BOOK

transcription handwritten notes, His lay 5

Apology (in lieu of a foreword)

When people discover that I am not smoke and that I drink very rarely they always want to know what if any of my vices or addictions are. And invariably I give for their query an evasive answer. But now that I am writing this "history" attempts at concealment would no longer serve any useful purpose. The sad truth is that I am addicted to the truth.

Since my memory goes back to when I just completed my second year, a short while before my brother was born, I have no difficulty in discovering the roots of this addiction in the many tales short and long which my mother used to tell me at that age. Not yhryxyhi that this clear memoray is of any help as far as improving my disposition in its concerned.

It is impossible truthfully to record the early story of the A bomb without harting the feelings of some of those who were involved. I am sorry about this. If it were not for my addiction I could temper the truth with kindness at least more so than is possible for me to do in the circumstances.

I do not wish to say of course that other accounts of the "early history", those written in the past or those which may be written in the future are leas truthful because they are different from mine. In 1943 Dr Bethe from Cornell visited in Chicago and we discussed the work conducted there under the Manhattan District in which I was involved. The things that were done and even more the things that were left undone disturbed me very much particularly because I thought (quite wrongly as we now know) that the Germans were ahead of us. "Bethe" I said "I am going to write down all that is going on these days in this project. I am just going to write down the facts—not for myx any one to read—just for God. "Don't you think God knows the facts" Bethe asked.
"Maybe he does I said—but not this version of the facts—

Introductory Insert

The outstanding ability seems to be hereditzzy in the family of Mme Curie. The ability for high class research in the field of science and, as a young girl, the ability to pick a husband who subsequently turns out to be a great scientist.

Mme &Curie married Pierre Curie; her daughter Irene Curie married Frederic Joliot. I am told Mme Curie was not particularly impressed by her daugher's choice. She used to introduce him as "The young man who married my daughter"

What the young man who married her daughter did to physics and to the world has been related in the prêc. chapter. The invasion of France interrrupted Joliot's work on atomic energy. Fermi and I were working at that time along

similar lines. In June 1939 Joliot was ahead of us in August 1939 we were ahead of him. But if his work had not been "-interrupted ka he might have beaten us " I am told that during the resistance movement he has joined the Comm. party of France which was the best organised and by far the strongest group within the resistance movement. I am also told that he is by no means a communist in the sense in which the word is understood in America. I do not see how he could be .-- But I am not particularly interested in the political views of my colleagues nor do I see why any one else should be .-- Of all physicists living his contribution were in my opinion by far the most -- original and M Fermi is a genuine scientist There is no greater praise I could bestow on any one. Because he hs that his interst in science is not limited to physics. It could not be. Repeatedly he max said that one of these days he might turn to biology perhaps. Nowit insert weems doubtful that he will in fact do so. Fermi represents what is best in the scientisksfic & tradition of Europe. How he picked it up I do nto know.

Insert His most outstanding work in my opinion was his theory of the (3) disintegration which incidentally "Nature" declined to print. But that is not for what he was awarded the Nobel Prize.

The struggles of our times do not affect him very much and he is no fighter. Seom people hold this against him, they have no right to do so in my opinion.

During the war Fermi did whatever was expected of him. gave the best advice he could and never lost his sense of prpor proportions. He like all of us wanted us to win the But somewhere deep in his heart he knew, that it did not really matter whether we win or lose and that a thousand years of now ? a hundred years from wwx now people will not find it easy to understand what it was we all got so exited about .-- During the war in the Uranium proje ct we had often to fight against foolish decision which were about to be taken and which might have lost us the war--or at least so many of [us] thought. Often we got mad. Fermi got mad too. "It makes me mad kw -- he said on one occasion -- if only on the ground of considerations" Fermi is a scientist pure and simple. position is unassailable because it is all of one peace(sic) It will surprise him if he ever& reads this to hear me say that I agree with him and he will probably find it difficult to believe it. I doubt that he were ever understood that some people have live in two works worlds like I do. A world, and science is a part of this one in which we have to predict what is going to happen, and another world in which we try to forget these predictions in order to be able to fight for what we would want to heppen. But then how many people are able to understand the coexistence of these two separate worlds? I certainly would not understand it were it not

for certain accidents of my education .--

Fermi and I had disagreed from the very start of our collaboration about every issue that involved not science but principles of action in the face of the approaching war. If the Nation owes us a gratuduxitude—and it may not—it does so for having stuck it out together as long as it was necessary. In our

