FILE DESCRIPTION

NEWARK FILE

SUBJECT J.R. Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-31936-B

VOLUME NO.

SERIALS 1 thru 90

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File No: 100-31936 "B" Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

Date: 3/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
1	4-14-54	SA memo to SAC	1	1	
1	4-14-54	(copy of above) SA memo to SAC	1	1	1 DUP. NO CHARGE!
2	4-14-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
3	4-13-54	newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
4	4-13-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
5	4-13-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
6	4-14-54	newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
7	4-14-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
8	4-15-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
9	4-15-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
10	4-14-54	newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
11	4-15-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
12	4-19-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
13	4-13-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
14	4-13-54	newsclip New York Times	1	1	
15	4-13-54	newsclip New York Times	1	1	
16	4-13-54	newsclip New York Times	5	5	
17	4-13-54	newsclip New York Times	12	12	
18	4-14-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
19	4-14-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
20	no date	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
21	4-13-54	newsclip New York Times	2	2	
22	4-13-54	newsclip New York Daily News	6	6	
23	4-19-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	3	3	

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File No: 100-31936 "B" Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

Date: 3/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
24	4-18-54	Newsclip Newark Sunday News	1	1	
25	4-18-54	Newsclip Sunday Star Ledger	1	1	
26	4-23-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
27	4-23-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
28	5-7-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
29	5-10-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
30	5-16-54	Newsclip Newark Sunday News	1	1	
31	6-2-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	2	2	
32	6-2-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
33	6-2-54	Newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
34	6-2-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
35	6-2-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	2	2	

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NEWARK FILES

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
36	6-3-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
37	6-3-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
38	6-4-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
39	6-4-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
40	6-3-54	Newsclip Trenton Evening Times	1	1	
41	6-9-54	Newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
42	6-14-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
43	6-16-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	2	2	
44	6-16-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
45	6-16-54	Newsclip Newark Evening News	2	2	
46	6-16-54	Newsclip Jersey Journal	1	1	
47	6-17-54	Newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	

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File No: 100-31936 "B" Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
48	6-9-54	Newarklip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
49	6-7-54	Newarklip Woodbury Daily Times	1	1	
50	6-7-54	Newarklip Newark Evening News	1	1	
51	6-8-54	Newarklip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
52	6-17-54	Newarklip Newark Evening News	1	1	
53	6-30-54	Newarklip Jersey Journal	1	1	
54	6-30-54	Newarklip Newark Evening News	2	2	
55	6-30-54	Newarklip Newark Star Ledger	2	2	
56	7-1-54	Newarklip Jersey Journal	1	1	
57	7-1-54	Newarklip Newark Evening News	1	1	
58	7-1-54	Newarklip Newark Evening News	1	1	
59	7-1-54	Newarklip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	

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60	7-1-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
61	6-30-54	newsclip Trenton Evening Times	2	2	
62	5-21-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
63	5-7-54	newsclip The Trentonian	1	1	
64	7-4-54	newsclip Sunday Star Ledger	1	1	
65	4-30-54	clipping U.S. News + World Report	3	3	
66	7-1-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
67	7-1-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	2	2	
68	7-1-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
69	7-14-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	1	1	
70	7-27-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
71	7-6-54	newsclip Trenton Evening Times	1	1	

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FD-503 (2-18-77)

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File No: 100-31936 "B" Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

Date: 3/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
72	6-28-54	newsclip Trenton Evening Times	1	1	
73	6-21-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	2	2	
74	7-20-54	newsclip Trenton Evening Times	1	1	
75	8-1-54	newsclip New York World-			
		Telegram + Sun	1	1	
76	8-30-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
77	8-30-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
78	8-30-54	newsclip Bergen Evening Record	1	1	
79	8-30-54	newsclip Elizabeth Daily Journal	1	1	
80	9-23-54	newsclip Passaic Herald News	1	1	
81	9-25-54	newsclip New York Herald Tribune	2	2	
82	9-28-54	newsclip Paterson Evening News	1	1	

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File No: 100-31936 "B" Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
83	10-2-54	newsclip Paterson Evening News	1	1	
84	10-2-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
85	9-27-54	newsclip Newark Star Ledger	1	1	
86	10-22-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
87	11-5-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
88	11-12-54	newsclip Bergen Evening Record	1	1	
89	12-2-54	newsclip Newark Evening News	1	1	
90	1-5-55	newsclip Daily Home News	1	1	

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Newspaper Clippings Only

File No. 100-31936 "B"

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J. E. Kelly

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC D. S. HOSTETTER DATE: 4/14/54

FROM : SA THOMAS E. KELLY

SUBJECT: J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER
IS - R

It is to be noted that a large number of press clippings are being accumulated in instant case. Therefore, it is suggested that a B Section of instant filed be opened for the purpose of filing press clippings obtained to date and which are anticipated in the very near future.

TEK:AM
NK 100-31936

4/22/54
CCO
Prepare "B" section to contain all newspaper clippings

100-31936B-1

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APR 14 1954
FBI - NEWARK

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC D. S. HOSTETTER

DATE: 4/14/54

FROM :

SUBJECT: SA THOMAS E. KELLY

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IS - R

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TEK:AM
NK 100-31936

100-31936B-1

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APR 14 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Condon Tells His Support

Says He Has Full Faith in Oppenheimer and Hits Labeling

Special to Newark News.

CORNING, N. Y.—Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the National Bureau of Standards, yesterday voiced "absolute confidence in the loyalty and integrity" of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

Condon said that it was "absolutely fantastic to attribute his (Oppenheimer's) motivation to anything other than his judgment of the safety of the United States."

He also commented on a charge that Oppenheimer hired Communists or former Communists at the Los Alamos atomic laboratory during World War II. Condon, who was at Los Alamos part of that time, said that two things must be made clear:

The so-called Communists were, for the most part, in student activities and not in "full, deep involvement in conspiracy. I believe "there is a distinction between campus Communism and being an out-and-out part of a subversive conspiracy."

Security Not His Job

Oppenheimer did not have "ultimate responsibility from a security point of view." Naming then Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, in charge of the atomic bomb project at the time, as an example, Condon emphasized that "responsibility must be shared with others."

Regarding Oppenheimer's opposition to the development of the hydrogen bomb, Condon asserted that "there again, if anybody is going to phony up an allegation of bad faith, all the people who took this view must share the responsibility."

Condon said "springing the case now" before Senator McCarthy could capitalize on it, was "a wonderful public service."

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☐ PA ☐ S #3
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☐ C #3 ☐ C.CLERK
☐ APPL ☐ S.STEND

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APR 1 1954
FBI - NEWARK

NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-14-54 Page 6

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

100-319362-2

Dr. Oppenheimer Suspended

'Father' of A-Bomb Charged With Employing Communists

WASHINGTON (INS) — The Atomic Energy Commission was expected to make a formal statement today on its suspension of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, one of the "fathers" of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Oppenheimer

Oppenheimer, the famed physicist who was in charge of the government's atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., in World War II, has also been denied access to all U.S. security documents, pending a review of charges that he may be a security risk.

Key charges against the brilliant scientist, which a special three-member panel is studying, are that:

1. He was a frequent associate of Communists in the early 1940s.

2. He employed Communists or ex-Communists while he was director at Los Alamos.

3. He gave contradictory testimony when he told the FBI about his attendance at Communist Party meetings early in the war.

4. He opposed the hydrogen bomb project in 1949 when he was chairman of the AEC's 10-man general advisory committee.

5. He rejected as "traitorous" an attempt by an alleged Red to pry secret information from him for Russia, but did not report the incident until after a number of months.

At Princeton, N.J., where Oppenheimer is director of the Institute for Advanced Study, a secretary said he was out of town.

Oppenheimer was named to head the Los Alamos project in 1943—where the first A-bombs were put together—by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, then head of the Manhattan Project.

Groves, never soft on Communism or Communists, reportedly had fully investigated the physicist's background and later testified to Oppenheimer's loyalty and integrity.

ANSWERS CHARGES

In a 43-page answer to the charges, the New York City born scientist, who will be 50 on April 22, denied he lobbied against the development of the hydrogen bomb after President Truman ordered such work to proceed. He also denied giving any secret information to any unauthorized personnel.

But Oppenheimer did not deny his past Communist associations, nor his early sympathy for certain Communist philosophic concepts.

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APR 1 3 1954
FBI - NEWARK

JERSEY JOURNAL
Jersey City, N.J.

Date 4-13-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

100-31936 B-3

Scientist Is Backed by Institute

New York Staff Correspondent.

NEW YORK—Complete faith in Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's integrity was expressed today by Herbert H. Maass, chairman of the board of trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J. Oppenheimer has served as director of the institute since September, 1947.

"I hope he will be cleared and I think he will be," Maas declared at a press conference.

Maass, who has served as a trustee of the institute since 1942, said Oppenheimer told him about the investigation two months ago. Oppenheimer said it was a serious matter and Maass asserted that he also regarded it as serious.

Loyalty Never Doubted

Oppenheimer's loyalty had never been questioned, nor had the institute's board, of which Admiral Lewis Strauss, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, is president, made any investigation of Oppenheimer. "We had no reason to question his background, since he came to us from Los Alamos as the most famous atomic scientist in the world," Maass said.

"During the war he had been the director of the Los Alamos laboratory—a position involving the highest responsibility and secrecy. It was there, while he was director, that the atomic bomb was developed. The use of this weapon shortened the war and saved the lives of thousands of American troops. Throughout his service with the institute we have never had any occasion to doubt his complete loyalty and sincerity."

Maass said that Oppenheimer's appointment ends when he reaches the retirement age of 68. Oppenheimer will be 50 next week.

Besides Maass and Strauss, the board of trustees comprises Senator Lehman (D., N. Y.); Lloyd K. Garrison, New York attorney, who is representing Oppenheimer in the Washington inquiry; Edward S. Greenbaum, also a New York attorney; John M. Hancock, chairman of the board of Lever Brothers; Harold K. Hochschild of Princeton, identified as a retired banker; William S. Lewis, librarian at Yale University; Harold F. Linder, identified as a State Department worker in New York; Michael Schaap, retired president of Blomingdale's Department Store in New York; Dr. John F. Fulton of the Yale School of Medicine, Perrin C. Galpin of New York, executive director o fthe Grant Foundation; Samuel D. Leidesdorf of New York, Wilmarth S. Lewis, librarian at Princeton; Harold F. Linder of New York, Sidney Y. Mitchell of New York and Lessing J. Rosenwald of Jenkintown, Pa., retired chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Admired by Einstein

Staff Correspondent.

PRINCETON—Dr. Albert Einstein, physicist whose formulas laid basic scientific groundwork for the atomic bomb, said last night that he has "the greatest respect and warmest feelings" for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

"I admire him not only as a scientist but also as a man of great human qualities," Einstein said. Einstein is a colleague of Oppenheimer on the institute staff.

Einstein was heard to comment today that "it will all pass over by tomorrow," presumably a reference to attention to the Oppenheimer case.

Oppenheimer himself could not be reached for comment. His secretary implied he is in Washington, where hearings are in progress on his security file. Mrs. Oppenheimer apparently also was away from Princeton.

Manager Praises

Minot C. Morgan Jr., general manager of the institute and former Mayor of Princeton, expressed "unlimited confidence" in Oppenheimer "as a person and as a citizen of the United States." He said Oppenheimer is extremely well liked at the institute.

Mrs. Wilder Hobson, a member of Oppenheimer's staff, expressed full confidence in and enthusiastic support for the scientist.

At Princeton University, which is not connected with the institute, Dr. Eugene P. Wigner, professor of physics, said he does not work with Oppenheimer but knows him and has "complete confidence" in his loyalty. Wigner said he was "very much taken aback" at the suspension. Dr. Wigner is a member of the general advisory committee to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Graham Concurs

Dr. George A. Graham, professor of politics at the university, echoed Wigner's sentiments, expressed confidence in Oppenheimer and said he had great respect for him.

Dr. Henry De Wolf Smythe, former chairman of the physics department at Princeton University and presently on leave while serving as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, said in Washington last night that as an AEC member he would refrain from commenting until he is certain of the facts.

NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-13-54 Page 1

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APR 13 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Oppenheimer Top Scientist

Led in Making First A-Bomb

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, since 1947 director of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, has long been recognized as one of the world's leading theoretical scientists. It was Dr. Oppenheimer who organized and directed the atomic laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the first atomic bomb was put together and tested.

In the early part of 1943 he was placed in charge of the atomic bomb research and development project, which was under the over-all direction of Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves. The first bomb was exploded a little more than two years later, on July 16, 1945—the world's first man-made nuclear explosion. Oppenheimer was then 41.

The War Department credited him with "achieving the implementation of atomic energy for military purposes." He, in turn, gave the credit to the entire staff, saying his job had been to help his fellow scientists do their work.

One scientist said: "The main decisions were made by Oppenheimer and all proved to be correct."

While he was a "little scared of what we had made," Oppenheimer said that as a scientist he had no apologies.

He contended that effective political control of atomic energy was feasible and supported a program for an internationally constituted Atomic Development Authority, which would operate and control all sources of nuclear fission power.

Oppenhimer was among the first to set forth in plain language the potentialities of atomic warfare. He warned the public that an A-bomb attack could wipe out 40,000,000 Americans. He testified before Congressional committees, spoke on the radio and from the lecture platform, and acted as an adviser to the President, the State Department and other official agencies concerned with atomic energy.

Showed Bent Early

He was born in New York on April 22, 1904, son of a German immigrant who became a wealthy textile importer. His scientific bent came to light when, at the age of 11, he was elected a member of the New York Mineralogical Society.

He completed the four-year course at Harvard in three years, being graduated summa cum laude in 1922. He studied for a year at Cambridge University in England, took his Ph.D. degree from Gottingen University in Germany, and continued his studies as a National Research fellow and an International Education Board fellow.

Oppenheimer held fellowships at Harvard, Leyden, Zurich and the California Institute of Technology. In 1929 he joined the faculties of California Tech. at Pasadena and the University of California at Berkeley as professor of physics. There he began his research career.

At Berkeley he established a school of theoretical physics which was devoted largely to the solution of the problems involving high energy particles. Many important advances—especially in the cosmic ray field—sprang from this school. He remained on the University of California faculty until 1947.

His wife is Katherine Puening Oppenheimer. They have two children.

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APR 13 1954
FBI - NEWARK

NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-13-54 Page 10

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

Opposed Secret Checkups

Oppenheimer Stated View On Security

WASHINGTON (AP) — Atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, facing an Atomic Energy Commission panel on security charges, once called secret investigative methods "repugnant to the American tradition of freedom."

But he said in public testimony before the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee in 1949 that he believed the AEC had "balanced very carefully" its loyalty program and "people will stand for it."

OPPOSED SCANNING

Oppenheimer opposed proposals to require security investigations of applicants for science fellowships distributed by the AEC through the National Research Council. He did so in a letter dated May 14, 1949, to the late Senator McMahon, then Atomic Committee chairman.

Observing that those who got the fellowships would not do any secret work, Oppenheimer said it would "be contrary to all experience to suppose that only those who have held conformist political views would make the great discoveries of the future."

He said that "even if the determination of loyalty and reliability could be made by the most straightforward and satisfactory methods," he didn't think it was necessary in the granting of fellowships.

WAIT AND SEE

Congressional grounds took a wait and see attitude today toward the government's suspension and investigation of Oppenheimer.

Sen. McCarthy, declining to elaborate, said he has affidavits purporting to show that Oppenheimer once was a member of the Community Party—an affiliation the scientist has categorically denied.

PRESIDENT'S ORDER

The AEC said President Eisenhower had ordered "a blank wall" placed temporarily between Oppenheimer, one of the chief developers of the atomic bomb, and secret data to which he has had access for over 10 years.

Pending the report of an AEC investigating panel headed by former Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray, Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R.-N.Y.) and Sen. Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa) fixed a hands-off policy for the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee.

Former President Truman said:

"I inherited Dr. Oppenheimer. He was considered a great scientist—one of the greatest—in connection with the atomic bomb. Don't convict anybody by implication or gossip."

DENIES DISLOYALTY

Oppenheimer has admitted that in the late 1930s and early 1940s he associated with Communist Party members and married a former member, but he has denied any disloyalty or party membership himself. He continued:

"It would be foolish to suppose that a young man sympathetic to and associated with communists in his student days would by that fact alone become disloyal and a potential traitor. It is basic to science and to democracy that men can learn by error."

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JERSEY JOURNAL
Jersey City, N.J.

Date 4-14-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

100-31826-B-6

Physicist will win, his colleagues say

PRINCETON (U.P.)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's colleagues at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, which he has directed for more than six years, were almost unanimous yesterday in predicting he would be cleared of pro-Communist charges.

The institute, established as a "thought factory" on the edge of Princeton, harbors some of the best "brains" in the world, including mathematician Albert Einstein.

The wizard, whose mathematical formulas paved the way for the atomic bomb Oppenheimer helped build, was one of the first to come to his colleague's support.

EINSTEIN'S PRAISE

"I can only say I have the greatest respect and warmest feelings for Dr. Oppenheimer," Einstein said. "I admire him not only as a scientist but also as a man of great human qualities."

Princeton usually is a quiet town, as most academic centers are. But yesterday, many of its 13,000 residents were buzzing with talk about Oppenheimer's suspension by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The switchboard at the institute was flooded with calls from people asking about the case. At nearby Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary, students and faculty alike debated the pros and cons of the situation.

Mayor P. MacKay Sturges said he was "amazed" to read about

(Continued on Page Four)

Colleagues say physicist will clear himself

(Continued from Page One)

the case but would not comment because he did not know Oppenheimer or his family.

"Our only industry here is education," Sturges said, "but personally there are many of the intellectuals we harbor that I never come in contact with. They don't get involved in civic affairs much."

The institute is a colonial-type building where scholars and scientists pick apart just about every type of problem. About a mile from Princeton University, it is not associated with it in any way.

"The whole staff has unlimited confidence in the doctor as a man and as a citizen of the United States," said staff member Minot Morgan Jr.

Dr. Eugene P. Wigner, professor of physics at the university and a pioneer in atomic development, said the charges against Oppenheimer were "very regrettable and potentially damaging to this country's prestige."

Dr. Allen Shenstone, Toronto, Canada, an experimental physicist at the university since 1925, agreed. The questioning of Oppenheimer's loyalty is damaging to intellectuals generally and particularly to physicists, he said.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 4-14-54 PAGE 1

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APR 17 1954
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Criticized By Condon

Oppenheimer Allegedly Was Taken to Task For 'Informing'

WASHINGTON (INS)—Top atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, under investigation as a security risk, reportedly has been accused of turning informer against a former A-bomb associate in 1949 to "buy immunity" for himself.

It was learned that a letter allegedly written to Oppenheimer by Dr. Edward U. Condon, former head of the Bureau of Standards, leveled the "informer" charge against the physicist.

Condon, once labeled "one of the weakest links" in atomic security, purportedly accused his erstwhile friend of trying to "buy immunity for yourself by turning informer" in a Congressional probe.

Oppenheimer's Student

The charge referred to Oppenheimer's secret testimony before the House un-American activities committee in 1949, when the scientist reportedly gave derogatory testimony about Dr. Bernard Peters.

Peters had been one of Oppenheimer's students in the atomic field and allegedly was identified by him as a one-time Communist.

Assistants to Senator McCarthy reportedly regard as "dynamite" Condon's letter to Oppenheimer and a second one he penned to Oppenheimer's wife.

The physicist's associates, however, are understood to consider them an aid, rather than a hindrance, to his defense.

The Condon letters—or copies of them—were reported to be in the hands of three Congressional committees.

Condon 'Shocked'

Here is the text of the letter allegedly written June 27, 1949, to Oppenheimer by Condon:

"Dear Robert:

"I have been shocked beyond description at the article which appeared in The Rochester Times-Union purporting to give an account of your testimony about Bernard Peters before the House committee on un-American activities.

"I have lost a good deal of sleep trying to figure out how you could have talked this way about a man whom you have known so long and of whom you know so well what a good physicist and good citizen he is.

"One is tempted to feel that you are so foolish as to think you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer.

"I hope that this is not true. You know very well that once these people decide to go into your own dossier and make it public that it will make the 'revelations' that have been made so far look pretty tame.

Demanded Job for Peters

"It is hard to think how you can made amends. I hope that there is some sense in which the whole story looks all right in spite of the unfavorable excerpts.

"In that case you should make it all public. You should write at once to the president of the University of Rochester giving him full assurance that Peters is all right. If Peters loses his position at the University of Rochester as a result of your action, and if he does, it will be a result of what you have done, then it seems to me that you are under an inescapable moral obligation to offer Peters a position on the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study that is at least the equivalent of what he now has.

"I hope you will not feel that this is unwarranted interference. This is much more than a purely personal matter between Peters and yourself. You do not need to reply to this letter; if you satisfy Peters then you will have satisfied me."

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-15-54 Page 7

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

Planning Aid For Scientist

Lilienthal and Dean Will Testify for Oppenheimer

WASHINGTON (AP)—The two former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission plan to testify at the security hearing for pioneer atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer—both of them apparently in his behalf.

David E. Lilienthal, who headed the commission from the time it was formed in 1946 until 1950, said in a statement issued in New York last night he will testify for Oppenheimer.

Gordon Dean, who succeeded Lilienthal and served until last Summer, said he had been asked to testify by Oppenheimer's attorney. While he would not discuss what he will say, his acceptance of an invitation by the defense presumably means his testimony will be favorable to Oppenheimer.

Bush May Testify

Another prospective witness is Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. An aide said Bush expects to testify.

In Chicago today, Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize-winning chemist of the University of Chicago; Dr. Cyril S. Smith, director of the university's Institute of the Study of Metals, and Dr. Samuel K. Allison, director of the Institute for Nuclear Studies, defended Oppenheimer.

The hearings for Oppenheimer, suspended from access to government secrets by order of President Eisenhower, is going on in secret here. The procedure is guided by strict rules formalized by the AEC in September, 1950, in an effort to provide maximum protection for the rights of individuals and for the government's interests.

The AEC has announced only that Oppenheimer was suspended, that a hearing is in progress and the membership of the three-man inquiry board.

For the rest, the proceedings are cloaked in secrecy and neither the AEC nor Oppenheimer's representatives have been willing to say what was going on or even where.

Scientists Confident

Expressions of confidence in Oppenheimer came yesterday from Dr. David Hill, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, and from Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission, a group set up by eight major scientific societies.

Secretary of Defense Wilson implied yesterday that Oppenheimer had been eased out as an adviser to the armed forces last year. He said the committee on which Oppenheimer served had been abolished last July and added that was a "real smooth way" to get rid of a problem. He gave no other details, but in general comment told a news conference:

"Frankly, I have sympathy for anyone who made a mistake and then reformed. But I think they should be reformed somewhere else than in the armed services."

McCarthy Eyes Others

Wilson said he knew of no other scientist of Oppenheimer's prominence deprived of access to secrets. But he said the department is "going over everything in the present security regulations for civilians and military people as well."

In Dallas, Senator McCarthy said he has considered Oppenheimer a security risk for years, and he added: "One man in a key spot can do more damage than a thousand in little ones." The senator also told newsmen he is "deeply concerned about security on new developments of the H-bomb" and said, "we've got our eyes on some other fellows besides Oppenheimer."

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-15-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

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APR 1 5 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Oppenheimer Gets Dem Aid

WASHINGTON (INS)—The super-secret probe into security risk charges against top atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer continued today while Democrats on Capitol Hill considered a counterblast against the administration's handling of the case.

Oppenheimer, who supervised the making of the first atomic bomb and is rated as one of the world's leading authorities on nuclear physics, was understood to be under fire because he opposed the H-bomb program when it was first proposed several years ago.

CONDON LETTERS

Informed sources said letters written to Oppenheimer and his wife by Dr. Edward U. Condon, former head of the Bureau of Standards, figure as important documents in the case.

Condon, once labeled "one of the weakest links" in atomic security, purportedly accused his erstwhile friend of trying to "buy immunity for yourself by turning informer" in a congressional probe.

Secret hearings on 16 alleged security-risk counts against Oppenheimer are being held by a special panel headed by Gordon Gray, former Army secretary.

"WRONG GUESS"

A top Democratic source declared that the new charges against Oppenheimer were based "only on the fact that he made a wrong guess."

This source insisted that other charges against the top physicist — including his reported Communist sympathies in the 1930's—had already been fully investigated, and that the new probe was based on his opposition to the H-bomb project.

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JERSEY JOURNAL
Jersey City, N.J.

Date 4-14-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

Oppenheimer calls former AEC heads

WASHINGTON (AP)—The two former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission, David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Dean, will be witnesses for the defense in security hearings for atom scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Lilienthal, who headed the commission from its start in 1946, said ina statement from his New York office that he would testify in Oppenheimer's behalf.

Dean, who succeeded Lilienthal in 1950, after serving as an AEC commissioner for a year said only that he had been asked to testify by Oppenheimer's attorney and had agreed.

Disclosure that Lilienthal and Dean would testify came as Secretary of Defense Wilson indicated Oppenheimer, the scientific chief of the World War II atomic bomb project, was eased out as an adviser to the armed forces last July.

AEC announced Tuesday that—by order of President Eisenhower—it has barred Oppenheimer from access to secret data and has suspended him as one of the nation's foremost atomic consultants pending a new security check.

FBI GATHERED DATA

One allegation cited by the commission, on the basis of information gathered by the FBI from undisclosed sources, is that Oppenheimer obstructed American development of the hydrogen bomb. Oppenheimer has said this is a distortion of his real position.

FORMER SUPPORTER

Dean was AEC chairman when previous questions about Oppenheimer's admitted past connections with Communists and other left-wingers were raised, and he took no action refecting on Oppenheimer. A new security check for the physicist was ordered, however, immediately after Lewis L. Strauss succeeded Dean in the post last July.

Wilson was asked about Oppenheimer at a news conference yesterday. After declining at first to discuss the case, he said:

"I am not trying to hurt or smear anybody who has been trying to do a good job for the country.

REFORM ELSEWHERE

"Frankly, I have sympathy for anyone who made a mistake and then reformed. But I think they should be reformed somewhere else than in the armed services."

This led to a question whether Oppenheimer still is a consultant to the Defense Department or any of the armed forces.

Wilson said Oppenheimer was a member of the Atomic Energy Committee for the department's research and development board.

But he said that commission was abolished last July, under a general reorganization, and he added with a grin that doing away with it was a "real smooth way" of getting rid of a problem. He gave no further details.

It was about the time the committee was abolished that Strauss became AEC chairman and the review of Oppenheimer's case began.

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NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

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Views Differ On Scientist

Hickenlooper Reserves Judgment; Gore Sure Oppenheimer Loyal

WASHINGTON (AP) — Senator Hickenlooper (R., Ia.) said today the Senate-House atomic energy committee is reserving the right to act on the J. Robert Oppenheimer case but Senator Gore (D., Tenn.) said he doubts Congress should intervene.

Hickenlooper, vice chairman of the committee, said the group will await a decision by the Atomic Energy Commission on whether Oppenheimer is a security risk.

Hickenlooper said he is reserving judgment on the charges that Oppenheimer was a former associate of Communists and that he opposed making the hydrogen bomb and "slowed down its development" even after former President Truman ordered it started.

No Doubt on Loyalty

Gore said that as chairman of a House appropriations subcommittee which handled the bill providing the money for the H-bomb project he had heard all of the arguments for and against it and was familiar with the Communist associations accusations against Oppenheimer.

"So far as I am concerned, I have no doubt whatever about Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty," Gore said. "For one who is accused of disloyalty, he has contributed remarkably well to the security and the defense of the nation."

Gore said he believes the AEC's decision ought to end the matter, adding that he does not believe Congress is "properly equipped to decide whether a man is loyal or not."

Other expressions of confidence in Oppenheimer were voiced over the week-end by some of his scientific colleagues.

Dr. Arthur H. Compton, upon whose recommendation Oppenheimer was named in 1942 to head up preliminary atomic research, said he regarded it as an asset that Oppenheimer was no "innocent" about Communism.

In an interview in Istanbul, Turkey, Compton said he had made a careful inquiry and "I satisfied myself completely that Oppenheimer was reliable and no security risk and have had no reason since to change my views."

Suspects Moves

Sumner T. Pike, a former Atomic Energy commissioner, said on a CBS television program from New York last night:

"These things are so incredible to me that I almost wonder if there isn't some other motivation behind the apparent one in bringing these charges at this time."

The Federation of American Scientists, in a week-end statement issued by Dr. M. Stanley Livingston, head of its executive committee, said the charge against Oppenheimer "has shocked the nation and the scientific community in particular."

Chairman Velde (R., Ill.) of the House un-American activities committee, said in reply to a question about Oppenheimer on an NBC-TV program yesterday that "I don't consider that he is a traitor." He said the committee is considering whether to make public testimony which Oppenheimer gave in secret in 1949.

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-19-54 Page 10

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

Report AEC suspension of Oppenheimer

NEW YORK (AP) — The New York Times says famed physicist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who directed the making of the first atomic bomb, has been suspended on security grounds by the Atomic Energy Commission.

A panel of the commission's personnel security board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army, started hearings on the case yesterday, the Times said.

Meanwhile, the dispatch says, Oppenheimer has been denied access to all government security documents.

(At Oppenheimer's home in Princeton, a spokesman said the family was out of town.)

The New York Herald Tribune carried a similar story from Washington by Joseph and Stewart Alsop.

This story said that Sen. McCarthy "is known to have been secretly 'building a case' against Dr. Oppenheimer and other scientists since last summer."

The Alsops said Washington political observers "have no doubt" that McCarthy had the Oppenheimer charges in mind when he said last Tuesday there had been a deliberate delay of 18 months in beginning work on the hydrogen bomb project.

"McCarthy asked at that time: "If there were no Communists in government why did we delay?"

DIRECTED A-PROJECT

Oppenheimer, directed the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., during World War II. He is one of the world's foremost atomic physicists.

The Times said most of the principal charges against Oppenheimer, 50, have been reviewed by the Atomic Energy Commission, the White House and the Departments of Justice, State and Defense over a period of 12 years.

The newspaper said the main charges are that he:

1. Associated frequently with Communists in the early 1940s, including his brother Frank and Frank's wife; that he fell in love with one Communist and married a former Communist and that he contributed generously to Communist causes from 1940 to April of 1942.

2. Hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos.

'OPPOSED H-BOMB'

3. Gave contradictory testimony to Federal Bureau of Investigation about attendance at Communist meetings in the early 1940s.

4. Rejected as "traitorous" an attempt by an alleged Communist to get scientific information from him for the Soviet Union, but failed to report the incident to the government's security officers for many months.

5. Strongly opposed development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949 when he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission's general advisory committee, and lobbied against it, even after former President Truman ordered the AEC to proceed with the project.

Oppenheimer, described as a

(Continued on Page Five)

Oppenheimer hearings on

(Continued from Page One)

sensitive, soft-spoken man, has admitted association with various Communists in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He has flatly denied, however, that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Oppenheimer lives with his wife and two small children on the grounds of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J. He is a director of the institute.

In addition to his work at Princeton, he was, until his suspension, a member of President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee and consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission. He was also adviser to the departments of State, Defense and the National Security Council on armaments and their regulation, continental defense, civil defense and the use of atomic weapons in support of ground combat.

The Times said that in a 43-page answer to the charges, Oppenheimer denied he lobbied against the hyorogen bomb after President Truman had ordered its development or that he gave any secret information to any unauthorized persons.

He did not deny his past Communist associations, the story said, but "asserted that he had abandoned his illusions about communism during the war. Finally, he asked that the 'derogatory information' in his file be judged in the context of his strange life and work."

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NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 4-13-54 PAGE 1

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3 QUERIES SPEAR ISSUE OF LOYALTY

Was There Deliberate Delay in H-Bomb, and, If So, Was Oppenheimer Concerned?

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 173—At the heart of the Oppenheimer case are two unanswered questions:

Was there in fact a deliberate delay in United States efforts to develop a hydrogen bomb—a delay that went beyond the four-month period of high-level discussion before President Truman's go-ahead order on Jan. 31, 1950?

If there was such a delay, what part, if any, did Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer play in it?

The Atomic Energy Commission, in suspending Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance last Dec. 23, gave fresh currency to some familiar charges about his associations in California before he had taken charge of the atomic bom project at Los Alamos, N. M., in World War II.

The nuclear physicist did not deny most of these associations in his reply to the commission's charges.

The fresh charges have to do with Dr. Oppenheimer's part in the hydrogen-bomb program as Chairman of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission, a group of scientists and engineers that unanimously recommended against the hydrogen-bomb project in October, 1949.

Development Slowed

The A. E. C. statement of charges was made over the signature of Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nicholas, General Manager of the agency. In it, Dr. Oppenheimer is depicted as the leader of a calculated movement in opposition to the hydrogen-bomb program even after President Truman had decided, as a matter of high national policy, to go ahead with it. This opposition movement, Mr. Nichols wrote, "has definitely slowed down" the hydrogen-bomb development.

He specifically accused Dr. Oppenheimer of:

¶Departing from his "proper role" as an adviser to A. E. C. by causing the advisory committee's adverse report to be circulated among scientists at Los Alamos laboratory "for the purpose of trying to turn such top personnel against the development of the hydrogen bomb."

¶Persuading other outstanding scientists not to work on the hydrogen project and declining to cooperate fully himself.

These accusations Dr. Oppenheimer has denied without equivocation.

"I never urged anyone not to work on the hydrogen bomb project," he wrote. "I never made nor caused any distribution of the G. A. C. reports except to the commission itself."

Once Mr. Truman had made a decision, Dr. Oppenheimer said, the advisory [illegible] "never again raised the question of the wisdom of the policy which had now been settled, but concerned ourselves rather with trying to help implement it."

Whether the hydrogen program was delayed after Mr. Truman resolved the debate on the wisdom and feasibility of an accelerated effort has not been determined officially.

President Eisenhower said last week that he had no knowledge of such a delay, that the matter had never been mentioned to him by Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Truman declared emphatically there had been no delay, that his order had been issued as soon as the scientists were "ready to go to work."

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, on the other hand, has spoken of an "eighteen-month deliberate delay," which he attributed to the influence of traitors in the Government. The Wisconsin Republican so far has not made clear what period he was talking about, nor whom he held responsible for the delay.

Apart from Dr. Oppenheimer, the members of the advisory committee at the time of the hydrogen bomb debate were:

Hartley Rowe, chief engineer and vice president of the United Fruit Company; James B. Conant, then president of Harvard University and now United States High Commissioner in Germany; Enrico Fermi, nuclear physicist at the University of Chicago; Oliver Buckley, then board chairman of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

And Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, president of the California Institute of Technology; Dr. Cyril Smith of the University of Chicago, Dr. I. I. Rabi of Columbia University, and Dr. Glenn Seaborg of the University of California.

Opinion Held 'Unanimous'

Dr. Seaborg, who was abroad at the time, missed the special meetings Oct. 29 and 30, 1949, at which the advisory group considered the advisability of the hydrogen project. The other eight members, Dr. Oppenheimer recalled, were unanimous in opposing a "crash program" out of a common conviction that such an effort might weaken rather than strengthen the position of the United States.

Their objection was elaborated by David E. Lilienthal, then Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, writing in The New York Times Magazine last Oct. 4. Mr. Lilienthal told how the hydrogen bomb proposal had been offered as a counter to the Soviet Union's [illegible] success in setti[illegible] explosion in [illegible]

Among [illegible] officials th[illegible] skepticism [illegible] military [illegible] perbor[illegible] vante[illegible] Mr. [illegible] par[illegible] dev[illegible] tiv[illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] recommend a policy. The other members were Mr. Johnson, who strongly advocated the hydrogen bomb investment, and Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State.

This group met at noon on Jan. 31, 1950, with Mr. Truman. Secretaries Johnson and Acheson voted for the hydrogen project, Mr. Lilienthal against.

The President, a few hours later, closed the four-month debate by announcing to the world that he had ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to go forward with the project.

Dr. Oppenheimer, in his reply to the A. E. C. charges, acknowledged that the General Advisory Committee had expressed the view three months earlier that "an imaginative and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even change of producing the [hydrogen] weapon within five years."

This optimistic view was supplanted soon afterward by a more pessimistic one based on "later calculations and measurements" made at Los Alamos.

"Still later, brilliant inventions led to the possibility of lines of development of very great promise," he declared.

Making no claim to omniscience while asserting that the group had acted in good faith, Dr. Oppenheimer said:

"At each stage the General Advisory Committee and I as its chairman and as a member of other bodies, reported as faithfully as we could our evaluation of what was likely to fail and what was likely to work."

The New York Times
April 13, 1954

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SCIENTIST UPHELD DESPITE F. B. I. FILE

Warning to Lilienthal in 1947 Was Studied by Atom Unit and Sent to President

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13 — One evening early in March, 1947, David E. Lilienthal, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, received a telephone call at home from J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Hoover said he hoped Mr. Lilienthal would give his personal attention to a special report that would reach him soon. The report concerned one of the commission's chief advisers.

The report arrived on Saturday, March 8. It was a file on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

On the following Monday morning, Mr. Lilienthal called members of the commission to his office, then in the present State Department Building. The commissioners examined the file, which contained material relating to Dr. Oppenheimer's associations during the Nineteen Thirties with Communists and pro-Communists.

Later in the day, after some telephoning, the commission met with Dr. Vannevar Bush and Dr. James B. Conant, then president of Harvard University. It was the recollection of at least some of those present that both men said they had known of Dr. Oppenheimer's past associations, but that he had proved himself loyal and patriotic and there was nothing to fear.

Nevertheless, since Dr. Oppenheimer, as chairman of the commission's General Advisory Committee, was a Presidential appointee, it was decided that President Truman should be notified of the F. B. I. report.

The report also was discussed with members of the Military Liaison Committee on Atomic Energy and with two members of the Senate, Brien McMahon, Democrat of Connecticut, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa. To all of these, apparently, Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty was an accepted fact. Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, the Army officer in charge of the bomb project, attested to his belief in the scientist's loyalty.

A short time later, Mr. Hoover communicated to certain officials his belief that Dr. Oppenheimer should have reported more promptly that he had been solicited by a friend (a Mr. Chevalier) to deliver classified information.

In the fall of 1949, a weapons development and expansion program was under consideration. The General Advisory Committee under Dr. Oppenheimer's chairmanship strongly favored the program.

H-Bomb Study Pushed

Also about that time, the question of exploring the possibility of a hydrogen bomb came up. This had been stimulated by the knowledge that the Russians had just achieved their first atomic explosion.

The General Advisory Committee, still headed by Dr. Oppenheimer, was summoned to meet in Washington on Oct. 29 and 30, 1949, to discuss the "super bomb" proposal. The military chiefs sat in on one of these meetings and, as some observers recollect, they expressed no significant conviction about the value of such a bomb.

On Oct. 30, 1949, the advisory committee met with the Atomic Energy Commission. Seven of the nine members of the advisory committee opposed a "super bomb" program, and two others proposed certain diplomatic steps first. The prevailing belief was that progress in the weapons program previously under discussion was more important to national security.

The views of the advisory committee were reduced to writing and transmitted to the President.

About Nov. 20, 1949, President Truman asked the National Security Council to set up a subcommittee to study the question of a "super bomb" to counter the Soviet achievement.

Mr. Lilienthal, as a member of this subcommittee, conferred a number of times with General of the Army Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the military usefulness of a "super bomb."

On Jan. 31, 1950, President Truman made the decision to accelerate efforts to achieve the "super bomb."

The New York Times
April 13, 1954

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DR. OPPENHEIMER SUSPENDED BY A.E.C. IN SECURITY REVIEW; SCIENTIST DEFENDS RECORD

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

HEARINGS STARTED

Access to Secret Data Denied Nuclear Expert —Red Ties Alleged

Point of charges and reply by Oppenheimer, Pages 16, 17, 18.

By JAMES RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who directed the making of the first atomic bomb, has been suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission pending a review of his security file.

A panel of the commission's Personnel Security Board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army, started hearings on the case today.

The other members of the three-man panel are Thomas Morgan, former chairman and president of the Sperry Corporation, and Ward V. Evans, Professor of Chemistry at Loyola University of Chicago.

Meanwhile Dr. Oppenheimer, who directed the Government's atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., in World War II, and now carries around in his head as much hot secret information as any man alive, has been denied access to all Government security documents.

Charges Are Listed

The main charges against him—most of which had been reviewed by the A. E. C., the White House, and the Departments of Justice, State and Defense over a period of twelve years—were that he:

¶Associated frequently with Communists in the early Forties, including his brother Frank and Frank's wife; that he fell in love with one Communist and married another former Communist; and that he contributed regularly and generously to Communist causes from 1940 to April of 1942.

