

Peaceful Atomic Abundance

Excerpts from the Diary of Henry A. Wallace 1945 – Into the Cold War

AUGUST 23, 1945

...On parting from de Gaulle he [de Gaulle] said to me in English, of which he speaks very little, "The century of the common man is assured because we have won the war." I merely said to him, "Is it?"

AUGUST 29, 1945

...At the luncheon with Schwellenbach he said the idea of the labor-industry meeting did not come into full flower until the meeting in the President's office on Friday, August 24, at which meeting the President, Eric Johnston, Ira Mosher,¹ Bill Green, Phil Murray, and Schwellenbach were present. The President apparently indicated that there should be another meeting, at which I should be present, and at this meeting an agenda committee would be picked. Schwellenbach said he wanted Paul Douglas, formerly of Chicago University and now in the Bethesda Naval Hospital with serious wounds, to serve as chairman. I told him that was fine; then he modified the statement and indicated he thought there ought to be a co-chairman from industry, who would represent the public but who would have somewhat more the industrial point of view than Douglas. It was decided to hold the next meeting on September 6, at which time we would pick a committee of seven to work on the agenda and to pick a larger committee of about thirty which would participate in the final meeting. I asked Schwellenbach what he hoped would come out of the final meeting. He listed the following five points:

On Industry Side

Complete recognition of principle of collective bargaining.
Development in industry of a pattern whereby responsibility and right of decision on labor policies could be extended to those who actually deal with the unions.

On Union Side

Adoption of system of voluntary policing and settlement of jurisdictional disputes.
Strengthening of relationship between national and local units in labor.

Both

Recommendation for the establishment of same system of voluntary arbitration.

I told Ira Mosher that with regard to labor-industry relationships my formula was that I wasn't for anything for labor that wasn't good for business and that I wasn't for anything for business that wasn't good for labor, and that I wasn't for anything for either one of them that wasn't good for the consumer and the farmer. Mosher said he could make it even simpler than that; that he would not be for anything for labor and business that wasn't good for all the people. He also said he was for full production by both labor and industry. You would have thought his heart was God's little garden to hear him talk...

AUGUST 31, 1945

Ellis Arnall tells me that the President urged him to take the job of Solicitor General. He wanted my judgment on the matter. I urged him to take it. He very much has his fingers crossed about the present administration setup. If he takes a job he will undoubtedly be completely loyal. He feels, however, that the world is definitely going to the left and that Truman, Hannegan, Clark, etc., do not fully appreciate that. Arnall is a very smart man and liberal-minded. At times he may be a little overpolitical but perhaps that is because he is so smart.

At cabinet meeting the President read a first draft of a statement which he had written with regard to military policy. He said he had put everything in it but the kitchen stove. Everybody complimented him on what a fine statement it was. When it came my turn to talk I asked him if he would care to have me say something about the kitchen stove. I

then went on to suggest that a real military program for the country must of necessity be based on science, both in increased scientific personnel and also more laboratory equipment. Second, I said that if the world situation was as serious as Secretary Patterson had indicated, it would be desirable to have the Secretaries of War and Navy cooperate very closely with the Public Works Administrator to bring about a decentralization of our industry and population. Third, I indicated the desirability of having some standing committees which could throw us into mobilization more rapidly...

SEPTEMBER 5, 1945

The interesting thing about General Groves' presentation² was the point he made that atomic energy would not be practicable for peace-time purposes for many years, probably after all of us at the meeting were dead.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1945

Jim McCamy³ told me the situation in Austria is quite desperate. People are getting less than 800 calories and there is going to be much starvation this winter. I am convinced that the American people are going to be ashamed of themselves next spring when they look back and realize they took off rationing at a time when many parts of Europe were on the verge of starvation...

We talked at some little length about atomic energy. The President took the stand that while we should keep the secret of the atomic bomb we should inform the United Nations about atomic energy. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson took strong dissent to this view on the ground that 80 percent of the people, according to the Gallup Poll, were strong for the United States maintaining the secret of atomic power. Jim Forrestal took the same view as Anderson. Secretary Stimson and I supported the President. I made the point that if we maintained utmost secrecy we would be blamed by the world for a dog-in-the-manger attitude while at the same time countries like England, France, and Russia would go ahead with atomic power developments and would surpass us. I said there was danger of developing a type of "Maginot Line" attitude which would give us a false confidence while other countries would surpass us. I said it was impossible to bottle scientists up in the way some people seem to think.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1945

...At the meeting of the United States Financial Group the whole time was spent considering the problem of blocked sterling.⁴ I suggested that we ought to get as much detail as possible from the British with regard to how much they expected to export and to what nations they expected to export. In the final analysis the only security for our loan to the British would be the matter of their exports and it is a matter of interest to us to know where they expect to send these exports...

SEPTEMBER 21, 1945

At the cabinet meeting the one subject up for discussion was the atomic bomb and the peacetime development of atomic energy.

The President asked Secretary Stimson to open the meeting, which he did in an unusually fine and comprehensive statement. He said that all of the scientists with whom the War Department worked were convinced that there was no possible way of holding the scientific secret of the atomic bomb and that, therefore, they felt there should be free interchange of scientific information between different members of the United Nations. He said that the scientists told him that the bombs thus far dropped were utilizing only a very small fraction of the power of the atom and that future bombs would be infinitely more destructive – perhaps being as greatly advanced over the present bombs as the present bombs are over the bombs which existed prior to 1945. He said some of them were afraid they would be so powerful as to ignite the atmosphere and put an end to the world. He said he recognized that any interchange of scientific information with the other United Nations would bring into the foreground the problem of Russia. He then entered into a long defense of Russia, saying that throughout our history Russia had been our friend – that we had nothing that Russia wanted and that Russia had nothing that we wanted. He said our relationship with Russia during recent months had been improving. President Truman agreed to this.

