City

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Melvin Fredmann

City (Univ. of Chicago)

gives greater consideration

to expediency | 30 |

~~university~~

July 3, 1945

Book 1960

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If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender, our nation would then be faced with a situation which might require a re-examination of her position with respect to the use of atomic bombs in the war.

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July 4, 1945

Dear

*Allen and Robinson*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

The fact that the people of the United States are unaware of the choice which faces us increases our responsibility in this matter since those who have worked on "atomic power" represent a sample of the population and they alone are in a position to form an opinion and declare their stand.

Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Levko Turov*

July 4, 1945

Dear

Dr. *William Lipp*

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*Leo R. Lind*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Simpson  
Cunningham and Jaffey*

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*Leah Howard*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Dr. Nicholas*

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*Leah B. ...*

Margant

Bloom

Schubert

Russell

Taylor

Melto

201. 2. 1881

draft

Rose

font box

The President will be elected to the office of President of the United States in the year 1881. The President will be elected to the office of President of the United States in the year 1881.

It may well be that the President will be elected to the office of President of the United States in the year 1881. The President will be elected to the office of President of the United States in the year 1881.

However, until the chance arises to that our country will influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of course if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field were clearly and unambiguously as well as in their opinion on some points to the case of those points in the present phase of the war.

Some of the most interesting to me that I have seen are those which are published for the use of the public. I have seen many of these and they are of great value. They are of great value to the public and they are of great value to the public.

The fact that the people of the United States are members of the United States is a fact which is not to be denied. The fact that the people of the United States are members of the United States is a fact which is not to be denied.

It is not only the fact that the people of the United States are members of the United States, but it is also the fact that the people of the United States are members of the United States.

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It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

The fact that the people of the United States are unaware of the choice which faces us increases our responsibility in this matter since those who have worked on "atomic power" represent a sample of the population and they alone are in a position to form an opinion and declare their stand.

Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Leo Bissard*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Walters*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

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Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Leah Rind*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Kulman*

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Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Leo B. Land*

*Holmes*  
July 3, 1945

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power for a number of years. Until recently we have had to reckon with the possibility that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today with this danger averted we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and the destruction of Japanese cities by means of atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such an attack on Japan could not be justified in the present circumstances. We believe that the United States ought not to resort to the use of atomic bombs in the present phase of the war, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan after the war are publicly announced and subsequently Japan is given an opportunity to surrender.

If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender, our nation would then be faced with a situation which might require a re-examination of her position with respect to the use of atomic bombs in the war.

Atomic bombs are primarily a means for the ruthless annihilation of cities. Once they were introduced as an instrument of war it would be difficult to resist for long the temptation of putting them to such use.

The last few years show a marked tendency toward increasing ruthlessness. At present our Air Forces, striking at the Japanese cities, are using the same methods of warfare which were condemned by American public opinion only a few years ago when applied by the Germans to the cities of England. Our use of atomic bombs in this war would carry the world a long way further on this path of ruthlessness.

Atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of this development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief to rule that the United States shall not, in the present phase of the war, resort to the use of atomic bombs.

July 4, 1945

Dear *Woll*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

The fact that the people of the United States are unaware of the choice which faces us increases our responsibility in this matter since those who have worked on "atomic power" represent a sample of the population and they alone are in a position to form an opinion and declare their stand.

Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Leah ...*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Mason*

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*Leah Bond*

July 4, 1945

Dear

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Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

P.S.--Anyone who wants to sign the petition ought to sign both attached copies and ought to read not only the petition but also this covering letter.

June 11, 1945

The Secretary of War  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The undersigned were greatly pleased to learn that the names of A. H. Compton, E. Fermi, E. O. Lawrence, and R. Oppenheimer have been placed on a Panel to which a committee appointed by you may turn for advice.

The undersigned believe that along with the other projects, isotope separation by diffusion and by chemical means will continue to play an important role in the future development. H. C. Urey of Columbia University is eminently qualified to represent this field not only on account of his pioneering work in it, but also on account of the role which he played in furthering the wartime development represented by the uranium projects.

In view of the role which Dr. Urey has played in this development in the past and the importance of the project of which he was director, the undersigned are concerned about the fact that his name does not appear on the Panel. As a patriotic and upright citizen he has the fullest confidence of the undersigned.