¶Hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos during the war.

¶Gave contradictory testimony to the Federal Bureau of Investigation about attendance at Communist meetings in the early Nineteen Forties.

¶Rejected as "unforeseen" an attempt by an alleged Communist to get scientific information from him for the Soviet Union, but failed to report the incident to the Government's security officers for many months.

¶Strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, when he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee, and lobbied against it even after President Truman ordered the A. E. C. to proceed with the project.

Dr. Oppenheimer, who has repeatedly admitted association with various Communists in the late Thirties and early Forties but flatly denied membership in

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

The New York Times
April 13 1954.

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A. E. C. SUSPENDS DR. OPPENHEIMER

Continued From Page 1

the Communist party, in a sensitive post at 36 years of age. He lives with his wife and two small children in a big white shingled house on the grounds of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J., where he is director.

In addition to his work there, he was, until his suspension, a member of President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, consultant to the A. E. C. and adviser to the Departments of State, Defense and the National Security Council on armaments and their regulation, continental defense, civil defense, and the use of atomic weapons in support of ground combat.

Dr. Oppenheimer, in a forty-three-page answer to the charges against him, denied that he had taken against the hydrogen bomb development after President Truman had ordered its development, or that he had given any secret information to any unauthorized person.

He did not deny his past Communist associations or early sympathy for certain philosophic objectives of Communist ideology. However he asserted that he had abandoned his illusions about Communism during the war. Finally, he asked that the "derogatory information" in his file be judged in the context of his entire life and work.

Describing this life, when he was a professor at the University of California and the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Oppenheimer said:

"My friends, both in Pasadena and in Berkeley, were mostly faculty people, scientists, chemists and artists. I studied and spoke Sanskrit with Arthur Ryder. I read very widely, but mostly romances, novels, plays and poetry; and I read something of other parts of science.

"I was not interested in and did not read about economics or politics. I was almost wholly divorced from the contemporary scene in this country. I never read a newspaper or a current magazine like Time or Harper's. I had no radio, no telephone; I learned of the stock market crash in the fall of 1929 only long after the event; the first time I ever voted was in the Presidential election of 1936 * * *."

Interest in War in Spain

Dr. Oppenheimer explained to the A. E. C. that he later began to take an interest in political matters, particularly in the Republican battle against Gen. Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and that he developed many left-wing associations and contributed to the Communists for the Spanish Republicans—Italian in some over $100.

"Because of these associations * * * and the contributions," he said, "I might well have appeared at the time as quite close to the Communist party—perhaps even, to some people, as belonging to it.

"As I have said, some of its declared objectives seemed to me desirable. But I never was a member of the Communist party. I never accepted Communist dogma or theory; in fact, it never made sense to me.

"I had my clearly formulated political views. I hated tyranny and repression and every form of dictatorial control of thought. In recent years, I did not in those days know who was and who was not a member of the Communist party. No one ever asked me to join the Communist party."

The question raised about Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the hydrogen bomb was phrased by the A. E. C. letter in these terms:

"It was reported [presumably to the F. B. I.] that in the autumn of 1941, 1949 and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb (1) on moral grounds; (2) by claiming that it was not feasible; (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable."

Dr. Oppenheimer replied that he and the other members of the general advisory committee of the A. E. C. had opposed what was called a "crash program" to produce "the super"—the name for the hydrogen bomb project.

[illegible] for guided missiles and atomic artillery.

Some of the members on the advisory committee at that time—it is understood Dr. Oppenheimer agreed with them—did have moral and political reasons for opposing the hydrogen bomb program.

Wanted New Negotiation

Chairman Libenthal of the A. E. C. felt, for example, that another attempt should be made to negotiate a world agreement for the control of atomic weapons before proceeding with "the super." He also thought that a decision to build the A-bomb would perpetuate what he regarded as the illusion that the bigger weapon was a substitute for an all-round military program, which was hampered at that time by an economy wave.

If Dr. Oppenheimer had any political or moral reservations about the hydrogen bomb program, however, he did not mention them in his reply to the Atomic Commission.

There are two different stories about how the Oppenheimer case was revived at this time. The first is that a former employe of the Joint (Congressional) Committee on Atomic Energy, who had opposed Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, went to the present head of the Joint Committee, Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican of upstate New York, with a long catalogue of charges against Dr. Oppenheimer, and that Mr. Cole took up the matter with the White House.

The other, and more generally accepted version, is that the F. B. I. itself sent a summary of the charges in the Oppenheimer file to President Eisenhower and questioned the prudence of allowing a person with such Communist associations in the past to have access to top secret information.

It is understood that the President discussed the matter with the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming, and his assistant on National Security Council matters Gen. Robert Cutler before calling in Admiral Strauss, the A. E. C. chairman.

Asked to Meet Strauss

This was in December of 1953, during the controversy over how former President Truman had dealt with F. B. I. security warnings in the Harry Dexter White case. Whether this affected the decision is not known, but in any event a decision was made to proceed with the case.

Accordingly, Dr. Oppenheimer was asked to meet Admiral Strauss, who had been a member of the commission in 1947, when the Oppenheimer file was first sent to the commission by the F. B. I. The Admiral later was responsible for the selection of Dr. Oppenheimer as director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Admiral Strauss is understood to have given Dr. Oppenheimer the choice of resigning or facing security charges. This was on Dec. 21, 1953. Dr. Oppenheimer stated then, and wrote a letter the next day repeating, that he preferred to face the charges.

As a result, Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, the general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission wrote a letter on Dec. 22, 1953 which listed the derogatory information in Dr. Oppenheimer's file and explained "the steps which you may take to assist in the resolution of this question."

This letter explained that, under the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations (Executive Order 10450), it was mandatory that a Government employe be suspended and his eligibility to see security information denied where there existed in his file "information indicating that his employment may not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

This particular part of the letter seemed to suggest that the review of the case was more or less routine—an automatic check of old information to make sure that it conformed to the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations.

The Nichols letter added, however:

"As a result of additional investigation as to your character, associations and loyalty * * * there has developed considerable question whether your continued employment on Atomic Energy Commission work will endanger

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A. E. C. SUSPENDS DR. OPPENHEIMER

Continued From Page 3

the Communist party, is a sensitive man of 50 years of age, the development of "the super" is a part of any new program."

Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, who was then on the commission but not chairman of it, had circulated a memorandum urging the development of the Super as fast as possible, but the General Advisory Committee took another view.

Dr. Oppenheimer did not spell out why the committee, including himself, opposed the "crash" program. In his letter to the A. E. C. he referred the Government to the advisory committee's report at that time.

However, it is understood that he also put in evidence another secret document in the form of a memorandum about the decision of the advisory committee at that time. According to this memorandum, Dr. Oppenheimer and several other members of the advisory committee took this view:

In view of the Soviet atom-bomb explosion, the United States defense program was not sufficient.

New designs of weapons calculated to increase the family of atomic weapons should be pressed at once.

Particularly, the "field usefulness" of the weapons should be improved.

More attention should be paid to the project for developing atomic warheads for guided missiles and atomic artillery.

Some of the scientists on the advisory committee at that time—it is understood Dr. Oppenheimer agreed with them—did have moral and political reasons for opposing the hydrogen bomb program.

Wanted New Negotiation

matter has been resolved . . .

Altogether, the A. E. C.'s letter raised over twenty different questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct, associations, veracity and loyalty. The commission explained to Dr. Oppenheimer that the A. E. C. was not vouching for or giving the sources of these charges, but merely passing them along to Dr. Oppenheimer to clear up.

The New York Times obtained a detailed report of these charges and sought verification from Dr. Oppenheimer, Admiral Strauss and Chairman Cole of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.

In view of the fact that The Times was in possession of most of the facts in the case, Dr. Oppenheimer made the statement of charges and his reply available to The Times so that the record of the case could be written from the actual documents.

Charges and Replies

Accordingly, here are the main charges which were passed on to Dr. Oppenheimer in the A. E. C.'s letter and the replies given by Dr. Oppenheimer to the commission:

QUESTION NO. 1—It was reported (presumably to the F. B. I.) that prior to April, 1943, you had contributed $150 per month to the Communist party in the San Francisco area

Pg 2

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1954.

E. C. General Manager to Dr. Oppenheime

...Mr. Bernard Friedman,
...David Hawkins.

...the case of Giovanni Rossi
...Manhattan, you urged him to
...work on the project, although
...stated that you knew he had
...been very much of a "liar" when
...first came to the University

Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Board. To avail yourself of the privileges afforded you under the Atomic Energy Commission hearing procedures you must, within thirty days

as opportunity to review the record made during your appearance before the board and to request a review of your case by the Commission's Personnel Security Review Board.

If a written response is not received from you within thirty days it will be assumed that you do not wish to submit any explanation for further consideration. In that event, or should you not advise me in writing of your desire to appear before the Personnel Security Board, a determination in your case will be made by me on the basis of the existing record.

I am enclosing herewith, for your information and guidance, copies of the Criteria and Procedures for Determining Eligibility for Atomic Energy Commission Security Clearance and Executive Order 10450.

This letter has been marked "Confidential" to maintain the privacy of this matter between you and the Atomic Energy Commission. You are not prevented from making such use of this letter as you may consider appropriate.

I have instructed Mr. Wm. Mitchell, whose address is 1901 Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., and whose telephone number is STerling 3-3000, Extension 377, to give you whatever further detailed information you may desire with respect to the procedures to be followed in this matter.

Very truly yours,
K. D. NICHOLS,
General Manager.

2 Enclosures
1. Criteria & Procedures
2. Executive Order 10450

Oppenheimer Won Greatest Fame As 'Man Who Built the A-Bomb'

By Cable to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is one of the most brilliant scientists America has produced. Essentially, he is a theoretical physicist, but it was a down-to-earth project of the starkest reality that brought him his greatest fame. He is known as "the man who built the atom bomb."

The pioneer work on fission had been done by others, but to Dr. Oppenheimer came the challenge of adapting this discovery to a weapon of awesome destruction. With some misgivings about his administrative ability, he undertook the blockbuster task and built to become director of the Los Alamos laboratory in the New Mexico desert.

Personally, he beat the bushes for scientists to go out there and work. This was to be the payoff of a $2,000,000,000 project that was conducted in the utmost secrecy.

As far as Dr. Oppenheimer was concerned, the mission was achieved on July 16, 1945. That was the day of Trinity, the test explosion of the world's first nuclear bomb, at Alamogordo, N. M. He neither was then 43 years old.

He was born in New York City, the son of a German immigrant who was a successful textile importer. The only record of his scientific precocity was a rock collection that got him into the New York Mineralogical Club at the age of 11. He went through Ethical Culture School and completed the Harvard College course in three years, summa cum laude.

He went to Europe for graduate study—Cambridge, Goettingen, Leyden, Zurich. He picked up modern languages to add to his Latin and Greek. Later, at 30, he studied Sanskrit, the better to translate the philosophical writings of the ancients.

At 24, he settled in California to do research and teach. He had professorships at California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and the University of California at Berkeley. He collected art and read and wrote poetry when he was not deep in his science.

In his mid-twenties, according to his own story, he was all but out of touch with the workaday world. The stock market crash of 1929 had caused to be none to most people when Dr. Oppenheimer heard about it.

Later on, though, he interested himself in the Spanish Civil War and associated with people whose names now figure in his security case. Two women mentioned among him had been Communists. The first died. He married the second. They have two children, Katherine and Peter.

Dr. Oppenheimer, since 1947, has been director of the Institute for Advanced Study, a research center at Princeton, N. J.

Oppenheimer

I had had many invitations to university positions, one or two in Europe and perhaps two in the United States. I accepted concurrent appointments as Assistant Professor at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and at the University of California in Berkeley. For the coming twelve years I was to devote my time to these two faculties.

Starting with a single graduate student in my first year in Berkeley, we gradually began to build up what was to become the largest school in the country of graduate and post-doctoral study in theoretical physics, so that as time went on we came to have between a dozen and twenty people learning and adding to quantum theory, nuclear physics, relativity and other modern physics.

As the number of students increased, so in general did their

...became begun to change. These changes did not alter my earlier friendships, my relations to my students; but they added something new. I am drawn in retrospect more than one reason for these changes.

I had had a continuing, mounting fury about the treatment of Jews in Germany. I had relatives there, and was later to help in extricating them and bringing them to this country.

I saw what the depression was doing to my students. Often they could get no jobs, or jobs which were wholly inadequate. And through them, I began to sense the larger pattern of the great depression. I began to understand how deeply political and economic events could affect men's lives. I began to feel the need to participate more fully in the life of the community. But I had no framework of political conviction or experience to give the perspective in these matters.

Met Intuitive Democrat

In the spring of 1936, I had been introduced by friends to Jean Tatlock, the daughter of a noted professor of English at the University; and in the autumn I began to court her, and we grew close to each other. We were at least twice close enough to marriage to think of ourselves as engaged.

Between 1936 and her death in 1944 I saw her very rarely. She told me about her Communist party membership; they were on again, off again affairs, and never seemed to provide for her what she was seeking. I do not believe that her interests were really political. She was a person of deep religious feeling. She loved this country and its people and its life. She was, as it turned out, a friend of many fellow travelers and Communists, with a number of whom I was later to become acquainted.

I should not give the impression that it was wholly because of Jean Tatlock that I made left wing friends, or felt sympathy for causes which hitherto would have seemed so remote from me like the Loyalist cause in Spain and the organization of migratory workers. I have mentioned some of the other contributing causes. I liked the new sense of companionship, and at the same time felt that I was coming to be part of the life of my time and country.

In 1937, my father died; a little later, when I came into an inheritance, I made a will leaving it to the University of California for fellowships to graduate students.

This was the era of what the Communists then called the "united front," in which they joined with many non-Communist groups in support of humanitarian objectives. Many of these objectives engaged my interest.

I contributed to the strike fund of one of the major strikes of Bridges' union; I subscribed to The People's World; I contributed to the various committees and organizations which were intended to help the Spanish Loyalist cause. I was invited to help establish the Teacher's Union which included faculty and teaching assistants at the university and school teachers of the Bay. I was elected recording secretary. My connection with the Teacher's Union continued until some time in 1941, when we disbanded our chapter.

During these same years, I also began to take part in the management of the Physics Department, the selection of students and the awarding of fellowships, and in the general affairs of the Graduate School of the university, mostly through the Graduate Council, of which I was a member for some years.

I also became involved in other organizations. For perhaps a year, I was a member of the Western Council of the Consumer's Union, which was concerned with evaluating information on products of interest on the West Coast. I do not recall Arthur Kallet, the national head of the Consumer's Union at most I could have met him if he made a visit to the West Coast.

I joined the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in 1937. I felt it then stood as a protest against what had happened to intellectuals and professionals in Germany.

[illegible] this letter as you may consider appropriate.

I have instructed Mr. Wm. Mitchell, whose address is 1801 Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., and whose telephone number is STerling 5-8000, Extension 277, to give you whatever further detailed information you may desire with respect to the procedures to be followed in this matter.

Very truly yours,
H. D. Nicholls,
General Manager.

Enclosures
1. Criteria & Procedures
2. Executive Order 10450

Oppenheimer

I had had many invitations to university positions, one or two in Europe, and perhaps ten in the United States. I accepted concurrent appointments as Assistant Professor at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and at the University of California in Berkeley. For the coming twelve years I was to devote my time to these two faculties.

Starting with a single graduate student in my first year in Berkeley, we gradually began to build up what was to become the largest school in the country of graduate and post-doctoral study in theoretical physics, so that as time went on we came to have between a dozen and twenty people learning and adding to quantum theory, nuclear physics, relativity and other modern physics.

As the number of students increased, so in general did their quality: the men who worked with me during these years hold chairs in many of the great centers of physics in this country; they have made important contributions to science, and in many cases to the atomic energy project. Many of my students would accompany me to Pasadena in the spring after the Berkeley term was over, so that we might continue to work together.

University Life Depicted

My friends, both in Pasadena and in Berkeley, were mostly faculty people, scientists, classicists and artists. I studied and read Sanskrit with Arthur Rider. I read very widely, but mostly classics, novels, plays and poetry; and I read something of other parts of science. I was not in-

[illegible] is support of human [illegible] objectives. Many of these objectives engaged my interest.

I contributed to the strike fun[illegible] of one of the major strikes [illegible] Bridges' union; I subscribed [illegible] The People's World; I contrib[illegible] uted to the various committee[illegible] and organizations which were in[illegible] tended to help the Spanish Loyal[illegible] ist cause. I was invited to hel[illegible] establish the Teacher's Union which included faculty and teach[illegible] ing assistants at the university and school teachers of the Ba[illegible] Bay. I was elected [illegible] secretary. My connection wit[illegible] the Teacher's Union continue[illegible] until some time in 1941, when w[illegible] disbanded our chapter.

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I joined the American Com[illegible] mittee for Democracy and Inte[illegible] lectual Freedom in 1937. I thi[illegible] it then stood as a protest again[illegible] what had happened to intelle[illegible] tuals and professionals in Ge[illegible] many.

I listed, in the Personnel Secu[illegible] ity Questionnaire that I filled o[illegible] in 1942 for employment with th[illegible] Manhattan District, the very fe[illegible] political organizations of which [illegible] had ever been a member. I w[illegible] on that questionnaire that I d[illegible] not include sponsorships. I ha[illegible] no recollection of the Friends [illegible] the Chinese People, or of what, [illegible] any, my connection with this [illegible] ganization was.

The statement is attributed [illegible] me that, while I was not a Com[illegible] munist, I "had probably belong[illegible] to every Communist-front orga[illegible] ization on the West Coast a[illegible] had signed many petitions [illegible] which Communists were inte[illegible] ested."

I do not recall this statemen[illegible] nor to whom I might have me[illegible] it, nor the circumstances. T[illegible]

Texts of Letter From A. E. C. General Manager to D

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Following are the texts of letters from Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, listing charges against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and of Dr. Oppenheimer's reply.

Letter to Dr. Oppenheimer

Dec. 23, 1953.

Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

Section 10 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 places upon the Atomic Energy Commission the responsibility for assuring that individuals are employed by the Commission only when such employment will not endanger the common defense and security. In addition, Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953, requires the suspension of employment of any individual where there exists information indicating that his employment may not be clearly consistent with the interests of the national security.

As a result of additional investigation as to your character, associations and loyalty, and review of your personnel security file in the light of the requirements of the Atomic Energy Act and the requirements of Executive Order 10450, there has developed considerable question whether your continued employment on Atomic Energy Commission work will endanger the common defense and security and whether such continued employment is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security.

This letter is to advise you of the steps which you may take to assist in the resolution of this question.

The substance of the information which raises the question concerning your eligibility for employment on Atomic Energy Commission work is as follows:

It was reported that in 1940 you were listed as a sponsor of the Friends of the Chinese People, an organization which was characterized in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization. It was further reported that in 1940 your name was included on a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a member of its National Executive Committee.

Charges 'Front' Membership

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was characterized in 1943 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front which defended Communist teachers, and in 1943 it was characterized as subversive and un-American by a special sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations.

It was further reported that in 1938 you were a member of the Western Council of the Consumers Union. The Consumers Union was cited in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front founded by the Communist Arthur Kallet. It was further reported that you stated in 1943 that you were not a Communist, but had probably belonged to every Communist-front organization on the West Coast and had signed many petitions in which Communists were interested.

It was reported that in 1940 and previously you were intimately associated with Dr. Jean Tatlock, a member of the Communist party in San Francisco, and that Dr. Tatlock was partly responsible for your association with Communist-front groups.

It was reported that your wife, Katherine Puenner Oppenheimer, was formerly the wife of Joseph Dallet, a member of the Communist party, who was killed in Spain in 1937 fighting for the Spanish Republican Army. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Joseph Dallet, your wife became a member of the Communist party.

The Communist party has been designated by the Attorney General as subversive to The Daily People's World, a West Coast Communist paper, in 1941 and 1942.

It was reported in 1950 that you stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that you had in the past made contributions to Communist-front organizations although at the time you did not know of Communist party control or extent of infiltration of these groups. You further stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that some of these contributions were made through Isaac Folkoff, whom you knew to be a leading Communist party functionary, because you had been told that this was the most effective and direct way of helping these groups.

It was reported that you attended a housewarming party at the home of Kenneth and Ruth May on Sept. 20, 1941, for which there was an admission charge for the benefit of The People's World, and that at this party you were in the company of Joseph W. Weinberg and Clarence Hiskey, who were alleged to be members of the Communist party and to have engaged in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union.

It was further reported that you informed officials of the United States Department of Justice in 1953 that you had no recollection that you had attended such a party, but that since it would have been in character for you to have attended such a party, you could not deny that you were there.

California Meeting Cited

It was reported that you attended a closed meeting of the professional section of the Communist party of Alameda County, California, which was held in the latter part of July or early August, 1941, at your residence, 10 Kenilworth Court, Berkeley, Calif., for the purpose of hearing an explanation of a change in Communist party policy. It was further reported that you denied that you attended such a meeting and that such a meeting was held in your home.

It was reported that you stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1950, that you attended a meeting in 1940 or 1941, which may have taken place at the home of Haakon Chevalier, which was addressed by William Schneiderman, whom you knew to be a leading functionary of the Communist party.

In testimony in 1950 before the California State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, Haakon Chevalier was identified as a member of the Communist party in the San Francisco area in the early 1940's.

It was reported that you have consistently denied that you have ever been a member of the Communist party. It was further reported that you stated to a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1944 that you had a change of mind regarding the policies and politics of the Soviet Union about the time of the signing of the Soviet-German Pact in 1939.

It was further reported that during 1950 you stated to a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that you had never attended a closed meeting of the Communist party; and that at the time of the Russo-Finnish war and the subsequent break between Germany and Russia in 1941, you realized the Communist party infiltration tactics into the alleged anti-Fascist groups and became fed up with the whole thing and lost what little interest you had. It was further reported, however, that:

[A]

Prior to April, 1942, you had contributed $150 per month to the Communist party in the San Francisco area, and that the last such payment was apparently made in April, 1942, immediately before your entry into the atomic bomb project.

Soon, Max Bernard Friedman, and David Hawkins.

In the case of Giovanni Rocco Lomanitz, you stated that you knew he had been very much of a "flier" when he first came to the University of California and that you emphasized to him that in your foregoing all political activity if he came on to the Project. In August, 1943, you protested against the termination of his deferment and requested that he be returned to the Project after his entry into the military service.

It was reported that you stated to representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Sept. 8, 1944, that you had attended a meeting in the East Bay and a meeting in San Francisco at which there were present persons definitely identified with the Communist party. When asked the purpose of the East Bay meeting and the identity of those in attendance, you declined to answer on the ground that this had no bearing on the matter of interest being discussed.

It was reported that you attended a meeting at the home of Frank Oppenheimer on Jan. 1, 1944, with David Adams and Paul Pinsky, both of whom were members of the Communist party. It was further reported that you analyzed some material which Pinsky hoped to take up with the Legislative Convention in Sacramento, Calif.

Committee Post Listed

It was reported in 1946 that you were listed as Vice Chairman on the letterhead of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Inc., which has been cited as a Communist-front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

It was reported that prior to March 1, 1943, possibly three months prior, Peter Ivanov, Secretary of the Soviet Consulate, San Francisco, approached George Charles Eltenton for the purpose of obtaining information regarding work being done at the Radiation Laboratory for the use of Soviet Scientists; that George Charles Eltenton subsequently requested Haakon Chevalier to approach you concerning this matter; that Haakon Chevalier thereupon approached you, either directly or through your brother, Frank Friedman Oppenheimer, in connection with this matter; and that Haakon Chevalier finally advised George Charles Eltenton that there was no chance whatsoever of obtaining the information.

It was further reported that you did not report this episode to the appropriate authorities until several months after its occurrence; that when you initially discussed the matter with the appropriate authorities on Aug. 26, 1943, you did not identify yourself as the person who had been approached and you refused to identify Haakon Chevalier as the individual who had made the approach on behalf of George Charles Eltenton; and that it was not until several months later, when you were ordered by a superior to do so, that you so identified Haakon Chevalier.

It was further reported that upon your return to Berkeley following your separation from the Los Alamos Project, you were visited by the Chevaliers on several occasions; and that your wife was in contact with Haakon and Barbara Chevalier in 1944 and 1947.

It was reported that in 1945 you expressed the view that "there is a reasonable possibility that it (the hydrogen bomb) can be made," but that the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb did not appear, on theoretical grounds, as certain as the fission bomb appeared certain, on theoretical grounds, when the Los Alamos Laboratory was started; and that in the autumn of 1949 the General Advisory Committee expressed the view that "an imaginative and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years."

It was further reported that in the autumn of 1949, and subse-

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By:

[illegible] in Spain fighting for the Spanish Republican Army. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Jessica Dallet, your wife became a member of the Communist party.

The Communist party has been designated by the Attorney General as a subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means, within the purview of Executive Order [illegible] and Executive Order 10450.

Brother Listed as a Shill

It was reported that your brother Frank Friedman Oppenheimer became a member of the Communist party in 1938 and has served as a party organizer and as educational director of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County.

It was further reported that your brother's wife, Jackie Oppenheimer, was a member of the Communist party in 1938, and that in August, 1944, Jackie Oppenheimer assisted in the organization of the East Bay branch of the California Labor School. It was further reported that in 1945 Frank and Jackie Oppenheimer were invited to an informal reception at the Russian Consulate. That this invitation was extended by the American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and was for the purpose of introducing famous American scientists to Russian scientists who were delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization being held at San Francisco at that time, and that Frank Oppenheimer accepted this invitation.

It was further reported that Frank Oppenheimer agreed to give a six-week course on "The Social Implications of Modern Scientific Development" at the California Labor School, beginning May 9, 1946. The American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and the California Labor School have been cited by the Attorney General as Communist organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835 and Executive Order 10450.

It was reported that you have associated with members and officials of the Communist party including Isaac Folkoff, Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, Kenneth May, Jack Manley, and Thomas Addis.

It was reported that you were [illegible] Spanish Republican Army. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Jessica Dallet, your wife became a member of the Communist party.

The Communist party has been designated by the Attorney General as a subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means, within the purview of Executive Order [illegible] and Executive Order 10450.

Brother Listed as a Shill

It was reported that your brother Frank Friedman Oppenheimer became a member of the Communist party in 1938 and has served as a party organizer and as educational director of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County.

It was further reported that your brother's wife, Jackie Oppenheimer, was a member of the Communist party in 1938, and that in August, 1944, Jackie Oppenheimer assisted in the organization of the East Bay branch of the California Labor School. It was further reported that in 1945 Frank and Jackie Oppenheimer were invited to an informal reception at the Russian Consulate. That this invitation was extended by the American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and was for the purpose of introducing famous American scientists to Russian scientists who were delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization being held at San Francisco at that time, and that Frank Oppenheimer accepted this invitation.

It was further reported that Frank Oppenheimer agreed to give a six-week course on "The Social Implications of Modern Scientific Development" at the California Labor School, beginning May 9, 1946. The American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and the California Labor School have been cited by the Attorney General as Communist organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835 and Executive Order 10450.

It was reported that you have associated with members and officials of the Communist party including Isaac Folkoff, Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, Kenneth May, Jack Manley, and Thomas Addis.

It was reported that you were [illegible]

Prior to April, 1943, you had contributed $150 per month to the Communist party in the San Francisco area, and that the last such payment was apparently made in April, 1943, immediately before your entry into the atomic bomb project.

(E)

During the period 1943-45 various officials of the Communist party, including Dr. Hannah Peters, organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist party, Alameda County, California; Bernadette Doyle, secretary of the Alameda County Communist party; Steve Nelson, David Adams, Paul Pinsky, Jack Manley and Katrina Beskow are reported to have made statements indicating that you were then a member of the Communist party; that you could not be active in the party at that time; that your name should be removed from the party mailing list and not mentioned in any way; that you had talked the atomic bomb question over with party members during this period, and that several years prior to 1946 you had told Steve Nelson that the Army was working on an atomic bomb.

(G)

You stated in August of 1943 that you did not want anybody working for you on the Project who was a member of the Communist party, since "one always had a question of divided loyalty" and the discipline of the Communist party was very severe and not compatible with complete loyalty to the Project. You further stated at that time that you were referring only to present membership in the Communist party and not to people who had been members of the party.

You stated further that you knew several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist party. You did not, however, identify such former members of the Communist party to the appropriate authorities.

It was also reported that during the period 1943-1945 you were responsible for the employment on the atom bomb Project of individuals who were members of the Communist party or closely associated with activities of the Communist party, including Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, Joseph W. Weinberg, David [illegible]

[illegible] Advisory Committee expressed the view that "an immediate and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years."

It was further reported that in the autumn of 1949, and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb: (1) on moral grounds, (2) by claiming that it was not feasible, (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable.

Opposition Reported

It was further reported that even after it was determined, as a matter of national policy, to proceed with development of a hydrogen bomb, you continued to oppose the project and declined to cooperate fully in the project. It was further reported that you departed from your proper role as an adviser to the commission by causing the distribution, separately and in private, to top personnel at Los Alamos of the majority and minority reports of the General Advisory Committee on development of the hydrogen bomb for the purpose of trying to turn such top personnel against the development of the hydrogen bomb.

It was further reported that you were instrumental in persuading other outstanding scientists not to work on the hydrogen bomb project and that the opposition to the hydrogen bomb, of which you are the most outspoken, loud, powerful and most effective member, has definitely slowed down the development.

In view of your access to highly sensitive classified information, and in view of these allegations which, until disproved raise questions as to your veracity, conduct and even your loyalty, the Commission has no other recourse, in the discharge of its obligations to protect the common defense and security, but to suspend your clearance until the matter has been resolved.

Accordingly, your employment on Atomic Energy Commission work and your eligibility for access to Restricted Data are hereby suspended, effective immediately, pending final determination of this matter.

To assist in the resolution of this matter, you have the privilege of appearing before an

Oppenheimer Won Great Fame As 'Man Who Built the A-Bomb'

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is one of the most brilliant scientists America has produced. Essentially, he is a theoretical physicist, but it was a down-to-earth project of the starkest reality that brought him his greatest fame. He is known as "the man who built the atom bomb."

The pioneer work on fission had been done by others, but to Dr. Oppenheimer came the challenge of adapting this discovery to a weapon of awesome destruction. With some misgivings about his administrative ability, he abandoned the blackboard and chalk to become director of the Los Alamos laboratory in the New Mexico desert.

Personally, he beat the bushes for scientists to go out there and help. This was to be the payoff of a $2,000,000,000 project that was conducted in the utmost secrecy.

As far as Dr. Oppenheimer was concerned, the mission was achieved on July 16, 1945. That was the day of Trinity, the test explosion of the world's first nuclear bomb, at Alamogordo, N. M. Its builder was then 41 years old.

He was born in New York City, the son of a German immigrant who was a successful textile importer. The only record of his scientific precocity was a rock collection that got him into the New York Mineralogical Club at the age of 11. He went through Ethical Culture School and completed the Harvard College course in three years, summa cum laude.

He went to Europe for graduate study—Cambridge, Goettingen, Leyden, Zurich. He picked up modern languages to add to his Latin and Greek. Later, at 30, he studied Sanskrit, the better to imbibe the philosophical writings of the ancients.

At 24 he settled in California to do research and teach. He had professorships at California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and the University of California at Berkeley. He collected art and read and wrote poetry when he was not deep in his science.

In his mid-twenties, according to his own story, he was all but out of touch with the workaday world. The stock market crash of 1929 had ceased to be news to most people when Dr. Oppenheimer heard about it.

Later on, though, he interested himself in the Spanish Civil War and associated with people whose names now figure in his security case. Two women mentioned along with him had been Communists. The first died. He married the second. They have two children, Katherine and Peter.

Dr. Oppenheimer, since 1947, has been director of the Institute for Advanced Study, a research center at Princeton, N. J.

Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Board. To avail yourself of the privileges afforded you under the Atomic Energy Commission hearing procedures, you must, within thirty days following receipt of this letter, submit to me, in writing, your reply to the information outlined above and request the opportunity of appearing before the Personnel Security Board.

Should you signify your desire to appear before the Board, you will be notified of the composition of the Board and may challenge any member of it for cause. Such challenge should be submitted to me within seventy-two hours of the receipt of notice of composition of the Board.

Counsel Permitted

If no challenge is raised as to the members of the Board, you will be notified of the date and place of hearing at least forty-eight hours in advance of the date set for hearing. You may be present for the duration of the hearing, may be represented by counsel of your own choosing and present evidence in your own behalf through witnesses, or by documents, or by both.

Should you elect to have a hearing of your case by the Personnel Security Board, the findings of the Board together with its recommendations regarding your eligibility for employment on Atomic Energy Commission work, in the light of Criteria and Determining Eligibility for Atomic Energy Commission Security Clearance and the requirements of Executive Order 10450, will be submitted to me.

In the event of an adverse decision in your case by the Personnel Security Board, you will have an opportunity to review the record made during your appearance before the board and to request a review of your case by the Commission's Personnel Security Review Board.

If a written response is not received from you within thirty days it will be assumed that you do not wish to submit any explanation for further consideration. In that event, or should you not advise me in writing of your desire to appear before the Personnel Security Board, a determination in your case will be made by me on the basis of the existing record.

I am enclosing herewith, for your information and guidance, copies of the Criteria and Procedures for Determining Eligibility for Atomic Energy Commission Security Clearance and Executive Order 10450.

This letter has been marked "Confidential" to maintain the privacy of this matter between you and the Atomic Energy Commission. You are not precluded from making such use of this letter as you may consider appropriate.

I have instructed Mr. Wm. Mitchell, whose address is 1901 Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., and whose telephone number is STerling 3-8000, Extension 277, to give you whatever further detailed information you may desire with respect to the procedures to be followed in this matter.

Very truly yours,
K. D. NICHOLS,
General Manager.

2 Enclosures
1. Criteria & Procedures
2. Executive Order 10450

Reply by Dr. Oppenheimer

Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols
General Manager
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear General Nichols:

This is in answer to your letter of Dec. 23, 1953, in which the question is raised whether my continued employment as a consultant on Atomic Energy Commission work "will endanger the common defense and security and whether such continued employment is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security."

Though of course I would have no desire to retain an advisory position if my advice were not needed, I cannot ignore the question you have raised, nor accept the suggestion that I am unfit for public service.

The items of so-called "derogatory information" set forth in your letter cannot be fairly understood except in the context of my life and my work. This answer is in the form of a summary account of relevant aspects of my life in more or less chrono-

I had had many invitations to university positions, one or two in Europe, and perhaps ten in the United States. I accepted concurrent appointments as Assistant Professor at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and at the University of California in Berkeley. For the coming twelve years I was to devote my time to these two faculties.

Starting with a single graduate student in my first year in Berkeley, we gradually began to build up what was to become the largest school in the country of graduate and post-doctoral study in theoretical physics, so that as time went on we came to have between a dozen and twenty people learning and adding to quantum theory, nuclear physics, relativity and other modern physics.

As the number of students increased, so in general did their quality; the men who worked with me during those years hold chairs in many of the great centers of physics in this country; they have made important contributions to science, and in many cases to the atomic energy proj-

[illegible]. These changes did not alter my earlier friendships, my relations to my students; but they added something new. I can discern in retrospect more than one reason for these changes.

I had had a continuing, smoldering fury about the treatment of Jews in Germany. I had relatives there, and was later to help in extricating them and bringing them to this country.

I saw what the depression was doing to my students. Often they could get no jobs, or jobs which were wholly inadequate. And through them, I began to understand the larger sorrows of the great depression. I began to understand how deeply political and economic events could affect men's lives. I began to feel the need to participate more fully in the life of the community. But I had no framework of political conviction or experience to give me perspective in these matters.

'New Interests Described'

In the spring of 1936, I had been introduced by friends to Jean Tatlock, the daughter of a noted professor of English at the University; and in the autumn, I began to court her, and we grew close to each other. We were at least twice close enough to marriage to think of ourselves as engaged.

Between 1939 and her death in 1944 I saw her very rarely. She told me about her Communist party memberships; they were on again, off again affairs, and never seemed to provide for her what she was seeking. I do not believe that her interests were really political. She was a person of deep religious feeling. She loved this country and its people and its life. She was, as it turned out, a friend of many fellow travelers and Communists, with a number of whom I was later to become acquainted.

I should not give the impression that it was wholly because of Jean Tatlock that I made left-wing friends, or felt sympathy for causes which hitherto would have seemed so remote from me, like the Loyalist cause in Spain, and the organization of migratory workers. I have mentioned some of the other contributing causes. I liked the new sense of companionship, and at the same time felt that I was coming to be part of the life of my time and country.

In 1937, my father died; a little later, when I came into an inheritance, I made a will leaving this to the University of California for fellowships to graduate students.

This was the era of what the Communists then called the "united front," in which they joined with many non-Communist groups in support of humanitarian objectives. Many of these objectives engaged my interest.

I contributed to the strike fund of one of the major strikes of Bridges' union; I subscribed to The People's World; I contributed to the various committees and organizations which were intended to help the Spanish Loyalist cause. I was invited to help establish the Teacher's Union, which included faculty and teaching assistants at the university, and school teachers of the East Bay. I was elected recording secretary. My connection with the Teacher's Union continued until some time in 1941, when we disbanded our chapter.

During these same years, I also began to take part in the management of the Physics Department, the selection of courses and the awarding of fellowships, and in the general affairs of the Graduate School of the university, mostly through the Graduate Council, of which I was a member for some years.

I also became involved in other organizations. For perhaps a year, I was a member of the Western Council of the Consumer's Union, which was concerned with evaluating information on products of interest on the West Coast. I do not recall Arthur Kallet, the national head of the Consumer's Union; at most I could have met him if he made a visit to the West Coast.

I joined the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in 1937. I think it then stood as a protest against what had happened to intellectuals and professionals in Germany.

I listed, in the Personnel Security Questionnaire that I filled out in 1942 for employment with the Manhattan District, the many few political organizations of which I had ever been a member. I say on that questionnaire that I did not include sponsorships. I have

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Dear General Nichols:

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Though of course I would have to desire to retain an advisory position if my advice were not needed, I cannot ignore the question you have raised, nor accept the suggestion that I am unfit for public service.

The items of so-called "derogatory information" set forth in your letter cannot be fairly understood except in the context of my life and my work. This answer is in the form of a summary account of relevant aspects of my life in more or less chronological order. In the course of which I shall comment on the specific items in your letter. Through this answer and through the hearings before the Personnel Security Board, which I hereby request, I hope to provide a fair basis upon which the questions posed by your letter may be resolved.

The Pre-War Period

I was born in New York in 1904. My father had come to this country at the age of 17 from Germany. He was a successful business man and quite active in community affairs. My mother was born in Baltimore and before her marriage was an artist and teacher of art.

I attended the Ethical Culture School and Harvard College, which I entered in 1922. I completed the work for my degree in the spring of 1925. I then left Harvard to study at Cambridge University and in Goettingen, where in the spring of 1927 I took my doctor's degree.

The following year I was National Research Fellow at Harvard and at the California Institute of Technology. In the following year I was Fellow of the International Education Board at the University of Leiden and at the Technical High School in Zurich.

In the spring of 1929 I returned to the United States. I was homesick for this country, and in fact I did not leave it again for over nineteen years. I had learned a great deal in my student days about the new physics; I wanted to pursue this myself, to explain it and to foster its cultivation.

I had had many invitations to university positions, one or two in Europe and perhaps ten in the United States. I accepted concurrent appointments as Assistant Professor at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena and at the University of California in Berkeley. For the coming twelve years I was to devote my time to these two faculties.

Starting with a single graduate student in my first year in Berkeley, we gradually began to build up what was to become the largest school in the country of graduate and post-doctoral study in theoretical physics, so that as time went on we came to have between a dozen and twenty people learning and adding to quantum theory, nuclear physics, relativity and other modern physics.

As the number of students increased, so in general did their quality: the men who worked with me during these years held chairs in many of the great centers of physics in this country; they have made important contributions to science, and in many cases to the atomic energy project. Many of my students would accompany me to Pasadena in the spring after the Berkeley term was over, so that we might continue to work together.

University Life Depicted

My friends, both in Pasadena and in Berkeley, were mostly faculty people, scientists, classicists and artists. I studied and read Sanskrit with Arthur Rider. I read very widely, but mostly classics, novels, plays and poetry, and I read something of other parts of science. I was not interested in and did not read about economics or politics. I was almost wholly divorced from the contemporary scene in this country.