The President then called on Dean Acheson, who indicated that he agreed with Secretary Stimson.

The President then called on Fred Vinson, who disagreed with Secretary Stimson and expressed great distrust of other nations. Secretary Stimson had said it was conceivable that some of the other nations could learn the secret of the atomic bomb without any help from us within three years, and almost certainly within Five years. Vinson rather

questioned this statement.

Tom Clark took very much the same attitude as Secretary Vinson.

Secretary Forrestal took the most extreme attitude of all. He had a memorandum which had been prepared by his admirals, which he read. It was a warlike, big-Navy, isolationist approach.

Bob Hannegan spoke very briefly but took the side of Secretary Stimson. The President had said enough in his opening statement to indicate he was substantially in accord with Secretary Stimson, and it was obvious that Bob was backing up what he thought were the President's views.

Secretary Anderson took in some ways an even more extreme view than Secretary Forrestal. He was passing his judgment merely on what people thought. He said he had talked to a great many people in the Middle West and they were all against our giving away the secret of the bomb to any other nation. Of course, that was not the subject up for discussion but Anderson assumed it was simply because that was the way he had talked to the people in the Middle West. He said he had been at a meeting in Decatur, Illinois, the previous night, and he asked the people how many were in favor of giving away the secret of the bomb and they were all against it. He said he thought it was a very precious thing to maintain the President's prestige and it should not be sacrificed by going against the will of the people. Anderson was quite violent about Russia, saying that Russia was taking over Mongolia and Manchuria and various other spots.

Abe Fortas, who was sitting in place of Secretary Ickes, briefly took the same view as Secretary Stimson.

When I started to speak, I asked what specifically was the subject up for discussion. The President said that the subject up for discussion was whether or not the scientific information regarding atomic energy should be shared with the other members of the United Nations. The subject to be discussed did not include the sharing of factory technique or "know-how." I mentioned that all those who were seated on the President's right who had thus far spoken had taken what the people would interpret as the "Left" view and those seated on the President's left had taken what the people would interpret as the "Rightist" view. I laughingly said that when the subject of Russia was introduced into an American discussion it seemed to have about as much effect on the people involved as the atomic bomb. I referred to the lattice piles used in developing atomic energy from uranium oxide and said perhaps we should find the equivalent of the slowing-down strips to enable us to discuss more reasonably problems where Russia was involved. I then went at some length into the whole scientific background, describing how foreign Jewish scientists had in the first place sold the President in the fall of 1939. I indicated the degree to which the whole approach had originated in Europe and that it was impossible to bottle the thing up no matter how much we tried; if we took the attitude of being dogs in the manger with regard to scientific information that we would develop for ourselves a scientific Maginot Line type of mind, thinking we were secure because of our past attainments, while at the same time certain other nations were going beyond us. I advocated strongly the interchange of scientific information but not the interchange of techniques or "know-hows." I also advocated that in case scientific information were made freely available to Russia that we have as a quid pro quo the proviso that there be as much freedom for American scientific workers to work in the Russian laboratories as for the Russians to work in American laboratories.⁵

I then took up Anderson's statement about Russia and said it simply wasn't true that Russia was taking over Manchuria; that back as far as 18 months ago Roosevelt had told me what the arrangements were with regard to Manchuria and that Russia was living up to the understanding at that time. President Truman interjected to say that that was true. I said with regard to Mongolia that the Mongolians were livestock people and that there had always been misunderstanding between Mongolia and China because the Chinese were a sedentary, agricultural people; that the Mongolians wanted Russian scientific information regarding animal diseases. I told of my visit to the animal disease laboratory in Mongolia and of finding there the 37 Mongolian technicians who had been trained in animal disease work and to produce vaccines against animal diseases. I said it was perfectly natural under the circumstances that the Mongolians would look toward Russia as a source of progress rather than toward China.

In conclusion, I spoke very strongly on behalf of freedom of science and urged that we not take a stand which would finally result in our becoming essentially another China.

Secretary Schwellenbach, who sits on the President's left, said that he had departed from the views of the others who sat on his side and that he agreed with those who sat on the right of the President. In other words, he agreed with Secretary Stimson.

So also did General Fleming.

Krug⁶ said he was in favor of delay.

Senator McKellar agreed with Krug.

Leo Crowley took no definite stand one way or the other, but seemed on the whole to back Stimson. John Snyder⁷ backed Stimson.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1945

The newspapers in Chicago⁸ were eager to find out what I had to say about the atomic bomb. I refused to talk. The word had already been leaked out by the President's press secretary that I favored giving the atomic bomb to Russia. The question is why he said such a thing; also, why he should have talked about a cabinet meeting at all.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1945

HENRY A. WALLACE TO HARRY S. TRUMAN

Dear Mr. President:

You have asked for the comment, in writing, of each cabinet officer on the proposal submitted by Secretary Stimson for the free and continuous exchange of scientific information (not industrial blueprints and engineering "know-how") concerning atomic energy between all of the United Nations. I agreed with Henry Stimson.

At the present time, with the publication of the Smyth report and other published information, there are no substantial scientific secrets that would serve as obstacles to the production of atomic bombs by other nations. Of this I am assured by the most competent scientists who know the facts. We have not only already made public much of the scientific information about the atomic bomb, but above all with the authorization of the War Department we have indicated the road others must travel in order to reach the results we have obtained.