Respectfully,

*Milton Burton*

*A. O. Allen*

*Eugene P. Wigner*

*James I. Waters*

*Winston M. Manning*

*Gale Young*

*James Franck*

*H. J. Zachariasen*

*ag Dempster*

*William P. Jesse*

*Q. D. Mulliken*

*O. Stern*

*J. C. Stearns*

*Walter Barthelemy*

*Frankly Foot*

*Kenneth S. Cole*

*Leo Hilgard*

*William Robinson*

*Eugene Rabenowitz*

# Metallurgical Laboratory

P.O. BOX 5207  
CHICAGO 80, ILLINOIS

June 11, 1945

BUTTERFIELD 4300

The Secretary of War  
Washington, D. C.

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/s/

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Mames I. Watters

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Winston M. Manning

Kenneth S. Cole

Gale Young

Leo Szilard

James Franck

William Rubinson

W. H. Zachariasen

Eugene Rabinowitch

A. J. Dempster

William P. Jesse

R. S. Mulliken

*Petition*

June 11, 1945

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O. Stern

A. O. Allen

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Eugene P. Wigner

Walter Bartky

Mames I. Watters

Frank Foote

Winston M. Manning

Kenneth S. Cole

Gale Young

Leo Szilard

James Franck

William Rubinson

W. H. Zachariasen

Eugene Rabinowitch

A. J. Dempster

William P. Jesse

R. S. Mulliken

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, U. S. C. 50, 31 and 32. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

July 4, 1945

~~SECRET~~

NDN-55437

*5/13/60*

Dear *Walden Cohen*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

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Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

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*See below*

*Whenever signs are let be sign both copies attached to this letter.*

H4662

1115

~~SECRET~~

①

~~SECRET~~

5/17/60  
July 13, 1945.

NDW-55433

We, the undersigned, agree in essence with the attached petition, but feel that our attitude is more clearly expressed if its last paragraph is replaced by the following:

We respectfully petition that the use of atomic bombs, particularly against cities, be sanctioned by you as Chief Executive only under the following conditions:

1. Opportunity has been given to the Japanese to surrender on terms assuring them the possibility of peaceful development in their homeland.
2. Convincing warnings have been given that a refusal to surrender will be followed by the use of a new weapon.
3. Responsibility for use of atomic bombs is shared with our allies.

L. W. Morshheim  
 Alvin M. Weinberg  
 Lewis A. Purdue  
 Cowdell  
 Frank C. Hoop  
 Harry Goodale  
 Forest H. Murray.  
 Edmund D. Caswell  
 Arthur H. Sull.  
 Richard Scaletta  
 Lunel D. Norris, Jr.

David Laxon  
 Edwin P. Meiners, Jr.  
 Garland M. Branch, Jr.  
 J. H. Rush  
 Frederic Schuler  
 Raymond B. Sawyer  
 Harold Schweitzer

~~SECRET~~

(8)  
 H4662  
 H4115

NDN-55436

July 3, 1945

~~SECRET~~  
Jury  
5/13/60

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power for a number of years. Until recently we have had to reckon with the possibility that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today with this danger averted we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and the destruction of Japanese cities by means of atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such an attack on Japan could not be justified in the present circumstances. We believe that the United States ought not to resort to the use of atomic bombs in the present phase of the war, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan after the war are publicly announced and subsequently Japan is given an opportunity to surrender.

If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender, our nation would then be faced with a situation which might require a re-examination of her position with respect to the use of atomic bombs in the war.

Atomic bombs are primarily a means for the ruthless annihilation of cities. Once they were introduced as an instrument of war it would be difficult to resist for long the temptation of putting them to such use.

The last few years show a marked tendency toward increasing ruthlessness. At present our Air Forces, striking at the Japanese cities, are using the same methods of warfare which were condemned by American public opinion only a few years ago when applied by the Germans to the cities of England. Our use of atomic bombs in this war would carry the world a long way further on this path of ruthlessness.

Atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of this development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief to rule that the United States shall not, in the present phase of the war, resort to the use of atomic bombs.

7

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~~SECRET~~

July 4, 1945

Dear *Alison*

Inclosed is the text of a petition which will be submitted to the President of the United States. As you will see, this petition is based on purely moral considerations.