I never read a newspaper or a current magazine like Time or Harper's; I had no radio, no telephone; I learned of the stock market crash in the fall of 1929 only long after the event; the first time I ever voted was in the Presidential election of 1936.

To many of my friends, my indifference to contemporary affairs seemed bizarre, and they often shided me with being too much of a highbrow. I was interested in man and his experience; I was deeply interested in my science; but I had no understanding of the relations of man to his society.

I spent some weeks each summer with my brother Frank at our ranch in New Mexico. There was a strong bond of affection between us. After my mother's death, my father came often, mostly in Berkeley, to visit me; and we had an intimate and close association until his death.

Beginning in late 1936, my in-

[illegible] of the Physics Department, the selection of courses and the awarding of fellowships, and in the general affairs of the Graduate School of the University, mostly through the Graduate Council, of which I was a member for some years.

I also became involved in other organizations. For perhaps a year I was a member of the Western Council of the Consumer's Union, which was concerned with evaluating information on products of interest on the West Coast. I do not recall Arthur Kallet, the national head of the Consumer's Union, at most I could have met him if he made a visit to the West Coast.

I joined the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in 1937. I think it then stood as a protest against what had happened to intellectuals and professionals in Germany.

I listed, in the Personnel Security Questionnaire that I filled out in 1942 for employment with the Manhattan District, the very few political organizations of which I had ever been a member. I say on that questionnaire that I did not include sponsorships. I have no recollection of the Friends of the Chinese People, or of what, if any, my connection with this organization was.

The statement is attributed to me that, while I was not a Communist, I "had probably belonged to every Communist-front organization on the West Coast and had signed many petitions in which Communists were interested."

I do not recall this statement, nor to whom I might have made it, nor the circumstances. The quotation is not true. It seems clear to me that if I said anything along the lines quoted, it was a half-jocular overstatement.

The matter which most engaged my sympathies and interests was the war in Spain. This was not a matter of understanding and informed convictions. I had never been to Spain; I knew a little of its literature; I knew nothing of its history or politics or contemporary problems. But like a great many other Americans I was emotionally committed to the Loyalist cause.

I contributed to various organizations for Spanish relief. I went to, and helped with, many parties, bazaars and the like. Even when the war in Spain was manifestly lost, these activities continued. The end of the war and the defeat of the Loyalists caused me great sorrow.

It was probably through Spanish relief efforts that I met Dr. Thomas Addis and Rudy Lambert. As to the latter, our association never became close. As to the former, he was a distinguished medical scientist who became a friend.

Addis asked me, perhaps in the

[illegible] of contributions through him to the Spanish cause. He made it clear that this money, unlike that which went to the relief organizations, would go straight to the fighting effort, and that it would go through Communist channels. I did so contribute, usually when he communicated with me, explaining the nature of the need. I gave the sums in cash, probably never much less than a hundred dollars, and occasionally perhaps somewhat more than that. Several times during the winter, I made such contributions during the spring terms when I was in Pasadena or during the summers in New Mexico.

Later—but I do not remember the date—Addie introduced me to Isaac Folkoff, who was, as Addie indicated, in some way connected with the Communist party, and told me that Folkoff would from then on get in touch with me when there was need for money. This he did, in much the same way that Addie had done before. As before, these contributions were for specific purposes, principally the Spanish war and Spanish relief.

Sometimes I was asked for money for other purposes, the organization of migratory labor in the California valleys, for instance. I doubt that it occurred to me that the contributions might be diverted to purposes other than those I had intended, or that such other purposes might be evil. I did not then regard Communists as dangerous, and some of their declared objectives seemed to me desirable.

In time these contributions came to an end. I went to a big Spanish relief party the night before Pearl Harbor, and the next day, as we heard the news of the outbreak of war, I decided that I had had about enough of the Spanish cause, and that there were other and more pressing crises in the world. My contributions would not have continued much longer.

Says Brother Left Party

My brother Frank married in 1938. Our relations thereafter were inevitably less intimate than before. He told me at the time—probably in 1937—that he and his wife Jackie had joined the Communist party. Over the years we saw one another as occasions arose. We still spent summer holidays together. In 1937 or 1940 Frank and Jackie moved to Stanford; in the autumn of 1941 they came to Berkeley, and Frank worked for the Radiation Laboratory. At that time he made it clear to me that he was no longer a member of the Communist party.

As to the alleged activities of Jackie and Frank in 1944, 1945 and 1946: I was not in Berkeley in 1944 and 1945. I was away most of the first half of 1946. I do not know whether these activities occurred or not, and if I had any knowledge of them at the time it would only have been very sketchy.

After Christmas of 1943 my family and I visited my brother's family for a few days during the holidays, and I remember that we were there New Year's Eve and New Year's Day in 1944. On New Year's Day people were constantly dropping in. Pinsky and Adelson, who were at most casual acquaintances of mine, may have been among them, but I cannot remember their being there, nor indeed do I remember any of the others who dropped in that day or what was discussed.

It was in the summer of 1939 in Pasadena that I first met my wife. She was married to Dr. Harrison, who was a friend and associate of the Tolmans, Lauritsens and others on the California Institute of Technology faculty. I learned of her earlier marriage to Joe Dallet and of his death fighting in Spain. He had been a Communist party official, and for a year or two during their brief marriage my wife was a Communist party member. When I met her I found in her a deep loyalty to her former husband, a complete disengagement from any political activity, and a certain disappointment and contempt that the Communist party was not in fact what she had once thought it was.

Other Revisions of Views

My own views were also changing. Although Sidney and Beatrice Webb's book on Russia, which I had read in 1934, and the talk that I heard at that time had predisposed me to make much of the economic progress and general level of welfare in Russia, and little of its political tyranny, my views on this were to change.

I read about the purge trials, though not in full detail, and would never find a view of them [illegible] from [illegible] Spanish [illegible] stories that still continued, [illegible] two occasions, once in Berkeley and once in Berkeley, we attended social gatherings of apparently well-to-do people, at which [illegible] man an official of the Communist party in California. [illegible] attempted, but with success so far as we were concerned, to explain what the Communist line was all about.

I was asked about the Berkeley meeting in an interview in 1946 with agents of the F. B. I. I did not then recall this meeting, and in particular did not in any way connect it with Chevalier, about whom the agents were questioning me; hence it seemed wholly irrelevant to the matter under discussion. Later my wife reminded me that the Berkeley meeting had occurred at the house of the Chevaliers; and when I was asked about it by the F. B. I. in 1950 I told them so.

Never Was a Member

We saw a little of Kenneth May; we both liked him. It would have been not unnatural for us to go to a housewarming for May and his wife; neither my wife nor I remember such a party.

Weinberg was known to me as a graduate student. Hickey I did not know. Steve Nelson came a few times with his family to visit; he had befriended my wife in Paris, at the time of her husband's death in Spain in 1937. Neither of us has seen him since 1941 or 1942.

Because of these associations that I have described, and the contributions mentioned earlier, I might well have appeared at the time to quite close to the Communist party—perhaps even to some people as belonging to it. As I have said, some of its declared objectives seemed to me desirable. But I never was a member of the Communist party. I never accepted Communist dogma or theory; in fact, it never made sense to me.

I had no clearly formulated political views I hated tyranny and repression and every form of dictatorial control of thought. In most cases I did not in those days know who was and who was not a member of the Communist party. No one ever asked me to join the Communist party.

Your letter sets forth statements made in 1942-45 by persons said to be Communist party officials to the effect that I was a concealed member of the Communist party. I have no knowledge as to what these people might have said. What I do know is that I was never a member of the party, concealed or open.

Even the names of some of the people mentioned are strange to me such as Jack Manley and Katrina Sandow. I doubt that I met Bernadette Doyle, though I recognize her name. Pinsky and Adelson I met at most casually, as previously mentioned.

By the time that we moved to Los Alamos in early 1943, both as a result of my changed views and of the great pressure of war work, my participation in left-wing organizations and my association with left-wing circles had ceased and were never to be reestablished.

In August, 1941, I bought Eagle Hill at Berkeley for my wife, which was the first home we had of our own. We settled down to live in it with our new baby. We had a good many friends, but little leisure. My wife was working in biology at the university.

Many of the men I had known went off to work on radar and other aspects of military research. I was not without envy of them; but it was not until my first connection with the rudimentary atomic energy enterprise that I began to see any way in which I could be of direct use.

The War Years

Ever since the discovery of nuclear fission, the possibility of powerful explosives based on it had been very much in my mind, as it had in that of many other physicists. We had some understanding of what this might do for us in the war, and how much it might change the course of history.

In the autumn of 1941, a special committee was set up by the National Academy of Sciences under the chairmanship of Arthur Compton to review the prospects and feasibility of the different uses of atomic energy for military purposes. I attended a meeting of the committee; this was my first official connection with the atomic energy program.

After the Academy meeting, I spent some time in preliminary calculations about the construction and performance of atomic bombs, and became increasingly excited at the prospects.

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Gives Revision of Views

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I read about the purge trials, though not in full detail, and could never find a view of them which was not damning to the Soviet system. In 1938 I met three physicists who had actually lived in Russia in the Nineteen-thirties. All were eminent scientists: Placzek, Weisskopf and Schein; and the first two have become close friends. What they reported seemed to me so solid, so unfanatical, so true, that it made a great impression, and I presented Russia, even when seen from their limited experience, as a land of purge and terror, of indiscreetly bad management and of a long-suffering people.

I need to make clear that this changing opinion of Russia, which was to be reinforced by the Nazi-Soviet pact, and the behavior of the Soviet Union in Poland and in Finland, did not mean a sharp break for me with those who held to different views. At that time I did not fully understand—as in time I came to understand—how completely the Communist party in this country was under the control of Russia. During and after the Battle of France, however, and during the Battle of England the next autumn, I found myself increasingly out of sympathy with the policy of disengagement and neutrality that the Communist press advocated.

After our marriage in 1940 my wife and I for about two years had much the same circle of friends as I had had before—mostly physicists and university people. Among them the Chambers, in particular, showed us many acts of kindness. We were occasionally invited to more or less at Berkeley for my wife, which was the first home we had of our own. We settled down to live in it with our new baby. We had a good many friends, but little leisure. My wife was working in biology at the university.

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In the autumn of 1941, a special committee was set up by the National Academy of Sciences under the chairmanship of Arthur Compton to review the prospects and feasibility of the different uses of atomic energy for military purposes. I attended a meeting of this committee; this was my first official connection with the atomic energy program.

After the Academy meeting, I spent some time in preliminary calculations about the construction and performance of atomic bombs, and became increasingly excited at the prospects.

At the same time I still had a quite heavy burden of academic work with courses and graduate students. I also began to consult, more or less regularly, with the staff of the Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley on their program for the electric-magnetic separation of uranium isotopes. I was never a member or employe of the laboratory, but I attended many of its staff and policy meetings.

With the help of two of my graduate students, I developed an invention which was embodied in the production plants at Oak Ridge. I attended the conference in Chicago at which the Metallurgical Laboratory (to produce plutonium) was established and its initial program projected.

In the spring of 1942, Compton called me to C[illegible] to discuss the state of work on the bomb itself. During this meeting Compton asked me to take the responsibility of this work, which at that time consisted of numerous scattered experimental projects. Although I had had no administrative experience and was not an experimental physicist, I felt sufficiently informed and challenged by the problem to be glad to accept. At this time I became an employe of the Metallurgical Laboratory.

After this conference I called together a theoretical study group in Berkeley in which Bethe, Konopinski, Serber, Teller, Van Vleck and I participated. We had an adventurous time. We spent much of the summer of 1942 in Berkeley in a joint study that for the first time really came to grips with the physical

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Exchange Reviews Nation's Development of

Continued From Preceding Page

problems of atomic bombs, atomic explosions and the possibility of using fission explosions to initiate thermo-nuclear reactions.

I called this possibility to the attention of Dr. Bush during the late summer; the technical views on this subject were to develop and change from then until the present day.

After these studies there was little doubt that a potentially world-shattering undertaking lay ahead. We began to see the great explosion of Alamogordo and the greater explosions of Eniwetok with a surer foreknowledge. We also began to see how rough, difficult, challenging and unpredictable this job might turn out to be.

When I entered the employ of the Metallurgical Laboratory I filled out my first Personnel Security Questionnaire. Later in the summer, I had word from Compton that there was a question of my clearance on the ground that I had belong to left-wing groups; but it was indicated that this would not prove a bar to my further work on the program.

Move for Central Laboratory

In late summer, after a review of the experimental work, I became convinced, as did others, that a major change was called for in the work on the bomb itself. We needed a central laboratory devoted wholly to this purpose, where people could talk freely with each other, where theoretical ideas and experimental findings could affect each other, where the waste and frustration and error of the many compartmentalized experimental studies could be eliminated, where we could begin to come to grips with chemical, metallurgical, engineering and ordnance problems that had so far received no consideration. We therefore sought to establish this laboratory for a direct attack on all the problems inherent in the most rapid possible development and production of atomic bombs.

In the autumn of 1942 General Groves assumed charge of the Manhattan Engineer District. I discussed with him the need for an atomic bomb laboratory. There had been some thought of making this laboratory a part of Oak Ridge. For a time there was support for making it a military establishment in which key personnel would be commissioned as officers; and in preparation for this course I once went to the Presidio to take the initial steps toward obtaining a commission.

After a good deal of discussion with the personnel who would be needed at Los Alamos and with General Groves and his advisers, it was decided that the Laboratory should, at least initially, be a civilian establishment in a military post. While this consideration was going on, I had shown General Groves Los Alamos; and he almost immediately took steps to acquire the site.

In early 1943, I received a letter signed by General Groves and Dr. Conant, appointing me director of the laboratory, and outlining their conception of how it was to be organized and administered. The necessary construction and assembling of the needed facilities were begun. All of us worked in close collaboration with the engineers of the Manhattan District.

The site of Los Alamos was selected, in part at least, because it enabled those responsible to balance the obvious need for security with the equally important need of free communication among those engaged in the work. Security, it was hoped, would be achieved by removing the laboratory to a remote area, fenced and patrolled, where communication with the outside was extremely limited.

Telephone calls were monitored, mail was censored, and personnel who left the area—something permitted only for the clearest of causes—knew that their movements might be under surveillance. On the other hand, for those within the community, full exposition and discussion among those competent to use the information was encouraged.

Recruitment Program

The last months of 1942 and early 1943 had hardly hours enough to get Los Alamos established. The real problem had to do with getting to Los Alamos the men who would make a success of the undertaking. For this we needed to understand as clearly as we then could what

List of Persons Mentioned in Case

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Following is a list of the main persons mentioned in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Much of the material was found in court testimony and reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and in reports of the Joint California State Committee on Un-American Activities:

ADDIS, Dr. Thomas. Until his death in June, 1949, was Professor of Medicine at Stanford University where he had been for thirty-seven years. Mentioned by California committee as a sponsor of several alleged Communist front organizations.

ADELSON, Dr. David. Onetime president of Alameda County chapter of old International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, cited as alleged Communist front by California group.

BOHM, David J.; 36. Former student at University of California, where he got Ph. D. From fall of 1943 to September, 1946, worked at Radiation Laboratory, then as research associate in university's Physics Department until February, 1947, when he went to Physics Department of Princeton University.

Indicted for failing to answer questions on "Scientist X" case but was acquitted when judge found he was within constitutional rights. Princeton suspended him.

CHEVALIER, Haakon Maurice. Went to University of California as Associate Professor of Romance Languages in 1937. During United Nations Conference in spring of 1945 at San Francisco, served as translator, later going to Germany as translator at German war trials. Returned to University of California.

According to House committee, was approached while a professor and asked whether he could get information on atomic bomb. Testimony brought out that he then went to Dr. Oppenheimer but was told by the scientist that to provide information would be treasonable act. Chevalier declined to answer questions before committee about this alleged role or any Communist associations.

CROUCH, Paul. Member of Communist party from 1925 to 1942, who now freely testifies on party activities and alleged party members. Held number of top jobs in party, and in early Nineteen Forties was active in attempt to infiltrate Radiation Laboratory, according to testimony. Now consultant for United States Immigration and Naturalization Service; has said he served two years in prison after a court-martial found him guilty of Communist activity in Army. Testified today against nine alleged Communist party leaders in Philadelphia conspiracy trial.

DALLET, Joseph. One-time Communist candidate for Mayor of Youngstown, Ohio. Widow is present wife of Dr. Oppenheimer. He was killed in Spain in Thirties while fighting with Loyalists.

ELTENTON, George Charles. California committee reported that a George C. Eltenton was an English scientist who had studied nuclear physics for several years at Scientific Institute in Leningrad, Russia.

Was member of old International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, which state committee found had been a "Communist front."

House committee charged that Eltenton was man who approached Chevalier on getting information from Radiation Laboratory.

FOLKOFF, Isaac. House committee reported in 1951 that an Isaac Folkoff with the aliases of Sam Falosovitch and "Pop" had long exerted strong influence as Communist party leader in San Francisco area. Committee said it was reported he controlled strings of party's secret funds there. Added he is known to have been in attendance at several meetings with group that included Steve Nelson, Chevalier and William Schneiderman.

FRIEDMAN, Max Bernard. Later changed name to Ken Max Manfred. Has been identified as member of alleged Communist cell at Radiation Laboratory. Attended University of California on scholarship from University of Puerto Rico, where he was Assistant Professor of Physics working on Ph. D. Was attached to laboratory and performed some research work.

HAWKINS, David, 41. Appearing before House committee in December, 1950, he admitted to Communist party membership from 1938 to around spring of 1943. Worked as teaching assistant at University of California for one or two years while preparing for Ph. D., which he received in 1940. Testified, however, that he knew of no Communist cell at university's Radiation Laboratory.

After teaching at Stanford, went to work at Los Alamos, N. M., atomic bomb plant from May, 1943, to August, 1946. Later became Professor of Philosophy at University of Colorado.

LAMBERT, Rudy. Identified by Mr. Crouch as an associate in effort to infiltrate Radiation Laboratory to gather atomic information for Communist party. A "Carl Rude Lambert," 54, also known as Rudie C. Lambert, was among California state Communist leaders convicted in August, 1952, of conspiring to advocate and teach overthrow of Government by violence. He was party's chief disciplinarian in state and had served as vice president of San Francisco Communist party.

LOMANITZ, Giovanni Rossi; 32. Received teaching assistantship at University of California in 1940 while doing graduate work. In June, 1942, began work in Radiation Laboratory and worked there for about year and half. Was drafted, served in Army for about thirty months, returned to Radiation Laboratory. Later went to Fisk University as Associate Professor of Physics. Refused to answer any questions on "Scientist X" case before House committee; was cited for contempt, but was acquitted.

MAY, Kenneth Ownsworth, 38. Attended University of California at Berkeley, received B. A. in 1936, M. A. in 1937 and Ph. D. in 1946. Told House Committee in December, 1950, he joined Communist party in 1936 but quit in 1942 when he went into the Army. University discharged him from teaching job in 1940 because of party activities. After discharge, returned to school as student. In 1946, joined faculty of Carleton College as Associate Professor of Mathematics. Mr. Crouch identified Dr. May as an associate in attempt to get atomic secrets from Radiation Laboratory.

NELSON, Steve, 51 years old. Native of Yugoslavia, came to United States in 1920. Received special training in Moscow in 1931, served with Loyalists in Spain, returned to become Communist organizer in California and Pennsylvania.

According to House committee, "most important assignment was atomic espionage." Allegedly developed a Communist cell of five or six young physicists employed in Radiation Laboratory of University of California, where work on atomic bomb was being undertaken.

Figured in "Scientist X" case. Committee alleged that in March, 1943, one of scientists in cell, first identified as "X" and later as Joseph W. Weinberg, went to home of Nelson and gave him a "complicated formula" from laboratory.

Later, committee charged Nelson was seen with Peter Ivanov, then Soviet Vice Consul in San Francisco and he transferred to Ivanov an "envelope or package."

OPPENHEIMER, Frank F., 41. Brother of Dr. Oppenheimer. Testified to membership in Communist party from 1937 to 1941. Thereafter was employed as research associate in Radiation Laboratory from 1941 to 1947. During this employment worked for some time at both Los Alamos and Oak Ridge. In 1947 became assistant professor at University of Minnesota. Refused to state whether certain persons named to him before committee were known by him as members of Communist party.

OPPENHEIMER, Jacquenette (Jackie), 42. Wife of Frank F. Oppenheimer. Admitted membership in Communist party from 1937 to 1941 before House committee.

SCHNEIDERMAN, William. Was acting head of "open" Communist party in United States until arrest in July, 1951. Russian-born, but naturalized American; figured in celebrated case in 1943 that Wendell L. Willkie, as unpaid counsel, won in United States Supreme Court, defeating efforts of Government to denaturalize Schneiderman.

Long a Communist leader in California; convicted in August, 1952, with other state Communist leaders of conspiring to teach and advocate overthrow of Government by violence. They got maximum penalties of five years in prison and $10,000 fines.

WEINBERG, Joseph W., 37, when identified as "Scientist X" by House Committee, denied it. Indicted for perjury on three charges, one that he lied when he said he did not know Nelson. But Government dropped charge; judge threw out another. On March 5, 1953, acquitted of remaining charge, that he falsely swore he had never been a Communist.

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justified in leaving their other work to come to this job.

The prospect of coming to Los Alamos aroused great misgivings. It was to be a military post; men were asked to sign up more or less for the duration; restrictions on travel and on the freedom of families to move about were to be severe; and no one could be sure of the extent to which the necessary technical freedom of action could actually be maintained by the laboratory.

The notion of disappearing into the New Mexico desert for an indeterminate period and under quasi-military auspices disturbed a good many scientists, and the families of many more. But there was another side to it.

Almost everyone realized that this was a great undertaking. Almost everyone knew that if it were completed successfully and rapidly enough, it might determine the outcome of the war. Almost everyone knew that it was an unparalleled opportunity to bring to bear the basic knowledge and art of science for the benefit of his country. Almost everyone knew that this job, if it were achieved, would be a part of history.

German Activity Noted

This sense of excitement, of

about the atomic bomb with Steve Nelson.

As to the statement that I secured the employment of doubtful persons on the project:

Of those mentioned, Lomanitz, Friedman and Weinberg were never employed at Los Alamos. I believe that I had nothing to do with the employment of Friedman and Weinberg by the Radiation Laboratory; I had no responsibility for the hiring of anyone there. During the time that I continued to serve as a consultant with the Radiation Laboratory, and to advise and direct the work of some of the graduate students, I assigned David Bohm and Chaim Richman to a problem of basic science which might prove useful in analyzing experiments in connection with fast neutrons. That work has long been published.

Another graduate student was Rossi Lomanitz. I remember vaguely a conversation with him in which he expressed reluctance to take part in defense research, and I encouraged him to do what other scientists were doing for their country. Thereafter he did work at the Radiation Laboratory.

I remember no details of our talk. If I asked him to work on the project, I would have to-

secret information at Los Alamos.

Prior to my going there, my friend Haakon Chevalier with his wife visited us on Eagle Hill, probably in early 1943. During the visit, he came into the kitchen and told me that George Eltenton had spoken to him of the possibility of transmitting technical information to Soviet scientists. I made some strong remark to the effect that this sounded terribly wrong to me. The discussion ended there. Nothing in our long-standing friendship would have led me to believe that Chevalier was actually seeking information; and I was certain that he had no idea of the work on which I was engaged.

It has long been clear to me that I should have reported the incident at once. The events that led me to report it—which I doubt ever would have become known without my report—were unconnected with it.

During the summer of 1943, Colonel Lansdale, the Intelligence Officer of the Manhattan District, came to Los Alamos and told me that he was worried about the security situation in Berkeley because of the activities of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians. This recalled to my mind that Eltenton was a member and

munication with the outside was extremely limited.

Telephone calls were monitored, mail was censored, and personnel who left the area—something permitted only for the gravest of causes — knew that their movements might be under surveillance. On the other hand, for those within the community, full exposition and discussion among these competent to use the information was encouraged.

Recruitment Program

The last months of 1942 and early 1943 had hardly hours enough to get Los Alamos established. The real problem had to do with getting to Los Alamos the men who would make a success of the undertaking. For this we needed to understand as clearly as we then could what our technical program would be, what men we would need, what facilities, what organization, what plan.

The program of recruitment was massive. Even though we then underestimated the ultimate size of the laboratory, which was to have almost 4,000 members by the spring of 1945, and even though we did not at that time see clearly some of the difficulties which were to bedevil and threaten the enterprise, we knew that it was a big, complex and diverse job.

Even the initial plan of the laboratory called for a start with more than 150 highly qualified and trained scientists, to say nothing of the technicians, staff and mechanics who would be required for their support, and of the equipment that we would have to beg and borrow since there would be no time to build it from scratch. We had to recruit at a time when the country was fully engaged in war and almost every competent scientist was already involved in the military effort.

The primary burden of this fell on me. To recruit staff I traveled all over the country talking with people who had been working on one or another aspect of the atomic energy enterprise, and people in radar work, for example, and underwater sound, telling them about the job, the place that we were going to, and enlisting their enthusiasm.

In order to bring responsible scientists to Los Alamos, I had to rely on their sense of the interest, urgency and feasibility of the Los Alamos mission. I had to tell them enough of what the job was, and give strong enough assurance that it might be successfully accomplished in time to affect the outcome of the war, to make it clear that they were

The notion of disappearing into the New Mexico desert for an indeterminate period and under quasi-military auspices disturbed a good many scientists and the families of many more. But there was another side to it.

Almost everyone realized that this was a great undertaking. Almost everyone knew that if it were completed successfully and rapidly enough, it might determine the outcome of the war. Almost everyone knew that it was an unparalleled opportunity to bring to bear the basic knowledge and art of science for the benefit of his country. Almost everyone knew that this job, if it were achieved, would be a part of history.

Germans Actively Noted

This sense of sentiment, of devotion and of patriotism in the end prevailed. Most of those with whom I talked came to Los Alamos. Once they came, confidence in the enterprise grew as men learned more of the technical status of the work; and though the laboratory was to double and redouble its size many times before the end, once it had started it was on the road to success.

We had information in those days of German activity in the field of nuclear fission. We were aware of what it might mean if they beat us to the draw in the development of atomic bombs. The consensus of all our opinions and every directive that I had, stressed the extreme urgency of our work, as well as the need for guarding all knowledge of it from our enemies. Past Communist connections or sympathies did not necessarily disqualify a man from employment, if we had confidence in his integrity and dependability as a man.

There are two items of derogatory information on which I need to comment at this point. The first is that it was reported that I had talked the atomic bomb question over with Communist party members during this period (1942-45). The second is that I was responsible for the employment on the atomic bomb project of individuals who were members of the Communist party or closely associated with activities of the Communist party.

As to the first, my only discussions of matters connected with the atomic bomb were for official work or for recruiting the staff of the enterprise. So far as I know none of these discussions were with Communist party members. I never discussed anything of my present work or anything

ent with the Radiation Laboratory, and to advise and direct the work of some of the graduate students. I assigned David Bohm and Chaim Richman to a problem of basic science which might prove useful in analyzing experiments in connection with fast neutrons. That work has long been published.

Another graduate student was Rossi Lomanitz. I remember vaguely a conversation with him in which he expressed reluctance to take part in defense research, and I encouraged him to do what other scientists were doing for their country. Thereafter he did work at the Radiation Laboratory.

I remember no details of our talk. If I asked him to work on the project, I would have assumed that he would be checked by the security officer as a matter of course. Later, in 1943, when Lomanitz was inducted into the Army, he wrote me asking me to help his return to the project. I forwarded a copy of his letter to the Manhattan District Security officers, and let the matter rest there. Still later, at Lomanitz' request, I wrote to his commanding officer that he was qualified for advanced technical work in the Army.

I asked for the transfer of David Bohm to Los Alamos; but it's request, like all others, was subject to the assumption that the usual security requirements would apply; and when I was told that there was objection on security grounds to this transfer, I was much surprised, but of course agreed.

David Hawkins was known to the Personnel Director at the laboratory, and I had met and liked him and found him intelligent; I supported the suggestion of the Personnel Director that he come to Los Alamos. I understood that he had had left-wing associations; but it was not until in March of 1951, at the time of his testimony, that I knew about his membership in the Communist party.

In 1943 when I was alleged to have stated that "I know several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist party," I knew of only one; she was my wife, of whose dissociation from the party, and of whose integrity and loyalty to the United States I had no question. Later, in 1944 or 1945, my brother Frank, who had been cleared for work in Berkeley and at Oak Ridge, came to Los Alamos from Oak Ridge with official approval.

I knew of no attempt to obtain

have had me to believe that Chevalier was actually making information, and I was certain that he had no idea of the work on which I was engaged.

It has long been clear to me that I should have reported this incident at once. The events that led me to report it—which I doubt ever would have happened if I knew without my report—were unconnected with it.

During the summer of 1943, Colonel Lansdale, the Intelligence Officer of the Manhattan District, came to Los Alamos and told me that he was worried about the security situation in Berkeley because of the activities of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians. This resulted in my asking that Eltenton was a member and probably a promoter of the F. A. E. C. T.

Shortly thereafter, I was in Berkeley and I told the security officer that Eltenton would bear watching. When asked why, I said that Eltenton had attempted, through intermediaries, to approach people on the Project, though I mentioned neither my self nor Chevalier. Later, when General Groves urged me to give the details, I told him of my conversation with Chevalier. I still [illegible] of Chevalier as a friend.

Story of Los Alamos

The story of Los Alamos is long and complex. Part of it is public history. For me it was a time so filled with work, with the need for decision and action and consultation, that there was room for little else.

I lived with my family in the community which was Los Alamos. It was a remarkable community, inspired by a high sense of mission, of duty and of destiny, coherent, dedicated and remarkably selfless.

There was plenty in the life of Los Alamos to cause irritation: the security restrictions, many of my own devising, the inadequacies and inevitable fumblings of a military post unlike any that had ever existed before, shortages, inequities, and in the laboratory itself the shifting emphasis [illegible] different aspects of the technical work as the program moved forward; but I have never known a group more understanding, more devoted to a common purpose, more willing to personal inconvenience, more understanding role that they were [illegible] their country's help.

These and similar [illegible] technical work at [illegible] Time and

[illegible] together and [illegible] problems and got [illegible] with [illegible]. We worked by [illegible] day, and in the end [illegible] were done.

The [illegible] of hard and loyal work of the scientists culminated in the test on July 16, 1945. It was a success.

I believe that in the eyes of the War Department, and other knowledgeable people, it was as early a success as they had thought possible, given all the circumstances, and rather a greater one. There were many indications from the Secretary of War and General Groves, and many others, that official opinion was one of satisfaction with what had been accomplished.

At the time, it was hard for us at Los Alamos not to share that satisfaction, and hard for me not to accept the conclusion that I had managed the enterprise well and played a key part in its success. But it needs to be noted that many others contributed the decisive ideas and carried out the work which led to this success, and that my role was that of understanding, encouraging, suggesting and deciding. It was the very opposite of a one-man show.

New Sense of Import

Even before the July 16 test and the use of the bombs in Japan, the members of the laboratory began to have a new sense of the possible import of what was going on.

In the early days, when success was less certain and timing obscure, [illegible] the war with Germany and Japan in a desperate phase, it was enough for us to think that we had a job to do. Now, with Germany defeated, the war in the Pacific approaching a crisis, and the success of our undertaking almost assured, there was a sense both of hope and of anxiety as to what this spectacular development might portend for the future. This came to us a little earlier than to the public generally because we saw the technical development at close range and in secret; but its quality was very much the same as the public response after Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Thus it was natural that in the spring of 1945 I welcomed the opportunity when I was asked by Secretary Stimson to serve, along with Compton, Lawrence and Fermi, on an advisory panel to the Interim Committee on Atomic Energy.

We met with that committee on the 1st of June, 1945; and even during the week when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were being bombed, we met at Los Alamos to sketch out a prospectus of what the technical future in atomic energy might look like: atomic warheads for guided missiles, improvements in bomb design, the thermonuclear program, power, propulsion, and the new tools available from atomic technology for research in science, medicine and technology.

This work absorbed much of my time during September and October; and in connection with it I was asked to consult with the War and State Departments on atomic energy legislation, and in a preliminary way on the international control of atomic energy.

I resigned as Director of Los Alamos on Oct. 16, 1945, after having secured the consent of Commander Bradbury and of General Groves that Bradbury should act as my successor.

There were then on the books at the laboratory, embodied in memoranda and reports and summarized by me in letters to General Groves, developments in atomic weapons, which would well have occupied years for their fulfillment, and which have in fact provided some, though by no means all, of the themes for Los Alamos work since that time. It was not entirely clear whether the future of atomic weapons work in this country should be continued at or confined to Los Alamos or started elsewhere at a more accessible and more practical site, or indeed what effect international agreements might have on the program. But in the meantime Los Alamos had to be kept going until there was created an authority competent to decide the question of its future. This was to take almost a year.

The Post-War Period

In November, 1945, I resumed my teaching at the California Institute of Technology. With an intention and a hope, never realized, that this should be a full-time undertaking. The consultation about post-war matters which had already begun continued, and I was asked over and over both by the Executive and the Congress for advice on atomic energy.

[illegible] increased and developed, we were aware of the dangers inherent in comparable developments by the enemy, and preventive and defensive measures were very much on our minds. Throughout this time the role of atomic weapons was to be central.

From the close of the war, when I returned to the West Coast until finally in the spring of 1947 when I went to Princeton as the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, I was able to spend very little time at home and in teaching in California.

In October, 1945, at the request of Secretary of War Patterson, I had testified before the House Committee on Military Affairs in support of the May-Johnson bill, which I endorsed as an interim means of bringing about without delay the much needed transition from the war-time administration of the Manhattan District to post-war management of the atomic energy enterprise.

Official Positions Recalled

In December, 1945, and later, I appeared at Senator McMahon's request in sessions of his Special Committee on Atomic Energy, which was considering legislation on the same subject.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard Tolman, I served on a committee set up by General Groves to consider classification policy on matters of atomic energy. For two months, early in 1946, I worked steadily as a member of a panel, the Board of Consultants to the Secretary of State's Committee on Atomic Energy, which, with the Secretary of State's Committee, prepared the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal report. After the publication of this report, I spoke publicly in support of it.

A little later, when Mr. Baruch was appointed to represent the United States in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, I became one of the scientific consultants to Mr. Baruch and his staff in preparation for and in the conduct of our efforts to gain support for the United States' plan. I continued as consultant to General Osborn when he took over the effort.

At the end of 1946 I was appointed by the President as a member of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission. At its first meeting I was elected chairman, and was re-elected until the expiration of my term in 1952. This was my principal assignment during these years as far as the atomic energy program was concerned, and my principal preoccupation apart from academic work.

A little later I was appointed to the Committee on Atomic Energy of the Research and Development Board, which was to advise the Military Establishment about the technical aspects of the atomic energy program; I served on it for seven years, and twice was designated chairman of special panels set up by the committee.

Meanwhile I had become widely regarded as a principal author or inventor of the atomic bomb, more widely, I well know, than the facts warranted. In a modest way I had become a kind of public personage.

I was deluged, as I have been ever since, with requests to lecture and to take part in numerous scientific activities and public affairs. Most of these I did not accept. Some, important for the promotion of science or learning or of public policies that corresponded to my convictions, I did accept: the Council of the National Academy of Sciences, the Committee on the Present Danger, the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and a good number of others.

A quite different and I believe unique occurrence is cited as an item of derogatory information—that in 1944 I was "listed as vice chairman on the letterhead of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, Professions, Inc. * * * cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

The fact is that in 1946 when I was at work on the international control of atomic energy, I was notified that I had been nominated and then elected as vice chairman of this organization.

When I began to see that its literature included slogans such as "Withdraw United States troops from China," and that it was endorsing the criticism enunciated by the then Secretary Wallace of United States policy on atomic energy, I advised the organization in a letter on Oct. 11, 1946, that I was not in accord with its policy, that I regarded the recommendations of Mr. Wallace as not likely to advance the cause of finding a satisfactory solution for the control of atomic

World's Plight [illegible] Oppenheimer [illegible]

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer described himself as very much the cloistered scientist and professor, indifferent to what was going on in the world, until late 1936.

This he explained in his answer to the Atomic Energy Commission's action in denying him security clearance, and he told why he began to change and take an interest in political and economic problems.

He wrote that he had "a continuing, smoldering fury" about the treatment of Jews in Germany. He "saw what the depression was doing to my students"—often they could get no jobs or inadequate jobs.

"Through them," he said, "I began to sense the deeper nature of the great depression. I began to understand how deeply political and economic events could affect men's lives. I began to feel the need to participate more fully in the life of the community.

"But I had no framework of political conviction or experience to give me perspective in these matters."

things denied membership in the Communist party.)

I again said that I could not have been present at a closed meeting of the Communist party because I was not a member of the party; that I had searched my memory and that the only thing that conceivably could be relevant was the vaguest of impressions that someone on the campus might at some time have asked permission to use our home for a gathering of young people; that, however, I could recall no such gathering, nor any meeting even remotely resembling the one described by Crouch; that I thought it probable that at the time of the meeting, which by then had been fixed by Crouch as approximately July 23, my wife and I were away from Berkeley.

Shortly thereafter, with the aid of counsel, we were able to establish that my wife and I left Berkeley within a few days after July 4, 1941, and did not return until toward the end of the first week in August.

I need to turn now to an account of some of the measures which, as Chairman of the General Advisory Committee, and in other capacities, I advocated in the years since the war to increase the power of the United States and its allies to resist and defeat aggression.

Initial Members Listed

The initial members of the General Advisory Committee were Conant, then president of Harvard; DuBridge, president of the California Institute of Technology; Fermi of the University of Chicago; Rabi of Columbia University; Rowe, vice president of the United Fruit Company; Seaborg of the University of California; Cyril Smith of the University of Chicago, and Worthington of the du Pont Company. In 1948 Buckley, president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, replaced Worthington; in the summer of 1950 Fermi, Rowe, and Seaborg were replaced by Libby of the University of Chicago; Murphree, president of Standard Oil Development Company, and Whitman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Later Smith resigned, and was succeeded by von Neumann of the Institute for Advanced Study.

In these years from early 1947 to mid-1952 the committee met some thirty times and transmitted perhaps as many reports to the commission.

Formulation of policy and the management of the vast atomic energy enterprise were responsibilities vested in the commission itself. The General Advisory Committee had the role, which was fixed for it by statute, to advise the commission.

In that capacity we gave the commission our views on questions which the commission put before us, brought to the commission's attention on our initiative technical matters of importance, and encouraged and supported the work of the several major installations of the commission.

At one of our first meetings in 1947 we settled down to the job of forming our own views of the priorities. And while we agreed that the development of atomic power and the support and maintenance of a strong basic scientific activity in the fields relevant to it were important, we assigned top priority to the problem of

[illegible] the weapons [illegible] and the [illegible] means of delivery and which in their cumulative effect would provide us with the great arsenal we now have.

Sandia Laboratory

We encouraged and supported the building up of the laboratory at Sandia whose principal purpose is the integration of the atomic warhead with the weapons system in which it is to be used.

In agreement with the Los Alamos staff we took from the very first the view that no radical improvement in weapons development would be feasible without a program of weapons testing. We strongly supported such a program, helped Los Alamos to obtain authorization for conducting the tests it wished, and encouraged the establishment of a permanent weapons testing station and the adoption of a continental test station to facilitate this work.

As time went on and the development of atomic weapons progressed, we stressed the importance of integrating our atomic warheads and the development of the carriers, aircraft, missiles, etc., which could make them of maximum effectiveness.

We observed that there were opportunities which needed to be explored for significantly increasing our arsenal of weapons both in numbers and in capabilities by means of production plant expansion and by ambitious programs to enlarge the sources of raw material.

It was not our function to formulate military requirements. We did regard it as our function to indicate that neither the magnitude of existing plant nor the mode of operation of existing plant which the Commission inherited, nor the limitation of raw materials to relatively well-known and high-grade sources of ore, need limit the atomic weapons program.

The four major expansion programs which were authorized during the six years 1946 to 1952 reflected the decision of the Commission, the Military Establishment, the Joint Congressional Committee and other agencies of the government to go far beyond the production program that was inherited in 1946. And the powerful arsenal of atomic weapons and the variety of their forms adaptable to a diversity of military uses which is today a major source of our military strength in turn reflect the results of these decisions.