With respect to future scientific developments I am confident that both the United States and the world will gain by the free interchange of scientific information. In fact, there is danger that in attempting to maintain secrecy about these scientific developments we will, in the long run, as a prominent scientist recently put it, be indulging "in the erroneous hope of being safe behind a scientific Maginot Line."

The nature of science and the present state of knowledge in other countries are such that there is no possible way of preventing other nations from repeating what we have done or surpassing it within five or six years. If the United States, England, and Canada act the part of the dog in the manger on this matter, the other nations will come to hate and fear all Anglo-Saxons without our having gained anything thereby. The world will be divided into two camps with the non-Anglo-Saxon world eventually superior in population, resources, and scientific knowledge.

We have no reason to fear loss of our present leadership through the free interchange of scientific information. On the other hand, we have every reason to avoid a shortsighted and unsound attitude which will invoke the hostility of the rest of the world.

In my opinion, the quicker we share our scientific knowledge (not industrial and engineering information) the greater will be the chance that we can achieve genuine and durable world cooperation. Such action would be interpreted as a generous gesture on our part and lay the foundation for sound international agreements that would assure the control and development of atomic energy for peaceful use rather than destruction.

The announcement of our policy of disclosing all scientific information relating to atomic energy could be made in conjunction with other steps designed to arrive at international regulation relating to atomic weapons. I would regard this as indispensable for our own security and international peace.

I should like to stress that the present situation is a dangerous one and calls for early action.

The danger will increase and our position and that of international security will further deteriorate if we continue to follow our present course of maintaining useless secrecy and at the same time building up a stockpile of atomic bombs.

So far as Russia is concerned, I would hope that we could make arrangements for as many Americans going to Russia to study or work in the laboratories and universities as there are Russians coming here. We cannot have a truly effective scientific interchange unless this is done. Hitherto the Russians have learned much more from us than we from them. This is chiefly because we had much to teach but it is also because we didn't take sufficient advantage of the invitations extended to us. The Russian scientific progress is certain to be very much faster in the future than in the past. Russia has all the potentialities of a young and vigorous nation. To maintain peaceful relations with her we must keep in the closest possible touch with her scientific, agricultural, business, and cultural

development. In this way we can both guard ourselves and gain a true friend.

After writing the above I have had the opportunity to listen to discussions of a large number of the outstanding scientists in this field. The views which they expressed are similar to those at which I had arrived independently, as is indicated by the enclosed statements from five American scientists, three of whom are Nobel Prize winners, and four of whom were intimately connected with the atomic bomb project. The statement by Dr. Szilard, who together with Dr. Fermi and Dr. Einstein was most responsible for moving President Roosevelt to action on the atomic bomb in the fall of 1939, emphasizes even more than the statement by Dr. Fermi the destructive possibilities of atomic energy. Dr. Franck's statement accurately reflects the consensus of the scientists who discussed the subject at the meeting which I attended. Dr. Daniels' observations illustrate the types of problems with which the scientists are now concerned.

In light of the above, I support Henry Stimson in his proposal for the free interchange of scientific information concerning atomic energy...

OCTOBER 1, 1945

On October 1, at the luncheon given by Dean Acheson, Dean said it was utterly amazing the way in which the cabinet meeting had leaked. He said he had never seen anything like it. I asked him who he thought had leaked. He said he thought Forrestal had leaked; or those in the Navy to whom Forrestal had talked.

At the meeting with the President, Wright and Burden⁹ presented very fully their views on the development of aviation. The President seemed very agreeable to everything they said. At the close of the meeting, I stopped for a minute and told the President that the relationship between Symington¹⁰ and Schindler was not at all good and I strongly advocated, as I had previously, August 17, the transfer of Surplus Property disposal from Commerce to Symington. I said it was an impossible situation as it was. The President said to take the matter up with John Snyder.

OCTOBER 11, 1945

...At the meeting of the U.S. Committee on the British loan it was decided to make the loan on a basis which would involve the British paying 31 million dollars for each billion dollars borrowed, payments beginning five years after the loan was negotiated.¹¹ It was decided to give the British credit up to a certain amount rather than a definite loan. The British would be allowed to draw on this credit up to a four- or five-year period. There was difference of opinion as to the maximum amount of credit. The Treasury and the Federal Reserve apparently felt it should not be more than three billion dollars...

Tom Connally was present at the dinner and spoke to me in very critical terms of Spruille Braden, said he ought to have the cockleburs combed out of his hair. It is Tom Connally who has been holding up Braden's confirmation.¹² Tom Connally in some respects is the lowest type of senator we have. He loves to get at cross purposes with the White House and bluster around. He is essentially a demagogue with no depth of perception, no sense of the general welfare, and no interest in it. He has a high sense of personal dignity and is likable personally...

OCTOBER 12, 1945

At the cabinet meeting Friday morning there was very little discussed. There was some discussion of the labor problem and some of Food and Agriculture. Clinton Anderson wanted to get instructions from other members of the cabinet as to whether the man appointed to head up Food and Agriculture under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization should be an American or a foreigner. He said the Chinese very much wanted the man appointed to be an American but he knew there were five other branches of the Economic and Social Council and that it might be more important to have Americans in some of those other branches. He mentioned that I had suggested the possibility of Frank McDougall, the liberal-minded Australian. After cabinet meeting we went out on the White House lawn to see the President pin Distinguished Service Medals on the soldiers.

At the broadcast Friday night,¹³ as we sat around talking in advance, Dick Wilson mentioned that the President's honeymoon was over and that from now on there was going to be continual criticism. He said the President's personal habits would come up for criticism, and spoke about his winning \$52 shooting craps at Jefferson Island. Marquis Childs spoke up and said the President didn't shoot craps; that he won the money playing poker. I then remembered that at one of the cabinet luncheons two or three weeks previous Clinton Anderson had spoken about the President's great skill at playing poker and how he had won \$52. The significance of it all was that the press is now getting ready systematically to criticize Truman. This should close the ranks of the Democratic Party and end

some of the sniping which has been going on from within.