Our first disagreement was about suppressing the publication of our discovery of the neutron emission in Uraniam .--To Fermi this thought was abhorrent. He held and rightly so that the ____ publication of discoveries is a basic tenet of scientific morality. A decision and to be made quickly. Fermi and a mutual friend of ourse talked it over one afternoon in Wahnington; Fermi was outvoted. When I got back to N.Y. I found that Fermi had already taken all the necessary steps to have the publication of our papers delayed and that he had pleaded the case for the suppression of this publication very effectively. It was an example of fairmess which made a great impression on me and which was fairly typical of the attitude he's often taken on subsequent occasions. I do not with to overstress this point; there is a limit to any man's fairness and in the turnoil of the Uranium project ____ there were great provocations some of these were xx great for Fermi but this is only my opinion. I am certain Fermi would take the opposite view/one. and where there is a controversy at of this sort one man's opinion is as good as another's. On matters scientific or technical there was rarely any disagreement between Fermi

and myself or the rest of us whose opinions counted in those early days. Nor was there much difference in our attitude towards those who "directed" our k work from Washington. "This one is wrong as wrong can be" said Fermi on one occasion. Mostly we spoke of them and "they." "If we brought the bomb to them all ready made in a silver platter there would still be a 50:50 chance that they would mess it up" he said on another .-- All this was before the Army took over. He has a very good way of making apoint without using many words. "A General is a man who takes chances-he said--mostly he takes a 50:50 chance; if he happens to win times inm suscession he is considered a great general. I forget whom or what he had in mind on this particular occasion. But Fermi thought we took too great chances in the Project; on this we thoroughly disagreed. Even ax the middle of 1942 Fermi thought that our work had no bearing on the war and that those who thought otherwise were "sadly mistaken". -- Whether he did not wish that there should be a "bomb" or whether he did not make sufficient allowances for possibilities wixh which had not yet become manifest I do not know, though as a rule whenever we disagreed the source of the disagreement had a source which lay outside of the intellectual sphere.

Of all the many occasions which I had to observe Fermi I liked him best on the rather rare occasions when he got mad (except of course when he got mad at me) A young physicist came on visit to NY and asked Fermi's help to use the

library

IXENTICALLY at Columbia -- Fermi talked to the librarian but she said the case had to decided by the Central Library. Fermi called the Central Library and they made difficultimes. "If we admit every one they said our libraries will be overcrowded." It was summertime there may have been 2 or students loitering about in the Physics library. Fermi got mad he got mad for the right reasons, in the right degree and in the mink right manner. Very vividly I remember that scene. Whatever grudges I might still have against Fermi I am willing [to] forgive them for the sake of this one heartwarming memory.

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In our "fights" with each whe other I was at a disadvantage in several respects not the least because I understood him and he understood me not.--

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E. P. Wigner has no Nobel prize and he will tell you that he does not deserve one. Perhaps he is right about this but there are physicists which (with?) such universal and profound knowledge of physics, few who over a period of over 25 years remain in the forefront of Physics. He is of all physicists I know the one he [who] is most universally respected. (I mean respected by the rink ght kind of people). This is due as much to the results of his work as to his character, but then work and character are inseparably connected. In the case of all these men Wigner was the conscience of the Project from its early beginning to its very

end. His greadt courtesy is proverbial and there are many stories circulating about him with his politeness as the central theme. While he lived in Madison his car broke down and the he had it repaired in a garage. After he called for it and drove away he noticed that his tools were missing and he drove back to ask for them. There was an argument, not recorded in detail by history, after which Wigner, still without his tools, got ready to start his car saying "Go to hell please". -- Sometimes he is misunderstood for if he says to a young physicist who explains to him his experiments or theories "this is very interesting" he might menaxknex mean the same as I do if I say "this sounds like God Damn nonsense to me! Most people like his courteous manner though and I have met only few who resented it saying that he is so polite because he is afraid what would happen "if you guessed what he really thinks about your paper" .-- Wigner as the story will show is a fighter and Smyth says "He is stubborn like a mule" A mule with Wigner's brain would have a right to be stubborn .--