It may very well be that the decision of the President whether or not to use atomic bombs in the war against Japan will largely be based on considerations of expediency. On the basis of expediency, many arguments could be put forward both for and against our use of atomic bombs against Japan. Such arguments could be considered only within the framework of a thorough analysis of the situation which will face the United States after this war and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by considering arguments of expediency in a short petition.

However small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of the war.

Many of us are inclined to say that individual Germans share the guilt for the acts which Germany committed during this war because they did not raise their voices in protest against those acts. Their defense that their protest would have been of no avail hardly seems acceptable even though these Germans could not have protested without running risks to life and liberty. We are in a position to raise our voices without incurring any such risks even though we might incur the displeasure of some of those who are at present in charge of controlling the work on "atomic power".

The fact that the people of the United States are unaware of the choice which faces us increases our responsibility in this matter since those who have worked on "atomic power" represent a sample of the population and they alone are in a position to form an opinion and declare their stand.

Anyone who might wish to go on record by signing the petition ought to have an opportunity to do so and, therefore, it would be appreciated if you could give every member of your group an opportunity for signing.

*Lev B. Lur*

July 4, 1945

Dear

*Miss Way*

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*Herb Leonard*

Colorado Inst. of  
Public Opinion  
Fields  
Hony

July 4, 1945

Dear

Manning & Perlman

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Leah Lard

Quotations Col. Frost at  
Public Op.

Dehmann

Wants moral objection for stamp, -  
~~all or nothing thing~~  
univ of Chicago  
City!

close to regarding it  
Sherman Food (Packaging)  
now wants to open

comparat. <sup>a</sup>

City! Univ of Chicago.  
feel strongly about importance  
of moral issue

33 Robinson [Grippeledaddt ]

their anything we can do

1000 days or 1 year in  
Los Angeles, U.S.C.  
Would push button  
in mining business

Kahnemann 29

Woodward - W is winner

almost - phrasing  
N.J. small - Wash DC. high

wants  
not to have  
prisoners  
but does not  
know why

not proposed  
to think on  
moral terms

Winniford Univ College  
(from California)  
[but expediency]

Master  
Copies  
Petitioned  
3/1/46 980

July 17, 1945

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power. Until recently we have had to fear that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today, with the defeat of Germany, this danger is averted and we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and attacks by atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such attacks on Japan could not be justified, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed after the war on Japan were made public in detail and Japan were given an opportunity to surrender.

If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender our nation might then, in certain circumstances, find itself forced to resort to the use of atomic bombs. Such a step, however, ought not to be made at any time without seriously considering the moral responsibilities which are involved.

The development of atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of their future development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

If after this war a situation is allowed to develop in the world which permits rival powers to be in uncontrolled possession of these new means of destruction, the cities of the United States as well as the cities of other nations will be in continuous danger of sudden annihilation. All the resources of the United States, moral and material, may have to be mobilized to prevent the advent of such a world situation. Its prevention is at present the solemn responsibility of the United States--singled out by virtue of her lead in the field of atomic power.

The added material strength which this lead gives to the United States brings with it the obligation of restraint and if we were to violate this obligation our moral position would be weakened in the eyes of the world and in our own eyes. It would then be more difficult for us to live up to our responsibility of bringing the unloosened forces of destruction under control.

In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition; first, that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief, to rule that the United States shall not resort to the use of atomic bombs in this war unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan have been made public in detail and Japan knowing these terms has refused to surrender; second, that in such an event the question whether or not to use atomic bombs be decided by you in the light of the considerations presented in this petition as well as all the other moral responsibilities which are involved.

July 17, 1945

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power. Until recently we have had to fear that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today, with the defeat of Germany, this danger is averted and we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and attacks by atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such attacks on Japan could not be justified, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed after the war on Japan were made public in detail and Japan were given an opportunity to surrender.