Work of Group Cited

The record of minutes, reports and other activities of the General Advisory Committee will show that that body within the limits of its role as an advisory group played a significant, consistent and unanimous part in encouraging and supporting and sometimes initiating the measures which are responsible for these results.

As a committee and individually, our advice was sought on other matters as well. As early as October, 1945, I had testified before a Senate committee on the Kilgore-Magnuson Bill—the initial measure for a National Science Foundation; like most scientists I was concerned that steps be taken for recreating in the United States a healthy scientific community after the disruption of the war years.

In the General Advisory Committee we encouraged the commission to do everything that it properly could to support atomic science, both in its own laboratories and in the university centers to which we felt we must look for the training of scientists for advances of a basic character.

Throughout the post-war period my colleagues and I stressed the importance of continuing support and promotion of basic science so that there might be a healthy balance between the effort invested in military research and applied science, and that invested in pure scientific training and research which is indispensable to all else. We supported the commission's decision to make available for distribution in appropriate form and with appropriate safeguards the tracer materials, isotopes and radioactive substances which have played so constructive a part in medicine, in biological research, in technology, in pure science and in agriculture.

We took an affirmative view of the development of reactors for submarines and naval propulsion not only for their direct military value but also because this seemed a favorable and forward-looking step in the important program of reactor development.

We were, for the most part, skeptical about the initially very ambitious plans for the propul-

[illegible] energy?

I resigned as Director of Los Alamos on Oct. 16, 1945, after having secured the consent of Commander Bradbury and of General Groves that Bradbury should act as my successor.

There were then on the books of the laboratory, embodied in memoranda and reports and summarized by me in letters to General Groves, developments in atomic weapons, which would still have occupied years for their fulfillment, and which have in fact provided some, though by no means all, of the themes for Los Alamos work since that time. It was not entirely clear whether the future of atomic weapons work in this country should be continued at or confined to Los Alamos or started elsewhere at a more accessible and more practical site, or indeed what effect international agreements might have on the program. But in the meantime Los Alamos had to be kept going until there was created an authority competent to decide the question of its future. This was to take almost a year.

The Post-War Period

In November, 1945, I resumed my teaching at the California Institute of Technology. With an intention and a hope, never realized, that this should be a full-time undertaking. The consultation about post-war matters which had already begun continued, and I was asked over and over both by the Executive and the Congress for advice on atomic energy.

I had a feeling of deep responsibility, interest and concern for many of the problems with which the development of atomic energy confronted our country.

This development was to be a major factor in the history of the evolving and mounting conflict between the free world and the Soviet Union. When I and other scientists were called on for advice, our principal duty was to make our technical experience and judgment available. We were called to do this in a context and against a background of the official views of the Government on the military and political situation of our country. Immediately after the war, I was deeply involved in the effort to devise effective means for the international control of atomic weapons means which might, in the words of those days, tend toward the elimination of war itself.

As the prospects of success receded, and as evidence of Soviet hostility and growing military power accumulated, we had more and more to devote ourselves to finding ways of adapting our atomic potential to offset the Soviet threat.

In the period marked by the first Soviet atomic explosion, the war in Korea and the Chinese Communist intervention there, we were principally preoccupied, though we never forgot long-term problems, with immediate measures which could rapidly build up the strength of the United States under the threat of an imminent general war.

[illegible] our own atomic potential [illegible], as a mere [illegible] ever since, with requests to lecture and to take part in numerous scientific activities and public affairs. Most of these I did not accept. Some, important for the promotion of science or learning or of public policies that corresponded to my convictions, I did accept: the Council of the National Academy of Sciences, the Committee on the Present Danger, the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and a good number of others.

A quite different and I believe unique occurrence is cited as an item of derogatory information—that in 1944 I was "listed as vice chairman on the letterhead of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, Professions, Inc. * * * cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

The fact is that in 1946 when I was at work on the international control of atomic energy, I was notified that I had been nominated and then elected as vice chairman of this organization.

When I began to see that its literature included slogans such as "Withdraw United States troops from China," and that it was endorsing the criticism enunciated by the then Secretary Wallace of United States policy on atomic energy, I advised the organization in a letter on Oct. 11, 1946, that I was not in accord with its policy, that I regarded the recommendations of Mr. Wallace as not likely to advance the cause of finding a satisfactory solution for the control of atomic energy, and that I wished to resign. When an effort was made to dissuade me from this course I again wrote on Dec. 2, 1946, insisting upon resignation.

Later in the post-war period an incident occurred which seems to be the basis of one of the items of derogatory information. In May, 1950, Paul Crouch, a former Communist official, and Mrs. Crouch testified before the California State Committee on Un-American Activities that in July, 1941, they had attended a Communist party meeting at a house in Berkeley, of which I was then the tenant.

On the basis of pictures and movies of me which they saw some eight years later, they said they recognized me as having been present. When the F. B. I. first talked to me about this alleged incident, I was quite certain that no such meeting as Crouch described had occurred. So was my wife, when I discussed it with her. Later, when I saw the testimony, I became even more certain.

Crouch had described the gathering as a closed meeting of the Communist party. I was never a member of the party. Crouch said that no introductions had been made. I could not recall ever having had a group of people at my home that had not been introduced. In May of 1952, I again discussed this alleged meeting with the United States attorney in the Weinberg case.*

[Footnote] [*An indictment against Joseph Weinberg for perjury for having among other

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At one of our first meetings in 1947 we settled down to the job of forming our own views of the priorities. And while we agreed that the development of atomic power and the support and maintenance of a strong basic scientific activity in the fields relevant to it were important, we assigned top priority to the problem of atomic weapons.

At that time we advised the commission that one of its first jobs should be to convert Los Alamos into an active center for the development and improvement of atomic weapons.

In 1945-46 during the period immediately following the war, the purposes of Los Alamos were multiple. It was the only laboratory in the United States that worked on atomic weapons. Los Alamos also had wide interests in scientific matters only indirectly related to the weapons program.

We suggested that the commission recognize as the laboratory's central and primary program the improvement and diversification of atomic weapons, and that this undertaking have a priority second to none. We suggested further that the commission adopt administrative measures to make work at Los Alamos attractive, to assist the laboratory in recruiting, to help build up a strong theoretical division for guidance in atomic weapons design, and to take advantage of the availability of the talented and brilliant consultants who had been members of the laboratory during the war.

In close consultation with the Director of the Los Alamos Laboratory, we encouraged and supported courses of development which would markedly increase the value of our stockpile in terms of the destructive power of our weapons, which would make the best use of existing stockpiles and those anticipated, which would provide weapons suitable

[illegible] United States a healthy scientific community after the disruption of the war years.

In the General Advisory Committee we encouraged the commission to do everything that it properly could to support atomic science, both in its own laboratories and in the university centers to which we felt we must look for the training of scientists for advances of a basic character.

Throughout the post-war period my colleagues and I stressed the importance of continuing support and promotion of basic science so that there might be a healthy balance between the effort invested in military research and applied science, and that invested in pure scientific training and research which is indispensable to all else. We supported the commission's decision to make available for distribution in appropriate form and with appropriate safeguards the tracer materials, isotopes and radioactive substances which have played so constructive a part in medicine, in biological research, in technology, in pure science and in agriculture.

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We were, for the most part, skeptical about the initially very ambitious plans for the propulsion of aircraft, though we advocated the studies which in time brought this program to a more feasible course. We frequently pointed out to the commission the technical benefits which would accrue to the United States by closer collaboration with the atomic energy enterprise in Canada and the United Kingdom.

During all the years that I served on the General Advisory Committee, however, its major preoccupation was with the production and perfection of atomic weapons. On the various recommendations which I have described, there were never, as far as I can remember, any significant divergences of opinion among the members of the committee. These recommendations, of course, constitute a very small sample of the committee's work, but a typical one.

The "Super" Emerges

In view of the controversies that have developed I have left the subject of the "Super" and thermonuclear weapons for separate discussion—although our committee regarded this as a phase of the entire problem of weapons.

The Super itself had a long history of consideration, beginning, as I have said, with our initial studies in 1942 before Los Alamos was established. It continued to be the subject of study and research at Los Alamos throughout the war.

After the war, Los Alamos la-

Continued on Following Page

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL [illegible]

Scientist Cites '2 Decades' of My Life'

Continued From Preceding Page

[illegible] was inevitably handicapped pending the enactment of necessary legislation for the atomic energy enterprise. With the McMahon Act, the appointment of the Atomic Energy Commission and the General Advisory Committee, we in the committee had occasion at our early meetings in 1947 as well as in 1948 to discuss the subject.

In that period the General Advisory Committee pointed out the still extremely unclear status of the problem from a technical standpoint, and urged encouragement of Los Alamos efforts which were then directed toward prudent exploration of the Super and of thermonuclear systems. No serious controversy arose about the Super until the Soviet explosion of an atomic bomb in the autumn of 1949.

Shortly after that event, in October, 1949, the Atomic Energy Commission called a special session of the General Advisory Committee and asked us to consider and advise on two related questions:

First, whether in view of the Soviet success the commission's program was adequate, and, if not, to what way it should be altered or increased; second, whether a "crash" program for the development of the Super should be a part of any new program.

The committee considered both questions, consulted various officials from the civil and military branches of the Executive Departments who would have been concerned, and reached conclusions which were communicated in a report to the Atomic Energy Commission in October, 1949.

This report, in response to the first question that had been put to us, recommended a great number of measures that the commission should take to increase in many ways our over-all potential in weapons.

The Committee's Position

As to the Super itself, the General Advisory Committee stated its unanimous opposition to the initiation by the United States of a crash program of the kind we had been asked to advise on. The report of that meeting, and the secretary's notes, reflect the reasons which moved us to this conclusion.

The minutes, in particular, which dealt more with political and policy considerations—the report proper was essentially technical in character—indicated differences in the views of members of the committee. There were two minutes, one signed by Rabi and Fermi, the other by Conant, DuBridge, Smith, Rowe, Buckley and myself. (The sixth member of the committee, Seaborg, was abroad at the time.)

It would have been surprising if eight men considering a problem of extreme difficulty had precisely the same reasons for conclusion in which we joined. But I think I am correct in asserting that the unanimous opposition we expressed to the crash program was based on the conviction, to which technical considerations as well as others contributed, that because of our over-all situation at that time such a program might weaken rather than strengthen the position of the United States.

After the report was submitted to the commission, it fell to me as chairman of the committee to explain our position on several occasions, once at a meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. All this, however, took place prior to the decision by the President to proceed with the thermonuclear program.

This is the full story of my "opposition to the hydrogen bomb."

It can be read in the records of the General Advisory Committee and the transcript of my testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee. *It is a story* which ended once and for all when in January, 1950, the President announced his decision to proceed with the program.

I never urged anyone not to work on the hydrogen bomb project. I never made or caused any distribution of the G. A. C. reports except to the commission itself. As always, it was the commission's responsibility to determine further distribution.

In summary, in October, 1949, I and the other members of the General Advisory Committee were asked questions by the commission to which we had a duty to respond, and to which we did furthermore a proper function for me to speak my best judgment in discussions with those responsibly engaged in the undertaking.

Throughout the whole development of thermonuclear weapons, many occasions occurred where it was necessary for us to form and to express judgments of feasibility. This was true before the President's decision, and it was true after the President's decision.

Some Progress Reports

In our report of October, 1949, we expressed the view, as your letter states, that "an imaginative and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years." Later calculations and measurements made at Los Alamos led us to a far more pessimistic view. Still later technical developments led to the possibility of lines of development of very great promise.

At each stage the General Advisory Committee, and I as its chairman and as a member of other bodies, reported as faithfully as we could our evaluation of what was likely to fail and what was likely to work.

In the spring of 1951 work had reached a stage at which far-reaching decisions were called for with regard to the commission's whole thermonuclear program. In consultation with the commission, I called a meeting in Princeton in the late spring of that year, which was attended by all members of the commission and several members of its staff, by members of the General Advisory Committee, by Dr. Bradbury and staff of the Los Alamos Laboratory, by Bethe, Teller, Bacher, Fermi, von Neumann, Wheeler and others responsibly connected with the program. The outcome of the meeting, which lasted for two or three days, was an agreed program and a fixing of priorities and effort both for Los Alamos and for other aspects of the commission's work. This program has been an outstanding success.

In addition to my unrelated work on the General Advisory Committee, there were other assignments that I was asked to undertake.

Late in 1950 or early in 1951, the President appointed me to the Science Advisory Committee to advise the Office of Defense Mobilization and the President. In 1951 the Secretary of State appointed me to a panel to advise on armaments and their regulation; and I served as consultant on continental defense, civil defense, and the use of atomic weapons in support of ground combat.

Many of these duties led to reports in the drafting of which I participated, or for which I took responsibility. These supplement the record of the General Advisory Committee as the account of the account that I have given my Government during the last eight years.

In this letter, I have written only of those limited parts of my history which appear relevant to the issue now before the Atomic Energy Commission. In order to preserve as much as possible the perspective of the story, I have dealt very briefly with many matters. I have had to deal briefly or not at all with instances in which my actions or views were adverse to Soviet or Communist interest, and of actions that testify to my devotion to freedom, to that have contributed to the vitality, fulfillment and power of the United States.

In preparing this letter, I have reviewed two decades of my life. I have recalled instances where I acted unwisely. What I have hoped was not that I could wholly avoid error, but that I might learn from it. What I have learned has, I think, made me more fit to serve my country.

Very truly yours,

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER.

Princeton, N. J.,

March 4, 1954.

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of the United States.

After the report was submitted to the commission, it fell to me as chairman of the committee to explain our position on several occasions, once at a meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. All this, however, took place prior to the decision by the President to proceed with the thermonuclear program.

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In summary, in October, 1949, I and the other members of the General Advisory Committee were asked questions by the commission to which we had a duty to respond, and to which we did respond with our best judgment in the light of evidence then available to us.

Savannah River Project

When the President's decision was announced in January, 1950, our committee was again in session and we immediately turned to the technical problems facing the commission in carrying out the President's directive.

We sought to give our advice then and in ensuing meetings as to the most promising means of solving these problems. We never again raised the question of the wisdom of the policy which had now been settled, but concerned ourselves rather with trying to help implement it.

During this period our recommendations for increasing production facilities included one for a dual purpose plant which could be adapted to make materials either for fusion bombs or materials useful in a thermonuclear program. In its performance characteristics, the Savannah River project, subsequently adopted by the commission, was overshadowed by this recommendation.

While the history of the G. A. C. opposition to a crash program for the Super ended with the announcement of the President's decision, the need for evaluation and advice continued. There were numerous technical complications both before and after the President's decision. It was of course the primary duty of the committee, as well as other review committees on which I served, to report new developments which we judged promising, and to report when a given weapon or family of weapons appeared impractical, infeasible or impossible.

It would have been my duty so to report had I been alone in my views. As a matter of fact, our views on such matters were almost always unanimous. It was

Today in Washington

Oppenheimer's Side Gave Publicity to His Suspension

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, April 13.—The strange case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, leading atomic scientist, who has been formally suspended by President Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission from access to classified material pending a study of his security status, illustrates better than millions of words of debate or television pictures what a difficult problem the government of the United States is up against nowadays.

On the one hand, the Congressional committees are assailed as unfair and as engaged in "witch hunting," and the cry is heard that every man must be considered innocent until proved guilty. But, on the other hand, affiliation with the government is not a right or privilege and employees can be ruled as security risks merely because there is reasonable doubt as to their eligibility to remain in the government. It is not a court procedure at all.

Probe Not Publicized

At this writing, nobody knows whether Dr. Oppenheimer is or is not a good security risk for continuance as a member of the Science Advisory Committee under the Office of Defense Mobilization. His file has been under review for some time, and his suspension took place in December, 1953. In accordance with the rules of fair play, the Eisenhower administration didn't publicize this fact. It refused to be a party to the arousing of public suspicion, since it was not prejudging the case but was dealing with it confidentially and in an orderly manner.

Then how did it get into the headlines? It came from the Oppenheimer side. Selected newspaper reporters were given all the documents and the right to publish them Tuesday morning. The all-important fact that the initiative came from the Oppenheimer side—probably his attorneys—was not disclosed in the press in the articles on Tuesday morning. The Atomic Energy Commission, however, promptly issued a statement, relaying that it had sought to "protect the privacy of individuals appearing before its personnel security boards" and that "departure from this practice in this instance is only due to the fact that Dr. Oppenheimer has exercised his privilege of making public an account of the matter."

Why did Dr. Oppenheimer decide on full publicity? It is often done as a device to forestall an attack, and perhaps in this case the hint given by Sen. McCarthy in his television speech last week—without mentioning any names — that there was something mysterious about the delay in deciding to make the H-bomb indicated that maybe the Wisconsin Senator himself was going to blow the lid off. Hence it may have seemed better to get all the documents out first, with the Oppenheimer version given sympathetic handling in the press.

Now it is disclosed by Sen. Mundt of South Dakota and by members of the House that the whole matter was under scrutiny by the McCarthy committee about last May but that the Wisconsin Senator had decided several months ago not to go into the subject, since it would be handled by another committee or executive agency.

It could be that the speech by Sen. McCarthy had no relationship to the Oppenheimer publicity effort to argue the case in advance, yet the effect was to link the two in public speculation. The situation is by no means clarified yet, and the strategists who advised Dr. Oppenheimer may find in the end they made a mistake in forcing the case into the open before all the facts had been gathered and the investigation had been completed.

Policy Recommendations

So far as the public is concerned, it now will want to know not so much the details of the "derogatory information" in the file of Dr. Oppenheimer—as the phrase is used by the Atomic Energy Commission in its statement—but the reasons and motivations for some of the curious recommendations of policy made by the scientist. In the top councils of the government, for example, he opposed the Strategic Air Command concept of the United States Air Force and delved in military strategy. He opposed the use of bombs as a "deterrent." He argued for more disclosures to the world of atomic data, and he was opposed to the development of the H-bomb. A restatement of Dr. Oppenheimer's views now becomes more important than ever.

The whole episode illustrates that it isn't easy to dispose of security questions without a lot of background and why publicity isn't always the fault of the Congressional committees.

Dr. Oppenheimer was a leader and his leadership meant that nearly all the scientists were opposed to American development of the H-bomb. The average citizen will wonder why he was so active in matters outside the field of science, but it is only fair that the Oppenheimer case not be prejudged till all the facts are revealed.

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New York Herald Tribune April 14, 1954

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The Oppenheimer Case

When Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer entered government war-time service, in the spring of 1942, he filled out his first security questionnaire. He was informed that there was some doubt as to his clearance on the ground that he had belonged to various Left Wing groups. Yet after investigation he was allowed to proceed. His work led him from the Metallurgical Laboratory at Chicago to the desert site of Los Alamos, where the atom bomb was developed under his over-all direction.

Those early Left Wing associations form the major part of the charges against Dr. Oppenheimer which have caused his suspension from the advisory committee of the Atomic Energy Commission. Certain other derogatory information was reviewed in 1947 and held not to affect his security status; such old items as that he knowingly hired Communists for work at Los Alamos or spoke to Communists of the atomic project are categorically denied by Dr. Oppenheimer in his answer to the latest charges. There is also the assertion that after the President decided to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer continued his opposition by trying to persuade other scientists not to work on the project. This is new and has not, apparently, been reviewed previously by any security board. In his answer Dr. Oppenheimer claims the charge to be false and asserts that, with the other members of his advisory committee, he worked single-mindedly to advance the H-bomb once the policy had been established.

All these charges together have been held of sufficient weight to justify a re-examination of his case under the procedures of the atomic energy act. A distinguished board has been appointed under the chairmanship of Gordon Gray; Lloyd Garrison is representing Dr. Oppenheimer as counsel, and there is every assurance that the hearings now in process will be conducted with complete fairness.

That a man of Dr. Oppenheimer's eminence and undisputed services to the nation should now be put through such a test is, nevertheless, deeply troubling. If the account of his life and work set forth in his moving letter should fail to stand up under investigation, it will mean that one more breach has been made in the confidence with which our citizens have been accustomed to look on one another. If Dr. Oppenheimer, on the other hand, is held to be loyal yet disqualified by early left-wing associations from further government service, the cost of our security regulations will be seen to be tragically high. Even assuming the best, that this distinguished scientist should be entirely vindicated, the ordeal will be heavy and not soon forgotten.

The encouraging aspect of the case is that the investigation should be in good hands and under sound procedures. It can be hoped and believed that what Dr. Oppenheimer admits to have been errors in the pre-war years will be judged in the context of the total picture, including all that his genius has contributed, and has still to contribute, to the advancement of science and the safety of the country. If the case had been taken up by Senator McCarthy, such perspective and judgment would have been impossible. According to reports, Senator McCarthy is planning even now to leap in with sensational claims of his own. With the executive branch having the charges under advisement, such an intervention would be entirely unjustified. The people will insist on justice in the Oppenheimer case—and they will know where to look for it.

New York Herald Tribune
April 14, 1954
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MATTER OF FACT

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

The Oppenheimer Case

WASHINGTON.

It may seem odd that any one should be called upon to defend the loyalty of the man who, more than any other man, first gave this country the atomic bomb. Ever since the war, after all, the atomic bomb has been the principal military weapon in the free world's arsenal in the struggle against Soviet imperialism.

Yet this man, the great physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, is now under attack. As revealed yesterday, hearings are currently being held to determine whether or not Dr. Oppenheimer is a loyal American citizen. What is more, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy is making obvious preparations to rescue himself from his present low political estate by destroying Oppenheimer.

It is true, as his friends and admirers admit, that there was a time in the late '30s and early '40s when Dr. Oppenheimer showed bad political judgment. It is always conceivable that he showed worse than bad judgment—anything is conceivable in these times of the wars of political religions. But to those who know the brilliantly able Oppenheimer, this is only conceivable in theory.

* * *

Dr. Oppenheimer will certainly have a fair hearing from the board of three fair-minded men, headed by former Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray, who have been recruited to hear his case. But he will have anything but a fair hearing from McCarthy. And just because he is unquestionably vulnerable to McCarthy's brand of attack, it is worth trying to understand how so brilliant a man came to exercise bad political judgment a decade and a half ago.

This attempt may be futile, in these days when the old Biblical injunction—"Judge Not That Ye Be Not Judged"—is accounted positively subversive in some quarters. But for those who still do not equate Christian charity with softness toward Communism, the facts are these:

In the first place, through all his early years, until he was well over thirty years old, Dr. Oppenheimer knew hardly more about politics than a child. This was in the days when only a comparative handful of men in the whole world were practicing theoretical physicists. The physicist lived in a closed and cloistered world of his own. The rest of the world could not understand even the basic language which he used to communicate his ideas, and thus the rest of the world meant little to him.

This remarkable isolation lasted, for Dr. Oppenheimer, until about 1936, four years after Hitler came to power. At about this point, the outside world suddenly burst, as it were, into his laboratory. It was not a pretty world.

In 1936, after all, and in the years that followed, the Western democracies and the Soviet Union alike were on the defensive against the onrush of Germany and its Fascist allies. Adolf Hitler was moving from triumph to triumph, slaughtering Oppenheimer's fellow Jews as he moved. Among these fellow Jews were relatives of Oppenheimer in Germany, some of whom he succeeded in rescuing, but some of whom he did not.

* * *

In the circumstances, it is not altogether surprising that Dr. Oppenheimer experienced a somewhat emotional reaction to his belated awakening to politics. Under similar pressures, some silly people—like Oppenheimer's younger brother, who joined the Communist party briefly, and who even stupidly flirted with the Wallace movement after he had resigned from the Party—completely lost their balance.

From the evidence presently available, Oppenheimer never lost his balance in this way. He never considered himself a pro-Communist. For one thing, "Marxism never made sense" to him. But like other respectable and politically naive people, he did, no doubt, consider the Communists as faintly disreputable but useful allies in the fight against Nazism, just as respectable people now consider Fascists, foreign or homegrown, useful allies in the fight against Communism.

In those days, Dr. Oppenheimer apparently saw no harm in associating with Communists. Some of these, like Communist leader Steve Nelson, were old associates of his wife, who had married a Communist and briefly joined the Communist party herself, in her early twenties. Dr. Oppenheimer was even naive enough to contribute to the causes he favored—like the Spanish Loyalists—through party functionaries.

* * *

All this was certainly very woolly-headed. Although the Soviet Union was then on the defensive, the Communists were then as much the promoters of the night of the mind as ever since. It may be said, too, that Dr. Oppenheimer, when in 194[illegible] and 1950 he experienced a sense of moral horror about the hydrogen bomb, was being woolly headed again.

But this moral revulsion also at least understandable where a weapon which can [illegible] several million people at a stroke is concerned.

And somehow it does seem likely that the United States is ready to cast its greatest physicist into outer darkness as punishment for the woolly headedness of a decade and a half ago—not unless Sen. McCarthy has more successfully promoted the night of the mind in the United States than people realize.

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New York Herald Tribune

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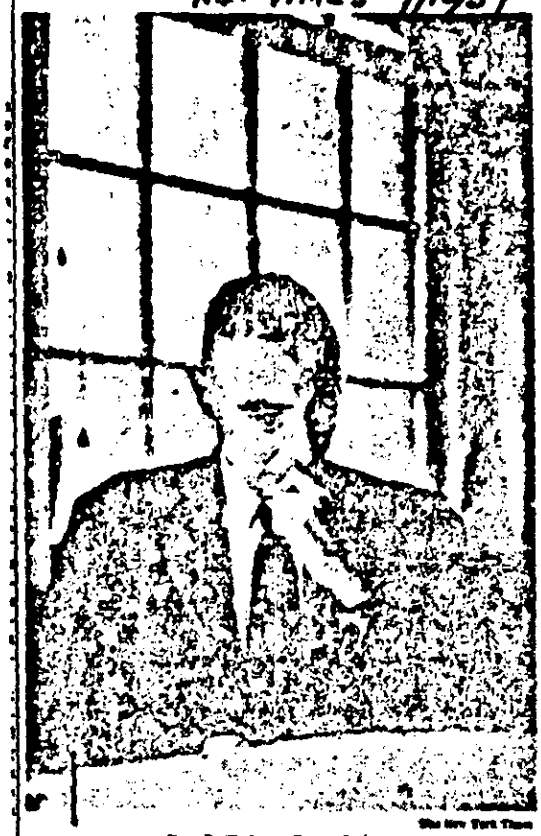
DR. OPPENHEIMER SUSPENDED BY A.E.C. IN SECURITY REVIEW; SCIENTIST DEFENDS RECORD

N.Y. TIMES 4/13/54



The New York Times

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

HEARINGS STARTED

Access to Secret Data Denied Nuclear Expert —Red Ties Alleged

Texts of charges and reply by Oppenheimer, Pages 16, 17, 18.

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who directed the making of the first atomic bomb, has been suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission pending a review of his security file.

A panel of the commission's Personnel Security Board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army, started hearings on the case today.

The other members of the three-man panel are Thomas Morgan, former chairman and president of the Sperry Corporation, and Ward V. Evans, Professor of Chemistry at Loyola University of Chicago.

Meanwhile Dr. Oppenheimer, who directed the Government's atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., in World War II, and now carries around in his head as much top secret information as any man alive, has been denied access to all Government security documents.

Charges Are Listed

The main charges against him—most of which had been reviewed by the A. E. C., the White House, and the Departments of Justice, State and Defense over a period of twelve years—were that he:

¶Associated frequently with Communists in the early Forties, including his brother Frank and Frank's wife; that he fell in love with one Communist and married another former Communist; and that he contributed regularly and generously to Communist causes from 1940 to April of 1942.

¶Hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos during the war.

¶Gave contradictory testimony to the Federal Bureau of Investigation about attendance at Communist meetings in the early Nineteen Forties.

¶Rejected as "traitorous" an attempt by an alleged Communist to get scientific information from him for the Soviet Union, but failed to report the incident to the Government's security offi-

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The New York Times

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

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¶Hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos during the war.

¶Gave contradictory testimony to the Federal Bureau of Investigation about attendance at Communist meetings in the early Nineteen Forties.

¶Rejected as "traitorous" an attempt by an alleged Communist to get scientific information from him for the Soviet Union, but failed to report the incident to the Government's security officers for many months.

¶Strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, when he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee, and lobbied against it even after President Truman ordered the A. E. C. to proceed with the project.

Dr. Oppenheimer, who has repeatedly admitted association with various Communists in the late Thirties and early Forties but flatly denied membership in

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

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DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

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OPPENHEIMER A-BOMB CHIEF SUSPENDED

A DUMB CHILD

SUSPENDED

U. S. Board Studies Charges Scientist Had Commie Ties

By JERRY GREENE
of the News Bureau

Washington, D.C., April 12—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, world-famous atomic scientist who urged the United States not to build the H-bomb, has been suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission and denied access to secret information pending a thorough review of his past Communist associations.

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Special hearings on the long security file of Oppenheimer, who directed work on the world's first atomic bomb at Los Alamos, N.M., began today.

They are being conducted by the AEC's Personnel Security Board headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray, now president of the University of North Carolina.

Pending a final determination of charges against him, Oppenheimer has been denied authority to see any government security documents.

The 50-year-old scientist's term as chairman of the General Advisory Committee of

Continued on page 2

SUSPENDS PENHEIMER

d From Page 1

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atomic warheads for guided missiles and atomic artillery.

Some of the scientists on the advisory committee at that time—it is understood Dr. Oppenheimer agreed with them—did have moral and political reasons for opposing the hydrogen bomb program.

Wanted New Negotiation

Chairman Lilienthal of the A. E. C. felt, for example, that another attempt should be made to negotiate a world agreement for the control of atomic weapons before proceeding with "the super." He also thought that a decision to build the A-bomb would perpetuate what he regarded as the illusion that the bigger weapon was a substitute for an all-around military program, which was hampered at that time by an economy wave.

If Dr. Oppenheimer had any political or moral reservations about the hydrogen bomb program, however, he did not mention them in his reply to the Atomic Commission.

There are two different stories about how the Oppenheimer case was revived at this time. The first is that a former employe of the Joint (Congressional) Committee on Atomic Energy, who had opposed Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, went to the present head of the Joint Committee, Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican of upstate New York, with a long catalogue of charges against Dr. Oppenheimer, and that Mr. Cole took up the matter with the White House.

The other, and more generally accepted version, is that the F. B. I. itself sent a summary of the charges in its Oppenheimer file to President Eisenhower and questioned the prudence of allowing a person with such Communist associations in the past to have access to top secret information.

It is understood that the President discussed the matter with the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming, and his as-

ie New York Times

HEADS INQUIRY: Gordon Gray of the Atomic Energy Commission's Personnel Security Board, who has started hearings on the case of Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer.

and that the last payment was apparently made in April, 1942, immediately before your entry into the atomic bomb project.

DR. OPPENHEIMER — The matter which most engaged my sympathies and interests was the war in Spain * * * It was probably through Spanish relief efforts that I met Dr. Thomas Addis and Rudy Lambert * * * Addis asked me, perhaps in the winter of 1937-38, to contribute through him to the Spanish cause. He made clear that this money, unlike that which went to the relief organizations, would go straight to the fighting effort, and that it would go through Communist channels.

ty memberships; they were on again, off again affairs, and never seemed to provide for her what she was seeking.

I don't believe that her interests were really political. She was a person of deep religious feeling. She loved this country and its people and its life. She was, as it turned out, a friend of many fellow-travelers and Communists, with a number of whom I was later to become acquainted. [However] I should not give the impression that it was wholly because of Jean Tatlock that I made left-wing friends * * * I have mentioned some of the other contributing causes. I like the new sense of companionship, and at the time felt that I was coming to be part of the life of my time and country. * * *

Reports Wife Was Ex-Red

QUESTION NO. 4: It was reported that your wife, Katherine Puening Oppenheimer, was formerly the wife of Joseph Dallet, a member of the Communist party, who was killed in Spain in 1937 fighting for the Spanish Republican Army. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Joseph Dallet your wife became a member of the Communist party.

DR. OPPENHEIMER—It was in the summer of 1939, in Pasadena that I first met my wife. She was married to Dr. Harrison, who was a friend and associate of the Tolmans, Lauriteens and others on the California Institute of Technology faculty.

I learned of her earlier marriage to Joe Dallet and of his death fighting in Spain. He had been a Communist party official and for a year or two during their brief marriage, my wife was a Communist party member.

When I met her, I found in her a deep loyalty to her former husband, a complete disengagement from any political act and a certain disappointment contempt that the Communist party was not in fact what once thought it was.

The scientist also told A. E. C.'s security board that the fact of the Security Board hearings become public.

Among those who have been in on the secret there are two contradictory views. The first is that the Gordon Gray Security Board will find, as the Atomic Energy Commission found in 1947, that Dr. Oppenheimer's Communist associations before 1943 do not make him a "security risk" in 1954, and that his contributions to the ending of the war and to the success of the "cold war" outweigh any of his pre-1943 actions.

Stand on H-Bomb Scanned

The other view is that some of the policies he has favored since the end of the war still raise some question about his loyalty. For example, recent appeals for more information on the hydrogen bomb and his opposition to it.

It is generally agreed here that the judgment of many prominent persons is on trial in this case. Dr. Oppenheimer was recommended for his Los Alamos job, for example, by General Leslie Groves, Dr. Bush and Dr. James B. Conant.

His F. B. I. file, containing all these charges, has been open to the Joint Congressional Committee ever since that committee was formed eight years ago; most of the members of the present Atomic Energy Commission have known this whole story for years.

And Dr. Oppenheimer was called to the White House to advise the highest policy-making body in the land—the National Security Council—on continental defense policy last summer.

The physicist began his reply to the commission by saying "though of course I would have no desire to retain an advisory position if my advice were not heeded, I cannot ignore the question [of possible disloyalty] you have raised, nor accept the suggestion that I am unfit for public service."

He ended it by saying:

"I have had to deal briefly or not at all with instances in which my actions or views were adverse to Soviet or Communist interest, and of actions that testify to my devotion to freedom or that have contributed to the vitality, influence and power of the United States.

"In preparing this letter, I have reviewed two decades of my life. I have recalled instances where I acted unwisely. What I have hoped was, not that I could wholly avoid error, but that I might learn from it. What I have learned has, I think, made me more able to serve my country."

matters, particularly in the Republican [illegible] against Gen. Francisco F[illegible] in the Spanish Civil War, [illegible] that he developed many left[illegible] associations and contribut[illegible] the Communists. For the [illegible]ish Republicans—often in sums over $100.

"Because of these associations * * * and the contributions," he said, "I might well have appeared at the time as quite close to the Communist party—perhaps even. to some people, as belonging to it.

"As I have said, some of its declared objectives seemed to me desirable. But I never was a member of the Communist party. I never accepted Communist dogma or theory; in fact, it never made sense to me

"I had no clearly formulated political views. I hated tyranny and repression and every form of dictatorial control of thought. In most cases, I did not in those days know who was and who was not a member of the Communist party. No one ever asked me to join the Communist party."

The question raised about Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the hydrogen bomb was phrased by the A. E. C. letter in these terms:

"It was reported (presumably to the F. B. I.) that in the autumn of 1941, 1949 and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb (1) on moral grounds; (2) by claiming that it was not feasible; (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable."

Dr. Oppenheimer replied that he and the other members of the general advisory committee of the A. E. C. had opposed what was called a "crash program" to produce "the super"—the code name for the hydrogen bomb project.

Questioned by Lilienthal

In October of 1949, he said, after the Soviet Union's first atomic explosion, Chairman David E. Lilienthal of the A. E. C. had called in the commission's general advisory committee, of which Dr. Oppenheimer was the chairman, and asked these questions:

¶In view of the Soviet success was the commission's program adequate, and if not how should it be altered" and

¶Should a "crash program" for the development of "the super" be a part of any new program?

Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, who was then on the commission but not chairman of it, had circulated a memorandum urging the development of the Super as fast as possible, but the General Advisory Committee took another view.

Dr. Oppenheimer did not spell out why the committee, including himself, opposed the "crash" program. In his letter to the A. E. C. he referred the Government to the advisory committee's report at that time.

However, it is understood that he also put in evidence another secret document, in the form of a memorandum about the decision of the advisory committee at that time. According to this memorandum, Dr. Oppenheimer and several other members of the advisory committee took this view:

¶In view of the Soviet atom-bomb explosion, the United States defense program was not sufficient.

¶New designs of weapons calculated to increase the family of atomic weapons should be pressed at once.

¶Particularly, the "field sufficiency" of the weapons should be improved.

¶More attention should be paid to the project for developing [illegible] sent to the commission by the [illegible]. The Admiral later was responsible for the selection of Dr. Oppenheimer as director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Admiral Strauss is understood to have given Dr. Oppenheimer the choice of resigning or facing security charges. This was on Dec. 21, 1953. Dr. Oppenheimer stated then, and wrote a letter the next day repeating, that he preferred to face the charges.

As a result, Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, the general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission wrote a letter on Dec. 22, 1953 which listed the derogatory information in Dr. Oppenheimer's file and explained "the steps which you may take to assist in the resolution of this question."

This letter explained that, under the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations (Executive Order 10450), it was mandatory that a Government employe be suspended and his eligibility to see security information denied where there existed in his file "information indicating that his employment may not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

This particular part of the letter seemed to suggest that the review of the case was more or less routine—an automatic check of old information to make sure that it conformed to the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations.

The Nichols letter added, however:

"As a result of additional investigation as to your character, associations and loyalty * * * there has developed considerable question whether your continued employment on Atomic Energy Commission work will endanger the common defense and security and whether such continued employment is clearly consistent with the interests of national security.

"In view of your access to highly sensitive classified information, and in view of these allegations which, until disproved, raise questions as to your veracity, conduct and even your loyalty, the commission has no other recourse, in discharge of its obligations to protect the common defense and security but to suspend your clearance until the matter has been resolved * * *."

Altogether, the A. E. C.'s letter raised over twenty different questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct, associations, veracity and loyalty. The commission explained to Dr. Oppenheimer that the A. E. C. was not vouching for or giving the sources of these charges, but merely passing them along to Dr. Oppenheimer to clear up.

The New York Times obtained a detailed report of these charges and sought verification from Dr. Oppenheimer, Admiral Strauss and Chairman Cole of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.

In view of the fact that The Times was in possession of most of the facts in the case, Dr. Oppenheimer made the statement of charges and his reply available to The Times so that the record of the case could be written from the actual documents.

Charges and Replies

Accordingly, here are the main charges which were passed on to Dr. Oppenheimer in the A. E. C.'s letter and the replies given by Dr. Oppenheimer to the commission:

QUESTION NO. 1—It was reported (presumably to the F. B. I.) that prior to April, 1943, you had contributed $150 per month to the Communist party in the San Francisco area

Peter Ivanov, Secretary to the Soviet Consulate, San Francisco, approached [illegible]rge Charles Eitenton for the purpose of obtaining information regarding work being done at the Radiation Laboratory by the use of Soviet scientists; that George Eitenton subsequently requested Haakon Chevalier to approach you concerning this matter; that Haakon Chevalier thereupon approached you, either directly or through your brother, Frank Friedman Oppenheimer, in connection with this matter; and that Haakon Chevalier finally advised George Charles Eitenton that there was no chance whatsoever of obtaining the information. * * *

DR. OPPENHEIMER—I knew of no attempt to obtain secret information at Los Alamos. Prior to my going there, my friend, Haakon Chevalier, with his wife, visited us on Eagle Hill, probably in early 1943. During the visit he came into the kitchen and told me that George Eitenton had spoken to him of the possibility of obtaining technical information to Soviet scientists.

I made some strong remark to the effect that this sounded terribly wrong to me. The discussion ended there. Nothing in our long-standing friendship would have led me to believe that Chevalier was actually seeking information; and I was certain that he had no idea of the work on which I was engaged * * *.

It has long been clear to me that I should have reported this incident at once * * *. Later, when General Groves (Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, Army officer in charge of the atom bomb project) urged me to give the details, I told him of my conversation with Chevalier. I still think of Chevalier as a friend * * *.

Asked About Dr. Tatlock

QUESTION No. 2—It was reported that 1943 and previously you were intimately associated with Dr. Jean Tatlock, a member of the Communist party in San Francisco, and that Dr. Tatlock was partially responsible for your association with Communist front groups.

DR. OPPENHEIMER—In the spring of 1938, I had been introduced by friends to Jean Tatlock, the daughter of a noted Professor of English at the University (of California); and in the autumn I began to court her, and we grew close to each other. We were at least twice close enough to marriage to think of ourselves as engaged.

Between 1939 and her death in 1944, I saw her very rarely. She told me about her Communist par-

The [illegible] Communist connections or sympathies did not necessarily disqualify a man from employment (at Los Alamos) if we had confidence in his integrity and dependability as a man."