I find it more difficult to write about Wigner than the others perhaps because he is one of my closest friends or at least he was that until his marriage for it is doubtful just to what extent close friendship and marriage are compatible. The pattern of loyalties shifts and gets more complicated by marriage; the Catholic church has always been aware of this. But perhaps there is also another reason for my difficulty. Wigner may be less "provide genic" than the others and it may have to [be] left to the "story"

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Rwwrite Wigner

Wigner I met for the first time in 1921 in Berlin. He studied chem. Eng. at that time and was about to graduate. I majored in physics and merely dabbled in chemistry but through some freak we were thrown together in the same laboratory course. He was much more advanced of course than I was and whenever my analysis did not seem to come out alright I turned to him for advice. This set the pattern of our relationship and though he was much younger than I was I used to turn to him whenever it did not seem to come out alright" and very often it did not.—

Wigner has no Nobel Prize

H.C. Urey is a fighter and he shoots straight. He is a clear ______ and a physicist in the best sense of the word. One would think it impossible for anyone in his right senses not to like him. But Gen. Groves of the Manhattan District, Lyman J. Briggs, Director of the B. of Stand., Conant, Director of the N.D.R.C., Bush of the OSRD "they" did not like him or if "they" did "they" concealed their feelings exceedingly well.

Urey is very much of a scientist who does not play politics and any xxx small time politician can dance rings around him. He is a scientist who does not feel at home anywhere but in science and if he is kept away from science he withers away until he can get back into his lab. and like

recover his strength again .--

Urey wanted to win the war, he fought, but he was honest and disinterested and so he was at a disadvantage, and most of the fights he lost. His judgement

No one's ever is. He may have taken up a position, and may have reversed himself two weeks later. In the world of science this is a virtue but no politician must reverse himself within such a short time. "They" did not like htis, clearly & Urey was not one of the m. Whether Urey was right or wrong the second time, little it mattered.

"______ can not work with a man who reversed himself all the time".-
The young men rallied to Urey but the "big shots" in science did not, they knew what was good for them.-- Urey was like a bull in the China-Shop and we live a in a China-Shop don't we?

After the war Urey took an interest in politics. He was one

of the most powerful adversary of the May Johnson Bill and in fighting this bill he was at his best.

speakers. Lately he took up a position basemed on a profound distrust of Russia. In this I disagree with him. Not because I have any good reason to believe that his distrust of Russia is mistakedn, for all I know he might be right, but because constructive political action such as the world needs at presented can not he be based on such mistrust. "Fahrlässiges Mistrauen" "unsubstantialed distrust" is the

It seems to me that

worst sin we might commitxxxxx at this juncture of history. -Also when Urey talks about Russia xxxxxx I sense sometimes
some sort of inner conflict which expresses itself in an

attitude toward this problem and then

I suspect that somewhere deep in his heart Urey might have applause of those whom he has been fighting all his life.

who can
But/whenxwe look inok into the soul of another man and be sure that he is right.

Fragments to Fermi

- 1) I do not want to overstress this point; there may be a limit to any man's fairness and when the cost appears too high the memory gives way. There were several serious clashes in the project and I do not wish to imply that Fermi was not human.--
- 2) I may have some grudges against him and they might count for something in heaven or they might count for naught but I am inclined to think that "he will be forgiven for he "got mad" often enough"

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Being a scientists does not mean that Fermi is not human. Those who kave seen him climb a hill or play a game of tennis have seen that he is ambitious. Those who seem to think he would be a greater man if he were less amb itious might be mistaken; if he had been less ambitious, he might never have done anything of note and might have never emerged from the obscurity in which the millions are born, live and die.--