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Metallurgical Laboratory

*Annals* D

August 11, 1945

METALLURGICAL LABORATORY  
P. O. Box 5207, Chicago 80, Ill.  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

AUG 18 1945

A.M. P.M.  
7|8|9|10|11|12|1|2|3|4|5|6

Capt. J. H. McKinley  
Area Engineer's Office  
Metallurgical Laboratory  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Capt. McKinley:

I am writing to inform you that the petition dated July 17, 1945 will no longer be treated as a classified document. If you see anything in the text of the petition that represents a military secret, I should be pleased to be so notified by you in writing prior to August 13, 5:30 p.m. so that your opinion might be given consideration before the text of the petition is communicated to persons not connected with our project.

Inasmuch as I have requested to be notified of any objections which might stand in the way of the release of the text of the petition on Monday, August 6, and have received no written notification on this subject, I shall consider myself free after 5:30 p.m., August 13, to use my own judgement (based on the judgement of my colleagues with whom I consult on this matter) to release at any time the text of the petition together with the statement that 67 scientists engaged in war work at the University of Chicago have sent such a petition to the President in July of this year. I shall not consider myself free to release the names of those who signed the petition.

If you or your superior should be of the opinion that as a matter of courtesy the White House ought to be notified before the text of the petition is released to the press, I shall be pleased to clear the matter with the White House myself.

The present letter does not necessarily mean that the text of the petition will, in fact, be released but it does mean that I wish to have a free hand to release if and when such a release appears to be advisable any time after 5:30 p.m., August 13.

Very truly yours,

*Leo Szilard*

Leo Szilard

LS:SW

*Copy to Director of Metallurgical Laboratory*

*Ad. Szilard*

**Metallurgical Laboratory**

August 11, 1945

Capt. J. H. McKinley  
Area Engineer's Office  
Metallurgical Laboratory  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

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Very truly yours,



Leo Szilard

LS:SW

*Copy to Director of Metallurgical Laboratory*

August 13, 1945

TO: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

We, the undersigned scientists engaged in war research at Chicago, believe that further bombings of the civilian population of Japan would be a flagrant violation of our own moral standards. Our nation went clearly and unmistakably on record against ~~the bombing~~ <sup>this kind</sup> of ~~civilians~~ <sup>warfare</sup> at the time when the Germans bombed the cities of England, ~~and this kind of warfare~~ <sup>and their actions</sup> was universally condemned ~~at that~~ <sup>time</sup> by American public opinion. For some time now, our Air Forces have waged a similar type of warfare against the cities of Japan, but not until the use of atomic bombs did the people of this nation fully realize this to be the present policy of our Air Forces. If now, after Japan has expressed in principle her willingness to surrender, we continued to wage war on her civilian population, we would irreparably damage our moral position in our own eyes if not <sup>in</sup> the eyes of the world.

August 15, 1945

We have won victory over Japan earlier than expected, but we have won victory at a terrible cost. Long before Hiroshima, our Air Forces were attacking Japanese cities to annihilate them, and were burning to death uncounted numbers of their inhabitants. Our nation went clearly and unmistakably on record against this kind of warfare when the Germans bombed the cities of England and their action was universally condemned by American public opinion.

Clearly, we have violated our own moral principles and our action at Hiroshima and Nagasaki greatly weakens our moral position in our own eyes if not in the eyes of the world.

It is our understanding that the Friend's Service Committee is prepared to receive contributions for relief in Japan and is willing to attempt to reach the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

August 12, 1945

We have won victory over Japan earlier than expected, but we have won victory at a terrible cost. Long before Hiroshima, our Air Forces were attacking Japanese cities to annihilate them, and were inflicting death uncounted numbers of their inhabitants. Our action was clearly and undeniably on the side of right and kind of warfare when the Germans bombed the cities of England and their action was universally condemned by American public opinion.

Clearly, we have violated our own moral principles and our notion of Hiroshima and Nagasaki greatly weaken our moral position in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world.

If it is our understanding that the United States Service Committee is prepared to receive contributions for relief in Japan and is willing to attempt to reach the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

*Don Morris*

August 18, 1945

The Editor of Science

Leo Szilard

Quadrangle Club  
1155 East 57 Street  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a letter to the Editor which you might be willing to publish in Science. This document is not yet free for publication, but it might be released on or about August 25, and I would advise you by sending you a wire on that date if there is no objection on the part of the White House which has been advised of the intended publication.