OCTOBER 15, 1945

My conference with the President was most interesting. I gave him the accompanying material to read¹⁴ and he read it, sentence by sentence. He said he agreed with it throughout. He said this was what he had been trying to say right along in the statements which he had made.¹⁵ He said he had been having a hell of a time with the State Department. He had been wanting to call a conference with England and Canada on the bomb, preparatory to having conferences with Russia. He said Stalin was a fine man who wanted to do the right thing. I said that apparently the purpose of Britain was to promote an unbreachable break between us and Russia. The President said he agreed. I said Britain's game in international affairs has always been intrigue. The President said he agreed. I said Britain may have plenty of excuse for playing the game the way she does; it may fit into her geographical position, but we must not play her game. The President said he agreed.

The President, in speaking about Stalin, said he wasn't well at Potsdam, and he wasn't well now; and he was afraid that he was so tired he wanted to retire. He said this would be very unfortunate both for Russia and the United States, because then it would be a struggle for power between Molotov on the one hand and Zhukov¹⁶ on the other. He didn't like the prospect with either one of them. He returned to the fact that Stalin is an honest man who is easy to get along with – who arrives at sound decisions...

I brought up again the question of a cabinet economic committee composed of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce, with John Snyder and Harold Smith sitting in. I said it would be a fine thing if such an economic committee meeting could be held weekly under his chairmanship. The President agreed. He said he had been unbelievably busy – so busy that he didn't know where he was and, therefore, he hadn't done some of the things he wanted to do.

In leaving the statement on "The Significance of the Atomic Age" with the President, I asked him not to pass it on to anyone because people couldn't be trusted. I said that the experience at the September 21 cabinet meeting had been very surprising to me, and said that undoubtedly there was a lying leaker in the cabinet. He said "Yes - undoubtedly there was." He said he was as much disturbed about it as I was. I thanked him for knocking the story down...

The President started to say who he thought had leaked and then hesitated, saying, "Well, it won't do any good to talk about personalities."

I told him that as long as there was a lying leaker in the cabinet it would be impossible to have frank discussion on controversial questions. He agreed and said that at the next cabinet meeting he would bring the matter up.

In leaving, I told him that there was evidence that certain of the newspapers were going to start a drumfire against him. I said I had appeared on a radio program with Dick Wilson, Marquis Childs, and some others and that before that program took up Dick Wilson indicated that drumfire was getting ready to start. The President said he thought so, too, and then added, "Well, you and I know how to take it, don't we?"...

Marquis Childs came in to develop somewhat the same thesis that Dick Wilson had developed the previous Friday night. His discussion, however, was concerning Pauley.¹⁷ He said in case Pauley came in as Secretary of the Navy could I remain in the cabinet in view of what I knew about Pauley? I said it might perhaps make the situation somewhat similar to that which my father had when he was in Harding's cabinet. He asked what my relations were with the President and I said they had been the most friendly; that the President had cooperated with me in everything I had wanted. Childs rejoined, "Well, that is one of the great difficulties with the President; he does that way with everyone"...

OCTOBER 16, 1945

... The President said there were two things he especially wanted to emphasize: One had to do with the cabinet meeting which had been held some time ago following which there was a leakage which had taken place, he knew not through any members around the luncheon table. He said he thought he knew who had leaked and he thought that man would not be in the cabinet any more. I suppose he was referring to Crowley. The President said that I had not taken nearly as vigorous a stand as either Stimson or Schwollenbach. He didn't say, as he should have said, that the question of giving the atomic bomb to any other nation had not even been discussed. However, he was obviously doing his best to straighten out what he considered to be an injustice...

OCTOBER 17, 1945

When I walked downtown this morning with Wing Commander Dahl I asked him what his present job was and he said he was still with the British Secret Service. He said he was now something of a Russophobe. I said, "Well, if you fear the Russians it won't be long until your fears are well founded." I am convinced that the British slant is to stir up the maximum of distrust between the United States and Russia. He spent most of his time trying to convince me that the United States should continue the Donovan secret service setup. He told of the very close friendship which had continued since the beginning of the war between Sir William Stephenson, his chief, and General Donovan. He said that of the 20 German saboteurs discovered by the FBI 17 of them had been apprehended because of advance information given by the British Secret Service to the FBI. In other words, the British knew when the saboteurs left Germany to come to the United States. Dahl was very complimentary about the high quality of the work done by the OSS under Donovan. He thinks a combined American-English Secret Service is necessary to prevent destructive possibilities of the atomic bomb. In other words, Dahl visions the United States and England working together to prevent Russia from blowing up Anglo-Saxon civilization and wants an American Secret Service organization which in fact will be under the thumb of the British Secret Service organization. He is a nice boy and I am very fond of him but necessarily he is working out problems from the standpoint of British policy, and British policy clearly is to provoke the maximum distrust between the United States and Russia and thus prepare the groundwork for World War III...

At the meeting in Secretary Vinson's office the chief subject up for discussion was how much money to loan the British. The Treasury took the low side, figuring that the maximum ought to be about \$3 billion. Will Clayton took the high side, figuring that the maximum might be \$5 billion. Eventually a compromise was arrived on which was a little closer to the Treasury than to State. The British have come out flat with the idea that they ought to be given \$2 billion and they would be willing to borrow \$3 billion with not more than \$100 million a year paid in repayment beginning five or ten years from now, at the rate of \$30 million for each billion borrowed, and continuing for fifty years.