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Einstein is a great man and this manifests itself in any number of ways. He is a man as free from vanity as I have ever seen one. I heard him talk to an audience atxa of a thousand—in German where he is at his best.—and he talked to them as he would talk to a few friends gathered at the fireside. That does not mean that he is not shy, of course. Great achievement in the field of science require a certain kind of sensitivity and sensitivity leads to shyness. This His great fame opened all doors to him at an early age. He came into contact with many people; many who sought his company or help or advice being as shy as he is. I doubt that he Insert here

here got much pleasure and out of these contacts. If you meet him you are with his great modesty and his great simplicity of heart. This simplicity is perhaps the key to the understanding of his work.—In science the greatest thoughts are the simplest thoughts. He started out as an " " in the Swiss patent office. He earned there a living not dependent on giving birth to any scientific ideas great or small. When he left there one of his fellows said he was sorry to see him to: "We shall miss your laughter" he said.—"Why don't you take a job in the Patent office Einstein told me when I just graduated. That would be best for you; it is not a good thing for a seientist to be dependent on laying golden eggs. When I workd in the Patent office, that was my best time of all.—If a

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like Einstein felt the chill of the worst compulsion to produce
"results" we may well ponder whether our organized efforts

"results" we may well ponder whether our organized efforts to advance science take sufficiently into accounts the needs of the human soul.--

Insert earlier

Einstein may not feel at ease in your company a but you will feel at ease wi in his for he is one of those "who expect little and wwo demand nothing at all"

Einstein has always taken an interst in the affairs of the world, a remote sort of interest, ready to withdraw at an instants notice into the non secular world of science. —
"One fifth of my heart I am ready to spend on the world" he said to me once, "but 4/5 of it I retain. I could of course spend all my time buttonholing people and talk to them about the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system—if you please—or make speeches on the streetcorner." "Maybe they would put me in mail but what good would I do?" "No—he said—not everyone is as fortunate as Christ. To sacrifice yourself and do some good that takes luck."— If you are willing to use the world religious attitude

in the broad sense of the term then Einstein is a religious man. To me he is a religious man in the deepest sense of the word. "As long as you pray to God and ask him for something you are not a religious man" he said to me and I share his view.--

Insert

There is one episode that comes to my mind. It was in Berlin

XXXXX

in our Christmass gathering of scientists, the weekly meeting Club. -- A young member of the staff has of the just finished his report on certain experiments presenting data that were in conflict with one of Einstein's tentative theories .-- - Mr. Einstein -- said Nemst "do you think these data are correct"" "I think so Einstein said "the experiments seem to have been made under carefully controlled conditions." "But Mr. Einstein ______insisted getting quite excited they do not at all with the theory you told me about two weeks ago" "Do you really think/God cares what I told you two weeks ago?" Who should have known better what it takes to make science go forward than Einstein. So when after the first war the German National Science Foundation made a drive for fund tex they arranged for a reporter to interview him. What are the most important in your field of work, Mr. Einstein -- the reporter asked "Oh, said Einstein, some paper and a pencil " But this was not what the reporter wanted to hear. " Mr. Einstein, there must be something else that is important," he asked. Einstein thought for a while "Yes he said something else very important -- the waste paper basket." Whether the reporter grasse grasped the depth of Einstein's remark histoy does not record; more likely than not he gave up Einstein as "hopeless" .-- Science Foundations thrive on funds not on wisdom, it is impossible to spend widdom, and even to spend funds with wisdom is sometimes too difficult .--

Einstein

When the time came to go to the President; to point to W uranium and to say "look here this is no joke, this is serious"

I went to Einstein. He was the only man I knew who would not hesitate to act for fear he might make a fool of himself.

Insert

You feel at east with Einstein	because he is secure	e in
himself. "I do not understand	this man	
Einstein said to me once soon a	fter	He was
such a	during the war." "]	do not
understand it either, I said, h	e is really a great "You know,"	mathematician.
er hat es doch nicht nötig geha		Nötig, hat's
keiner" [After all he didn't ne	ed to." "You know, s	said Einstein,
"Nobody needs to."]		