In the meantime, I would appreciate it if you would wire me advising me whether or not you intend to accept the enclosed "letter" for publication. Would you also be good enough to advise at the same time if it is possible for you to let us have reprints of the letter if it is published?

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

Enc.

The Quadrangle Club  
1155 East 57 Street  
Chicago, Illinois  
August 24, 1945

The Editor of Science

Dear Sir:

One day after the first atomic bomb was detonated in New Mexico, the following petition was circulated among scientists working in this field at the University of Chicago:

"July 17, 1945. A Petition to the President of the United States."  
"Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

"We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power. Until recently we have had to fear that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today, with the defeat of Germany, this danger is averted and we feel impelled to say what follows:

"The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and attacks by atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such attacks on Japan could not be justified, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed after the war on Japan were made public in detail and Japan were given an opportunity to surrender.

"If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender our nation might then, in certain circumstances, find itself forced to resort to the use of atomic bombs. Such a step, however, ought not to be made at any time without seriously considering the moral responsibilities which are involved.

"The development of atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of their future development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

August 24, 1945

"If after this war a situation is allowed to develop in the world which permits rival powers to be in uncontrolled possession of these new means of destruction, the cities of the United States as well as the cities of other nations will be in continuous danger of sudden annihilation. All the resources of the United States, moral and material, may have to be mobilized to prevent the advent of such a world situation. Its prevention is at present the solemn responsibility of the United States -- singled out by virtue of her lead in the field of atomic power.

"The added material strength which this lead gives to the United States brings with it the obligation of restraint and if we were to violate this obligation our moral position would be weakened in the eyes of the world and in our own eyes. It would then be more difficult for us to live up to our responsibility of bringing the unloosened forces of destruction under control.

"In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition; first, that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief, to rule that the United States shall not resort to the use of atomic bombs in this war unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan have been made public in detail and Japan, knowing these terms, has refused to surrender; second, that in such an event the question whether or not to use atomic bombs be decided by you in the light of the considerations presented in this petition as well as all the other moral responsibilities which are involved."

This petition was signed by sixty-seven scientists and sent to the President via the War Department on July 24, 1945. Security regulations do not permit disclosing the names of those who signed it. Some of them are permanently associated with the University of Chicago while others, coming from all parts of the United States, are at Chicago on a temporary basis only. It was felt that your readers might be interested in knowing something about the attitude of at least a substantial minority of scientists engaged at present in this work at one of the atomic power projects.

Very truly yours,

Leo Szilard

August 25, 1945

Editors of Science  
1215 Fifth Avenue  
New York 29, New York

RE MY LETTER OF AUGUST 18. SORRY UNABLE TO RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION  
TEXT OF PETITION TO PRESIDENT. KINDLY ADVISE WHETHER YOU WOULD CARE  
TO PUBLISH IF AND WHEN RELEASE BECOMES POSSIBLE.

LEO SZILARD  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Overnight Telegram  
~~Overnight Letter~~

~~August 25, 1945~~

Editors of Science  
1215 Fifth Avenue  
New York 29, New York

RE MY LETTER OF AUGUST 18. SORRY UNABLE TO RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION  
TEXT OF PETITION TO PRESIDENT. KINDLY ADVISE WHETHER YOU WOULD CARE  
TO PUBLISH IF AND WHEN RELEASE BECOMES POSSIBLE.

*Writing.*

LEO SZILARD  
1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 27, ~~Illinois~~

*Do Not Destroy*

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to  
City Editor

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160 N. La Salle  
Chicago, 1, Ill. ✓

International News Service  
326 West Madison st

Chicago Herald-American  
326 West Madison st

United Press

400 West Madison  
Chicago, 6 ✓

Chicago Daily News  
400 West Madison st

Chicago Sun  
400 West Madison st

Chicago Tribune  
Tribune Tower

435 N. Michigan

Chicago Daily Times

211 West Wacker ✓

Time Magazine ←

230 N. Michigan

Newsweek Magazine

c/o John Mirt, Chicago Daily News  
400 West Madison st

Waldemar Kaemffert  
New York Times

229 W. 43rd St

New York, 18

Mr. Robert Hagy

C. H. Opal

Office of Press Relations

ext 698

nick opal

Levin

Person

South Bridge Ave.  
Berwyn, Pa.  
August 13, 1945

Dr. Szilard:

When I read the newspaper accounts of the atomic bomb I felt

thrilled and very confused: thrilled that I and my

part in such a dramatic and successful piece of

work because I am a humanitarian (if

I fear what will happen

I had never fe

ense:

Science Magazine  
1215 Fifth Avenue  
New York 29, N. Y.