Denies Discussing Bomb

He denied, however, that he had talked about the atomic bomb to Communist party members during this period (1942-45) or that he knew in 1943 "several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist party."

He knew of only one, he said. "She was my wife [illegible] disassociation from [illegible] and of whose integrity and loyalty to the United States I had no question."

Later, in 1944 or 1945, he recalled, his brother Frank, also a physicist, came to Los Alamos from the atom-bomb project at Oak Ridge, Tenn., where he had been cleared for security.

Though one of the charges against Dr. Oppenheimer was that his opposition to the hydrogen bomb had slowed down its development—a charge recently implied by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—the story unfolded in these remarkable documents indicates that Dr. Oppenheimer actually had a lot to do with the concept of the hydrogen bomb in the first place.

He tells how he called together a theoretical study group at Berkeley in the summer of 1942 and how this group "came to grips for the first time with the physical problems of atom bombs, atomic explosions and the possibility of using fission explosions to initiate thermonuclear (hydrogen) reactions."

At the end of this study, Dr. Oppenheimer said that he called the attention of Dr. Vannevar Bush to the possibility of hydrogen bomb reactions, and that it was then that "we began to see the great explosions of Alamogordo * * * with a surer foreknowledge."

Left-Wing Ties Noted

It was about that same time, late summer of 1942, that the first question of his left-wing associations was raised, but it was indicated to him then, as it was many times later, that these past associations would not be allowed to stand in the way of the work he was doing to develop the "decisive weapon" of the war.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that those who have been privy to the secret of the "Oppenheimer Case" are now wondering what the political reaction here will be when

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It is understood that the President discussed the matter with the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming, and his assistant on National Security Council matters Gen. Robert Cutler before calling in Admiral Strauss, the A. E. C. chairman.

Asked to Meet Strauss

This was in December of 1953, during the controversy over how former President Truman had dealt with F. B. I. security-warnings in the Harry Dexter White case. Whether this affected the decision is not known, but in any event a decision was made to proceed with the case.

Accordingly, Dr. Oppenheimer was asked to meet Admiral Strauss, who had been a member of the commission in 1947, when the Oppenheimer file was first sent to the commission by the F. B. I. The Admiral later was responsible for the selection of Dr. Oppenheimer as director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Admiral Strauss is understood to have given Dr. Oppenheimer the choice of resigning or facing security charges. This was on Dec. 21, 1953. Dr. Oppenheimer stated then, and wrote a letter the next day repeating, that he preferred to face the charges.

As a result, Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, the general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, wrote a letter on Dec. 23, 1953 which listed the derogatory information in Dr. Oppenheimer's file and explained "the steps which you may take to assist in the resolution of this question."

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winter of 1937-38, to contribute, through him to the Spanish cause. He made clear that this money, unlike that which went to the relief organizations, would go straight to the fighting effort, and that it would go through Communist channels.

I did so contribute: usually when he communicated with me, explaining the nature of the need, I gave him sums in cash, probably never much less than a hundred dollars, and occasionally perhaps somewhat more than that, several times during the winter. * * *

In time these contributions came to an end. I went to a big Spanish relief party the night before Pearl Harbor. * * * I decided that I had had about enough of the Spanish cause, and that there were other and more pressing crises in the world.

QUESTION No. 2—It was reported that prior to March 1, 1943, possibly three months prior, Peter Ivanov, Secretary at the Soviet Consulate, San Francisco, approached George Charles Eltenton for the purpose of obtaining information regarding work being done at the Radiation Laboratory for the use of Soviet scientists; that George Eltenton subsequently requested Haakon Chevalier to approach you concerning this matter; that Haakon Chevalier thereupon approached you, either directly or through your brother, Frank Friedman Oppenheimer, in connection with this matter; and that Haakon Chevalier finally advised George Charles Eltenton that there was no chance whatsoever of obtaining the information. * * *

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It has long been clear to me

husband, a complete disengagement from any political act and a certain disappointment contempt that the Comm party was not in fact what one thought it was.

The scientist also told A. E. C.'s security board that his brother, Frank, and his brother's wife, Jackie, had been members of the Communist party for a time. Frank told him this, he said, probably in 1937, but came to Berkeley in the autumn of 1941 and "made it clear to me that he was no longer a member of the Communist party."

Cites Recruiting Problems

Dr. Oppenheimer described in his letter to the A. E. C. some of the problems of recruiting men to go into the New Mexico desert to work on the atomic bomb project there. He also described the restrictions and the excitement of life in that important military compound.

The physicist said that "past Communist connections or sympathies did not necessarily disqualify a man from employment [at Los Alamos] if we had confidence in his integrity and dependability as a man."

Denies Discussing Bomb

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"I have had to deal briefly or ...ot at all with instances in which ...y actions or views were adverse to Soviet or Communist

Oppenheimer A-project aide revealed as one-time Commie

WASHINGTON (INS)—Official records disclosed yesterday that a top aide to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer at Los Alamos, with access to virtually all A-bomb secrets, was by his own admission a Communist Party member until shortly before he went to work on the atomic project.

The man is Prof. David Hawkins of Boulder, Colo., who was Oppenheimer's administrative aide at Los Alamos and later historian of the undertaking which produced the first atomic bomb.

Ironically, Hawkins, as administrative chief, wrote the security regulations which imposed rigid restrictions on all personnel involved in the 1943 A-bomb development program at Los Alamos.

COMMITTEE TESTIMONY

Hawkins' admissions of communism and his description of his work at Los Alamos are contained in records of testimony he gave before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1950 and before the Senate Internal Security Committee in 1953.

The charges on which Oppenheimer now is facing a security probe before a special Atomic Energy Commission panel include mention of Hawkins as one of five Communists the scientist allegedly was responsible for employing on the A-bomb project.

In his reply to the Hawkins charge, Oppenheimer told the AEC that Hawkins was hired at the suggestion of the Los Alamos personell director. He added: "I understood that he had had left-wing associations; but it was not until in March of 1951 . . . that I knew about his membership in the Communist Party."

Chairman Velde (R.-Ill.) said yesterday his House Un-American Activities Committee is "considering" the public release of secret testimony given by Dr. Oppenheimer in 1949, the United Press reported.)

EXCERPTS RELEASED

Following are excerpts from Hawkins' testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee:

Q. "Would you state to the committee, please, the circumstances under which you affiliated with the (Communist), Party and where and when it took place?"

A. "As nearly as I can recollect, I joined the Communist Party in Berkeley (Calif.) in 1938; I think the fall of 1938. I am not too precise about the date. I left the Communist Party in the spring of 1943."

Q. "Will you tell us the character of your employment at Los Alamos?"

A. "I find it difficult to explain the nature of my job. It was called administrative aide. My job was, roughly, to do all of the things that needed to be done and for which there was no regular administrative officer available. I was a sort of handy man or trouble shooter in an administrative capacity."

FIRST JOB

Q. "What were some of the fields in which you worked while you were there? And you were there from 1943 to 1946, I understand?"

A. "That is right. My first job, I well remember, was in connection with the draft deferment of some of the younger members of the scientific staff . . . another job I had at this time was drafting a book of regulations for people who worked in the laboratory. The rules were established, but they were not codified. For example, we had restrictions on travel at Los Alamos."

Q. "For security reasons?"

A. "Yes . . ."

Q. "As administrative assistant, who was your superior?"

A. "Mr. Oppenheimer."

Q. "Mr. Frank Oppenheimer?" (Frank Oppenheimer, Robert Oppenheimer's brother, is an admitted ex-Communist.)

A. "No. Mr. Robert Oppenheimer . . ."

Here are excerpts from Hawkins' testimony before the Internal Security Committee:

Q. " . . . When did you discontinue your membership in the Communist Party?"

A. "I discontinued it in early 1943."

Q. "In what month?"

A. "I'm not exactly sure of the time because there was no definite single act of termination. I simply left; but I believe it was in March of that year."

Q. "In other words, it was no definite break on your part with the Communists?"

A. "I simply stopped going to meetings and paying dues . . ."

Q. "When did you first hear of the atomic bomb project and of the prospective work at Los Alamos?"

RECEIVED CALL

A. "About the first week of May, 1953 . . . I received a telephone call . . . (and) I spoke with Mr. Robert Oppenheimer, who is the director of the Los Alamos project."

Q. "Had you met Mr. Robert Oppenheimer prior to this . . .?"

A. "Yes, I had known him before that."

Q. "Had you met him through his brother, Frank Oppenheimer?"

A. "I'm not sure of the first time I met him. It's possible."

Q. "Now, you were invited to join the Los Alamos project?"

A. "I was so invited."

Q. "Mr. Hawkins, to what knowledge did you have access prior to V-J Day in connection with the Los Alamos project?"

A. "Prior to V-J Day, I had just entered my job as historian. I therefore had access to all the information that was necessary to write the history of the Los Alamos project."

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

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APR 19 1954
FBI NEWARK
T. Kelly

Top A-Scientist Oppenheimer Suspended; Study Commie Ties

(Continued from page 2)

formation to any unauthorized person.

Oppenheimer did not deny certain past Communist associations but declared he had given up any illusions he might have had regarding Communism during World War II days.

He also denied he ever lobbied against the development of the H-bomb after President Truman gave the go-ahead for its construction in 1950.

Chief Accusations.

The chief accusations against the scientist included: That he often associated with Communists in the past; that he hired Communists or ex-Communists at the Los Alamos plant; that he opposed development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, and that he once gave contradictory testimony to the FBI concerning attendance at Communist meetings.

Another charge against him involved an incident in which he allegedly once rejected an effort by a reputed Communist to get information from him for Russia.

Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols
General manager for AEC.

then neglected to report the matter to government security officials for months.

Still further, the security board charged Oppenheimer's association with Communists in the early 1940s resulted in his falling in love with one Communist and then marrying an ex-Communist. He also was alleged to have made regular contributions to Red causes.

Denies Discussions.

The physicist denied, however, that he ever discussed the A-bomb in the presence of Communist Party members during this period. As to whether he knew of any ex-party members being stationed at Los Alamos, he replied that he had known only one—his wife. He added that he did not question her loyalty to the U. S. or her dissociation from Communist ranks.

Oppenheimer repeatedly has denied he ever was a member of the Communist Party. He admitted, however, having had sympathies with some objectives of the Communist ideology, but asked that any derogatory information in his files be examined in relation to his life and work.

His life and work in the Atomic Era has made him an extremely important individual to the security of the U. S. So he has an intimate knowledge and full under-

David Lilienthal
Former boss of AEC.

he and other members of the General Advisory Committee opposed what he described as a "crash program" to embark on the H-bomb project.

Cite Ike-Wilson Huddle.

Following Russia's first atomic explosion, when former AEC Chairman David E. Lilienthal called in the Advisory Committee to ask whether work on the H-bomb should not then be started, Oppenheimer did not explain why he and the committee still opposed the so-called "crash program." He merely referred the AEC to the report of the committee already in existence.

It is believed the formal charges were laid against the scientist after an FBI report to President Eisenhower which questioned the advisability of permitting anyone with past Communist associations to have access to top secret data.

The President reportedly huddled with Defense Secretary Wilson and other ranking advisers last December with the result that Oppenheimer conferred with AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss who told him he could either resign from the Advisory Committee or answer to a security investigation.

Oppenheimer preferred to face the charges.

He then received a letter from Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, general manager of the AEC, listing the derogatory information catalogued in his file. It also explained that under the Eisenhower administration's new security measures a government employee must in such a case be suspended and his access to secret information denied.

Question of Security.

The AEC communication also stated there was a question as to whether Oppenheimer's association with the AEC program would jeopardize the nation's defense and security.

Oppenheimer claimed that years

Oppenheimer In Captial

From THE NEWS Bureau

Washington, D. C., Tuesday, April 13.—Dr. Oppenheimer was in Washington today, and will stay on for further appearances in the AEC "procedures" against him. The scientist has engaged an attorney to help in his defense.

ago, as a professor at the California Institute of Technology and the University of California, he was not interested in politics or economics.

It was not until the days of the Spanish Civil War of the late 1930s, he said, that he became interested in politics. It was then that he associated with left-wingers and donated cash to the Communist-supported Spanish Republicans in their war against Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

Oppenheimer admitted he might have seemed close to the Communist organization then but reiterated that he never had joined the party.

The scientist, who in 1945 urged

Secretary of Defense Wilson
In huddle over Oppenheimer

that America offer joint control of atomic weapons to the Soviet Union because he thought it would help avoid war, told the AEC Security Board that he once came close to marrying Jean Tatlock, the late daughter of a well-known University of California English professor, during the period in which he made many left-wing acquaintances.

Miss Tatlock was identified as a Communist, and Oppenheimer later married Katherine Puening, who once was wed to Joseph Dallet, a Communist who was killed in the Spanish War. During his wife's brief first marriage she was a party member, the scientist said. He said his brother Frank had been a party member "long ago."

Oppenheimer a Scientist When He Was 11 Years Old

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was born in New York City, April 22, 1904, the son of a German immigrant. At the age of 11, Oppenheimer was elected a member of the New York Mineralogical Society. The next-youngest member of the society was a man in his 60s.

tells it—his life had been almost monkish in the seclusion with which he pursued his studies. He owned no radio, read no newspapers—had not even heard about the stock market of 1929 until long after men had begun to peddle

contradictory testimony to the FBI concerning attendance at Communist meetings.

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His life and work in the Atomic Era has made him an extremely important individual to the security of the U. S., for he has an intimate knowledge and full understanding of the most secret data this country possesses.

As to Oppenheimer's stand with regard to the H-bomb, the AEC said: "It was reported that you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb on moral grounds; by claiming it was not feasible; by claiming there are insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on this development; and that it was not politically desirable."

Oppenheimer's answer was that

David E. [illegible]al
Former head of AEC.

he and other members of the General Advisory Committee opposed what he described as a "crash program" to embark on the H-bomb project.

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In huddle over Oppenheimer

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At 18 he entered Harvard and completed a four-year course in three years. He was graduated with highest honors. He then studied for a year at Cambridge, England, and went on to Gottingen, Germany, to take his Ph. D.

Early in 1942 the Government called him away from his professorship of theoretical physics at the University of California to work on atomic research.

Up to that time—as he himself tells it—his life had been almost monkish in the seclusion with which he pursued his studies. He owned no radio, read no newspapers—had not even heard about the stock market of 1929 until long after men had begun to peddle apples on street corners.

In 1945, shortly after the end of the war, he was introduced to the world as the "man who built the atom bomb," though he had done no pioneer work on fission.

In an end-of-the-war interview Oppenheimer disclosed that his laboratory at Los Alamos, N. M., had discovered how to use atomic energy at least a year and a half before the blast that leveled Hiroshima.

A-Scientist Loyal--Nixon

Vice President Says Only Security Should Bar Oppenheimer

WASHINGTON (AP)—Vice President Nixon was identified last night as the high Administration official who told newsmen that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer of Princeton, N. J., "is a loyal American" and should not be barred from government work if he is not a security risk.

James Reston, Washington correspondent of The New York Times, named Nixon.

Nixon has had contact with the Oppenheimer case since 1949, when the physicist—who played a leading role in the development of the atomic bomb—was questioned by the House un-American activities committee. Nixon was a committee member at the time.

Nixon said Friday that "if the man is not a security risk, if he is not subject to blackmail, he should work for the government."

The decision rests with the panel now investigating his record, Nixon noted, and "I am sure Dr. Oppenheimer will get a fair hearing," Nixon said.

"'Prima Facie' Case"

The Vice President, who has seen the full file on Oppenheimer, said:

"Dr. Oppenheimer, at least on the evidence I have seen, in my opinion, is a loyal American. On the other hand, the information in his file is voluminous and makes a 'prima facie' case of security risk."

Nixon said the big question posed by the Oppenheimer case

(Continued ~~From First~~ Page)

is whether the government should take the position that past associations, even if foresworn, should forever after preclude government employment.

"I do not believe it should," Nixon said, adding:

"I believe each case should be considered on its merits, particularly when dealing with an ideology which during the 1930s had such an appeal among the intelligentsia and various other groups."

Colleagues Warn

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The Federation of American Scientists charged yesterday that barring of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer from atomic and hydrogen secrets jeopardizes continued contributions by science to vital government military and other programs.

The federation, of which Oppenheimer is a member, issued a statement which said:

"The unseating of any major public figure under such circumstances is bound to create confusion and shake the confidence of our people in their leadership. * * * It is disturbing that old facts and alleged facts of belief and association, all relating to the period before Oppenheimer began his active public service, should now be incorporated in the attack against him."

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NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 4-18-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

Scientists 'shocked' at Oppenheimer ban

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Federation of American Scientists yesterday expressed shock at the barring of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer from atomic secrets and said his case makes "essential" a speedy review of the entire security program.

The science group, in a statement issued by Dr. M. Stanley Livingston, chairman of the executive committee, said the government action "has relegated to official ostracism a distinguished scientist and citizen, long a confidential adviser in our innermost councils of government."

EXPRESS DISMAY

"The charge that his continued public service threatens the security of the United States has shocked the nation and the scientific community in particular," the national organization declared. It identifies itself as an organization of scientists representing all fields of science "who are concerned with the interaction of science and society."

Oppenheimer, who pioneered in the development of the first atomic bomb, was denied further access to official secrets last December by presidential order. This was after the Atomic Energy Commission said it had received information that he was a security risk.

Oppenheimer denied this, and a special three-man panel headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray is now weighing the case in secret sessions.

'LOYAL AMERICAN'

A top ranking administration official, who asked that his name not be used, declared he feels Oppenheimer is a "loyal American" and should not be barred from government work if he is not a security risk.

The official, who has been familiar with the Oppenheimer case since 1948 when the scientist was questioned by a congressional committee, said he had found Oppenheimer to be "cooperative, impressive and responsive" under questioning.

SUNDAY STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N.J.

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Oppenheimer role in world A-plan eyed

WASHINGTON (U.P.)—A special Atomic Energy Commission panel is looking into Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's role in the U.S. plan for international control of atomic energy, it was learned yesterday.

The panel, headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray, is holding secret meetings on allegations that Oppenheimer, one of the nation's top atomic scientists, consorted with Communists in the past and delayed construction of the hydrogen bomb.

Oppenheimer has acknowledged contacts with Reds and former Reds but said he never was a Communist or gave secrets to Russia. He said he had some objections to the H-bomb but devoted all his energies to the project once former President Truman gave a go-ahead.

INQUIRY NEAR END

The hearings probably will conclude this week. The three-man panel will make its recommendations—possibly this week—to AEC general manager K. D. Nichols who will then rule on whether Oppenheimer's suspension as an atomic adviser will be lifted or made permanent.

Among distinguished witnesses ~~called this~~ week was Maj. Gen. Frederick Osborn of New York, formerly U.S. deputy representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

Oppenheimer served on a committee headed by former AEC chairman David E. Lilienthal and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson that drew up the basic U. S. plan for worldwide atom control submitted to the UN by Bernard M. Baruch.

INSPECTION SYSTEM

The plan called for strict international control of all atomic weapons and means of producing them, providing an airtight inspection system was set up that would prevent any nation—including Russia—from building up a secret arsenal of atom weapons. The plan has gotten nowhere because Russia refused to accept such inspection.

Though details of this week's testimony are secret, a friend of Oppenheimer said, "It is a pity that these witnesses were not testifying in public."

They include Lilienthal and former AEC chairman Gordon Dean; Dr. Vannevar Bush, original supervisor of U. S. atomic development; Dr. I. I. Rabi of Columbia University, who succeeded Oppenheimer as chairman of the AEC's general advisory committee; Dr. Lee A. Dubridge of the California Institute of Technology, chairman of the President's National Science Council; Dr. James B. Conant, high commissioner for Germany.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

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What Readers Have to Say

Protest Against "Double Standard of Political Morality" as Evinced by Security Program's Operation

To the Editor:

Sir—I have read your editorial on Dr. Oppenheimer, the account of the charges brought against him so seemingly trivial, most of them "shopworn," based on the testimony of a paid informer of proven unreliability, and other comments. As one who myself sympathized with the Spanish Loyalists in their struggle against Franco, who, back in the 1930s hoped that the Russian experiment with Communism might eventually bring some measure of good to the Russian people, I find myself deeply disturbed by the necessity which even those who uphold Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty feel to apologize for his past opinions and attitudes.

The phrase "a privilege, not a right to serve the government" has been used ad nauseam by officials in this Administration, in connection with the summary dismissal of more humble government workers. But now the long arm of the President's security program, the new broom sweeping so clean, has struck at one of our foremost scientists.

The "privilege" which he was allowed all during World War II of unremitting labor 24 hours a day in service to his country is denied him. A "blank wall" has been erected between his superb talents and his nation which never needed such talents more. In the light of this I wish to protest against what seems to me a "double standard" of political morality, which makes certain opinions once held such evidence of unreliability.

Prior to World War II there were many people like the late Senator Taft and the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who were strongly isolationist in their views. Though sincere and patriotic Americans, such men were in large part responsible for the fact that we were so ill-equipped to meet the demands of the war when it came, and their shortsightedness undoubtedly prolonged it.

Mr. Vandenberg came to recognize this himself and in his last years devoted himself to the cause of internationalism. But though to Americans of greater vision who had realized the extent of the Nazi menace to our democratic way of life, these men may have seemed "fuzzy-minded" and "naive" in the extreme, no one ever suggested that they were thereby rendered unfit to serve their country, were, in short, "security risks."

Another even more striking example is that of an eminent American who, prior to our entry into the war, took a violently isolationist stand and became what Robert Sherwood, in his book, "Roosevelt and Hopkins," calls "one of the most forcible and persuasive, though unwitting, purveyors of Nazi propaganda." Many people will recall the speeches he made before crowds composed largely of Nazis, Coughlinites and Communists, wherein he warned his listeners that England's cause was lost, and came as near as any man in this century to urging Americans toward open revolt against their government.

The name of this man is Charles A. Lindbergh and in recent months he has been summoned to Washington for special Presidential honors and military promotion. I have no wish to criticize Lindbergh, who gave loyal service to his country once war was declared. But I do think it worth noting that Secretary of Defense Wilson did not compare him, as he did Oppenheimer, to an ex-convict who should reform somewhere else than in the Army. In fact, there is no record that any one even asked him if he had reformed.

(MRS.) ANN R. BEBOUT.
Cedar Grove.

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Oppenheimer probe studied

WASHINGTON (AP)—A special three-man security board secretly investigating Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer recessed yesterday "to review the record" and possibly report their findings on the famed atomic scientist.

Dr. Gordon Gray, chairman of the board appointed by the Atomic Energy Commission to examine charges against Oppenheimer, known in scientific circles as "Mr. Atom," announced the recess in a two-sentence statement.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 5-7-54 PAGE 1

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Oppenheimer victim --- Reds

NEW YORK (AP)—The Moscow Literary Gazette, in the first Soviet discussion of the Oppenheimer case, pictures the American atomic scientist as the innocent victim of Sen. McCarthy.

An editorial in a copy of the Soviet newspaper, reaching here yesterday, claimed the Oppenheimer affair marks the initiation of a general persecution of American scientists by "reactionaries."

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic physicist who was the top scientist figure in American development of the atomic bomb, has been temporarily deprived of his security clearance for access to government information on atomic energy while the question of renewal of the clearance is under study.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

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Info

Probe Seen Of Scientist

Congress May Inquire Into Loyalty of Oppenheimer

WASHINGTON (NS)—The possibility of a Congressional inquiry into the loyalty record of J. Robert Oppenheimer, mastermind of the atomic bomb, looms if he is ruled by an atomic energy personnel board to be a "security risk" to the United States.

There are indications that Congressional leaders expect the board will render its decision this week and permanently bar Dr. Oppenheimer from all atomic work in the "interests of national security."

When asked whether the Senate internal security committee plans an Oppenheimer inquiry, Senator William E. Jenner (R., Ind.), chairman, replied:

"Our policy is to wait and see what happens. We'll reach a decision once it's settled downtown."

Other reports were that the joint Congressional atomic energy committee might take over the inquiry but its chairman, Representative Sterling Cole (R., N. Y.), said:

"I have heard of no request for such a hearing."

Suspended in December

The noted scientist was suspended December 23 by Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, general manager of the AEC, on some of 20 charges of violating security. Aside from being accused of constantly associating with known Communists prior to working on the bomb, there was a major charge that Dr. Oppenheimer concealed for months a specific effort through mutual friends by a Soviet agent to acquire atomic secrets from him for "Soviet scientists."

Dr. Oppenheimer in his statement of defense, admitted the contact but declared he immediately repudiated the effort. After a few months, he warned intelligence officers of the contact and a bit later gave all details.

It is known that both government and defense could introduce new testimony at the AEC hearing. It may well be the government brought in new evidence on this Soviet effort to glean atomic secrets from the scientists.

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T.E. Kelley

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Date 5-16-54 Page 5

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100-31936B-30

Security board rejects Oppenheim

WASHINGTON (AP)—A spe-l Atomic Energy Commis-n security board has voted to deny J. Robert Oppen-imer, famed atomic scientist, ess to the nation's atomic ets.

Herbert Marks, attorney for penheimer made public the C action yesterday. He said he was notified of the board's decision in a letter dated May 28.

Marks said he immediately asked the AEC to reconsider the board's decision. He asked permission to file briefs.

The letter from the AEC told Oppenheimer the security board recommended "that your clearance not be reinstated."

Gordon Gray, former secretary of the Army and now president of the University of North Carolina, headed the special board which held hearings on charges that Oppenheimer opposed development of the hydrogen bomb and had Communist links.

Marks said Gray voted with Thomas A. Morgan, former president of the Sperry Corp., in the recommendation that Oppenheimer's clearance not be reinstated.

The dissenting vote, Marks said, was cast by Ward V. Evans, chemistry professor at Loyola University at Chicago.

The board came to the "clear conclusion" that Oppenheimer is "a loyal citizen."

It said, however, that:

"1. We find that Dr. Oppenheimer's continuing conduct and associations have reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system.

"2. We ~~have found~~ a susceptibility ~~to influence~~ which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country.

"3. We find his conduct in the hydrogen bomb program sufficiently disturbing as to raise a doubt as to whether

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Oppenheimer denied right to A-secrets

(Continued from Page One)

his future participation, if characterized by the same attitudes in a government program relating to the national defense, would be clearly consistent with the best interests of security.

"4. We have regretfully concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer has been less than candid in several instances in his testimony before this board."

Under the heading "recommendation," the board said in its report:

"In arriving at our recommendation we have sought to address ourselves to the whole question before us and not to consider the problem as a fragmented one either in terms of specific criteria or in terms of any period in Dr. Oppenheimer's life, or to consider loyalty, character and associations separately.

STRESSED LOYALTY

"However, of course, the most serious findings which this board could make as a result of these proceedings would be that of disloyalty on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer to his country. For that reason, we have given particular attention to the question of his loyalty, and we have come to a clear conclusion, which should be reassuring to the people of this country, that he is a loyal citizen. If this were the only consideration, therefore, we would recommend that the reinstatement of his clearance would not be a danger to the common defense and security.

"We have, however, been unable to arrive at the conclusion that it would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States to reinstate Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance and, therefore, do not so recommend."

The 50-year-old Oppenheimer, now a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., was a pioneer in America's atomic program. He has freely acknowledged associations with Communists but has denied he, himself, had Red ties.

ORDERED 'BLANK WALL'

President Eisenhower last April 13 disclosed that he had ordered a "blank wall" set up between Oppenheimer and secret nuclear files.

That announcement followed action by the AEC last Dec. 23 refusing Oppenheimer access to the files.

Oppenheimer's lawyers released the board's findings and recommendation, a copy of a covering letter from AEC General Manager K. D. Nichols and a 16-page letter in reply to Nichols from Lloyd K. Garrison, Oppenheimer's chief attorney.

Garrison's letter said John W. Davis was joining with him in the appeal.

Davis was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President in 1942 and argued in the Supreme Court hearing on the recently decided segregation cases. Davis was counsel then for those opposing an end to segregation.

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Science as Usual

Oppenheimer Plans Normal Day's Work Despite Blow of Security Ruling

PRINCETON (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer slept late and planned a normal day's work at the Institute for Advanced Study today, despite a great personal blow in a security board's refusal to clear him for government atomic secrets.

The Oppenheimer home is only a short distance from the home of another world-renowned physicist—Dr. Albert Einstein, who expressed trust and confidence in his friend and associate last April when the institute director was first stripped of access to A-bomb and H-bomb secrets on charges he was a security risk.

Einstein refused to comment today on the latest security board decision.

Professors Comment

Dr. Eugene P. Wigner, professor of physics at Princeton University and one of the pioneers in the development of the atom bomb, said he was "very happy" that the Security Board had cleared Oppenheimer's name of any disloyalty.

"This confirms by own impression of Dr. Oppenheimer," Wigner said. "As fo rthe rest of the ruling (barring him from government atom secrets), it seems to me to be entirely academic. Dr. Oppenheimer does not have a particular desire to be employed by the government. His advice and help were sought and he gave them gladly."

Another Princeton professor, Dr. Allen Shenstone of Toronto, a Canadian citizen, said he agreed with the dissenting minority opinion in the 2 to 1 Security Board ruling.

"The ruling only confirms my original feelings that there was no real sense in bringing up these charges in the first place," he said. "I feel that the majority ruling will have a bad effect on the scientific community in this country."

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'Loyal Citizens,' But Barred From Atomic Secrets

Oppenheimer, a Risk, Asks Quick Decision

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Atomic Energy Commission had before it today Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's plea for quick action on a special board's split recommendation to bar him from the atomic secrets he helped unfold.

The three-man security board set up by the commission found, after six weeks of secret hearings and deliberation, that the 50-year-old "Oppy" is a "loyal citizen"—but a majority held he is too much of a security risk to get back the cleared-for secrets status he lost last Dec. 23.

'ASSOCIATED WITH REDS'

As disclosed yesterday by Oppenheimer's attorneys, the special board ruled 2-1 that the noted physicist and atomic pioneer had contributed to delaying a start on hydrogen bomb development and had associated with Communists for years.

In a minority opinion, Dr. Ward V. Evans, chemistry professor at Loyola University of Chicago, said of Oppenheimer:

"He did not hinder development of the H-bomb and there is absolutely nothing in the testimony to show that he did . . ."

COUNSEL REPLY

The Oppenheimer attorneys, headed by Lloyd K. Garrison, said in a letter to AEC General Manager K. D. Nichols that allegations by the majority were old hat--charges which the commission had thrown out seven years ago.

They asked permission to file a written brief by Monday and to argue at some later date before the commission, which must make the final decision.

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Attacks Ban On A-Expert

Scientist Group Backs Oppenheimer—Few Talk at Capital

WASHINGTON (AP)—A security board's refusal to clear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer for government atomic secrets drew an attack today from an atomic scientists' group but most congressmen remained silent.

The Atomic Scientists of Chicago, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Scientists, said the board's action was morally indefensible because "to our knowledge Oppenheimer's contribution to the military strength of the United States has been exceeded by no other man."

"It is ethically indefensible," the group said, "because of the shabby manner with which the whole affair has been handled."

"We cannot understand how the majority can have found Dr. Oppenheimer to be both fish and fowl," the scientists declared. "How can he be at once a loyal citizen and a security risk?"

Double Talk, Johnson Says

Chairman Cole (R., N. Y.) and most members of his joint congressional atomic energy committee declined comment on the decision. But one member—Senator Johnson (D., Col.)—called the board's action "very unsatisfactory" and "nothing more than double talk."

Senator Anderson (D., N. M.), also a member of the joint committee, said that the panel's two-day decision was "somewhat strange."

Senator Hickenlooper (R., Ia.), vice chairman of the committee, saw "nothing inconsistent" in the findings. He said a man may be perfectly loyal but still be considered a security risk because of "past associations, discretions or other surrounding circumstances." Hickenlooper declined direct comment on the board's ruling, however.

Inquiry Intimated

Cole hinted that the Congressional committee might conduct its own investigation of the Oppenheimer case. He said the group would "keep abrease" of developments pending a final decision by the AEC, to which the security board's findings have been appealed.

Then, Cole said, "the committee no doubt will want to consider it." He said the group may ultimately decide to hold hearings, if the facts appear to warrant them.

Director Samuel K. Allison of the University of Chicago's Institute of Nuclear Studies said the security panel's action will make it "exceedingly difficult" to recruit government scientists.

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Oppenheimer Puts Fate Up to AEC

Skips Review Board Plea on Verdict Barring Him From A-Secrets

WASHINGTON (INS)—The nation's five-man Atomic Energy Commission began consideration today of a special personnel security board's 2 to 1 finding that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is a "loyal citizen," but also a security risk.

The three-member board's 15,000-word report recommended that Oppenheimer be barred permanently from secret data because of Communist associations and "disturbing conduct" believed to have delayed the H-bomb.

Other stories on Page 13.

In a minority opinion, Dr. Ward V. Evans, chemistry professor at Loyola University of Chicago, said of Oppenheimer:

"He did not hinder development of the H-bomb and there is absolutely nothing in the testimony to show that he did * * *"

Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., and known as the "father" of the atomic bomb, placed the case in the commission's lap by refusing to appeal to the AEC's Security Review Board.

At the institute this morning, Oppenheimer's secretary, Mrs. Katherine Russell, said he "would have no further comment at this time." Mrs. Russell said the scientist felt that since he he had made public the board's ruling, the next move was up to the AEC.

No Comment by Ike

At his news conference today, President Eisenhower refused to comment on the board's decision, saying the case is still going through a quasi-judicial process. Eisenhower noted that he previously had expressed great admiration for the scientist's past achievements, but until an appeal has been finally settled there would be no point in a further expression of opinion.

The Oppenheimer attorneys, headed by Lloyd K. Garrison, said in a letter to AEC General Manager K. D. Nichols that allegations by the majority were old—charges which the commission had thrown out seven years ago. They asked permission to file a written brief and to argue at some later date before the AEC, which must make the final decision.

All five members of the commission, headed by Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, were almost sure to be asked about the case during appearances today and to-

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Oppenheimer

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morrow before the Senate-House atomic energy committee.

Held Important Posts

Until suspended last December, Oppenheimer was a member of the President's science advisory committee, a consultant to the AEC and adviser to the departments of State and Defense and the National Security Council—although the board's majority report said he devoted only 2½ days to these tasks last year.

The two members of the security board who voted for suspension were Gordon Gray and Thomas A. Morgan. Dr. Evans argued Oppenheimer had been cleared of the charges in 1947.

Gray, former Secretary of the Army and now president of the University of North Carolina, joined with Morgan, former president of the Sperry Corp., in "a clear conclusion" that Oppenheimer "is a loyal citizen."

Majority Findings

Nevertheless, they added, they could not recommend Oppenheimer's reinstatement because of these four "controlling" considerations:

1. A "serious disregard" by Oppenheimer for security requirements.

2. "Susceptibility to influence" which could hurt national security

3. "Disturbing" conduct toward the H-bomb program.

4. Lack of candor by Oppenheimer at times during the board's hearing, such as in discussing the extent of his opposition to the H-bomb program.

In his dissent, Evans said that, "all people are somewhat of a security risk," adding that Oppenheimer was no exception, but that:

"I personally think that our failure to clear Dr. Oppenheimer will be a black mark on the escutcheon of our country."

Among early reaction to the board's recommendation was a statement issued last night by the atomic scientists of Chicago. They called it "unfortunate * * * disturbing * * * frightening."

The 33-page report filed with the commission by Gray and Morgan sifted 24 charges, apparently in[illegible]ated by the FBI against the scientist.

Twenty-[illegible]ree of the charges alleged such things as this:

That Oppenheimer lent his name to Communist fronts, contributed hundreds of dollars toward Communists' causes, admitted belonging to practically "every Communist front on the West Coast," was the husband of a one-time party member and the brother of another, associated with such West Coast Red leaders as Steve Nelson.

Did Oppose A-Bomb

The 24th charge accused him of opposing in 1949 the development of the H-bomb on moral and technical grounds and, after the project was launched, continuing to oppose it.

While conceding that he did oppose going ahead with H-bomb research while the matter was in the discussion stage, Oppenheimer has insisted that he dropped that opposition after President Truman ordered a go-ahead on the project in 1950.

As to Oppenheimer's opposition to the H-bomb program in 1949, the board said it saw in this "no lack of loyalty." It stated:

"The board was impressed by the fact that, even those who were critical of Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment and activities or lack of activities, without exception, testified to their belief in his loyalty."

U. S. Interests "Affected"

But the majority held that, whatever Oppenheimer's motivations, "the security interest of the United States were affected" by his actions. Gray and Morgan wrote, with Evans dissenting:

"We believe that, had Dr. Oppenheimer given his enthusiastic support to the program, a concerted effort would have been initiated at an earlier date."

The majority opinion said of the first 23 charges:

"There remains little doubt that, from late 1936 or early 1937 to probably April, 1942, Dr. Oppenheimer was deeply involved with many people who were active Communists. The record would suggest that the involvement was something more than an intellectual and sympathetic interest in the professed aims of the Communist party.

"Although Communist functionaries during this period considered Dr. Oppenheimer to be a Communist, there is no evidence that he was a member of the party in the strict sense of the word.

"Using Dr. Oppenheimer's own characterization of his status during that period, he seems to have been an active fellow traveler."

What Constitutes Loyalty?

In this connection, the majority opinion delved into the question of what is meant by loyalty. It said:

"Because of widespread confusions and misapprehensions about the security system of the United States, the board feels that it must state some considerations with respect to loyalty. If a person is considered a security risk in terms of loyalty, the fact or possibility of active disloyalty is assumed, which would involve conduct giving some sort of aid and comfort to a foreign power.

"The Communist party is an international conspiracy organized in support of the Soviet Union. It should then be clear that (1) a member of the Communist party is automatically barred from a position of trust with the United States Government; (2) a fellow-traveler must be declared ineligible for such a position of trust—such a person being described as one who perhaps may not be subject to party discipline, but who is sufficiently close to the party, or sympathetic with its aims, purposes and methods that danger inheres in the situation; (3) any person whose absolute loyalty to the United States is in question, aside from present or former Communist affiliations or associations, should be rejected for government service; (4) a person whose former status would be encompassed in one, two or three above, has the burden of proof of change in position and attitude which must be so clearly borne by him as to leave no reasonable doubt in the minds of those who are called upon to make a governmental decision in the case. If he fails in this demonstration, he must be considered a security risk and denied access to classified information."

On the matter of security, the report said:

"The board would assert the right of any citizen to be in disagreement with security measures and any other expressed policies of government. This is all a part of the right of dissent which must be preserved for our people. But the question arises whether an individual who does not accept and abide by the security system should be a part of it."

Limited by Rules

The board said another finding on Oppenheimer would have been possible except for narrow rules set up last year by the Administration

"It seemed to us," the opinion said, "that an alternative recommendation would be possible if we were allowed to exercise mature practical judgment without the rigid circumscription of regulations and criteria established for us."

That alternative, the majority said, could have been a simple recommendation that Oppenheimer not be employed as a consultant, with the result that there would be no need for a decision on whether the scientist should have access to secret matter.

Oppenheimer says case not over

PRINCETON (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, smiling jauntily, showed up at his office yesterday and quietly declined to discuss a special Atomic Energy Commission board's recommendation that he be barred from atomic secrets. Wearing a porkpie hat and carrying a portfolio under one arm, he appeared at the Institute for Advanced Study, which he heads, and posed for a newsreel cameraman.

Then he told a newsman:

"I know you are here for a comment. I have said this thing is not properly adjudicated yet. I have told the public all about it before, and I have nothing more to say now."

Oppenheimer spent the morning at home and arrived at his office around 2 P. M., seemingly calm and undisturbed by the panel's decision.

Before he arrived, Dr. Albert Einstein came from his office in the institute to see Oppenheimer but declined to discuss the case.

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Offers Haven To Scientist

Laborite Will Propose Britain Open Doors to Oppenheimer

LONDON (AP)—A Labor member of Parliament announced today he would ask the Churchill government to invite Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, American atomic scientist, "to place his knowledge at the disposal of this country."

Henry Hynd, a middle-of-the-road Laborite, said he would put his question in the House of Commons June 15 to the Minister of Works, whose department handles atomic development here.

(At Princeton, N. J., where he heads the Institute for Advanced Study, Oppenheimer today continued to refuse comment on the 2-1 recommendation of the AEC special security board that he should not be cleared to handle atomic secrets).