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partings hourse the is loss 君 polostegenic portraps he is 14 one of my done to friend was land he mus that mudell bid morosuft por it is durletful just there a ha what extent close todendshop and amorrange ore comprehen. The pulkerin et logalies who the and yets more complicated of morrige; been amore of met there is a is Alfred Attinity of Wyner and then " plrukegenic" Hong Heathen I has I have tonow & line for dune a front of the will enjoy take this prochance then the offices and of well hong ho be for they street may pushings the sky street will projetiste list profest fre a bother pretine of lune than the others and the many have he left he ble "show" street to some his prichase

Rinote mynon Abothin hope for 1821 in Some of the short war. was about he gasherake a recognice in Johnoirs and monely dalilelad in drawing but through rame freak me were Known heysther in the varie belovedy ourse the house the was much more educated of course throw I was and when ever to my samuly is Mid not rein to earno and ochrege I works humed to him for edites. Hungh he'mo, much goiger plan Q His dot the this nex the Jullem of our white'anolis p and through he mos much ganges yamper then I was I week, An home he him whenen y Et still not veen to enmo any with allright " and after It shill not . hypror has no Hobbe The the shows strongly U. C. May is pay the My the is the word he is a clear Rem A [Inhelligent

After that surveyed the is a struly one strate one one was the for any one in his right senses to thishlothe him. But the timeter of home of Someyes briethrof the B. of Cheud. Comment timacher of the A. D. RI. Brook of the USR'S and for Trans of the him or My thes " nod "they" curetaled the or presidently mell " lines in the tentra toller and proper the politics and one politicand con He is a mentist who tres not feel athrone any where except in sedence and if he is high any from redence he mitthens any until he our get look and his late and whe Authors handing earth rower his strength again. It lives wanted to set in the wor, he funght, and me of the highes to dest of he was been to make Mordonerhed and the second sport the the mine me Mas Judness

No ine's is the many time later up a providon salutate mos wrong, and my have reversed love self have wich laker Malashahas In the mond of reservoe this is a worken but no polohdiacen must reverse prinself within such a street have the Me protesting they" and not who this, clerky they was not are of the Vheblus Dejuis night or wrong the severed home, tollle of mollines. I fin ewn not with with a man who reversed howwelf all fle home. If the young men rallded ha And not, they have I what was grand for Krem . - liney was lotte a bull in the Uniona Shop and me live in a Orina Hup Hon's Offer Ala way 1861 May horse an inherest in journais. Here the the He was one of the most say adversing of the Way July me Pour and in phylology the last the hert. By gypt the med for your en a mint

menhers. After a year or me Takely be book up a provotion proced on Xxx grapumed ovokinst of Russia. In her D Moragnes with him . Not because I have overtere forod reason ha believe that his portrust of Prisona noght be night, but herme the political arthur en mosterely The workholder polobolide achter man as the world world at present my Falm landyes mistormen an pla " livery holds about them I have I have more not af inner with the which appeares itself in an and the first the fine of the format applance of those when the state of the same of the sa me Mathe

Fragmento Da Bern 18) No met want he aren shows Him from there may be a through to any man's farmers and when the cost appears Loo high the menony fres my a / Wold has held the will stay Marshy Der work how in the Host in this respect . Petalite little hard page homes for the trainer there sure henrium Sushes in the progrant and I do not wish he wingly that have mos mel lumina . -2.) Dans have some prodyes. against form and they might excent for something in treasure or they might say want for ownglist but I am suchered by Hunt Hunt les word be forgined for he got miss! ofhen enough " Bring a tenentrof dues not were that Rennie is most time a three when home vaen him shired , last an plus a game of hours have men Unt be is anilytones, There were num to think he would be a practice pour If he were less authoris mouth the busham, of the base been

des untiphrans, he might nover to have some any bling of make and myles have never emorged how the absently that which millions of mong one how, home and doe. him stem 3 a great mon and this montports shelf he any mucher of may's. He is a more as free from vanity as I have ever ness one. the Deta I brend him halk he an andrease of a Monound - en ferman where he is at her hest - and he halked he there as he would trade halk he a few friends golland at the fire state . That does not men that he is must oby af course x Exchange Hotrement in the held of bedense regime a cirtain hand of remothered and senotheroly leads to styness. His frat furns upened all their for live at the course into enthough myth many pumple, many toler mught his immy or asture the pring so they as he is I small the get much If you went there must have my fresh of the heart. This mapsterts is