~~Miss Norton~~

~~Seaborn 6580~~

Plaza 6905



1155 East 57th Street  
Chicago 37<sup>th</sup> Illinois  
August 27, 1945

Editors of Science  
1215 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am writing to confirm the following telegram which I sent you on August 25, 1945:

RE MY LETTER OF AUGUST 18. SORRY UNABLE TO RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION TEXT OF PETITION TO PRESIDENT. KINDLY ADVISE WHETHER YOU WOULD CARE TO PUBLISH IF AND WHEN RELEASE BECOMES POSSIBLE.

You see from this that you are not free to publish the text of the petition which I sent you, but that I would be interested in learning whether or not you would care to publish the petition if and when I will be free to release it.

If you wish to confirm my identity, you might write to Mr. C. H. Opan, Office of Press Relations, University of Chicago. I wish to emphasize, however, that in communicating with you, I am not acting for the University of Chicago, but entirely in private capacity.

Very truly yours,



Leo Szilard

WAR DEPARTMENT  
 U.S. ENGINEER OFFICE  
 Manhattan District  
 Chicago Branch Office  
 Intelligence and Security Division  
 P. O. Box 6770-A  
 Chicago 80, Illinois

TO: Dr. Leo Szilard, Metallurgical Project, University of Chicago, Chgo, Ill.

RE: RECEIPT OF MATERIAL

Original to be signed personally by the recipient and returned to the sender.

Duplicate to be retained by the recipient.

Triplicate retained by sender for suspense file.

I have personally received from (sender) Capt. J. S. Murray (sender's address) As Above, the material as identified below. I assume full responsibility for the safe handling, storage, and transmittal elsewhere of this material in accordance with existing regulations. The material, including inclosures and attachments is identified as follows. (In identifying material avoid any reference which might cause the receipt form to become CLASSIFIED):

Description (check or indicate)	Date of Document or Letter of Transmittal	From	Addressed To	Date Mailed
Letter <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Drawing _____ Report _____ Other _____ (indicate)	27 Aug. '45	Murray	Szilard	27 Aug. '45
Number and Nature* of copies SO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CC <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FC _____ TC _____ Other _____ (Number and Nature)				
Number of inclosures and attachments _____				

\*SO: signed original; CC: carbon copy; FC: photostat copy; TC: typed copy.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Postal Registry Number

PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN ORIGINAL RECEIPT IMMEDIATELY



WAR DEPARTMENT  
 U.S. ENGINEER OFFICE  
 Manhattan District  
 Chicago Branch Office  
 Intelligence and Security Division  
 P. O. Box 6770-A  
 Chicago 80, Illinois

TO: Dr. Leo Szilard, P. O. Box 5207, Chicago, Illinois

RE: RECEIPT OF MATERIAL

Original to be signed personally by the recipient and returned to the sender.

Duplicate to be retained by the recipient.

Triplicate retained by sender for suspense file.

I have personally received from (sender) Capt. J. S. Murray  
 (sender's address) As Above, the material as identified below.  
 I assume full responsibility for the safe handling, storage, and transmittal elsewhere of this material in accordance with existing regulations. The material, including inclosures and attachments is identified as follows. (In identifying material avoid any reference which might cause the receipt form to become CLASSIFIED):

Description (check or indicate)	Date of Document or Letter of Transmittal	From	Addressed To	Date Mailed
Letter <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Drawing _____ Report _____ Other _____ (indicate)  Number and Nature* of copies SO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CC <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FC _____ TC _____ Other _____ (Number and Nature)  Number of inclosures and attachments _____	28 Aug'45	Murray	Szilard	28 Aug.'45

\*SO: signed original; CC: carbon copy; FC: photostat copy; TC: typed copy.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Postal Registry Number

PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN ORIGINAL RECEIPT IMMEDIATELY

102  
Holard

August 29, 1945

Dr. R. M. Hutchins,  
Chancellor,  
University of Chicago.