At the luncheon in Secty Ickes' office Phil Murray said that the steel negotiations were not getting anywhere and that the steel boys were going to go out on strike. He indicated that he had lost faith in the administration because they had not grappled courageously with the wage and price problem. Bob Nathan said that due to elimination of overtime it would be possible for businessmen to pay 10 percent more in basic wage rates next year than this year without diminishing their profits or raising their prices. He said that after the last war increased efficiency in manufacturing had raised profits 10 percent for two years and that he expected the same increase after this war. Nathan says that in 1946 the total wage bill of the country will be about \$60 billion as compared with \$80 billion in 1944. This reduction of \$20 billion in the take-home pay of labor is bound to have a severe effect on the whole economy. He thinks that neither Truman nor Snyder fully understand the situation...

I sat in at a most interesting meeting at the Statler Hotel as a guest of Watson Davis of Science Service, with Harlow Shapley presiding. A number of the leading atomic bomb scientists were present, including Oppenheimer, Curtis, Szilard, Fermi, Condon, et al.¹⁸ There were also present Senators Kilgore, Taylor, Murray, Tobey, Smith, and Mc-Mahon.¹⁹ The scientists presented in very vigorous terms the peril in which the United States now finds herself.²⁰ They centered their attention chiefly on the threat to peace. This interested Tobey greatly. He was enormously impressed and insisted that there be another meeting of the atomic scientists Wednesday night of next week. Everybody agreed to meet again at the Statler Hotel. Oppenheimer said he very much wanted to see me and I made arrangements to walk down with him Friday morning.

OCTOBER 19, 1945

At cabinet meeting the subject up for discussion was wage and price policy. The President started out with John Snyder and then shifted to Schwellenbach. He then called on Chester Bowles, who usually doesn't sit in on cabinet meetings. Bowles took the position very strongly that prices should be held rigidly on a 1942 basis; that there should be no break in the price front; and that the situation in each industry should be taken up by some prominent arbitrator. He pointed out that the problem was so detailed that he couldn't handle it properly in OPA. The President then called on Clint Anderson, who presented the agricultural situation very vigorously and claimed that with agricultural prices going down the farmers couldn't stand to see an increase in wages.

The President then called on me, but Ickes, whose hearing is none too good now, thought he was calling on him. He talked at some length about the political significance of failing to meet the challenge of the present situation.

When the President called on me I pointed out that according to Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce estimates there would be, as a result of the termination of the war, a total cut in the gross national product of about \$40 billion in 1946 and a total reduction in wages of \$20 billion, and that a reduction of this kind meant seven or

eight million unemployed people next spring, which represented a great increase over the present unemployment. I said that a reduction in income of this kind and an increase in unemployment would have the greatest repercussions not only with regard to labor but also with regard to agriculture. I said very emphatically that some of the farm organizations were taking a very blind attitude and then I threw in parenthetically that I didn't want this statement quoted to the press and that if it were quoted to the press, I would not again speak on controversial issues in cabinet. The President said at this point that he felt the same way I did and that people shouldn't communicate to the press that which took place in cabinet meetings. I said that I would be most happy, in case there was a leak to the press, to communicate my views to the President, either by memorandum or face to face. I then went on to say that by one means or another there should be an average increase in basic pay rates of around 15 percent and that an increase of this sort would mean that the total shrinkage in wages for 1946 under 1945 would be only about \$10 billion instead of \$20. I said that the take-home pay of industry after payment of all taxes in 1946 would be about as great as in 1945. I said, in fact, that I had been told by OPA that the Treasury estimate was that the income of the corporations after paying taxes would be around \$11 billion as compared with \$10 billion in 1945. Vinson said he thought \$11 billion was a little high. Everyone agreed, however, that the income of corporations after paying taxes would be twice as great as before the war.

The President then called on Jimmie Byrnes. As a result of several interchanges of conversation during Jimmie Byrnes' presentation, it appeared that as a result of the elimination of overtime, industry could pay labor an increase on the average of about 9 or 10 percent without any advance in prices. I interjected to say that the increased efficiency of labor growing out of new technologies would make it possible to increase wages more than that without any increase in prices.

The President then called on Secretary Vinson, who took the point of view that Bowles could really do the job if he utilized the full powers under the Act. Judge Vinson seemed willing to see that there be some price increases. I pointed out that since 1940 there had been practically no increase in steel prices, whereas farm prices at the farm had gone up about 90 percent. Vinson thought that the automobile folks could make an advance of at least 15 percent in wages without reducing the profits below the prewar situation. Bowles showed me some figures indicating that in 1946 there would be produced about 85 percent more cars than before the war but with only 35 percent more labor employed...

Re: 8:00 a.m. appointment with Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, atomic scientist.

Oppenheimer told me that last spring before the first atomic exhibition took place, the scientists were enormously concerned about a possible eventual war with Russia.²¹ A plan had been worked out while Roosevelt was still alive to communicate with Russia regarding the atomic bomb. Oppenheimer thinks this plan was tentatively presented to the British but that the British turned it down. He says Stimson had a most statesmanlike view of the whole matter and that the last thing he did before departing as Secretary of War was to write down this view. In this statement he fully considers the peril of the threat of the bomb to Russian-American relations. Apparently Stimson advocated turning over to Russia as well as to other nations the industrial know-how as well as the scientific information. I told Oppenheimer that this phase of the matter never appeared in cabinet meeting.