is greekages the hey to ble underskandling of his mach. In revence the prevhas & Hroughts one the now Jolest thoughts. He should ant as that in example in the hurs orahand office. He cannot there a truing mut deprendent on franke gradung printh he any vidents for judens great or small; When he left these to and the state of the said to the he was some of the said to the him he was some hours sum lays for the said of the have a jule was in the Puberel office Erin Herin held me & Hour weald be least for men; it is met a good thering for a verentists to find the ne pendent en enjoy opteder eggs , when ? moshed in the Portent office that mino my test live of all . - If a

more on y that the End thing, when the

first from four mill their grips when the full the front who the former wifter chill of the moral computation to printeres results" muito who this There me my sull printer whether any enguntred efforts for asterine remer ment watering up the Korung tree:

fatre from to secount or accounts 22 The meeds of the termain mul. in Jam ogs enn jong hut jur wyll feel at ease in his for he is and demand mething at all Zim Lin always taken an interest in the affairs of the morted, a number most If inherest prevely for mothers at an instants makes and the non nearly moved of I chance - a one for pla of my heart ? an seedy by sound on the mortal be and my ming but 4/5 of it is ordain, the root to me is much at inve spend all my brune buldacher, penyole and with he flren about ben onewhable dung dannfall of the engrapholist yshern- of your place-Sight Mas or mike yreedres an the port me gut jonissen, lint what your munted Heral de " No - he was The not every one is as teating to as throat. Ho ment place guesself and Ha Tune yourd plant pakes luch . -If you are nothing to use the word religious allotande in the brand

sense of the dawn then Emphow 23 is a religious man. Alles. Da me hors o religious man en Me Apy Lesgoest ourse of the word. ford for muchling when you my he find and a ash him for smathing you are not a religious mon- he said he me and I show hip were - Being tree of prepartice he mays find when the main find and be store not bend There is nice aprovide that comes to my mind It was in Prosting in an Musto in gotherway at y In the the the the menty Jour the menty In mosting of the James Clarket has find finished him report an daha blat mere in the presenting with one of Rimsherms Lenhower Humpes . -- Mr linsten - David News & No you Hunch there olaha are arrech a mobil stonet Well yours , I humb on him ohem and of Ally the organine ents our he have been made under combulty embralled trudolines, But mo, hinde

herrs worked gelling growthe excelled thereng ha hald me about how weeks and for you really think thinker with wing Just a level a level I find eves as the state Sabalet whent mecho aigo " home home hold men home what It haves the solites ourses muche verence for howard thien tring ten, So when after the prog men ble that Jeman Northwest Lesiones Farmoladian made i dove for fund Muy amonged for a regrowher for where men hunden. Alfold What one He and son but had regimed my fer thouse of mort him kin when - Has negrow her wohest 4 Ohi round tens herin rame proper and a person " But this mos must What the person wouted he hear great hands there must be hunt of the Hunght for a whole of for he vaid connecting the very ungrestant. The worke jupis horket

History Bues nut record substitus my her grasorest the p Mayoth Mheller the superfect trooped the not record; more whele them not be fore up knindben as tropo less, Letence farmdakrun Morre on from des mot an law solam 4th, i' in in from the is opened entallers, and Is wen he spend to funds with wisdow is they shiffs will ! -From the him o come ha for he the Promident; and so he present he aranima and he my plant have His is me juke, this is sentius? ment by their oforis. I know up no and at that hime (and the would there brown of no and to day) much who punted the It because som he in would be by aproved of much your a foot of trimmely He mus the endy men of them somewhat will not bestake make a final of himself

In and the head at ease forme 26 By theme said anished he me never offer Hist min Prehand the mos ouch a drawtint puring the mor, " I do not undersland ut mathemation per hut estandert making placet to hear of In bone on her when mothing that I hear? I'm how ment in hear of the same have a mother had the hear of the same of the