British Press Reaction

British newspapers of various political hues, meantime, expressed themselves editorially on the Oppenheimer case.

The Independent Times said the decision "poses an alarming question—can science and indeed other skills where they touch the safety of nations be served only by the equivalent of Soviet man, disciplined, doctrinaire, devoted narrowly to a single goal of power?"

The Liberal News Chronicle said, "America has not much to be proud of in its treatment of Dr. Oppenheimer. He seems to have become victim not so much of blind anti-Communist phobia as of a curious witchhunt against men of ideas."

The Laborite Herald headlined a Washington dispatch with: "Sack for A-bomb man alarms scientists."

The Daily Express said "Confusion and alarm" followed the Oppenheimer loyalty board deci-

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Scientists Attack Oppenheimer Rule

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Federation of American Scientists says the ruling against physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer stems from a security system "now motivated more by the risks of politics than of disclosure of information."

Describing as "unfair" a special inquiry board's 2-1 finding that Oppenheimer is a security risk, the federation said in a statement last night that the Atomic Energy Commission should conduct a review as Oppenheimer has asked.

"But beyond that," it said, "we urge strongly that the entire machinery of security must itself come under review."

The federation is a national organization of scientists formed in 1946 to act on public issues in its field.

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Oppenheimer case blasted by science group

WASHINGTON (UP) — The Federation of American Scientists said yesterday the "fantastic" security case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer stands as a black mark against the Eisenhower administration's "entire machinery of security."

The federation called not only for an Atomic Energy Commission review of the "unfair" findings of the security board but also for a review of the security program itself.

It said the Oppenheimer case illustrates "the dangers and bitter fruits of a security system which is now motivated more by the risks of politics than the risks of disclosure of information."

A special security board unanimously declared Oppenheimer a "loyal citizen" in findings made public Tuesday. But it voted 2 to 1 against reinstating his clearance for atomic secrets.

Oppenheimer, the chief "brain" behind development of the atomic bomb, will make a formal appeal against the ruling before the AEC next Monday. Meanwhile groups such as the federation, a nationwide organization of scientists and engineers in all fields, have come to his defense.

The federation said in a statement by its executive committee that the security board's majority report "bears the imprint of fair-minded men struggling unsuccessfully against the pressure of a security system extended beyond reasonable bounds."

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Trenton Evening Times
Founded October 13, 1883
Sunday Times-Advertiser
Founded 1883
James Kerney, Editor and Publisher
1873-1934

I do the very best I know how, the very best I can and I mean to keep doing so till the end; if the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything.—Abraham Lincoln

Thursday, June 3, 1954

Less Than Justice

The decision of a special Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer defies rationalization.

The board, consisting of three members, voted unanimously that Dr. Oppenheimer, head of the Los Alamos atomic bomb project during the war, was a "loyal" citizen and "discreet" in handling atomic secrets.

By a divided vote, however, the board opposed his reinstatement as a consultant to the government on atomic energy matters. Dr. Ward F. Evans, chemistry professor of Loyola University, Chicago, came up with a refreshingly straightforward and courageous dissenting opinion in which he refused to "damn" Dr. Oppenheimer and "ruin his career and his service."

The injustice of the majority recommendation is emphasized pointedly in Dr. Evans' opinion. This proposed restriction against Dr. Oppenheimer is based upon his early associations and interests. Yet, all of this derogatory information was in the hands of the Atomic Energy Commission when Dr. Oppenheimer was cleared in 1947. The Commission took a chance on his special talents and he did his work with great distinction.

Now that the job is done, Dr. Evans observes, "we are asked to investigate him for practically the same derogatory information." There was not the slightest vestige of evidence before the board that would indicate that Dr. Oppenheimer is not a loyal citizen of his country. Yet, the majority of the board does not hesitate to mark him with suspicion.

If the judgment of this board is permitted to stand, the Eisenhower Administration, which initiated the investigation and suspension of Dr. Oppenheimer, must bear the onus of injustice and ingratitude to a scientist of rare brilliance who was a principal builder of American atomic supremacy.

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Atomic Scientists Hit Treatment Of Oppenheimer

LOS ALAMOS, N.M. (AP) —A petition from more than 280 Los Almos atomic scientists strongly criticizes government handling of the case of D. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

And, the scientists warned, the action taken against Oppenheimer may make it tough in the future to fill government laboratories with trained workers.

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Backs Curb On Scientist

AEC Manager Reported Supporting Ban of Oppenheimer

NEW YORK (AP)—The New York Times said today that Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, has drafted his recommendation in the Oppenheimer security case.

"It supports the Gray board's finding that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is 'loyal' but should not be retained as a consultant to the commission," a Washington dispatch to The Times said.

"Thus, the famous atomic scientist has lost another round—the next to the last—in his long fight to be restored as a reliable servant of his government."

Not in Final Form

The story also said:

Nichols's recommendation has not been delivered in final form to the members of the AEC, but this will be done later this week when the five-man commission will begin the final step in the proceedings. Nichols has discussed his recommendation with commission members.

It is understood that Nichols's letter to the AEC is more critical of Oppenheimer than the majority findings of the Gray board—a three-member special Atomic Energy Commission security board.

The board—headed by Gordon Gray, former Secretary of the Army and now president of the University of North Carolina—recently found unanimously that Oppenheimer is a loyal citizen and it praised his discretion. The board voted 2 to 1, however, that under the Administration's regulations Oppenheimer must be classified as a security risk.

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H-bomb delay of 4 yrs. laid to Oppenheimer

WASHINGTON (U.P.)—The "father of the H-bomb," Dr. Edward Teller, testified he believes the United States could have developed the hydrogen bomb at least four years earlier if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and others had given the project their "moral" support, it was disclosed last night.

The statement came from Teller, the Hungarian-born nuclear physicist, who is credited with sparking postwar development of the H-bomb, during the secret investigation of Oppenheimer's loyalty and security.

But former AEC chairman Gordon Dean disputed Teller's testimony and gave Oppenheimer his full backing. Dean said that as far as he knew Oppenheimer did not hinder development of the H-bomb.

The Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Board ruled recently that Oppenheimer, though loyal and discreet, is a security risk. Oppenheimer is the scientist credited with masterminding wartime development ~~of the~~ A-bomb.

HITS ATTITUDE

Teller said he considers Oppenheimer a loyal American who would not willingly breach security regulations. But judging by Oppenheimer's attitude toward the H-bomb and other atomic issues after the war, Teller said, he believes "one would be wiser not to grant (him security) clearance."

Teller's testimony and that of numerous other scientists became public shortly after Oppenheimer's attorneys disclosed they told the AEC that his lack of enthusiasm for the H-bomb program was not a valid reason for labelling the famed atomic scientist a security risk.

They advanced the argument in an appeal filed with the AEC last week and made public tonight.

The special AEC panel voted 2 to 1 against reinstating Oppenheimer's security clearance.

Oppenheimer has appealed

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

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FBI NEWARK

the decision of the security board, headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray, directly to the Atomic Energy Commission. The board's ruling that the famed "Mr. Atom" of World War II is loyal but unsafe from a security standpoint has generally been condemned by organization of scientists.

So the AEC released the full transcript—except for parts involving state secrets—to the press. The commission distributed the 991-page document to newsmen shortly after 6 P. M. EDT for release at noon today. But radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr. broke the release and others followed suit with AEC acquiescence.

Many other scientific witnesses strongly supported Oppenheimer. One of them was Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, Oppenheimer's successor and present director of the Los Alamos Laboratory.

Bradbury said he always found both Oppenheimer and the general advisory committee "extremely helpful and cooperative" in H-bomb matters. He said he "never knew them (GAC members) or Dr. Oppenheimer to take a stand or a position or to give advice which was other than useful and helpful . . ."

Former AEC chairman Gordon Dean testified that Oppenheimer "expressed enthusiasm" for and went to "great pains to help" the H-bomb program after developments in the summer of 1951 gave the thermonuclear program great promise.

Dean also declared that he knew of "no instance" when Oppenheimer ever discouraged other scientists from contributing to the program after President Truman ordered the H-bomb into production in January, 1950.

RAPS TELLER

The one-time AEC chairman conceded, however, that some H-bomb enthusiasts—notably Teller—"intimated" that Oppenheimer would not be cooperative. He suggested that Teller's trouble in recruiting scientists stemmed more from his own limitations than any opposition from Oppenheimer.

Dean insisted that he studied all the derogatory information against the famed Princeton physicist and was convinced he is completely loyal to his country and in no sense a security risk.

DA

SUBJECT: DIVISION

A-Scientist Is Defended

Oppenheimer's Counsel Challenge Security Board Findings

WASHINGTON (AP) — The findings of the special personnel security board of the Atomic Energy Commission were challenged today by attorneys for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

The lawyer's assailed the board's charges that the atomic scientist had shown disregard for security requirements, he had been susceptible to influence and he had been "less than candid" in testifying before the board.

Oppenheimer's counsel also argued that his lack of enthusiastic support for the H-bomb project did not make him a security risk.

His lawyers are Lloyd K. Garrison and John W. Davis. They asked the full commission to reverse the security board's findings and give Oppenheimer a clean bill.

Service Acknowledged

"Lack of enthusiasm for a program in which a scientist does not believe, or lack of unqualified commitment to a single strategic theory, is not an admissible consideration in determining whether a man is a security risk," the lawyers contended.

The Oppenheimer lawyers released to the press last night copies of the brief they had filed with the commission June 7. The brief made these points:

The security board found Oppenheimer loyal as well as discreet and also acknowledged his great public service.

In opposing the hydrogen bomb project during the Autumn of 1949 the scientist was expressing an "honest view based on his judgment of the interests of the country and the good of humanity" without "the slightest motivation of disloyalty."

Found "Extremely Honest"

The impression that he was less than candid with the security board was not shared by one member, who found the witness "extremely honest." Analysis of the specific instances in which he was charged with lack of candor did not bear out the impression of the majority.

The board's finding that he was susceptible to influence was based on a misconception of the meaning of President Eisenhower's executive order establishing such susceptibility as a security-risk criterion, and of the specific instances cited by the board.

Most of Oppenheimer's left-wing associations dated from before World War II and were known to the AEC when it cleared him in 1947. His questioned postwar associations were "so few and so patently harmless" that they in no way reflected on his trustworthiness as a security risk.

Oppenheimer was depicted as a pioneer who foresaw an arsenal of small and large atomic weapons and advised Gen. Eisenhower on their use in December, 1951, in Europe.

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Newark, New Jersey

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H-Bomb 'Inventor' Regards Oppenheimer as a Risk

WASHINGTON (AP)—The man credited by many atomic scientists with unlocking the door to the hydrogen bomb says he would feel safer if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer did not have custody of the nation's vital secrets.

The scientist is Dr. Edward Teller, 46-year-old University of California professor, who said he regards Oppenheimer as a loyal American but questions his wisdom and judgment.

Oppenheimer himself calls Teller the "principal inventor" of the H-bomb.

But even as Teller expressed reservations about Oppenheimer, father of the atomic bomb during World War II, many of the key men who worked with Oppenheimer in top secret projects rallied to Oppenheimer's defense, saying he was a man of complete loyalty, integrity and devotion to his country.

Testimony Conflicting

On the other side of the picture, William L. Borden, former executive secretary of the Senate-House atomic committee, described Oppenheimer as "more probably than not an agent of the Soviet Union."

All this conflicting testimony—and a backstage account of the development of the H-bomb—was disclosed in the release of the transcript of hearings before a special security board of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The board ruled May 27 that Oppenheimer was a loyal American and a discreet one.

But, in a 2-1 split, it said the physicist was a security risk—not entitled any more to access to the atomic information he helped store up for 10 years.

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Admits Mistakes

Oppenheimer and his attorneys have appealed to the full AEC to overturn this finding. The commission promised a decision this month.

The 500,000 words of testimony from 40 witnesses ran through the gamut of charges that Oppenheimer had been a contributor and fellow traveler with Communist causes until 1942, that he lied to Army intelligence officers investigating Russian atomic espionage in 1942, and that he opposed an all-out effort to develop the H-bomb as late as 1949.

All this was conceded by Oppenheimer, who said he had made mistakes in the past and had once been an "idiot," but carefully guarded the host of secrets "I have had * * * in my head a long time."

A virtual roll call of former AEC commissioners and top atomic scientists backed up former AEC chairman Gordon Dean, who described Oppenheimer as one of the few men who can completely demonstrate his loyalty to his country "by his performance * * * a man of complete integrity * * * a very devoted man to his country."

Aside from Oppenheimer and his wife, there were 38 witnesses. Attorneys for Oppenheimer said 25 of them voiced no doubts at all about him.

Bush's Faith Unshaken

Here are highlights from testimony of some of the witnesses:

Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development—"Great confidence in his (Oppenheimer's) judgment and integrity . . . his "faith" in Oppenheimer "has not in the slightest degree been shaken."

Dr. Karl T. Compton, former president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a Presidential adviser—Revocation of Oppenheimer's security clearance would be felt by the scientific community as "a shock, there would be discouragement, there would be confusion * * * I think the result would be very bad * * * for the country."

Devoted Citizen

Dr. James B. Fisk, research vice president of Bell Laboratories and a member of the AEC advisory committee—"I know of no more devoted citizen in this country."

George F. Keenan, veteran diplomat and onetime Ambassador to Russia—Oppenheimer or anybody else could have opposed development of the H-bomb "out of devotion to the interests of our country."

Dr. James B. Conant, U. S. high commissioner in Germany, former AEC adviser: "A more loyal and sound American citizen cannot be found in the whole United States."

Dr. Norris Bradbury, scientific director of the Los Alamos atomic laboratory, center of atomic and hydrogen research—Oppenheimer is "completely loyal" and "I do not regard him as a security risk." He knows of no case where Oppenheimer persuaded any one not to work on the H-bomb project and doesn't think "that the program was slowed down."

"Good Security Risk"

Dr. Hans Bethe of Cornell, a pioneer in theories forming the basis for the H-bombs—"I do not think there has been any delay" in perfection of the H-bomb. Oppenheimer discussed the H-bomb with him and was "troubled" but did not take a stand as to whether it should be built.

Dr. Robert Bacher, former AEC member, now of the California Institute of Technology—"I have the highest confidence in Dr. Oppenheimer * * * a person of high character * * * a man of discretion, a good security risk and a person of full loyalty to the country * * * this (H-bomb work) went ahead pretty fast. * * *"

Dr. Mervin J. Kelly, president of Bell Laboratories—Oppenheimer's absence from atomic councils "would be a distinct loss."

The most revealing new testimony was the inside version from Dean and other scientists and officials of the pulling and hauling in secret over whether to launch a big H-bomb effort after the Russians exploded an atomic bomb in the Fall of 1949, and what happened to that effort. They called the H-bomb "the super" and "the gadget."

H-Program Stalled

The picture unfolded was that even after former President Truman ordered the H-bomb project in January, 1950, for more than a year the program was stalled and prospects were dismal.

"We never saw anything that really had a chance" of producing a workable bomb, Dean testified, until he called all top scientists together at a meeting at Princeton in June, 1951. Oppenheimer and several other scientists agreed that original premises about how to build an H-bomb had collapsed and the scientists were worried that the Presidential directive could not be carried out.

Changed His Stand

Dr. J. W. Alvarez, University of California scientist, said Oppenheimer told a Pentagon meeting almost a year after the Truman directive that the H-bomb project "will die a natural death" after Pacific tests planned for 1951 "fail." He quoted Oppenheimer as saying that would be "the natural time to chop the hydrogen bomb program off."

Then, in the Spring of 1951, Dr. Teller made what was described as a "brilliant discovery" and brought this idea to the June meeting at Princeton.

After two days, Dean said, everybody was convinced the project at last was on the right track and Oppenheimer himself was "enthusiastic * * * almost thrilled."

Oppenheimer testified that "from then on it became clear that this was a program which was bound to succeed." He said production of an actual hydrogen explosion in late 1952, after the discoveries in the first half of 1951, was "a miracle of speed."

Believes Scientist Loyal

Teller said he assumes—and will continue to assume until shown convincing proof otherwise—that Oppenheimer is loyal to the United States. But he added:

"I would feel personally more secure if public matters would rest in other hands."

Asked whether he believes Oppenheimer to be a security risk, Teller replied:

"I thoroughly disagreed with him in numerous issues and his actions frankly appeared to me confused and complicated. To this extent I feel that I would like to see the vital interests of this country in hands which I understand better, and therefore trust more."

What about security, Teller was asked. Would granting clearance to Oppenheimer endanger national security?

Teller Confused

If it were a question of Oppenheimer's intent, Teller replied, there would be no harm done in granting him clearance. But if it were a question of wisdom and judgment it might be better to hold up the clearance, Teller said.

Teller said that if Oppenheimer and other nuclear scientists like him had lent him some moral support in 1945—instead of pulling out of Los Alamos, N. M.—he could have developed his "thermonuclear gadget" four years earlier.

Borden, who made the strongest attack on Oppenheimer, read a letter he said he wrote to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover last November 7. The letter related a series of incidents which Borden said justified his belief that Oppenheimer willingly spied for the Soviets.

Says Friends Were Red

Borden said Oppenheimer "had no close friends except Communists * * * had at least one Communist mistress * * * was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents * * *" He said on the day the first publicly disclosed A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Oppenheimer personally urged senior workers in the H-bomb field "to resist."

Attorneys for Oppenheimer protested admitting Borden's letter to the record, saying "this kind of an accusation (was) not dreamed of in this proceeding up to this point."

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~~His Loy~~alty Disputed

Key H-Bomb Scientists Divided on Oppenheimer

WASHINGTON (AP) — The man credited by many atomic scientists with unlocking the door to the hydrogen bomb says he would feel safer if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer did not have custody of the nation's vital secrets.

The scientist is Dr. Edward Teller, 46-year-old University of California professor, said by Oppenheimer himself to have been the "principal inventor" of the fearful H-bomb.

RALLY TO DEFENSE

But even as Dr. Teller expressed some reservations about Oppenheimer, father of the atomic bomb during World War II, many of the key men who worked shoulder to shoulder with him in top secret projects rallied to Oppenheimer's defense, saying he was a man of complete loyalty, integrity and devotion to his country.

On the other side of the picture, William L. Borden, former executive secretary of the Senate-House Atomic Committee, described Oppenheimer as "more probably than not an agent of the Soviet Union."

Teller said he regarded Oppenheimer as loyal, but said "I would like to see the vital interests of this country in hands which I understand better, and therefore trust more."

TRANSCRIPT RELEASED

All this conflicting testimony —and a backstage account of the momentous, tortuous development of the H-bomb—was disclosed in the release of the transcript of hearings before a special security board of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The board ruled May 27 that Oppenheimer was a loyal American and a discreet one. But, in a two-to-one split, it said the famed, thin physicist with the crew haircut was a security risk —not entitled any more to access to the atomic information he helped store up for 10 years.

Oppenheimer and his attorneys have appealed to the full AEC to overturn this finding. The commission promised a decision this month.

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JERSEY JOURNAL
Jersey City, N.J.

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Secret papers in Oppenheimer case 'stolen'

WASHINGTON (AP) – Rep. Hinshaw (R-Calif.) said yesterday a semi-secret summary of the proceedings in the security case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and some secret FBI documents, were lost or stolen last Friday night.

They were recovered again Sunday, in a lost-and-found railway office, but Hinshaw said the summary's temporary disappearance was one reason the Atomic Energy Commission voted to release a transcript.

The theory was that the loss

and then recovered

compromised the security of the summary and that it may have, in a sense, become public property.

Hinshaw said the Senate-House Atomic Energy Commission, of which he is a member, received a letter from the AEC telling this story:

AEC Commissioner Eugene M. Zuckert had the papers with him but missed them when he left a train Friday night at Stamford, Conn.

The commission met Saturday to consider the matter, three of the five members being present. They voted 2-1 against releasing the transcript.

On Wednesday, a second meeting was held with all five present. The vote was 4-1 this time in favor of releasing the transcript.

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NEWARK, N. J.

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Oppenheimer asks reversal of A-decision

WASHINGTON (UP) — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer asked the Atomic Energy Commission yesterday to reverse a special board's decision barring him from government atomic secrets.

The famed atom-scientist filed a written brief after being denied the right to oral arguments in the fight against security charges against him.

Oppenheimer's attorney, Lloyd K. Garrison and Herbert S. Marks worked late into Monday night drafting the lengthy arguments against the board's decision. They had planned to submit the brief Monday but had to put it off until yesterday.

Immediate disclosure of the brief is prevented by AEC regulations. However, the attorneys are expected to challenge the board's findings in light of its assertion that Oppenheimer is a "loyal" and "discreet" citizen.

A 2-1 majority of the board, headed by former Army Secretary Gordon H. Gray, voted against clearing Oppenheimer because of his "serious disregard" for security regulations and his "disturbing conduct" on the hydrogen bomb program.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 6-9-54 PAGE 2

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NATIONAL SUICIDE

No less than ten noted scientists have told President Eisenhower that the security system under which Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was barred from Government secrets poses such a grave threat to scientific research it could lead to national suicide. These scientists have asked the President, in an open letter, to review the security system.

No one can blame these scientists for thinking the way they do. Oppenheimer was a pioneer in atomic research and head of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., but a special board of inquiry held him to be a security risk, although they termed him a "loyal citizen."

If a man has once been proven to be linked up with the Communist movement there is a certain amount of risk bound to be present if he is placed in a high position of trust. He may be perfectly loyal today, but what will he be tomorrow? The Reds may be able to exert sufficient pressure on him that, no matter how reluctant he may be to change his mind he will not be able to resist them. A man handling such top-notch secrets as those that deal with A and H bombs has too much of this country's safety at stake to be any such risk.

It does seem harsh for a committee to classify such a learned man as "a loyal citizen" and yet keep him from the highly scientific work that he can do so well. However, it may be more of a protection to this man of science than he realizes. If he doesn't know what is going on in this realm of atomic research it will make it impossible for the Reds to reach him in any way to make him tell what he knows.

There is no profit in looking back on the mistakes we have made in the past, but it is regrettable that so many of our people in high places became so friendly with the Communists during World War II and the period immediately following. All of us were fooled, from President Roosevelt down, for then we never dreamed the Soviet would become as great, if not a greater, menace than Hitler and his legions. It is extremely unfortunate that now we must look with a certain amount of question on anyone who became connected with the Communists at that time. However, for the safety of our nation we must do so and "the chips must fall where they may."

Woodbury Daily Times
June 7, 1954

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JUN 7 1954
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A Scientist Make Appeal

Call on Eisenhower to Review Entire Security System

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Ten scientists called on President Eisenhower today to review the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer on grounds that a "purge of a loyal scientist * * * is a sure road to national suicide."

The 10, including all of the officers of the Federation of American Scientists, urged the President in an "open letter" to study the security system under which Oppenheimer was suspended as a security risk by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The group charged that he was "purged" for "giving frank advice" and added: "Such a policy, if continued, will eliminate the men of independent mind from our defense establishments."

They strongly condemned the 2-1 finding of a special AEC board that labeled Oppenheimer "loyal" and "discreet" but said he was not entitled to have access to atomic secrets as a consultant.

Appeal Filed

Oppenheimer's attorneys, headed by Lloyd K. Garrison, have asked the AEC to bypass the usual review by the commission's Personnel Security Review Board and have the commission itself take the case "under immediate consideration." They requested permission to file a written brief by today and to argue at a later date.

A high AEC official, who asked not to be named, said last night Oppenheimer's lawyers have been told they could file a written brief but not present the arguments. To allow the oral presentation before the commissioners, he said, would set a precedent for all other security risk cases.

Presenting their arguments for a change in the nation's security system, the scientists declared:

"There is a great need to clarify what is meant by a 'security risk' * * * We believe a man should be considered a security risk only if there is substantial evidence to indicate that he might, either wilfully or inadvertently, transmit classified information to unauthorized personnel.

"The record of a man's associations is of use in this determination only as circumstantial evidence, and suspect associations by themselves should not constitute a security risk if a man's reliability is clearly demonstrable on other grounds."

Program Damaged

The signers charged: "The present personal security program has severely damaged the vitality of * * * scientific research and * * * development," and suggested:

"It is clearly the responsibility of the President to take action in this perilous situation * * * appoint a special board of responsible government, scientific and legal leaders to devise a security policy which would provide the optimum balance between the negative security of secrecy and the positive security of achievement."

The scientists declared that the decision of the special three-man security board who judged Oppenheimer's case, "revealed many of the confusions on basic principles so evident in present government security policies."

Hearings Praised

They praised many of the features of the AEC hearing procedures—such as the "prior listing of charges, representation by counsel, the right to cross-examination," and suggested that these and other provisions "could be copied to advantage by other Federal agencies."

The signers of the letter were: Federation chairman M. Stanley Livingston, Nobel Prize winner James Franck, science service director William Davis, University of North Carolina chemistry professor Oscar K. Rice, Yale University physicist Ernest C. Pollar, W. A. Higinbotham of the Brookhaven National Laboratory, L. I.; Princeton University physics professor Arthur S. Wightman, atomic researcher Lewi Tonks, Maryland University scientist John S. Toll and David L. Hill, theoretical physicist at the Los Alamos, N. M., scientific laboratory.

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Newark, New Jersey

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Deny Oppenheimer oral appeal to AEC

WASHINGTON (U.P.)—The Atomic Energy Commission last night denied Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer the right to oral arguments in his appeal against a special security board decision denying him access to atomic secrets.

AEC General Manager Kenneth D. Nichols said the commission does "not contemplate any further presentation by Dr. Oppenheimer, either oral or written" when it reviews the board's ruling.

But he said, in a letter to Oppenheimer's attorney, Lloyd K. Garrison, that a brief which Garrison plans to file today will be given "very careful consideration" by the five-member commission. The AEC has agreed to review the case.

The security board unanimously found the prominent atomic physicist a "loyal citizen." But it voted 2-1 against reinstating his clearance for atomic secrets, partly because of past associations and partly because he was not "enthusiastic" about development of the hydrogen bomb.

The decision provoked a storm of controversy, with many scientific organizations coming to Oppenheimer's defense. As scientific chief of the war-time atomic project at Los Alamos, N. M., Oppenheimer was instrumental in this country's development of the A-bomb.

Nichols told Garrison that further presentation by Oppenheimer was not expected because he had waived his right to a review by the AEC's personnel security review board.

Garrison had asked that the case be reviewed immediately by the full commission to prevent a "further delay" in final disposition. He told reporters in New York he will file the brief today.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 6-8-54 PAGE 2

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100-31936B-51

Denies Oppenheimer Delayed U. S. H-Bomb

WASHINGTON (NS)—One of the world's leading authorities on hydrogen explosives was cited today in opposition to Dr. Edward Teller's statement that the H-bomb could have been made four years sooner if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had supported it.

Testimony given by Dr. Hans Bethe at Oppenheimer's security hearings showed that the Cornell University professor who solved the sun's energy process believes that there was no "overall" loss of time in U. S. perfection of hydrogen weapons.

Meanwhile, it was learned that the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission to release the Oppenheimer testimony was prompted by the fact that one of the commissioners, Eugene Zuckert, lost portions of the transcript on a train.

Found in Two Days

Members of the Congressional atomic committee were informed that the missing papers were found 48 hours later at a railroad lost-and-found booth and were assured there was no evidence of attempted theft.

However, the commissioners voted 4 to 1 to release the testimony because it has been "exposed" to possible unauthorized view.

Congressional Democrats today rejected this as "just an excuse by the AEC.

"The summary was temporarily misplaced and later returned," said Representative Holifield (D., Cal.), a member of the House-Senate atomic energy committee. "As far as I know there is no evidence that anybody had made any use of it. I think the incident is being used as an excuse for releasing the testimony."

May Reveal Decision

Members of the AEC, considering whether Oppenheimer should be declared a security risk, were scheduled to appear before the Congressional atomic committee today to discuss power.

The AEC members may reveal whether they have yet reached a decision in Oppenheimer's case. A special board recommended, 2 to 1, that he be dropped as an atomic advisor but the final decision rests with the five-man commission.

Publication of the Oppenheimer security testimony Tuesday showed that Teller, builder of the H-bomb, is Oppenheimer's principal scientific accuser and believes that Oppenheimer's opposition helped delay the H-bomb four years.

Bethe, who was Teller's division chief when both worked under Oppenheimer in the Los Alamos, N. M., atomic bomb laboratory during World War II, believed there was no delay.

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Newark, New Jersey

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Oppenheimer Reaches End Of the Road

WASHINGTON (INS) — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, "father" of the A-Bomb, reached the end of the road today as a trusted advisor to the government in the face of an Atomic Energy Commission decision that he is a security risk.

By a 4 to 1 decision, the commission ruled that Oppenheimer should not be permitted access to U.S. atomic and hydrogen bomb secrets and one member of the commission flatly asserted the famed 50-year-old physicist is "disloyal."

WON'T CHALLENGE

Members of the joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee indicated clearly they will not challenge the commission's finding which upheld a previous 2 to 1 recommendation of a special security board.

The only possibility that the commission's decision, issued late yesterday, might be overturned would be for President Eisenhower to rule otherwise and there seemed little likelihood of that.

Mr. Eisenhower himself ordered that "an iron curtain of secrecy" be dropped between Oppenheimer and the nation's nuclear secrets when reinvestigation of the noted scientist's admitted former association with known Communists began in January.

Despite a vigorous dissent by Commissioner Henry D. Smyth, Princeton scientist who worked with Oppenheimer and who declared that Oppenheimer is "completely loyal" and not a security risk, congressional spokesmen said they see no reason to inquire into the AEC majority's rejection of Oppenheimer's appeal.

ISSUES STATEMENT

Oppenheimer issued a brief statement at Princeton, N.J., where he is director of the institute for advanced study.

He said that "Dr. Smyth's fair and considered statement, made with full knowledge of the facts, says what needs to be said."

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Jersey City, N.J.

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Not Quitting At Institute

Oppenheimer to Push Cosmic Ray Study in Princeton

Staff Correspondent.

PRINCETON — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic scientist whom the Atomic Energy Commission has designated a security risk, said today that he plans to remain at his post as director of the Institute for Advanced Study here — and continue his research in fundamental physics. Oppenheimer has been institute director since October, 1947.

Oppenheimer said he had no intention of resigning from the directorship and had no indication that a resignation would be requested.

Herbert H. Maass, chairman of the institute's board of trustees, had refused earlier to comment on reports that Oppenheimer was expected to resign and said he did not expect to make any statement on the subject until after a meeting of the board of trustees, scheduled for next month.

No Appeal Plan

Oppenheimer said he does not know whether he can appeal the AEC decision, but he has no plans to do so. His contract as a consultant to the AEC ends at midnight.

Oppenheimer said the "blank wall" drawn between him and the nation's atomic secrets will be "obviously a considerable bother, but it won't keep me from looking at the things I'm most interested in."

He said the things which "stimulate my curiosity are pretty far removed from the practical and therefore from classification." Oppenheimer said he is presently "puzzled by and has been puzzling about" some "very remarkable re[illegible]bservations in cosmic rays."

"I may not be able to move freely," he said, "but that has nothing to do with thinking freely."

President Comments

In Washington meanwhile, President Eisenhower told a news conference that he asked the AEC last year to investigate Oppenheimer again because he had received a disturbing report about him.

The President declined to go into any detailed evaluation of the commission's action. He said the decision was made in normal procedure by men he trusted and that he had not studied their findings in any detail.

And if that course is taken, Eisenhower said he would go to Attorney General Brownell to find out what his prerogatives and responsibilities are in the matter.

Refers To AEC

He declined to answer a question as to whether he felt the country "was safer and more secure now that Oppenheimer is no longer working for us."

Such a question, the President said, should be addressed to the AEC.

The Atomic Energy Commission ruled 4 to 1 late yesterday that the physicist must be denied access to national secrets because of "substantial defects of character" and "imprudent and dangerous associations • • • with known subversives."

Cites Smith Dissent

In a statement issued through his attorneys in New York, Oppenheimer declared that the dissenting opinion of AEC Commissioner Henry D. Smyth, former physics chairman at Princeton University, "says what needs to be said."

Oppenheimer added his hope, however, that scientists will be used "with humanity, with wisdom and with courage," and that their counsel "will be heard."

There was applause in the House when the AEC decision was announced. The White House was officially silent but members of its staff called the ruling "good."

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Members of the House-Senate atomic energy committee viewed the case as closed and agreed an investigation seems unnecessary.

Protests were expected from scientific groups which have opposed the government's position.

The commission issued two reports indorsing a security board's earlier 2-to-1 recommendation against reinstating Oppenheimer's security clearance which President Eisenhower ordered suspended last December.

'Beyond Prudence'

In one, AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss and Commissioners Eugene M. Zuckert and Joseph Campbell charged that Oppenheimer's association with known Communists had extended "far beyond the tolerable limits of prudence and self-restraint." They also said his "falsehoods, evasions and misrepresentations" exposed a "fundamental defect" of character.

With particularly strong language, they charged that in lying about an espionage attempt during the war Oppenheimer either committed a "crime" in 1943 or "perjury" during the security board hearings this year.

Smyth, scientist member of the AEC and author of the famed Smyth report on the atomic bomb, attacked the majority arguments as "singularly unimpressive."

Sure of Security

"In these times, failure to employ a man of great talents may impair the strength and power of this country," he said. "Yet I would accept this loss if I doubted the loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer or his ability to hold his tongue. I have no such doubts."

Smyth conceded it was "inexcusable" for Oppenheimer to lie about a purported 1943 espionage attempt by his friend, Haakon Chevalier. But he sharply disputed the majority's opinion that Oppenheimer's brief meeting with Chevalier in Paris last year proved a "dangerous" continuing association with Communists.

Smyth said, however, that there is no indication in the entire record that Dr. Oppenheimer has ever divulged any secret information," and that the test of a security system is in the results rather than obedience to form.

The majority charged Oppenheimer with a "persistent and willful disregard" of government security regulations but Smyth suggested the system is "nothing to worship" and deplored the "fear behind" this position.

The commission majority said Oppenheimer's loyalty was not at issue. As the majority saw it, the issue was whether it was in the interest of national security to let Oppenheimer see "some of the most vital secrets in the possession of the United States."

But in a concurring opinion, Commissioner Thomas E. Murray said the "primary issue is the meaning of loyalty. * * * Within the conditions created by the present crisis of national and international security, * * * Dr. Oppenheimer was disloyal."

Discounts H-Bomb View

The majority said no importance was attached to allegations that Oppenheimer hurt the nuclear program by opposing all-out hydrogen-bomb development efforts and, after former President Truman ordered it in 1950, failing to give it his enthusiastic support.

"Dr. Oppenheimer was, of course, entitled to his opinion," said the majority.

The reports revealed the Security Board's decision against Oppenheimer was indorsed by the AEC's general manager, K. D. Nichols. Among other things, Nichols said Oppenheimer's value as an adviser "has declined" with the coming of younger scientists, pointing out that he advised the commission on only six occasions last year.

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Oppenheimer loses appeal for clearance

From our wire services

WASHINGTON — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer yesterday lost his appeal to the Atomic Energy Commission to list his suspension from access to security data. By a 4-1 vote, the commission held that the character and associations of Oppenheimer —famed as the father of the atomic bomb—were such that he should not be allowed to know the newest secrets turned up by government workers in the atomic field.

Three of the commissioners did not question Oppenheimer's loyalty to the United States. But one of them, Thomas E. Murray, expressed the view that regard for security regulations was the test of loyalty of those in highly sensitive positions. Murray said Oppenheimer was not faithful to them and in that sense, "he was disloyal."

SINGLE DISSENT

The single dissent came from Commissioner Henry D. Smyth who said:

"In these times, failure to employ a man of great talents may impair the strength and power of this country. Yet I would accept this loss if I doubted the loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer or his ability to hold his tongue. I have no such doubts."

At the Capitol, the board's decision was announced to the House by Rep. Cole (R.-N. Y.), chairman of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee. It was greeted with considerable applause.

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At the White House, presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters "it's an AEC matter" and declined further comment. Hagerty said he had no idea whether the decision could be appealed to the President.

Oppenheimer, 50, teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J.

'FAIR STATEMENT'

In a statement issued late last night at his Princeton office, Oppenheimer said "Dr. Smyth's fair and considered statement, made with full knowledge of the facts, says what needs to be said." He added that he would not comment on "the security system which has brought all this about."

Oppenheimer concluded his brief statement by expressing the belief that the nation's scientists would continue to work "to preserve and strengthen this country."

"I know that their counsel, when sought, will be given honestly and freely," he said. "I hope that it will be heard."

The commission acted on Oppenheimer's appeal from a 2-1 security board decision that although Oppenheimer was loyal and discreet, he was a security risk and should be denied further access to atomic secrets.

4 TO 1 VOTE

In the commission's 4-1 vote, the majority was made up of Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, and Commissioners Eugene M. Zuckert, Joseph Campbell and Murray.

The majority opinion, signed by Strauss, Zuckert and Campbell, said at one point:

"In respect to the criterion of 'associations,' we find that his (Oppenheimer's) association with persons known to him to be Communists have extended far beyond the tolerable limits of prudence and self-restraint which are to be expected of one holding the high positions that the government has continuously entrusted to him since 1942. These associations have lasted too long to be justified as merely the intermittent and accidental revival of earlier friendships."

It was on the basis of associations and of character, the majority said, that it decided that Oppenheimer should not have clearance.

No importance was attached, the majority said, to Oppenheimer's opposition in 1949 to proceeding with the H-bomb program.

As to character, the majority said:

"On the basis of the record before the commission, comprising the transcript of the hearing before the Gray Board as well as reports of military intelligence and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, we find Dr. Oppenheimer is not entitled to the continued confidence of the government and of this commission because of the proof of fundamental defects in his 'character.'"

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Oppenheimer May Appeal To President

PRINCETON (AP) — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer said yesterday "I don't dismiss" the possibility of appealing to President Eisenhower the Atomic Energy Commission's decision barring him access to secret atomic data.

The atomic pioneer said he was surprised by the President's statement he would be listened to if he decided to appeal, and added that the idea "never occurre to me."

Oppenheimer said his present plans are to continue research in fundamental physics, although it will be "a nuisance" not having clearance to many laboratories.

'NOT WELCOME'

There are many private institutions, Oppenheimer said, at which experiments are being conducted for the government and where he is "not welcome" any longer.

Oppenheimer also said he has no intention of resigning as director of the Institute for Advanced Study here.

Oppenheimer's colleagues, among them Dr. Albert Einstein, issued a satement expressing their "complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States."

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Oppenheimer Praised

Institute Colleagues at Princeton Express Their Confidence in His Loyalty to U. S.

Special to Newark News.

PRINCETON — Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's colleagues at the Institute for Advanced Study expressed "complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States" yesterday in a statement approved unanimously by the institute's permanent members and professors emeriti.

The statement praised the "loyalty and patriotic devotion" of Dr. Oppenheimer, the institute's director, who has been denied access to secret government information by the Atomic Energy Commission. Dr. Albert Einstein, signed along with 25 other institute members.

The statement said:

"Now that the official decision concerning the question of Dr. Oppenheimer's security-clearance has been rendered, the undersigned permanent members and professors emeriti of the Institute for Advanced Study consider that in all propriety they may publicly express their feelings concerning Dr. Oppenheimer in the light of the charges brought against him.

Confidence Unimpaired

"We, who have known him as a colleague, as director of our own institution, and as a neighbor in a small and intimate community, had from the first complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States, his discretion in guarding its secrets, and his deep concern for its safety, strength, and welfare. Our confidence in his loyalty and patriotic devotion remains unimpaired as our admiration for his magnificent public service is undiminished.

"Dr. Oppenheimer has performed for this country service of another kind, more indirect and less conspicuous but nevertheless, we believe, of great significance. For seven years now he has with inspired devotion directed the work of the Institute for Advanced Study, for which he has proved himself singularly well suited by the unique combination of his personality, his broad scientific interests, and his acute scholarship. We are proud to give public expression at this time to our loyal appreciation of the many benefits that we all derive from our association with him in this capacity.

(Signed):

James W. Alexander, Julian H. Bigelow, Harold F. Cherniss, Freeman J. Dyson, Albert Einstein, Kurt Goedel, Kelly Goldman, Herman H. Goldstine, Ernst Kantorowicz, E. A. Lowe, Benjamin D. Merritt, Deane Montgomery, Marston Morse, Abraham Pais, Erwin Panofsky, George Placzek, Atle Selberg, Walter W. Stewart, Homer A. Thompson, Oswald Veblen, John Von Neumann, Kurt Weitzmann, Hermann Weyl, Hassler Whitney, E. L. Woodward, Chen Ning Yang.