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

In July of this year, a petition was sent to the President which was signed by 67 scientists employed by the University of Chicago. After the use of the atomic bomb, I advised the Manhattan District that the petition would no longer be treated as "Secret" and obtained the approval of the Manhattan District for this decision. I am now asked by the Manhattan District to reclassify the text of this petition as "Secret."

In a letter dated August 28, 1945, of which I enclose a copy, the Manhattan District asserts that I would be violating my employment agreement with the University of Chicago if I disclosed the text of the petition.

The Manhattan District's definition of "Secret" includes "information that might be injurious to the prestige of any governmental activity," which is, of course, very different from the definition adopted by Congress in passing the Espionage Act.

A separate telephone call received last Saturday from the Manhattan District advised me that I might be violating my employment contract with the University if I were to publish any article or release anything to the press relating to the problems arising out of the development of the atomic bomb, without first obtaining the approval of the Manhattan District.

The unauthorized disclosure of any scientific or technical information which is in fact secret is, of course, covered by the Espionage Act.

It so happens that I personally have been persistently opposed even to the authorized release of such information at the present time and warned against the publication of the Smyth Report as inconsistent with the attitude taken on other related issues by the Government.

It so happens that I personally believe that we should all fully cooperate with the Government at present since it is presumably striving to negotiate some international arrangement aimed at the control of the manufacture of atomic bombs. This cooperation on our part might require restraint in the public utterances of the scientists who have been connected with this development. Such restraint, however, must be voluntary and cannot be successfully achieved by coercion.

Coercion in this respect ought, in my opinion, to be resisted by the scientists and I, for one, am not willing to submit to it.

There was no intention of releasing for publication the text of the petition without checking first with the White House, and I have in fact been in communication with the White House on this subject. Apart from a possible release of the text of the petition, I have not contemplated sending any articles to magazines or making any releases to the press.

When I signed my employment contract with the University I was not aware of the possibility that this contract might be interpreted along the lines now indicated to me by the Manhattan District. The purpose of this letter is to raise the question whether the University intends to take the position that my contract implies the restriction of my freedom of action which the Manhattan District thinks it does.

Does the University intend to take the position that I <sup>would</sup> violate the contract with the University if I made the text of the petition public, assuming that the text contains no disclosure of secret scientific or technical information or anything which, according to the definition of our laws, is in fact a military secret, and taking into consideration that the Manhattan District now chooses to consider the text of the petition as "secret"?

If I wrote articles or made press releases without previous approval of the Manhattan District, would the University wish to take the position that my action would violate my employment contract, assuming that those articles did not contain any technical, scientific or military information which is in fact secret but were considered, on other grounds, undesirable or "secret" by the Manhattan District?

I regret to have to raise this issue and take your time and attention, but I hope that you will consider this special case as part of the broader issue which is involved.

Very sincerely yours,

*EB.*

*Enclosed: letter from Capt. Murray  
dated Aug 28-45*

# THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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June 4, 1946

**JUN 7 REC'D**

Dr. H. H. Goldsmith  
 Editor, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists  
 1126 East 59th Street  
 Chicago, Illinois

My dear Dr. Goldsmith:

Some weeks ago I corresponded with someone at your office about the petition to President Truman signed by sixty-four scientists associated with the metallurgical project sometime during the summer of 1945. The petition is referred to in the story prefacing the report of Professor Franck's committee in the May 1 issue of your bulletin.

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter I recently received from Major General F. L. Parks. General Parks evidently now puts it up to the signers to make the statement public and seems to infer that there is no opposition to that on the part of the War Department.

I still think that the document ought to be public property and I do hope that some step in that direction will be taken promptly.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

*A. J. Muste*

A. J. Muste

AJM:EPC

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# WESTERN UNION

1206

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

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

NIGHTLETTER

JUNE 27, 1946

MR. A. J. MUSTE  
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION  
2929 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

SORRY BUT ISSUE HAS GONE TO PRESS. NEXT ONE WILL COME OUT AUGUST FIRST.