I never saw a man in such an extremely nervous state as Oppenheimer. He seemed to feel that the destruction of the entire human race was imminent. Apparently there is a very intense jealousy between him and Szilard. He spoke in the most slighting terms of Szilard. He has been in charge of the scientists in New Mexico and says that the heart has completely gone out of them there; that all they think about now are the social and economic implications of the bomb and that they are no longer doing anything worthwhile on the scientific level. He wanted to know if I thought it would do any good for him to see the President. I said yes, and he is going to try to get either Secretary Patterson²² or Senator Kilgore to make an appointment for him. He told me that the President's statement to Congress had been written by Dean Acheson's assistant, a Mr. Herbert Marks, and that he had had something to do with helping Marks on the message. He says that Secretary Byrnes' attitude on the bomb has been very bad. It seems that Secretary Byrnes has felt that we could use the bomb as a pistol to get what we wanted in international diplomacy. Oppenheimer believes that that method will not work. He says the Russians are a proud people and have good physicists and abundant resources. They may have to lower their standard of living to do it but they will put everything they have got into getting plenty of atomic bombs as soon as possible. He thinks the mishandling of the situation at Potsdam has prepared the way for the eventual slaughter of tens of millions or perhaps hundreds of millions of innocent people.

The guilt consciousness of the atomic bomb scientists is one of the most astounding things I have ever seen.

OCTOBER 23, 1945

As I listened to the President giving his message to Congress on universal military training and heard him speak

about preparing the United States to meet any aggressor nation, I couldn't help thinking about the effect the message would have on Russia. It was almost like the prelude to the declaration of World War III.

As I walked out I said to Lew Schwellenbach, who was walking along beside me, "I wonder what effect this will have on the United Nations organization?" Somehow it frightened me.

Les Biffle²³ asked a number of us to stay to a luncheon in the dining room of the Secretary of the Senate. It is the place where since time immemorial the senators have gathered, especially senators of the Majority, to drink and settle things off the record. In addition to the Democratic senators and cabinet officers there were present Senator Taft, Senator Vandenberg, Senator Wallace White,²⁴ and Joe Martin. Jimmie Byrnes and Vandenberg were talking about the Polish question. Vandenberg was very savage against the Russians. Jimmie Byrnes was taking rather a judicial attitude. Byrnes mentioned that the great dispute he had had with Molotov was that Molotov insisted that all of the prisoners which the Allied armies took of former Russian nationals who had served in the German army should be turned over to the Russians. Byrnes' point was that Poles who came from that part of Poland which was east of the Prussian line should have the right to continue to be Poles. On this point it seemed to me that Jimmie was sound.

As the President left Biffle's office on his way to the White House he shook hands with me and I told him very briefly about Shapley's proposal to bring over some Russian astronomers. He seemed to be much interested...

The really significant conference of the day was with James Newman²⁵ and Creekmore Fath of OWMR. They referred to the memorandum which I had given to the President on the Johnson-May bill and said that they had also given a memorandum to John Snyder which he had passed on to the President... Newman says that Snyder has been assigned the duty by the President of following the atomic bomb legislation; therefore, he has the right and duty to call together various departments that would be affected by the legislation to consider whether changes should be made. Newman says that the Johnson legislation could now be defeated in the Senate and that it is essential for the administration to rewrite the bill.

Dr. Condon left with me a most interesting memorandum²⁶ with regard to the next step in the international control of the atomic bomb. The more I see of Condon the better I like him. He mentioned that he was recently taken to a luncheon in the Pentagon Building by Kenneth Royall²⁷ and a number of others in the War Department who have been active in drawing up the Johnson bill. When Royall was asked why Secretary Wallace had not been consulted about the legislation he dismissed it rather airily, as though to say, "It is not necessary to consult with Wallace anymore." (There is a bare possibility this conversation came from Newman rather than Condon.)

Mrs. Roosevelt was looking exceptionally well and seemed to be in good spirits. She seems to have the same slant on the various international and atomic bomb issues that I have. She says Mrs. Bethune,²⁸ the colored woman leader, has been trying to get in to see Truman but Truman won't give her an appointment. Mrs. Roosevelt thinks Truman is a good man who has very poor advisers about him. She thinks it would be terrible if Pauley were appointed Secretary of the Navy. She says that Hannegan very much wanted Pauley as Assistant Secretary of the Navy when Roosevelt was still alive and that she herself intervened with Roosevelt against Pauley.

OCTOBER 24, 1945

The luncheon with Smith and Gromov²⁹ was most interesting. Smith had practically nothing to say except he wanted me to talk at the American-Soviet Friendship meeting at Chicago on November 16. I told him I didn't think I could do it. Gromov did most of the talking. It was obvious from what Gromov said that the Russians are deeply hurt at the various actions of the United States relative to the atomic bomb, Great Britain, Argentina, and eastern Europe. He can't understand why we are getting ready to loan so much money to Great Britain and are not prepared to loan much to Russia. He was very critical of Jimmie Byrnes. I told him Jimmie Byrnes had defended Russia against Senator Vandenberg and he found that hard to believe. He wanted to know why Jimmie Byrnes played England's game so exclusively. I told him it was traditional for Southerners to be friendly to England because England had been friendly to the South at the time of the Civil War. He was very critical of our letting Argentina into the San Francisco Conference. He cannot understand why we let Argentina get away with all kinds of anti-democratic programs while at the same time we insist on democracy in the Balkan States.