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Oppenheimer Verdict

THE decision depriving Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer of clearance as a security risk is now confirmed by the Atomic Energy Commission. In a four-to-one verdict, the AEC upholds the two-to-one finding of the Gray board of inquiry, but is even more severe in its criticism of the scientist.

Where the Gray board was unanimous in concluding that, despite his disregard of security regulations, Dr. Oppenheimer was nevertheless loyal, one member of the AEC definitely holds that on the basis of his conduct he must in this respect be adjudged disloyal.

The standard by which the noted scientist was judged and found wanting is a high one, and properly so. As Commissioner Thomas E. Murray put it:

> Where responsibility is highest, fidelity should be most perfect.

The element of possible political prejudice disappears before the fact that two of the three Truman appointees on the AEC joined with the two Eisenhower members in the majority decision. Only one to support the idea that Dr. Oppenheimer should continue to have access to the nation's atomic secrets was the ~~single~~ scientist on the commission, Dr. Henry D. Smyth of Princeton. Even he admitted he was disturbed by Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct in relation to Haakon Chevalier, a suspected Communist agent.

The Chevalier incident, says Dr. Smyth, "involved temporary concealment of an espionage attempt and admitted lying, and is inexcusable." He cites that this was 11 years ago. But it is a fact that Dr. Oppenheimer continued relations with Chevalier and visited with him in Paris as late as last December, just prior to the suspension of his security clearance.

The AEC decision was not based on any one incident, but on the cumulative evidence that Dr. Oppenheimer had fallen far short of acceptable standards of reliability, self-discipline and trustworthiness. Hence a scientist of unique achievement and ability, who might have continued to perform outstanding service to his country if he had not been careless of its security, must submit—and rightly—to enforced retirement from a field in which he had distinguished himself.

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Oppenheimer to stay on job at institute

PRINCETON — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer said yesterday he plans to stay in his post as director of the Institute for Advanced Study and continue research in fundamental physics.

"I may not be able to move freely but that has nothing to do with thinking freely," said the scientist who was barred from access to secret atom data by a 4-1 vote of the atomic energy commission yesterday as a security risk.

Oppenheimer said the "blank wall" drawn between him and the nation's atomic secrets will be "obviously a considerable bother, but it won't keep me from looking at the things I'm most interested in." He said he is presently puzzled by some "very remarkable recent observations in cosmic rays."

Meanwhile, Oppenheimer's colleagues at the institute expressed "complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States."

"Our confidence in his loyalty and patriotic devotion remains unimpaired as our admiration for his magnificent public service is undiminished," said a statement signed by 26 institute members, including Dr. Albert Einstein.

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'Defects ~~in his~~ character'

President Eisenhower at a news conference yesterday stated that the government will entertain any appeal that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer might want to make in an effort to reverse the 4-1 ruling of the Atomic Energy Commission refusing him security clearance.

The President's "offer," if such it was, was made in the traditional interests of fair play. However, the possibility that a new appeal may be forthcoming leaves no alternative but to recall the events that led up to the hearings in the first place. These were Dr. Oppenheimer's decision to invite an investigation despite the evidence; and the findings of a special presidential board which ruled him loyal but of questionable security because of "defects in his character."

The board and the commission—composed of fair-minded men who heard the testimony in an atmosphere free from publicity and so-called hysteria—learned that:

He was a fellow-traveler; that he had Communist friends and attended meetings with them; that he was engaged to one woman Communist and married another woman Communist; that his brother and sister-in-law were Communists for a time; and that even after he changed his opinion about communism, he first neglected to tell the government about a Communist friend trying to tap him for atomic secrets, then lied about it, then told the truth.

In view of this record, it is a mystery why Dr. Oppenheimer permitted his supporters to make a cause celebre out of the case.

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I do the very best I know how, the very best I can and I mean to keep doing so till the end; if the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything.—Abraham Lincoln

Wednesday, June 30, 1954

The Oppenheimer Ruling

From the standpoint of national welfare, it is decidedly unfortunate that the issue of security clearance for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer has resolved itself into an all-out battle between men of science and men of affairs. In yesterday's ruling, the Atomic Energy Commission exhibited the same split that was evidenced by the Gray personnel security board—a lone scientist, Dr. Henry D. Smyth, voting against the majority in the 4 to 1 verdict denying Dr. Oppenheimer further access to secret data.

In view of the fact that eminent scientists from all parts of the country have been rallying to the support of the Princeton genius and attacking the AEC security system in no uncertain terms, it is hard to see how the nation from this point on can expect the kind of wholehearted technical cooperation that is so plainly essential to sustained progress and development within the atomic field.

The AEC majority makes a big point of Dr. Oppenheimer's associations with Leftists, pinks and Communists. In all fairness, it should be noted, however, that most of the evidence adduced along this line had to do with a period when the United States was an actual ally of Russia in the fight against Nazism and Fascism. And no facts were brought forth tending to show that Dr. Oppenheimer ever used these associations for the purpose of divulging secret information.

"With respect to the alleged disregard of the security system," says Dr. Smyth in his dissenting

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denying Dr. Oppenheimer further access to secret data.

In view of the fact that eminent scientists from all parts of the country have been rallying to the support of the Princeton genius and attacking the AEC security system in no uncertain terms, it is hard to see how the nation from this point on can expect the kind of wholehearted technical cooperation that is so plainly essential to sustained progress and development within the atomic field.

The AEC majority makes a big point of Dr. Oppenheimer's associations with Leftists, pinks and Communists. In all fairness, it should be noted, however, that most of the evidence adduced along this line had to do with a period when the United States was an actual ally of Russia in the fight against Nazism and Fascism. And no facts were brought forth tending to show that Dr. Oppenheimer ever used these associations for the purpose of divulging secret information.

"With respect to the alleged disregard of the security system," says Dr. Smyth in his dissenting opinion, "I would suggest that the system itself is nothing to worship. It is a necessary means to an end. Its sole purpose, apart from the prevention of sabotage, is to protect secrets. If a man protects the secrets he has in his hands and his head, he has shown essential regard for the security system."

Dr. Oppenheimer, meanwhile, received word of the adverse decision with this comment: "Our country is fortunate in its scientists, in their high skill and their devotion. I know that they will work faithfully to preserve and strengthen this country."

It is too bad that so many of these scientists will continue to feel that one of their most distinguished colleagues has received a shabby deal. That is a state of mind scarcely conducive to the devoted, single-minded effort which is always a basically important factor in any imaginative search into the realm of the unknown.

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Scientists rap Oppenheimer security ban

CHICAGO (AP)—The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists said yesterday it was "contrary to decency and common sense" for the government to revive old charges against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer "from the irrelevance to which a brilliant record of national service had finally relegated them."

Discussing the order denying Oppenheimer access to secret material because he associated with Communists in the early days of World War II and later opposed development of the hydrogen bomb, the Bulletin said:

"It seems to us a breach of faith on the part of the government to call upon a man to "assume such heavy responsibilities in full knowledge of his life history and then, after he has demonstrably done his best and given the most valuable services to the nation, to use the facts that were substantially known all the time to cast aspersions on his integrity."

Oppenheimer guided the work of U. S. scientists who contributed to the development of the atomic bomb.

The Bulletin delayed publication of its May issue for six days so 16 pages could be added for a thorough discussion of the Oppenheimer case. Oppenheimer is chairman of the Bulletin's board sponsors.

Nearly two score scientists commented on the case in the Bulletin, expressing faith in Oppenheimer's integrity and loyalty.

A special review board has held secret hearings in the case. The only reason given by the administration for removing Oppenheimer's clearance is the general application of new security standards set up after President Eisenhower took over.

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Oppenheimer Loyalty Fate Up To Jurors

Board Takes 10-Day Recess To Go Over Testimony Given

WASHINGTON —INS— The loyalty fate of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, noted atomic scientist, rested with his jury today after a month-long secret trial on charges that his continued employment by the Atomic Energy Commission endangers the national defense.

The jury consists of Gordon Gray, president of North Carolina University; Thomas Morgan, president of Sperry Corp., and Ward V. Evans chemistry professor at Loyola University of Chicago.

Chairman Gray announced that the special AEC security board has taken a ten-day recess to study the testimony and evidence against Dr. Oppenheimer before rendering a verdict. If the jury rules him a security risk, the scientist may appeal the verdict to an AEC review board.

Dr. Oppenheimer, credited with perfecting the "trigger" to the atomic and hydrogen bombs, was suspended from all sensitive duties by the AEC last December 23.

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Oppenheimer's Ivory Tower Will Never Be as Cloistered

BY SAUL PETT

PRINCETON (AP)—In one sense, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is returning to the ivory tower from which he was shaken loose 12 years ago to direct the making of history's first atomic bomb.

Stripped of access to his country's secrets, the famed physicist makes it clear he will now devote himself again to the relatively cloistered life of abstract science.

But in another sense, the ivory tower will never be the same.

For Oppenheimer also makes it clear he will never again be the politically naive professor he was back in the thirties. In those days, he has said, he was so indifferent to the affairs of the world around him he didn't even read newspapers.

"I should think," he says now, "that you wouldn't step twice in the same river. History doesn't repeat itself that way. At least, I've learned to read newspapers since then."

Quip on Press

Is he ever sorry he "learned" to read newspapers?

Dr. Oppenheimer's gaunt, bird-like face broke into a wry grin. His intense blue eyes relaxed. "I think I am."

The scientist, who lost his long fight for security clearance reinstatement because of "fundamental defects of character," was interviewed in the office where he directs—and expects to continue to direct—the Institute for Advanced Study.

He chain-smoked and fidgeted, but then he always has. He talked cautiously and nervously of his future, but only in response to questions. He volunteered little or no information. One got the impression there was much he wanted to say—especially about his own feelings—but didn't because he was reluctant to appear to be seeking sympathy.

Won't Leave U. S.

Would he comment on reports he was so bitter he intended to live and work abroad?

"It is not true," he said, "that I have ever thought of leaving this country, nor can I imagine circumstances under which I would."

But what of his own feelings? Was he bitter? Oppenheimer, refusing to "bare his soul," as he said, declined to answer such questions.

Does he think he had a fair hearing?

"I hope," he said, "people will study the record of this case and reach their own conclusions. I mean not only people interested, but scholars who have a legal background. I think there is something to be learned from it."

Would he make a last appeal of his case to President Eisenhower—as the President says he can?

"It is a pretty unusual procedure," he said. "It never occurred to me before. Beyond that, I have no comment."

Discussing his future, he declared:

"Until the war, I was only a theoretical physicist and teacher. During the war, I ran a laboratory (Los Alamos). Since the war, I have not been running any labs but I've had to worry about the directions research and development were taking and to give counsel to the government.

"This phase of my life is now concluded."

In returning to abstract science, he said, he hoped to pursue his curiosity about a new discovery in cosmic rays. "I don't understand it," he said. "Maybe I never will."

Will the "blank wall" drawn by the government between him and classified data impede his work? He said he thought it would be impeded "very little" but added, "you never know; you can't judge the importance of facts you don't know."

He said he will continue to discuss common problems with colleagues at the institute. In the past, some of those discussions have included classified material.

"That will now cease," the physicist said. "It has, in fact, already ceased. But that was not a very serious aspect of the institute's work nor of mine. Primarily, the institute is not engaged in secret work."

Retains Humor

Although he appeared under great strain, several times in the interview the scientist indicated recent events had not erased his sense of humor. He said he has slept "pretty well" and has lost only a "little weight."

At one point, he pulled out a copy of his latest book, "Science and the Common Understanding," and observed, with a smile, that it came out the same day the transcript of his hearing did and cost the same—$2.75.

He was asked if his display of humor was an "act" to cover up his real feelings?

"I'm not a very good actor," he said. "I've never been sure I had a sense of humor but I'm sure I never lost it."

Many people have commented that Oppenheimer was a sad figure caught in a great tragedy along the lines of epic Greek drama. What did he think?

"In some dramas, a sense of the drama comes from the chorus," he said cryptically.

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SUNDAY STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N.J.

DATE 7-4-54 PAGE 5

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JUL 7 1954
FBI - NEWARK

T. E. Kelley

TED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

U.S. News & World Report

NO REVOLT AMONG SCIENTISTS

Thousands Are Hard at Work on Atomic Jobs

Are American scientists in revolt against building superbombs? Is there any truth to the idea that scientists are a "strange breed," prone to adopt radical creeds? Are they bad security risks?

Questions like these are being asked as a result of the security investigation of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. There is a lot of talk about the profession that gave this country the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

To clear up such questions, *U.S. News & World Report* checked the records, consulted scientific leaders and Government officials. Following are the facts about scientists.

All kinds of statements are being made about American scientists just now. Scientists, it is said by some, are in revolt against Government work, are refusing to help develop any more superweapons of destruction.

The impression is given that American scientists as a whole opposed creation of the hydrogen bomb. It is suggested that scientists are a strange breed—natural radicals who have a penchant for strange and revolutionary doctrines.

Investigation of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer on the ground of past association with Communists is giving rise to the growing interest in scientists.

There is an impression that Dr. Oppenheimer, the man who built the atom bomb, also discovered the H-bomb; that he personally trained most of the country's atomic scientists and has had a dominant role in the great postwar development of the atomic program.

Dr. Oppenheimer has been described as a sort of indispensable man. Some say that his suspension will cause many scientists in the atomic program to quit Government service.

To find whether or not some of these statements being made are true, *U.S. News & World Report* sought out the facts from leading scientists and from officials in close association with them and their work. Inquiries produced differing viewpoints, but also brought out much that clarifies the situation. Some of the commonly expressed impressions, and the reaction to such impressions from among leaders in science and Government, follow.

It is said: Scientists as a whole were opposed to developing the hydrogen bomb.

This turns out to be untrue. Among the leaders in the field of atomic science, there was sharp division. Some opposed the bomb. Others favored it. The great majority of scientists were not called on to express their views.

What created a false impression about this was the fact that the General Advisory Committee of Scientists, advising the Atomic Energy Commission, voted in 1949 against a rush program to develop the H-bomb. This group included, besides Dr. Oppenheimer, seven other noted scientists.

But, at the same time, many scientists actively boosted the H-bomb proposal. These included such famous names as

—Harris & Ewing

A-BOMB'S OPPENHEIMER

—U.S. Air Force

THE BIG BLAST

—U.S. News & World

H-BOMB'S TELLER

For every reluctant scientist, there were several to push ahead

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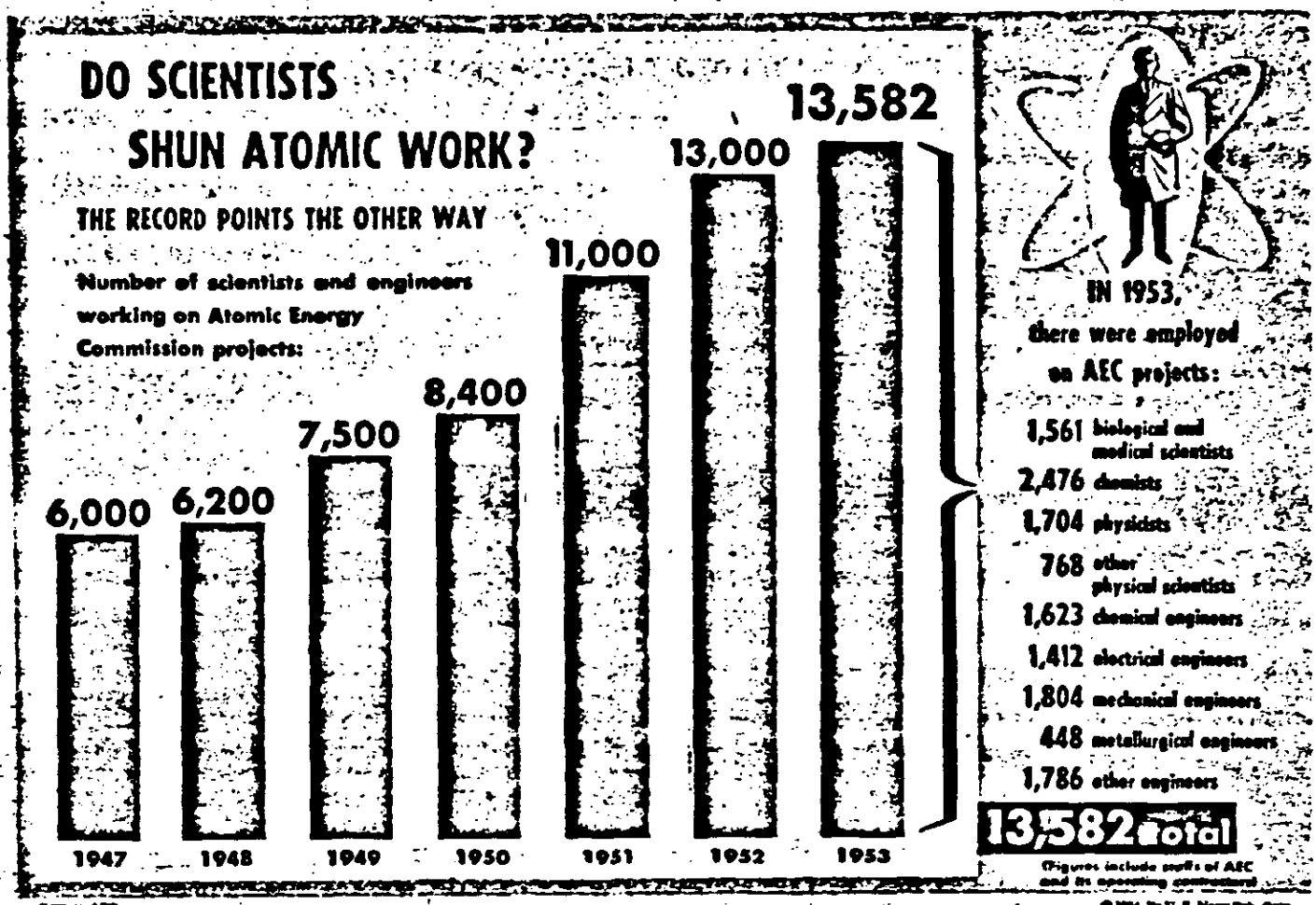

Source: AEC

© 1954, by U. S. News Pub. Corp.

Edward Teller, Ernest O. Lawrence, Kenneth S. Pitzer, Wendell M. Latimer, Luis W. Alvarez, Harold C. Urey, Willard F. Libby, Frederick Seitz and Norris E. Bradbury. Some of the original opponents later helped develop the bomb.

One scientist of note said this:

"The facts are that very few scientists were consulted [about the decision to build the H-bomb] and that the opposition was confined almost exclusively to a small group led by Oppenheimer. Those of us who advocated a vigorous program and helped [AEC Chairman] Lewis L. Strauss get the 'go-ahead,' resent the impression that 'scientists' opposed the program. I am greatly concerned lest the American people get the impression that scientists generally are so foolish as to oppose a program to learn the secrets of nature in an area important to national security."

It is said: Scientists are in revolt against work on atomic weapons, condemning use of such weapons on moral grounds.

Again a statement not borne out by facts. Records of the Atomic Energy Commission show that there were never atomic projects as now. The number, nearly doubled since 1949, represents a large segment of the nation's qualified experts.

A responsible official says: "We've had no trouble" in finding scientists willing to work on AEC projects.

It is conceded by some scientists that many of their number were appalled by the slaughter their A-bomb wrought at Hiroshima and felt moral repugnance against creating such terrible weapons. They questioned the morality of the H-bomb, worked for international outlawing of both A-bomb and H-bomb.

One scientist said there was "some apathy" among his colleagues about going into Government defense work, partly on moral grounds and partly from dislike of Government-imposed secrecy. But he doubted the number refusing to serve has been great. He said any difficulties encountered in adequately staffing AEC projects are due mainly to the general shortage of scientists, rather than to their attitudes.

"I think most scientists feel as I do," he said, "that it is morally wrong to destroy. But we want to extend the frontiers of knowledge as far as we can. And country asks scientists to develop a new bomb, they'll try it."

It is said: Dr. Oppenheimer is the key man in atomic work, now as in the past. His loss would cripple the nation's defense program.

Here it is discovered that the father of the H-bomb actually is not Dr. Oppenheimer, but Dr. Edward Teller of the Institute for Nuclear Studies of the University of Chicago. It was Dr. Teller who, after leading fellow scientists in supporting the H-bomb, was put in charge of its development.

Dr. Oppenheimer, since completing his A-bomb work, has played chiefly an advisory role, as a member of the General Advisory Committee and, later, until suspended, as an AEC consultant. Although many scientists praise his work, they deny his indispensability.

One scientist said: "Dr. Oppenheimer has not contributed technically to the hydrogen program recently. Nuclear physicists are like baseball players. After 35, they're no good. Their originality loses out. They get to know all the answers, or why something can't be done. All of the important things in this field were

his work before 1920. He's done very little since." Dr. Oppenheimer is 50.

It is said: The investigation of Dr. Oppenheimer will scare other scientists out of Government work.

Many scientists doubt this. One said: "It's a great injustice to say that scientists would sit on their hands about going ahead with the nation's problems if Oppenheimer is attacked. There are hearings like this all the time. This is all standard procedure. I'm not alarmed."

Another scientist said the Oppenheimer investigation would raise questions in the minds of many scientists whether it's worth the sacrifice to work for the Government when a man "gets castigation rather than praise." But, he said: "There's not going to be any strike. Scientists are not going to rise up and resign in a body."

Yet another scientist had this to say: "This whole [Oppenheimer] thing does have a real effect on the thinking of scientific people. They are very much disturbed. It will make many hesitant to give their opinions. But will scientists pull out? I don't think so, but this makes scientists less willing to go in."

The Federation of American Scientists, in a statement by its executive committee on the Oppenheimer case, said: "It is especially disturbing to find that attitudes and opinions on technical and policy matters expressed by Oppenheimer in the normal course of advisory duties are cited as bases for questioning his veracity, conduct and loyalty. This kind of attack threatens to stifle at its source the expression of independent views by Government personnel, advisers and consultants."

This statement, critical as it was of the Oppenheimer investigation, contained no threat by the Federation's 1,000 members to quit Government work.

One Government official recalled that in an important laboratory the entire scientific staff threatened to quit if one of their number, under suspicion, were ousted as a security risk. He was ousted. Nobody quit.

It is said: Scientists are a different breed. They tend to radical ideologies, are more prone to accept Communism than most people.

Scientists—and many who know them best—deny this emphatically. Although scientists, trained to think critically, may be more willing than some to consider radical ideas, their defenders say this same training helps them to reject such ideologies as Communism.

"Scientists are not a separate breed of men," Morton Grodzins of the University of Chicago wrote in the "Bulletin of the

8 SCIENTISTS WHO SAID "YES" TO THE H-BOMB

LAWRENCE
U. of California

SEITZ
U. of Illinois

UREY
U. of Chicago

LIBBY
U. of Chicago

PITZER
U. of California

BRADBURY
U. of California

LATIMER

ALVAREZ

U.S. Air Force, Wide World, Harris & Ewing, AEC, United Press

the Western culture, cherish a set of Western values. Some, such as the value of freedom, they find indispensable to their own work and work satisfaction. These values may not lead to extravagant national loyalty. But they certainly militate against an identification with the Soviet Union."

Another scientist said this: "Among scientists, as in other intellectual groups, there will be some who hold extreme political views—Communism for example. I do not believe that the proportion among scientists is at all large."

It is said: Scientists are bad security risks because they don't believe in secrecy and lean to ideas of world government instead of national patriotism.

This really stirs up the scientists and also brings denials from officials. They point out that very few scientists have been convicted of giving atomic secrets to Russia. Most of those convicted were born in countries other than those where they worked—like Klaus Fuchs.

Gordon Dean, former AEC Chairman, was asked one time: "Does the scientist have less regard for loyalty to his country than other people?"

His answer was: "I don't think that you can say that scientists are an entirely different breed in that respect."

The late Senator Brien McMahon (Dem.), of Connecticut, former chairman of the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, once took issue with a remark "about the scientists who were eager to take all secrets out of the country to Moscow."

"I found no such disposition in any atomic scientist," the Senator said.

Scientists do have a "distaste for classification" of scientific information, one of them conceded. "But," he added, "like anyone else, if they are convinced that secrecy is a patriotic duty they'll observe it."

It is said: U. S. is losing ground in the atomic race for lack of scientists.

That there is a national shortage of scientists is admitted. Howard A. Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission, cites surveys showing a shortage of 5,000 to 10,000 scientists and 35,000 to 40,000 engineers in the U. S. This he regards as a more serious threat to America's atomic program than any reluctance by scientists to serve the Government.

However, officials and scientists alike point out, this does not mean the U. S. is losing ground to Russia or any other country. The scientific shortage is worldwide. Atomic experts are quick to remind questioners that the U. S. got both the A-bomb and the H-bomb first. And

Einstein Among Signers

Oppenheimer Called Loyal By 26 Princeton Colleagues

PRINCETON, N. J., June 30 (AP).— Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's colleagues at the Institute for Advanced Study today expressed "complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States."

"Our confidence in his loyalty and patriotic devotion remains unimpaired as our admiration for his magnificent public service is undiminished," said a statement signed by twenty-six Institute members including Dr. Albert Einstein.

The statement was issued twenty-four hours after the Atomic Energy Commission voted 4-1 to bar Dr. Oppenheimer from access to confidential data as a security risk.

Confidence "Unimpaired"

The statement follows:

"Now that the official decision concerning the question of Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance has been rendered, the undersigned permanent members and professors emeriti of the Institute for Advanced Study consider that in all propriety they may publicly express their feelings concerning Dr. Oppenheimer in the light of the charges brought against him.

"We, who have known him as a colleague, as director of our institution, and as a neighbor in a small and intimate community, had from the first complete confidence in his loyalty to the United States, his discretion in guarding its secrets and his deep concern for its safety, strength and welfare. Our confidence in his loyalty and patriotic devotion remains unimpaired as our admiration for his magnificent public service is undiminished.

"Dr. Oppenheimer has performed for this country service of another kind, more direct and less conspicuous, but nevertheless, we believe of great significance. For seven years he has with inspired devotion directed the work of the Institute for Advanced Study: for which he has proved himself singularly well suited by the unique combination of his personality: his broad scientific interests, and his acute scholarship.

"Proud" to Speak Out

"We are proud to give public expression at this time to our loyal appreciation of the many benefits that we all derive from our association with him in this capacity."

In addition to Dr. Einstein, the following signed the statement:

Harold F. Cherniss, Bruce R. Hawkes-[illegible], Benjamin D. Merritt, Erwin Panofsky, Henry A. Thomson, J. L. Woodward, Dorothy Montgomery, Marston Morse, Abraham Pais, Eric Sedgwick, John von Neumann, Hassler Whitney, Hertz Goodman, J. A. Lewis, Walter W. Stewart, Karl Wolfskehl, James W. Alexander, Julian H. Bigelow, Francis J. Dyson, Kurt Gödel, Isaac F. Christine, Oswald Veblen, Chaim Weizmann, Herman Weyl, and Chen Ning Yang.

see all names

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New York Herald Tribune 7/1/54

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Now Working on Cosmic Rays

Oppenheimer Won't Appeal or Resign

By Walter Kerr

WASHINGTON, June 30.—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer said today that he will not appeal yesterday's 4 to 1 decision of the Atomic Energy Commission that he is a security risk and not entitled to clearance for access to restricted data.

The fifty-year-old nuclear scientist, who directed the wartime laboratory that built the first atom bomb, reported by telephone from Princeton, N. J., that the thought had never occurred to him.

He accepted the verdict with evident disappointment, but said in reply to a question that he had no intention of resigning his position as director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

For the present and for the immediate future he will devote his attention to a physics problem that has excited his imagination. It relates to what he describes as a "remarkable event" that has been observed recently in cosmic rays.

"I have been puzzling over it for a week or two," he said this afternoon, after returning to Princeton from New York where he had consulted with his attorneys.

No Eisenhower Comment

"It is quite unanticipated and unparalleled. It is trying to tell us something if we could only read and understand it."

The possibility of an appeal was raised by a newspaper man in a question put to President Eisenhower at his press conference this morning. First, however, the President was asked whether he cared to comment on the commission's decision.

He said that he did not. He said that the decision was reached in the course of normal procedure and that it was made by men whom he trusted, but he added that he himself had not studied the findings and the final verdict.

There was equal reluctance to discuss the case in commission circles. There, the predominant feeling was that an end had come to an unpleasant task.

President Eisenhower was asked whether he felt that the country was safer and more secure "now that Dr. Oppenhimer no longer is working for us."

The President declined to answer. He referred the questioner to the commission, saying that they are responsible for this and that they have a very delicate and tough job to do.

Case Regarded as Closed

Another reporter wondered whether the President considered the case closed or whether he would, in the event it were made, consider a plea from Dr. Oppenheimer.

The President replied that any citizen who believes himself abused has a right to appeal and, of course, if he wanted to appeal, he would be listened to. He thought that in this particular case he would perhaps refer the matter to the Attorney General for an analysis and for a ruling as to the President's prerogatives, authorities and responsibilities.

Since Dr. Oppenheimer will not appeal and since it had never occurred to him to do so, the case is in fact regarded as closed so far as Washington is concerned.

The findings remain:

By the Personnel Security Board, headed by Dr. Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina. Three to nothing that Dr. Oppenheimer is a loyal citizen who demonstrated an unusual ability to keep secrets to himself. Two to one that he is a security risk because of his conduct and associations, susceptibility to influence, "disturbing" conduct in the hydrogen bomb program, and "lack of candor."

H-Bomb Factor Ignored

By Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, general manager of the A. E. C.: reaffirmation of the Gray Board recommendation.

By the A. E. C.: 4 to 1 that Dr. Oppenheimer is a security risk because of his character and associations. Silence by three commissioners on the question of loyalty. Di[illegible] by a fourth commission[illegible] positive loyalty by the fi[illegible] Oppenheimer's conduct w[illegible] gard to the H-bomb p[illegible] disregarded by the four m[illegible] commissioners, while th[illegible] ority commissioner decla[illegible] allegations not supported [illegible] evidence.

The commissioners who [illegible] or concurred in the m[illegible] verdict were Rear Adm[illegible] L. Strauss, chairman; [illegible] M. Zuckert, Joseph C[illegible] and Thomas E. Murray [illegible] minority member was Dr. [illegible] D. Smyth.

The majority members [illegible] Gray board were Dr. Gr[illegible] Thomas A. Morgan. Dr. [illegible] V. Evans dissented.

Press Comment on Oppenheimer

By The Associated Press

Following are excerpts from newspaper comment on the Atomic Energy Commission's refusal Wednesday to clear Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for access to restricted government information:

"The New York Times": . . . the Commission rests its case . . . on . . . grounds which it believes to be of fundamental importance: first, its finding of "substantial defects of character," and second, evidence of association with known Communists that have "extended far beyond the tolerable limits of prudence and self-restraint." . . . To Dr. Smyth it is important to consider the strict surveillance long pursued by the government over Dr. Oppenheimer's activities and "the fact that there is no indication in the entire record that he ever [illegible] weight of the judgment of four experienced and able Commissioners . . . is on one side. . . .

"New York World-Telegram and Sun:" In this field, so highly secret and so fundamental to the nation's security, the only wise course for the public is to accept the decision of those who have the most responsibility—even though it may have tragic and painful aspects.

"Washington Evening Star": The final judgment against Dr. Oppenheimer is, in a sense, the American tragedy of 1954. He is a victim of the conspiratorial age in which we live. . . . The men whose unenviable duty it was to sit in judgment had to balance the interests of an individual against th einterests of the security of the United States.

"Nashville Tennessean": Is all the data that eh knows to be [illegible] tists have come to his side and deplored the decision that designates him a security risk. Apparently they have not read the complete record.

"The San Diego Union":—For a man entrusted with these high secrets there should be absolutely no question of influence by outsite interests.

"The Nashville Banner": By no stretch of the imagination . . . can it be charged that Oppenheimer has been the target of political smear or partisan attack.

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"Nashville Tennessean": Is all the data that eh knows to be rendered useles sbecause of a guilty-by-association verdict, based on speculation rather than proof? . . . As far as we can discern, Dr. Oppenheimer is the same man he was when he gave all of his energy and intellect to making the atomic bomb. . . . If there is any change, it is in the national attitude toward men of science.

"Albany Knickerbocker News": An examination of the lengthy reports convinces us that had he not been a scientist, and so distinguished a scientist, he would have been unceremoniously tossed out of the atomic picture long ago.

"The Detroit News":—Dr. Oppenheimer flouted certain . . . rules. The transgression was no more tolerable in him than in any lesser man if general respect for the system is to be preserved.

"The Detroit Free Press": We think the Atomic Energy Commission acted for the best. . . . It seems to us that as a pattern it very definitely demonstrates him to be a man much too fallible in his judgments and breadth of understanding to be trusted with important matters.

"Albuquerque Journal": One of the tragic circumstances in the Oppenheimer case is that literally hundreds of top scientists have come to his side and deplored the decision that designates him a security risk. Apparently they have not read the complete record.

"The San Diego Union":—For a man entrusted with these high secrets there should be absolutely no question of influence by outside interests.

"The Nashville Banner": By no stretch of the imagination . . . can it be charged that Oppenheimer has been the target of political smear or partisan attack.

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NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

18 Thursday, July 1, 1954

The A. E. C. Verdict

That the Atomic Energy Commission should have rendered its decision promptly in the case of Dr. Oppenheimer—and rendered it by a 4-to-1 majority—helps greatly to clear the air. In upholding the recommendations of the Gray report the A. E. C. takes a position which, in the light of given facts, seems to be the only one it could have taken under the security regulations of the country.

The statement of the majority, signed by Mr. Strauss, Mr. Zuckert and Mr. Campbell, sets forth the simple proposition that "a government official having access to the most sensitive areas of restricted data and to the innermost details of national war plans and weapons must measure up to exemplary standards of reliability, self-discipline and trustworthiness." It cites six specific examples of Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct, revealed by the record, which indicate that he failed to maintain such standards. In a dissenting opinion Dr. Smyth interprets each of these incidents in a way more favorable to Dr. Oppenheimer; but the decision of the majority to withhold access to restricted data appears unescapable.

The majority avoid many of the more subtle and confusing questions raised by the Gray board. The issue of whether or not Dr. Oppenheimer gave "enthusiastic support" to the development of the H-bomb is omitted. The discussion of the difference between "loyalty" and "security risk" is largely done away with. What is said is simply that the standards required by the security regulations—required of the greatest as well as the least—have not been met. Mr. Murray, it is true, examines in a concurrent opinion the issue of disloyalty, defining it in a somewhat special sense, not as carrying the implication of adhesion to an alien system, but as being "not faithful to the restrictions on the associations of those who come under the security regulations." Within this definition he finds Dr. Oppenheimer failing the test of loyalty. Such an approach goes outside the framework of the existing security system. The majority kept, instead, to the plain path of common sense and accepted standards.

The matter can be expected to end here. None can fail to sense the tragic overtones of a case which, judged with scrupulous fairness by men of the highest stature, resulted in a verdict against one who contributed so notably to America's victory in war. What weighs over everything else is the danger in which America finds itself. It is confronted by an enemy as implacable as resourceful, adopting every means of infiltration and subversion, taking advantage of the smallest carelessness or weakness to work its fatal poison. Special standards, special laws and regulations, are called for in such a time.

The A. E. C. is in a position to be supremely aware of the mortal Communist threat. In the Oppenheimer case the majority of its members have acted so as to avoid, as far as humanly possible, any flaw in the security regulations that might betray us now or later.

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A MATTER OF FAQ

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

Operation Don't Argue!

WASHINGTON.

To the Soviet enemy, the transcript in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer has revealed many secret matters. To the American scientific community, this same transcript has made an even more dangerous revelation.

In brief, it has shown that Dr. Oppenheimer really got into trouble, not because of his alleged defects of character, but because he gave his government honest, informed, usually sensible but unwelcome advice.

• • •

The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Adm. Lewis Strauss, has gone to great lengths to give a different impression. "Defects of character" was the theme of his bitter opinion against Oppenheimer. And to a disturbed and protesting scientist of Los Alamos laboratory, the stronghold of our weaponry, Strauss wrote:

"The Atomic Energy Commission does not believe that any government servant—scientist, engineer or administrator—should slant his advice or temper his professional opinion because of apprehension that such advice or opinion might be unpopular now or in the future."

Naturally, however, the scientists are testing these assurances by Adm. Strauss against the record compiled by his own subordinates. That record begins, of course, with the commission charge against Dr. Oppenheimer, with its ugly hints about the H-bomb controversy. And that record continues through the massive transcript, with attack after attack on Dr. Oppenheimer's advice to his government. Dr. Oppenheimer's stand on the H-bomb, in which he was of course joined by a majority of other American scientific leaders, is only a small part of the story.

• • •

For example, Maj. Gen. Charles Roscoe Wilson testifies that one of the reasons why he "felt impelled to go to the Director of Intelligence to express my concern" was because of "my awareness that Dr. Oppenheimer was interested in what I call the internationalizing of atomic energy, this at a time when the United States had a monopoly." It did not matter, naturally, that this interest of Dr. Oppenheimer's was shared by B. M. Baruch. It was interest that did not suit people like Gen. Wilson.

Again, there is the matter of the long-range detection system. Among the secrets the transcript discloses is the fact that a long-range detection device for nuclear explosions had already been developed in war time by Dr. Oppenheimer's Los Alamos team. But no bouquets are handed to Dr. Oppenheimer for this quite remarkable achievement.

On the contrary, he is hectored at great length because he had advised his government that the air-sample method of long-range detection was more important than seismographic or barometric methods. This, too, had upset the air staff, which took a different view. And, of course, it did not matter that in this instance Dr. Oppenheimer's advice was wholly correct.

• • •

Then there is the Vista story. Here, Dr. Oppenheimer's sin was to suggest a change in the then-existing arrangement, which made the whole existing atomic stockpile the monopoly asset of the Strategic Air Command. He wanted the stockpile divided, instead, into three parts—one part for S. A. C., one part for Tactical Air and other use on the battlefield, and one part as reserve.

To be sure, Dr. Oppenheimer knew what the generals seemed not to have known, that the grim era of atomic plenty would soon permit such a division of the stockpile. To be sure, the thinking developed by Dr. Oppenheimer and others in the Vista report is now, generally speaking, the official thinking of the Pentagon. But the generals' toes were trodden on by Dr. Oppenheimer's premature correctness, and suspicions were aroused.

Finally, there is the shocking Lincoln story. Here the transcript shows the Air Force venomously opposing all efforts to organize a serious air defense of the United States—"sabotaging" is the ugly word used by the distinguished Dr. Gregory Zacharias. And here the transcript shows, too, that in this present year of doubtful grace, Dr. Oppenheimer was solemnly charged with probable disloyalty because he wanted his country to be defended against Soviet air-atomic power.

Indeed, with the sole exception of the H-bomb debate, time has proven that all Dr. Oppenheimer's advice to his government was sound and good. But it was not, to borrow Adm. Strauss' word "popular" advice. And its unpopularity quite clearly and directly generated the bad feeling, the nasty whispering, the sinister public hints, which in turn made possible Adm. Strauss' ultimate attack on Dr. Oppenheimer.

• • •

All but one or two of the basic facts showing supposed defects in Dr. Oppenheimer's character were known in war time at Los Alamos; and were known, too, when Strauss and the other members of the A. E. C. unanimously reaffirmed Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance in 1947. What then are the scientists to think? The stale controversies so endlessly aired, the A. E. C. prosecutor's constant effort to attribute evil motives to Dr. Oppenheimer's position in those controversies, have inevitably made the scientists think that the Strauss letter to Los Alamos is "less than candid."

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JUL 14 1954
FBI - NEW YORK
NY Herald Tribune 7/14/54
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Scientists can be blinded

A group of atomic scientists has come up with a proposal to revise the standards of security clearance since "loyal people at all levels of responsibility in the atomic energy program . . . might well be indicted by the same kind of standards as were applied to Dr. Oppenheimer."

The implication here, of course, is that the standards applied to the security investigation of Dr. E. Robert Oppenheimer, the "father" of atomic energy, were something less than fair. Totally ignored by these scientists is the fact that two non-partisan groups of men, known for their impartiality and fairness and operating in an atmosphere of calm and quiet, devoid of hysteria, issued similar majority findings in the Oppenheimer case.