H. H. GOLDSMITH  
ATOMIC SCIENTISTS OF CHICAGO, INC.  
1126 E. 53TH ST.  
CHICAGO, ILL.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

# WESTERN UNION

1201

(12)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

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

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DR H H GOLDSMITH=

1126 EAST 59 ST CHGO=

*UB*

1946 JUN 26 PM 10 16

REFERRING MY LETTER JUNE 4 AND MAJOR GENERAL PARKS LETTER  
ENCLOSED SUGGEST BIKINI TEST DATE APPROPRIATE MOMENT FOR  
RELEASE STATEMENT OF 64 SCIENTISTS TO TRUMAN LAST JULY=  
A J MUSTE.

*Fellowship of Reconciliation  
2727 Broadway  
New York 25, N.Y.*

64.

~~SECRET~~

5/13/64 DW-55435

A PETITION TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLINTON LABORATORIES

This paper has been drawn up in view of a recent petition addressed to Pres. Truman by L. Szilard, a noted physicist working on the Metallurgical Project. This petition requested the President to forego the use of a new powerful weapon in the war on Japan because of the moral issue involved. It went on to state that morally it was wrong to use such a powerful force but if practical necessities demand its use, then the moral issue should be bypassed. It should be used if the nation's life were endangered, the petition went on to say.

Are not the men of the fighting forces a part of that nation? Are not they, who are risking their lives for the nation, entitled to the weapons which have been designed? In short, are we to go on shedding American blood when we have available a means to a speedy victory? No! If we can save even a handful of American lives, then let us use this weapon -- now!

Furthermore, we fail to see the use of a moral argument when we are considering such an immoral situation as war. Any new weapon is regarded with some fear as to its inevitable consequences, but, with further developments, new weapons become everyday implements of war. Future generations will come to regard this latest device with less and less regard.

These sentiments, we feel, represent more truly those of the majority of Americans and particularly those who have sons and daughters in the foxholes and warships in the Pacific.

In initiating this counter-petition we feel that the greatest good it can serve is to vividly point to the jeopardy to which the original Szilard petition has exposed the Security of the DSM project. Certainly, if one such petition, with the information and dangerous implications it has, can pass through (or around as it may have) plant and project administration, we feel that every individual may assume open season and compete to be sure that his own acquiescence or dissension is equally well broadcast, all costs notwithstanding.

*George W. Parker*  
*D. S. Ballantine*

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## The Story of a Petition

(Insert 1)

In the world of science and on its fringes, we find two different species of men working together at times, and at times working at cross-purposes. One of these species is composed of the men who are able to cope with thought, and the other is composed of men who are able to cope with things, such as machines, and men. The scientist who becomes an administrator belongs to this second species. During the war thought became concealed under the blanket of secrecy, and the scientist administrators who crawled around on the top of this blanket were the only ones exposed to the public eye. Some of these were men of great ability. Men like Conant and Bush rendered the nation an immense service. Were it not for this species which forms the evolutionary link between the military brass and the human beings, our scientific war effort might have been seriously crippled. Although we were quite aware of this fact even during the war, we were unable to accept them as our spokesmen.



X

The first petition was signed by 59 members  
of the laboratory, among them:

Jasper B. Jeffries  
Robert J. Moon  
Austin M. Brues  
K. S. Cole  
Alexander Langsdorf, Jr.  
David L. Hill  
David B. Hall  
Warren C. Johnson  
Walter Bartky  
James J. Nickson  
W. H. Zachariasen

Elizabeth E. Painter  
Richard Abrams  
Raymond E. Zirkle  
Herman Lisco  
A. Wattenberg  
Robert J. Maurer  
F. L. Freedman  
Robt. S. Mulliken  
Karl Darrow  
Leo Szilard

*Jasper B. Jeffries*

-----  
The second petition was signed by <sup>70</sup>~~59~~ members of the laboratory, among them:

George A. Sacher  
Robert S. Mulliken  
John A. Simpson  
Frank Foote  
Robert L. Platzman  
J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr.

*R. E. Lapp*  
E. P. Wigner  
John P. Howe  
~~Jasper B. Jeffries~~  
Hoyland D. Young

While some of the signers of this petition are permanently associated with the University of Chicago, <sup>the</sup> a majority of them are scientists from universities and laboratories throughout the United States temporarily stationed on the University of Chicago campus.

First memo

MUEL, S-61

from March  
12-45

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