Alexander Sachs³⁰ went into great detail concerning his relationship with Roosevelt and the atomic bomb during 1939, 1940, and on up through the year 1944. He thinks we made ourselves morally culpable when we dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. He said the way he had planned it out with Roosevelt was that the first bomb would be dropped with representatives present from all the neutral nations, including those neutrals who leaned toward the fascists. The results of their findings would be publicized and then the second bomb would be dropped on an island off the coast of Japan, after the Japs had been warned to vacate all their civilian population. Sachs said our moral prestige

in the world is very low as a result of the way we used the bomb. He also said that during 1940 and 1941 the War Department had absolutely no faith in developing the bomb. He says he was responsible for the President's appointing Vannevar Bush but he says that Vannevar Bush is definitely a tool of the big corporate interests. I was amazed that he should also say this was true of Conant. He described General Groves as very ambitious, intelligent, and a fascist. He said General Groves was in the pocket of Carpenter³¹ of du Pont. Sachs says that our own foreign policy is very, very bad; that we are being too much guided by the concepts that guided us at the first peace conference. He said the realistic approach was to look on the world now as being dominated by three great nations. In the main his views were the same as the other scientists. He told me he had dropped his connection with Lehman Brothers the minute he started to work on the atomic bomb and that since that time had been a consulting economist...

OCTOBER 25, 1945

... The last time I had seen Joe Alsop³² was in Kunming when he was serving as a press agent for Chennault. He now weighs 157 pounds as compared with 249 when he was at his fattest nine or ten years ago. At that time he weighed 70 pounds more than I and now he weighs about 30 pounds less. Joe is getting ready to start up his column again in partnership with his younger brother... He is violently against Stilwell and Stilwell's publicity man, Joe Davies. He is equally violent against Russia. He is for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. His ideal apparently is T. V. Soong. He is violent against the Chinese communists and apparently has no comprehension of what the average Chinese farmer is up against. He was very skeptical about Truman. He thinks Truman gets too much of his advice from his military aide, General Harry H. Vaughan, and his naval aide, Commodore J. K. Vardaman. He is a strong admirer of Jimmie Byrnes and thinks the present State Department setup is excellent. He described his own position as a man well left of center but not a communist. I said that was my position also but that I didn't agree with him about the violent attitude against Russia. I said if I felt like he did about Russia I would advocate immediate war with Russia. I said if we were not going to have immediate war with Russia we had better be friends with Russia. Alsop concluded by saying that it was inevitable that all the world would be communistic within a relatively few years. I said that on the contrary we could work hard to make friends with Russia and to build up a really strong United Nations organization; that we didn't need to have the fear of Russia hanging over us like we had the fear of Nazi Germany hanging over us...

OCTOBER 26, 1945

At the cabinet meeting Jimmie Byrnes reported on the London meeting.³³ His method was the chronological one. First, he dealt with the question of Italian rearmament. It seems that the Russians wanted to let the Italians rearm as much as they wished. The United States led most of the other nations in the view that the Italians should not be allowed to rearm; that it would be bad for them; that they didn't have the wherewithal to enable them to develop a substantial army and navy; that they had no business having them anyway. Byrnes said the real reason for the Russians wanting the Italians to rearm was to set a precedent for the Greeks to rearm. He said that the Russians believe they are going to get the upper hand eventually in Greece and that they want to have an armed Greece to offset British influence in the Mediterranean.

Byrnes dealt with a great many points one after another, each designed to show the Russians up in a bad light. I have no question as to the truth of his report but neither do I have any doubt that Jimmie was rather anxious to have the Russians shown up in a bad light. Jimmie said that he never lost his temper in dealing with Molotov but that his temper had never been so sorely tried.

At the conclusion of the cabinet meeting the President made the point that we were not going to let the public know the extent to which the Russians had tried our patience but that we were going to find some way to get along with the Russians.

At the close of the cabinet meeting I spoke to the President about when he was going to send up Condon's nomination to be Director of the Bureau of Standards. He said he would do it early next week. I also gave him a nice letter for him to send to Briggs, the retiring Director of the Bureau of Standards.³⁴

I then spoke to the President about Harlow Shapley's proposal to bring over fifty Russian scientists to the United States. He said that would be perfectly splendid and that he would like to see Harlow Shapley. I then gave the President the attached memorandum dated October 19 which had been prepared by Condon. I didn't tell him Condon had prepared it. I merely said that it had been prepared by a scientist not in the Department of Commerce. He glanced at it but didn't read it all. He saw enough of it, however, to be moved to say that he was planning to have

Bevin and Attlee over here soon to talk with them about the atomic energy matter preliminary to talking with Russia. I told him I thought that was fine; that at the moment the prestige and leadership of the United States were definitely on the skids and that it was necessary for him to move out very decisively. He said then he was going to clear all that up in his New York speech. I remembered then that he had referred to his New York speech the last time I had seen him. I told him that his Reelfoot Lake pronouncement had had a very unfavorable effect on both British and Russian public opinion;³⁵ that in some safe way he must get the moral burden of carrying the atomic energy secret over on the United Nations organization; that as long as we were following our present policy we would be looked on with suspicion and fear. I pointed out at some little length the dangers of playing a one-sided game on the side of the British; that it was advisable when we safely could make the loan to make the Russians a loan proportionate to their needs comparable to the loan made to the British.³⁶

I pointed out that the Russian attitude in the Balkan States was not so greatly different from our attitude with regard to Mexico and Cuba. I referred to my trip to Mexico in December of 1940, stating that in all probability Almazan would have been elected but that the United States had finally decided to back Camacho and that I had been sent down there to serve as a front for the United States to help prevent what otherwise might have been a revolution.³⁷ President Truman said he had not been aware of that situation. I then referred to the way in which Spruille Braden recently in Cuba had thrown his weight around to make certain that Dr. Roman Grau San Martin became President, in spite of the fact that there were revolutionary forces brewing in Cuba which without our intervention would have prevented San Martin from becoming President.