Also ignored by these scientists is the fact that it was Dr. Oppenheimer himself who permitted his supporters and friends to make a cause celebre of the case despite his admitted Communist associations, failure to adhere to security rules, and other lapses.

One of the points made by the scientists, is "the unquestioned right of dissent, including the right of dissent after an administrative decision has been taken."

No one questions this right to dissent, but merely whether a person who disagrees with government policy should be given the green light of security in work involving the government's program.

Certainly the Government has not only the right, but the duty to eliminate all those persons from government service who cannot be depended upon to give their fullest and unquestioned support to a policy that involves the welfare of the nation.

Newark Star Ledger 7/27/54

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AUG 1954

T. Kelly

Oppenheimer Expects To Continue At Princeton Institute He Directs

Despite Signs Of Strain He Retains Humor And His Privacy

Editor's Note: What of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, now that the Atomic Energy Commission has upheld his designation as a security risk? Will he withdraw into his ivory tower? What does he think are the lessons of his case? Here is a rare interview the man who directed building of the A-bomb tells his plans.

PRINCETON —AP— In one sense, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is returning to the ivory tower from which he was shaken loose 17 years ago to direct the making of history's first atomic bomb.

Stripped of access to his country's secrets, the famed physicist makes it clear he will now devote himself again to the relatively cloistered life of abstract science.

But in another sense, the ivory tower will never be the same.

For Oppenheimer also makes it clear he will never again be the politically naive professor he was back in the thirties. In those days, he has said, he was so indifferent to the affairs of the world around him he didn't even read newspapers.

"I should think," he says now, "that you wouldn't step twice in the same river. History doesn't repeat itself that way. At least, I've learned to read newspapers since then."

Is he ever sorry he "learned" to read newspapers?

Dr. Oppenheimer's gaunt, birdlike face broke into a wry grin. His intense blue eyes relaxed. "I think I am."

The scientist, who lost his long fight for security clearance reinstatement because of "fundamental defects of character," was interviewed in the office where he directs—and expects to continue to direct—the Institute of Advanced Study.

Like the rest of the building, the office was serene. Somewhere upstairs, Albert Einstein was working alone in a small room on his profound theories. In Oppenheimer's office, the blackboard was clean. Books were neatly piled on his conference table and desk. Behind the desk, big windows opened on to broad lawns and the soothing shade of tall maples.

The office was serene. The man in it wasn't.

He chain-smoked and fidgeted, but then he always has. He talked cautiously and nervously of his future, but only in response to questions. He volunteered little or no information. One got the impression there was much he wanted to say—especially about his own feelings—but didn't because he was reluctant to appear to be seeking sympathy.

To Work Abroad?

Would he comment on reports that he was so bitter he intended to live and work abroad?

"It is not true," he said, "that I have ever thought of leaving this country, nor can I imagine circumstances under which I would."

But what of his own feelings? Was he bitter? Did he feel mistreated by the government he had worked for? Is there a deep, abiding sense of hurt? Oppenheimer, refusing to "bare his soul," as he said, declined to answer such questions.

Does he think he had a fair hearing?

"I hope," he said, "people will study the record of this case and reach their own conclusions. I mean not only people interested but scholars who have a legal background. I think there is something to be learned from it."

Will He Appeal?

Would he make a last appeal of his case to President Eisenhower — as the President says he can?

"It is a pretty unusual procedure," he said. "It never occurred to me before. Beyond that, I have no comment."

Does he consider the case closed?

"No comment."

Does he think his case provides any kind of a lesson for other scientists?

Oppenheimer smiled and said

Return To Ivory Tower Indicated By Scientist In Rare Interview

the question reminded him of the time in 1945 he endorsed the first legislation providing for atomic security regulations. Many of his colleagues, Oppenheimer said, thought the bill was "harsh and oppressive" but he thought it necessary. The act didn't pass.

"One night," he said, "I showed a copy of the bill to my wife. She said, 'Robert, you keep your nose out of those atoms.'"

As to what lesson might have been gained from his case, Oppenheimer referred the reporter to a previous statement, in which he said of America's scientists:

"...I hope that the fruit of their work will be used with humanity, with wisdom and with courage. I know that their counsel when sought will be given honestly and freely. I hope that it will be heard."

With a complete absence of dramatics, Oppenheimer discussed his future.

"Until the war," he explained, "I was only a theoretical physicist and teacher. During the war, I ran a laboratory (Los Alamos). Since the war, I have not been running any labs but I've had to worry about the directions research and development were taking and to give counsel to the government.

"This phase of my life is now concluded."

In returning to abstract science, he said, he hoped to pursue his curiosity about a new discovery in cosmic rays. "I don't understand it," he said. "Maybe I never will."

Will the "blank wall" drawn by the government between him and classified data impede his work? He said he thought it would be impeded "very little" but added, "You never know; you can't judge the importance of facts you don't know."

Safe Still Guarded

He said he will continue to discuss common problems with colleagues at the Institute. In the past, some of those discussions have included classified material.

"That will now cease," the physicist said. "It has, in fact, already ceased. But that was not a very serious aspect of the Institute's work nor of mine. Primarily, the Institute is not engaged in secret work."

Until about a year and a half ago, there was a safe in Oppenheimer's outer office guarded day and night by guards assigned by

[illegible] The safe contained many [illegible] own, highly secret papers as [illegible] as those of other scientists.

The safe has been removed [illegible] "less conspicuous spot" in [illegible] building and is still guarded [illegible] AEC men. Oppenheimer said [illegible] removal at the time had no [illegible] to do with his own case. Obviously, however, he will no longer [illegible] able to examine its papers, including his own.

Although he appeared under great strain, several times in [illegible] interview the scientist indicated [illegible] recent events had not erased [illegible] sense of humor. He said he [illegible] slept "pretty well" and has [illegible] only a "little weight."

At one point, he pulled out a copy of his latest book, "Science and the Common Understanding" and observed, with a smile, that it came out the same day the transcript of his hearing did and costs the same—$2.75.

Drama From The Chorus

He was asked if his display of humor was an "act" to cover his real feelings?

"I'm not a very good actor," he said. "I've never been sure I have a sense of humor but I'm sure I never lost it."

Many people have commented that Oppenheimer was a sad figure caught in a great tragedy along the lines of epic Greek dramas. What did he *think*?

"In some dramas, a sense of the drama comes from the chorus," he said cryptically.

How did he feel in the last few months having his character subjected to a wholesale, intensive analysis by the government and every one of millions of people who could afford the price of a newspaper?

Oppenheimer grinned and said the question reminded him of a young physicist, a friend, who was getting his medical examination for admission to the Army, who asked, "do you have the feeling people are staring at you?"

The young physicist said he did. The room was full of people staring at him.

"In answer to your question," Dr. Oppenheimer said, "I have the sense of it to the extent to which it is true."

One left the room with the impression that this was a sharply honed, precisely shaped answer whose real meaning was strictly the private affair of J. Robert Oppenheimer.

F. Kelly

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Trenton Evening Times
Sunday Times-Advertiser
James Kerney, Editor and Publisher
1873-1934

I do the very best I know how, the very best I can and I mean to keep doing so till the end; if the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything.—Abraham Lincoln

Monday, June 28, 1954

Crisis In Science

"Los Alamos is in flames."

Nearly 500 scientists at the Atomic Energy Commission's key installation have signed a "bitter, but closely reasoned" attack on the majority findings of the Gray board barring Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer from further government work.

At other AEC laboratories, the reaction is as sharp, if less formal. The Federation of American Scientists and the venerable American Physical Society have joined the swelling chorus of protest.

The scientists, on whom the Administration is depending to keep this country in the running in the atomic arms race, are not so concerned with the fate of Dr. Oppenheimer as they are with the standards of security by which he, and they, are judged.

Of course, they don't believe the Princeton scientist's lack of enthusiasm for the H-bomb project delayed it unnecessarily any more than they believe he was "less than candid." But the truth or falsity of these charges doesn't concern them so much as their total irrelevancy in a security proceeding.

Haven't others been "less than candid" and lacked enthusiasm? Does that make them security risks, too? And wasn't Dr. Oppenheimer cleared on every material point? Unanimously, the Gray board found him loyal and discreet.

One of the AEC's most valued consultants summed up the reaction of the scientific community this way:

"There'll be no strike, of course; but I find my enthusiasm dropping to zero just when lack of enthusiasm has become illegal. And my lack of enthusiasm is likely to be total when my contract comes up for renewal."

In the midst of all this turmoil, along comes Defense Secretary Wilson — the man who said he couldn't use Dr. Oppenheimer even before the Gray board's findings were reported — and tells us there is a shortage of scientists.

Small wonder!

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Today in Washington

Congress Plans Own Inquiry If Oppenheimer Is Cleared

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, June 20.—Was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer an unconscious instrument of Soviet policy or an actual espionage agent or a loyal but misguided scientist?

These questions, which were raised concretely in a letter from William Liscum Borden to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F. B. I., on Nov. 7, 1953, started the re-examination of all records and files by the Atomic Energy Commission in order to determine if the noted scientist could be given clearance or should be denied it as a "security risk."

From January, 1949, until June 1, 1953, Mr. Borden, now an assistant to the manager of the Westinghouse Company's atomic power division, was the executive director of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. A man with a brilliant war service as an Army pilot and a fine record as a law school graduate, Mr. Borden had the complete confidence of the late Sen. McMahon, Democrat, of Connecticut, who was chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

After many years of reading of the classified information and evidence to which he had had access while in the government, Mr. Borden endeavored to assess the degree of likelihood as to "whether he (Oppenheimer) became an actual espionage and policy instrument of the Soviets." Mr. Borden's conclusion was this: "My opinion is that, more probably than not, the worst is in fact the truth."

Congress Watching A. E. C.

Since that letter was written a special board headed by Dr. Gordon Gray, now president of the University of North Carolina and formerly Secretary of the Army in the Truman administration, has ruled unanimously on their findings of fact, but by a 2 to 1 vote has denied Dr. Oppenheimer security clearance, too. The dissenting member, Dr. Ward V. Evans, a chemistry professor, thought that Dr. Oppenheimer had learned a great deal since his earlier indiscretions and wouldn't make the same mistakes again and should be given clearance. Now it is up to the Atomic Energy Commission of five members to review the recommendations of the special board. Judging by the sentiment in Congress, if the Atomic Energy Commission does grant security clearance, the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy will hold extensive hearings which so far as drama and public interest are concerned could conceivably overshadow the recent McCarthy hearings.

New

This correspondent has just finished an examination of the 992 printed pages of the official transcript—approximately 400,000 words—of the testimony before the special board which heard all the evidence from the witnesses on both sides. This writer's conclusion is that the most charitable interpretation which can be placed on the strange and complicated behavior of Dr. Oppenheimer as revealed in the evidence is that he was never intentionally disloyal but that his actions as disclosed in the official record [illegible]

whom he wanted to protect. Dr. Oppenheimer failed to report the facts promptly to his government, and even five months later did not tell the whole story, despite the urgent pleas of the security officer of the Army. The scientist two months later, under pressure, finally disclosed what he knew to Gen. Groves, head of the atomic bomb project. Then Dr. Oppenheimer confessed that what he previously had told the security officer was a lie. Lawyers say this constitutes a felony under Federal law. Dr. Oppenheimer claims now he was an "idiot" to do what he did, and it is plain that the security clearance he got in 1947 in spite of all this derogatory information was given largely for expediency reasons, that is, Gen. Groves felt he was so valuable to the atomic energy project he should be given the benefit of the doubt. Inside the government it was conceded at the time that Dr. Oppenheimer couldn't have gotten clearance on a military security basis alone and that the F. B. I. Director also had "reservations."

Repudiation of Testimony

Another strange development occurred in June, 1949, when after Dr. Oppenheimer had testified under oath in secret session before the House Un-American Activities Committee that a certain scientist was a Communist, he wrote a letter for publication to a newspaper flatly contradicting his own sworn testimony, and later justified what he did on the ground that he didn't want to hurt the scientist's chances of keeping his job at the university where he worked, and besides the Congressional testimony hadn't been released to the public anyhow.

Dr. Oppenheimer has admitted contributing many thousands of dollars to Communist front organizations and causes prior to 1942, and that he associated with several Communists and fellow travelers while engaged in war work. The record shows that as late as 1953 he had not terminated his meetings with a man whom he knew had been accused of being a Communist and who had been involved in the original attempt at espionage in 1943.

In a nutshell, Dr. Oppenheimer felt he himself was a better judge than any one else whether any security was being compromised by his acts. Some of his fellow scientists, who testified to their belief in his loyalty and who said they do not consider him a security risk, stated that they thought his standards had been wrong and that they wouldn't apply to them in the way he did.

A "Pattern of Conduct"

The official record contains many references to what is called a "pattern of conduct" which, apart from the indiscretions mentioned above, caused Maj. Gen. Roscoe Wilson—deputy to Gen. Groves, and later to Gen. Nichols, of the Atomic Energy Commission—to be so disturbed about what he called Dr. Oppenheimer's "pattern of action" that early in 1951 he went to the director of intelligence of the Air Force saying he was worried about it. This referred not only to alleged re[illegible]

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This correspondent has just finished an examination of the 992 printed pages of the official transcript—approximately 400,000 words—of the testimony before the special board which heard all the evidence from the witnesses on both sides. This writer's conclusion is that the most charitable interpretation which can be placed on the strange and complicated behavior of Dr. Oppenheimer as revealed in the evidence is that he was never intentionally disloyal but that his actions, as disclosed in the official record, permit the inference by the board that he might unwittingly become involved in disloyalty because of his peculiar standards of judgment when there is a conflict between loyalty to a friend and loyalty to his own government. The special board's verdict was that Dr. Oppenheimer was and is loyal but constitutes a "security risk" under existing regulations.

Now Dr. Oppenheimer admits that he lied to a security officer of the United States Army in August and September, 1943, and also refused to give him information about an attempt at espionage in this country by the Russian government because he didn't think the plot had succeeded, and because it involved a close friend

[illegible] before the House Un-American Activities Committee that a certain [illegible] was a Communist, he wrote a letter for publication in a newspaper flatly contradicting his own sworn testimony, and later justified what he did on the ground that he didn't want to hurt the scientist's chances of keeping his job at the university where he worked, and besides the Congressional testimony hadn't been released to the public anyhow.

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The Oppenheimer case can never be decided fairly on the basis of one incident or on what admirers or critics testify as to their personal impression of his loyalty or security from their own acquaintance or observation, but only on the basis of all the available evidence, direct and circumstantial, specific acts as well as views—the whole 400,000 words—which has to be examined before reaching a final verdict.

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Oppenheimer Leaves For Caribbean Holiday

NEW YORK —AP— Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic scientist recently barred from top government security secrets, left last night on a four-week Caribbean vacation.

The former advisor to the atomic energy commission was accompanied by his wife, son and daughter. They left Idlewild Airport on a Pan American plane enroute to San Juan, Puerto Rico. From there they will go to St. Croix in the Virgin Islands.

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TRENTON EVENING TIMES
TRENTON, N.J.

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SUBMITTED BY NEWARK OFFICE

AUG 3.
T. Kelly

AUGUST 1, 1954

Deny Smyth Intends to Quit A. E. C.

WASHINGTON, July 31 (AP)—Dr. H. D. Smyth, senior member of the Atomic Energy Commission, does not plan to resign now and any possible resignation "will be a long time away," a source close to the family said today.

The A. E. C. meanwhile termed as "completely unfounded" a report that Dr. Smyth would resign soon to return to Princeton University. Dr. Smyth now is traveling through the West visiting A. E. C. scientific establishments, and was not immediately available for comment.

The informant, who declined to be identified, said Dr. Smyth is "very anxious" to counteract recent speculation that he is planning to quit because he was the sole A. E. C. commissioner who opposed the recent ruling to bar physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer from security information.

The latest published report of his resignation said Dr. Smyth would return to Princeton to teach physics. He is on continuing leave from Princeton, where was head of the physics department, but the informant said he has not taught regularly for fourteen years.

Dr. Smyth, the scientific member of A. E. C., has served continuously since May 31, 1949. His present term runs until June 30, 1956.

The A. E. C. said Princeton had denied knowing the source of the latest story.

Dr. Smyth, an appointee of former President Truman, recently told a Congressional committee that he felt there was an air of tension under the present chairman, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, an Eisenhower appointee. Dr. Smyth joined two other commissioners in opposing a move to give Adm. Strauss a stronger legal position as "principal officer" of the commission.

"N.Y. World-Telegram + Sun"

Oppenheimer Backer Quits AEC Over Policy

Smyth to Take Princeton Post

By the United Press.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 31.—Atomic-bomb expert Dr. Henry Dewolf Smyth, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission who recently criticized his colleagues for terming Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer a security risk, is planning to quit the AEC.

Friends indicated yesterday that Dr. Smyth was planning to resign because of disagreement over AEC policy. As one friend put it, "they don't play so clean in those Washington backwoods."

Acquaintances said Dr. Smyth, a consultant for the Manhattan Project which developed the atomic bomb, would take a "big scientific job" at Princeton University.

Dr. Smyth, 56, is considered one of the nation's leading atom experts. He is author of the authoritative "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," the official War Department report on atomic bombs published in 1945.

The only scientist presently on the five-man AEC, Dr. Smyth last month criticized his fellow commission members for recommending that Dr. Oppenheimer be barred from atomic secrets.

DR. H. DE WOLFE SMYTH.

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FBI - NEWARK

FBI men quiz Oppenheimer as plane lands

NEW YORK (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer arrived by plane from Puerto Rico last night and was questioned for 20 minutes by three men identified by an airport attache as FBI agents.

Oppenheimer, who was barred from atomic secrets by the government as a security risk, had been vacationing in the Virgin Islands with his wife and two children.

An FBI spokesman said the bureau could not "give out any information at this time" when queried about the airport incident.

Oppenheimer left Idlewild Airport in a private car before reporters could talk to him.

The Princeton physicist, one of the leading scientists in the development of the atomic bomb during World War II, was denied access to government secrets by the Atomic Energy Commission June 29.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 8/30/54 PAGE 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

☐ SAC ☐ S #1 ✓
☐ ASAC ☐ S #2
☐ PA ☐ S #3
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FBI - NEWARK

G-Men Quiz Oppenheimer

Question Princeton Scientist at Airport on Arrival From Vacation

NEW YORK (AP)—Three men reported to be FBI agents questioned Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as he arrived at Idlewild Airport last night.

The three men, who were identified as FBI agents by an airport attache, talked for 20 minutes with the scientist who has been barred from atomic secrets by the Government as a security risk.

Oppenheimer who arrived by plane from Puerto Rico, had been vacationing in the Virgin Islands with his wife and two children.

He left the airport in a private car before newsmen could talk to him. He declined comment when reached later by telephone at his Princeton, N.J., home.

FBI Silent

An FBI spokesman, queried about the airport incident, said the bureau could not "give out any information at this time."

Oppenheimer, who is director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, has said he will continue research in fundamental physics despite the action of the Atomic Energy Commission last June 29 denying him access to government secrets.

The AEC voted four-to-one against Oppenheimer, one of the leading scientists in development of the atomic bomb during World War II.

The AEC's action came after a special three-man security board decided that while Oppenheimer was loyal, he was a security risk. Most of the data against Oppenheimer involved associations with known Communists.

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

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SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

F. B. I. MEN QUIZ ATOM SCIENTIST

Oppenheimer Examined On Return From Trip

New York, Aug. 30 (AP) — Three men reported to be F. B. I. agents questioned Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as he arrived at Idlewild Airport last night.

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"BERGEN EVENING RECORD"
Hackensack, N. J.
DATE 8-30-54 PAGE 1

Submitted by Newark Division

Oppenheimer, FBI Talk at Airport

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He left the airport in a private car before newsmen could talk to him. He declined comment when reached later by telephone at his Princeton, N. J., home.

An FBI spokesman, queried about the airport incident, said the bureau could not "give out any information at this time."

Oppenheimer, who is director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, has said he will continue research in fundamental physics despite the action of the Atomic Energy Commission last June 29 denying him access to government secrets.

The AEC voted four-to-one against Oppenheimer, one of the leading scientists in development of the atomic bomb during World War II.

The AEC's action came after a special three-man security board decide that while Oppenheimer was loyal, he was a security risk. Most of the data against Oppenheimer involved associations with known Communists.

ELIZABETH DAILY JOURNAL
Elizabeth, N.J.

Date 8-30-54 Page 12

Submitted by the Newark Field Division

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SEP 1 - 1954
FBI - NEWARK

A Frightening Story

A STORY that verges on the incredible will appear in print on September 30. It is contained in what promises to be a sensational book, "The Hydrogen Bomb", by James R. Shepley and Clay Blair, Jr., Washington news men.

It is the terrifying story of how close our country came not to making the hydrogen bomb. If we had not done so — well, President Eisenhower is quoted in the book as having said this spring that "If the Soviets had beaten us to the hydrogen bomb, Soviet power would today be on the march in every quarter of the globe". As it turned out, the Russians did beat us by a few months to the development of a hydrogen bomb that could be carried in an airplane.

The authors appear to feel that the villain in the drama was the famed A-bomb scientist, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who used his great prestige to fight development of the hydrogen bomb every step of the way. He was supported by other noted scientists and key government officials. Their attitude was expressed in a report of the Atomic Energy Commission's general advisory committee in 1949:

> "We all hope that by one means or another, the development of these weapons can be avoided. We are all reluctant to see the United States take the initiative in precipitating this development."

The authors offer this partial explanation for this state of mind:

> "Much of the struggle . . . seemed to flow out of the guilt felt by some of the key atomic scientists at having created the atomic weapon in the first place. It was abetted by uncritical acceptance . . . of the theory that because a man might solve a mathematical formula containing 27 unknowns, he is especially equipped as a statesman to determine the affairs of a nation."

In other words, the opponents of the hydrogen bomb hoped that if our country did not develop the bomb, the Russians might not do so either!

But if th[illegible] men in the story whose naivete and [illegible]gment almost cost us our country, there are heroes in it, too. They are such men as Lewis Strauss, the present head of the Atomic Energy Commission, who never gave up the struggle to get the hydrogen bomb program going (although it was known in 1945 that such a bomb was theoretically possible, we did not get going on it until 1950) and Dr. Edward Teller, the refugee Hungarian scientist who pitted himself against Dr. Oppenheimer and relentlessly promoted the hydrogen bomb project. They include the late U.S. Senator Brien McMahon, who joined Strauss and Teller, and his lieutenant, William Borden, executive director of the joint congressional committee on atomic energy who finally put the finger on Oppenheimer. There are others, too, whose good sense helped to save our country from disaster, men like the flier, Gen. Pete Quesada, and the scientists, Drs. E. O. Lawrence, Wendell M. Latimer and Louis W. Alvarez, supporters of Teller.

However, it is not the debate over developing the hydrogen bomb that is well nigh incredible. That feeling must be reserved for some of the minor incidents, like the discovery made by Mr. Strauss:

> "An FBI report crossed Strauss' desk alerting the AEC to the fact that a man who had been a Communist until a few months before his employment at Los Alamos, was then custodian of the top secret library at the weapons laboratory. He had been employed while Oppenheimer was director . . . and had been certified repeatedly . . . as 'essential' in connection with wartime draft deferment. At the time of his employment, the report noted, this man who was 'essential' to the development of the atomic bomb had been a street-railway motorman."

Or what happened to Dr. Teller, after his first hydrogen bomb had been exploded. A moving picture of this explosion was prepared at Los Alamos, where Dr. Teller was disliked for his campaign to develop the H-bomb. Say the authors:

> "Los Alamos personnel who supervised the preparation of the movie were careful to see that no scenes included Edward Teller."

The Los Alamos people did not want him to get credit! The book should cause something like a hydrogen bomb explosion when the story it relates begins to sink in.

"Passaic Herald News"
Passaic, N.J.
Date 9-23-54 Page 12 - El
Submitted by Newark Division

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SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
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SEP 27 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Info.

Lone Travelers—Among the 640 passengers arriving on the Norwegian America liner Oslofjord yesterday were two Danish children, Ulrik Andersen, nine, and his brother, Claus, six, who traveled unescorted for a visit with their mother, Mrs. Ebbe Andreasen, who is with the Danish Information Office here.

Ted Kell

Dr. Niels Bohr, Danish physicist and nuclear scientist, arriving with Mrs. Bohr to address the National Industrial Conference meeting Oct. 13-15 in New York.

N.Y. Herald-Tribune 9-25-54

Will Work at Princeton

Niels Bohr Arrives, Terms Oppenheimer Case 'Sad'

By Earl Ubell

Dr. Niels Bohr, the Danish physicist who first figured out the shape of the atom, arrived in New York yesterday, wincing as he was asked about his old friend, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Prodded by reporters' questions aboard the Norwegian liner Oslofjord, which docked at 1:45 p. m. from Copenhagen, Dr. Bohr leaned forward in his lounge chair, wrinkled his bushy brows and said in his normally hushed voice:

"Professor Oppenheimer is an old friend and I have tremendous admiration for him as a scientist and for his service to his country. I am very sorry that anything of this kind should come up, at all. It is very sad. It is unfortunate for every one."

Was At Los Alamos

Dr. Bohr, a sixty-eight-year-old Nobel Laureate, was a consultant to the Los Alamos, N. M., atomic bomb laboratory of which Dr. Oppenheimer was director during the war. After escaping from Nazi-occupied Norway in a small boat in 1943, he came here with the news that that Germany was thinking of making a bomb. This spurred United States atomic development.

Speaking reluctantly of his own part in the bomb project and waving aside all questions [illegible] physics, [illegible] Bohr [illegible] small only a [illegible] of Copenhagen's [illegible] of Theoretical Physics [illegible] leader in the establishment of an International [illegible] University's bicentennial celebration.

Wrapping his top coat around him and tugging slightly at his wool peaked cap, Dr. Bohr predicted that in the long run atom power "holds great promise" for the progress of civilization. He warned that nuclear energy, *used wrongly, could wipe out* life on earth.

Dr. Bohr was asked if, considering both these possibilities, he ever felt sorry that nuclear energy had been released.

"You cannot stop scientific development although one may feel many ways about it at one time or another," he said twinkling and emphasizing his point with his pipe. Dr. Bohr was accompanied by his wife and Aage Petersen, an assistant

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OCT 1 - 1954
FBI - NEWARK

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Ted Ely

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Will Work at Princeton

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Speaking reluctantly of his own part in the bomb project and waving aside all questions on technical nuclear physics, Dr. Bohr termed himself only a "theoretical scientist." He is now director of Copenhagen's Institute of Theoretical Physics and a leader in the establishment of an international nuclear research center in Geneva.

Dr. Bohr was on his way yesterday to Princeton, N. J., to spend a month and a half with scientists at the Institute for Advanced Study, of which Dr. Oppenheimer is director. Later he will participate in Columbia University's bicentennial celebration.

Wrapping his top coat around him and tugging slightly at his wool peaked cap, Dr. Bohr predicted that in the long run atom power "holds great promise" for the progress of civilization. He warned that nuclear energy, used wrongly, could wipe out life on earth.

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OCT 1 - 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Danish Scientist Says Oppenheimer Case Sad

NEW YORK, Sept. 28 (AP) — Danish physicist Niels Bohr says the recent decision barring Prof. Robert Oppenheimer of Princeton, N. J. from access to government atomic secrets "is very sad."

Bohr, who arrived here for a brief visit with American scientists, said "Prof Oppenheimer is an old friend, and I have tremendous admiration for him as a scientist and for his service to his country. I am very sorry that anything of this kind should come up at all. It is very sad. It is unfortunate for everyone."

The big, genial scientist who won the 1922 Nobel Prize for deductions about construction of the atom and who helped out on the United States' first A-bomb, will spend six weeks at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, where Oppenheimer is director.

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"PATERSON EVENING NEWS"
Paterson, N. J.
DATE 9-28-54 PAGE 18

Submitted by Newark Division

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SEP 29 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Oppenheimer Gets Princeton Backing

NEW YORK, Oct. 2 (UP) — Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, barred from the government's atomic secrets as a security risk, has been given a unanimous vote of confidence by trustees of the Institute For Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J.

Oppenheimer was reelected director of the institute yesterday by the government, financial and scientific leaders who comprise the Board of Trustees. Approval of the scientist was unanimous.

Among the trustees at the meeting was Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who recently ruled the atom physicist should be deprived of access to government secrets. Strauss was the first to leave the meeting. He did not say if he had cast a ballot.

"Paterson Evening News"
Paterson, N. J.
Date 10-2-54 Page
Submitted by Newark Division

Info.

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OCT 4 1954
FBI - NEWARK

100-319366-83

Oppenheimer Is Re-elected

Renamed Director of Institute at Princeton by Trustees

Special to Newark News.

NEW YORK—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, whose federal security clearance has been revoked, yesterday was re-elected director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Dr. Oppenheimer was continued as director, a post he has held since 1947, by vote of the institute's 15-man board of trustees at a meeting at the Uptown Club. The vote was reported to have been unanimous.

The controversial physicist's re-election amounted to a vote of confidence for him from the federal, financial, business and scientific leaders who are trustees of the institute.

Strauss Present

Among trustees at the closed meeting was the institute's president, Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, who is also chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Strauss was among the majority on the AEC which last June voted 4-1 to bar Dr. Oppenheimer from further access to atomic secrets on the ground he was a security risk even though a loyal American.

Strauss said last month there was no connection between the AEC decision and Dr. Oppenheimer's job at Princeton.

The trustees' action was disclosed soon after the lengthy meeting by Chairman Herbert Maass, who announced that Dr. Oppenheimer and all other officers had been re-elected. Asked if the vote was unanimous, Maass said "quite."

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OCT 15 1954
FBI NEWARK

NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 10-2-54 Page 1

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

100-319368-84

AUTHOR HITS OPPENHEIMER, COLLEAGUES

Strauss tries to 'bury' H-book

WASHINGTON (UP) — Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission tried to suppress a new book sharply criticizing Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and other principals in the hydrogen bomb program until after their deaths.

This was disclosed yesterday by the co-author of the book, James R. Shepley, and confirmed by Strauss. The book, "The Hydrogen Bomb," says Russia temporarily wrested the atomic lead from the United States in 1953, chiefly because of Oppenheimer.

Shepley, chief of Time magazine's Washington bureau, related the incident on the NBC television program, "Comment." He said Strauss called him to his office and offered to "buy your manuscript, put it in the safe for 25 years or at least until most of the individuals concerned are dead, and then let it be published."

* * *

SHEPLEY said Strauss' motives were "of the highest" because Russia would have had a monopoly on the H-bomb without his efforts. He said he could only surmise Strauss was under "very great pressure and that he wished to shield his scientists from public controversy."

The book charges that Oppenheimer, famed atomic scientist who recently was denied access to atomic secrets, and his supporters "almost destroyed" the balance of atomic power between the United States and Russia by originally opposing the H-bomb.

* * *

THE AUTHOR said he rejected Strauss' offer because "things happen too quickly in the atomic era to wait 25 years for a report on how matters in this crucial area of our government have been handled." He said he reminded the AEC chairman that Strauss himself had said the public was entitled to much important information on atomic affairs.

Shepley said he later learned that Gordon Dean, Strauss' predecessor as AEC chairman, had written Strauss a letter blaming him for the book and demanding that he suppress it. Shepley, who denied the charge, said Dean considered the book an attack on him.

Strauss, reached by a reporter by telephone, generally confirmed Shepley's account of his offer to buy the book but refused to elaborate.

NEWARK STAR LEDGER

NEWARK, N. J.

DATE 9-27-54 PAGE 4

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

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SEP 27 1954
FBI - NEWARK

100-319368-85

Oppenheimer Given Award

Scientist Honored by Club in Philadelphia for Aid to Knowledge

PHILADELPHIA (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer has received the Pyramid Club of Philadelphia's achievement award for "unstinting devotion of his own great gifts to the end of increasing man's knowledge."

Dr. Oppenheimer, head of the Institute for Advanced Science at Princeton, and credited with playing a major role in developing the atomic bomb, received the award last night. He said it reaffirms "that spirit of human brotherhood that is the hope of today's world."

Dr. Albert Einstein, also associated with the Princeton institute but unable to attend the ceremony because of "age and health," commended the club for honoring his colleague "in recognition of his exemplary conduct as a citizen of his country."

Dr. Oppenheimer earlier this year was denied security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission and removed from all government work on the hydrogen bomb. The AEC ruled that Dr. Oppenheimer was a loyal American but denied him security of clearance on grounds he had associated with individuals of questionable loyalty.

The Pyramid Club is a social and civic organization of prominent Philadelphia Negroes.

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 10-22-54 Page 12

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

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OCT 3 1954
FBI - NEWARK

Defends Oppenheimer

Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner, Deplores 'National Ingratitude' During Princeton Visit

Special to Newark News.

PRINCETON — Dr. Linus C. Pauling of Pasadena, Calif., the 53-year-old chemist who two days ago won a Noble prize, said last night there was "no need to pillory," Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Speaking freely with newsmen, Pauling, who was visiting colleagues in science here, labeled the treatment of Oppenheimer "the worst case of national ingratitude I know." Barring Oppenheimer from atom secrets, he said, was "very damaging to the nation."

Oppenheimer had headed the Los Alamos atom bomb project during the war and had been adviser to the Atomic Energy Commission. He was declared loyal but a security risk. Oppenheimer is director of the Institute for Advanced Study here.

Cites 12 Years' Service

Asserting the charges against Oppenheimer were "trivial," Pauling said Oppenheimer "proved himself by his extraordinarily outstanding services over 12 years." He said "advisers of government, if they are going to be valuable, must be free to express their opinions."

Pauling himself has been under fire several times in the past for alleged Communist affiliations but he has stoutly denied the allegations. On three occasions in 1952, said Pauling, he was denied a passport to travel to scientific meetings in Europe, but finally obtained a limited passport.

The distinguished chemist, director of California Institute of Technology's Gates and Crellin laboratories since 1937, admitted that there had been indications that he might win the Nobel award several weeks ago. But official confirmation came at 4 p.m. Wednesday, 45 minutes before he was to conduct a seminar for the Cornell University chemistry department.

To Lecture at Princeton

"I had a little trouble with the seminar," Pauling admitted ruefully. He added that the subject of his paper was "Abnormal Hemoglobin Molecules and Their Relation to Disease," and that he will read it again today before the New York section of the American Chemical Society.

Scheduled to deliver four lectures at Princeton University Nov. 15-18, Pauling said he would leave for his home in Pasadena Nov. 20 for a few days rest before the Nobel prize presentation Dec. 10 at Stockholm. He plans to leave Los Angeles Dec. 6 by air for Copenhagen.

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 11-8-54 Page 20

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

BARRED SCIENTIST JOINS COMMITTEE

Oppenheimer Elected To Membership Of Anti-Communist Group

New York, Nov. 11 (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, barred from the nation's atomic secrets, has been elected to membership in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, an avowed anti-Communist group.

The committee announced yesterday that Oppenheimer agreed to accept membership from his home in Princeton, N. J., where he is director of the Institute for Advanced Study.

The A. C. C. F. describes itself as an organization of 300 artists, scholars, scientists, and writers dedicated to a responsible struggle against Communism and all other forms of totalitarianism.

Last June, by a 4-1 vote, the Atomic Energy Commission denied Oppenheimer further access to atomic data. He was charged with persistent and continuing association with Communists.

The Commissioners agreed Oppenheimer was not disloyal, but the majority called him a security risk.

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NOV 1 5 1954
FBI - NEWARK

"BERGEN EVENING RECORD"
Hackensack, N. J.
DATE 11/12/54 PAGE 1

Submitted by Newark Division

100-319368-88

'Shocked' at Suggestion

Oppenheimer Rejected Even Hint of Trading Data With Reds, French Account Says

PARIS (AP)—The leftist weekly magazine France-Observateur has published what it terms an open letter from Haakon Chevalier to American scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer strongly denying any role by Chevalier in Soviet espionage.

Chevalier was a former professor at the University of California and a close friend of Oppenheimer when he was connected with the school. He was specifically mentioned last June in an inquiry into Oppenheimer's security status by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

The commission finally barred Oppenheimer, a key figure in development of the atomic bomb, from access to the U.S. Government's top secret atomic data.

Report Delayed

The commission's majority report noted testimony in late 1942 or early 1943 that Chevalier told Oppenheimer that one George Eltenton had means of getting information to the Russians. While rejecting the idea of giving secrets to the Communists, it was testified, Oppenheimer did not report the incident for months and then did not give Chevalier's name.

Chevalier denied in his letter that he had approached any American scientists to ask them for secrets. Instead, Chevalier cited one incident early in the war which he said was the only ground for even mentioning his name in connection with Oppenheimer.

Letter's Version

The letter published in the current issue of France-Observateur gave this account of that incident:

Chevalier had a conversation one day in late 1942 or early 1943 with a Shell Oil Co. chemist named George Eltenton who was also a friend of Oppenheimer. In the course of his general talk Eltenton, speaking of the war which was then going badly for the Western allies, "suggested a closer collaboration between American and Soviet scientists. In a more precise manner he asked me to sound you (Oppenheimer) out to see if it would not be possible to exchange data of a technical sort, and he indicated that all preparations had been made to transmit this to the interested parties.

"Today, this might seem to be a dark affair of espionage. But, at the time, not only were the Russians fighting on our side, and not only did the desperate military situation demand exceptional measures, but everyone still recognized the principle that science being universal ought not to encounter any frontier, and precisely could only survive and prosper on the basis of free exchange.

[illegible]re Reaction

"However, Russia, while not an[illegible] enemy country, was still a foreign country. My immediate reaction was hence to tell Eltenton that such an initiative was the affair of the government and not of individuals. Knowing you, I knew very well that you would not only reject a proposal of this sort right, but that you would be shocked by it.

"Eltenton, I recall, agreed with me completely, and at the end of our talk it was well understood that he would make no practical follow-up to his suggestion.

"I asked myself for some time if I ought to let you know about my conversation with him. I did not want to bother you with that but finally I felt obliged to keep you abreast of things, whatever might have been its importance.

"Consequently, I took advantage of the first opportunity—a meeting of friends which our wives attended—to confide to you the essence of the conversation while you were mixing martinis in the kitchen."

Chevalier recounted that Oppenheimer's response was negative as he had predicted.

"There was nothing to discuss, no decision to take. We were agreed, that was all. There was never any development as far as I was concerned. At my next meeting with Eltenton I felt it [illegible] duty to tell him that I had [illegible]old you about his suggestion and [illegible]hat your reaction had indeed [illegible]een that which we had both expected."

Chevalier claimed in the letter [illegible] U.S. officials had distorted this incident way out of context and [illegible]portion, and had damaged his [illegible]putation.

Neither Chevalier, now retired living somewhere in [illegible] Eltenton was immediately available for comment on the letter. Oppenheimer, reached last night at his home in Princeton, N.J., said he had "no comment."

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NEWARK EVENING NEWS
Newark, New Jersey

Date 12-2-54 Page 8

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

DEC 6 1954
FBI - NEWARK

100-319368-89

Oppenheimer Says McCarran Act Might Even Have Barred Einstein

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (AP)—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer says that if the McCarran Immigration Act had been in effect at the time, perhaps Dr. Albert Einstein would not have been allowed to enter the United States.

Discussing the barring of a number of foreign scientists on security grounds, Dr. Oppenheimer, one of the chief architects of the atom bomb added:

"This is just terrible, and seems a wholly fantastic and grotesque way to . . . meet the threat of espionage—just an enormous apparatus, surely not well designed for that, and terrible . . . for those of us who live with it.

"We are rightly ashamed by the contempt that the Europeans have for us, and we are rightly embarrassed that we can't hold (scientific) congresses in this country . . . this is a scandal."

Dr. Einstein, famed theoretical physicist, was born in Germany and came to the United States in 1933.

Dr. Oppenheimer, who has been barred from government atomic secrets as a security risk, made the statements in a filmed television interview last night.

Dr. Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., was interviewed at his Princeton office by Edward R. Murrow for his C.B.S. television program "See It Now."

Only a part of the interview touched on the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, who was suspended as a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission last April, pronounced loyal but still a security risk by a special board in June, and denied access to government secrets by the A.E.C. later in June.

Much of the interview was about the work of the Institute for Advanced Study, where about 100 distinguished scholars work in their various fields.

Mr. Murrow asked Dr. Oppenheimer: "Is there widespread reluctance on the part of scientists to work for the government?"

Dr. Oppenheimer replied: "No, I don't think so. It gets very much distorted when it's talked about in sloganistic terms."

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FBI - NEWARK
T. E. Kelley

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DAILY HOME NEWS
NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.
1-5-55

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