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we, a group of the scientists who have proposed and developed the atomic bomb, feel that we cannot escape the responsibility for its consequences. We are convinced that the President and Congress are immensely concerned with the problem we face, and determined to establish from the beginning a policy which will make this weapon a means for the insurance of peace. We are aware, also, that it is not within our scientific province to formulate detailed proposals. But we consider it our duty to point out to the American People the political implications of certain established scientific facts.

The immense destructive power of this weapon has been shown. Its military effectiveness is so great that no nation at war can afford to renounce its use if available. This is in contrast to the use of poison gas, which it has been possible to renounce only because of its comparative ineffectiveness. Other nations, anxious for their own security, will endeavor to develop atomic bombs. In our own work one of the main difficulties was the fact that large scale efforts and expenditures had to be decided upon on the basis of purely theoretical predictions. Every minor setback was extremely serious, and tended to reopen the question whether the development of the weapon during the war was feasible. Other countries will profit greatly from the knowledge that success has been echieved. It is therefore certain that they could develop the weapon within a few years, even if detailed technical information is not available to them. **VERIFIED UNCLASSIFIED**

VERIFIED UNCLASSIFIED LANL Classification Group

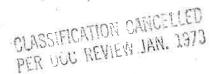
SPECIAL RE-REVIEW
FINAL DETERMINATION
UNCLASSIFIED, DATE: 15/89
CLASSIFICATION
TO SEE THE SECONDARY SERVICES

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED PER DUC KEVIEW JAN. 1973 It has often been argued that against any new weapon a defense is ultimately developed. The question of defense against atomic bombs is, however, a scientific problem, not to be argued in terms of commonplaces. Effective defenses which would preclude bombing by airplanes or rockets have not been developed in this war. In the present instance, defense is even more difficult, because a single plane or rocket is sufficient.

The atomic bomb, therefore, changes the security position of this country. The possession of military and naval bases, however numerous and far-outlying, cannot protect this country against devastating attacks. We may endeavor to maintain our present scientific and technological superiority in the future development of this weapon. All we could insure by this, however, would be a greater destruction of the enemy; not a lesser destruction of our own country.

The only visible way of minimizing the destructive effects of the bomb and of preserving a war potential if attacked is a radical dispersal. This means abandonment of all our cities and reconstruction of our industries, either in very small or in deep underground units. Even if such a complete change of our ways of life were undertaken, it might fail to provide protection; the destructiveness of the first crude atomic bomb models cannot be regarded as a measure of future possibilities. At present, in our own country, there is such a high concentration of industry and population as to make it particularly vulnerable.

In view of this situation, we believe that every attempt



must be made immediately to arrange for the control of this weapon by a world authority. This means an effective international control of the production of the vital materials and of the manufacture of atomic weapons in all countries. This control is technically feasible because of the large scale and novel industrial character of the production processes. In order adequately to control this weapon, the world authority would have to be given supervision over certain of the economic espects of national life. This involves, for all mations, a departure from cherished political concepts.

The decisive step, however, is not still before us; it has been taken with the invention of the atomic bomb. Hadical technological changes bring about profound changes in our way of life in one way or another. The choice that remains to us is the choice that we have described: the destructive and ineffective abandonment of our clies as a prelude to war; or the immediate achievement of an effective world authority. It is our concerted scientific judgment that there is no third alternative.