I said that Russia, with her more or less illiterate neighbors, untrained in democratic processes, would inevitably take, in terms of her situation, steps somewhat corresponding to those which we have always taken with regard to our more or less illiterate neighbors with poorly established democratic processes. Truman replied that yes, Russia was always talking about a cordon sanitaire. He talked as though he completely agreed with me and as though the thing he most wanted in the world was an understanding with Russia which would make impossible a third world war.

I said to the President there was grave danger that during the next ten years Russia might hang as a specter over the world economy in the same way as Nazi Germany did during the decade of the thirties. I said it would be possible to prevent that and we should do everything possible to prevent it. I said if we didn't prevent it we would inevitably have from five to ten million people continuously unemployed because of the fear of World War III that would be engendered in the hearts of the businessmen and especially the investing public.

Friday night at Hot Springs, Virginia, General Marshall gave a talk to the Business Advisory Council, the fundamental essence of which was that we were demobilizing too fast and that we should go all out for universal military training. The businessmen loved it.

OCTOBER 30, 1945

I testified for seven hours before the House Committee on Expenditures with regard to the Full Employment bill. Then in the evening I gave a talk before the American Society for Public Administration and answered questions for an hour. This made it a busier day than usual.

At the Edward C. Carter³⁸ meeting Carter made a most interesting talk with regard to his trip to Russia. He said he was in Moscow at the time the atomic bombs fell on Japan. He said that Litvinov told him after the second atomic bomb fell, "Those are the only two atomic bombs that will ever fall. With this power in the hands of the United States it is bound to be used for peace and not for destruction." Later on, after the President made his Reelfoot Lake statement, the whole attitude in Russia changed. Carter seemed to think that the change in attitude between the time the President sent his atomic bomb statement to Congress and the time he made his offhand newspaper statement had a pronounced effect on international affairs and especially on Russia. Unfortunately, I had to leave early and did not hear Carter's complete statement.

NOVEMBER 1, 1945

...At the dinner with the Luces, Bill Benton and his wife were also present. Most of the time was taken up by Henry Luce telling in a very slow and rather halting way about his 31-day trip around the world. Luce is a very strong admirer of the Generalissimo, who he thinks is a heroic figure. He has no use whatever for the Chinese communists. It seemed to me that Mrs. Luce was more realistic about the Chinese than Henry. It seemed to me as though Henry were continually modifying his sentences so as to make sure that all of them contributed to the utmost to make the Generalissimo a hero. He was in Kunming at the time the Generalissimo deposed Governor Lung Yum. He thought the Generalissimo had shown unusual astuteness in picking a time when Lung's army was out of the way.

Luce thinks that the Chinese communists have received too good a break from the American press. He said the hottest spot in China right now was in the province of Shantung. He referred to that as his "native province." Apparently he was born there.

Luce wanted to know my opinion as to what could be done for China. I told him in my opinion the first thing to do was to stop inflation and get in a considerable quantity of textiles. From a longer range point of view I urged that we get in various types of technicians, especially men who could get really practical information to the Chinese farmers. I suggested that from the immediate point of view he get in touch with Tom McCabe,³⁹ who has charge of army surpluses abroad.

Throughout the evening Bill Benton was very reverential toward Henry Luce, acting toward him as though he were an oracle speaking words of the utmost wisdom. Mrs. Luce also was very deferential toward her lord and master, although it was rather obvious that her brain worked twice as fast as the slow-spoken Harry's. Harry was under the continual necessity of trying to twist the truth in order to make it come out with the answer he wanted. Mrs. Luce was enjoying the luxury of saying what popped into her mind first. Mrs. Luce freely confessed that she hated Russia. Henry Luce probably hates Russia even more but he concealed it more skillfully in order to give his reportorial comments greater weight.

On the atomic bomb thing Mrs. Luce seems to be right in many particulars. She says that as much as she hates Russia, she is convinced that Russia will have the secret within a very few years and that, therefore, it is especially important to get the whole thing under the control of the United Nations Organization as soon as it can be got there effectively. Just as I was leaving Mrs. Luce said she was sorry that the season was so far along; that she would like to play tennis with me...

NOVEMBER 5, 1945

Just before the meeting in Secretary Vinson's office I asked Will Clayton what he felt the Russian needs for a loan were as compared with the British. He said he didn't think the Russians had anywhere near so great a need for a loan as the British. I said I understood Mr. Kaplan in FEA had estimated the Russians needed a loan much larger than the British. Clayton then said he thought the British needed the loan in order to import more goods to sustain their standard of living and to prepare themselves to engage in world trade. Harry White interjected to say that he felt the Russians had just as much need for a loan to sustain their standard of living as the British and that as a matter of fact the Russian standard of living was far lower than the British; that it was much lower than before the war...

Just before I swore in Condon, Brian McMahon called up to say that the FBI and the War Department claimed Condon was a "pink." I told McMahon that if Condon was a "pink" then he, McMahon, was a "pink" and so was I. I might also have said, although I didn't, that if Condon is a "pink" the FBI and certain segments of the Army are Nazis. McMahon said that General Groves and someone from the FBI were coming up to see him and that he would let me know their story later on.

NOVEMBER 6, 1945

At the cabinet luncheon the President asked Jimmie Byrnes to talk about the Chinese communist situation. The President said, "Tell the cabinet what Stalin said about the Chinese communists." Jimmie replied by saying that Stalin at Potsdam had called the Chinese communists a "bunch of fascists." Stalin also had said, according to Jimmie, that the only chance he saw for stable government in China was the Kuomintang around the Generalissimo. President Truman said that the Chinese communists had worked with the Japs. Jimmie Byrnes said that President Roosevelt had followed a policy throughout of backing up the Chiang Kai-shek government. I couldn't help remembering what the President had told me before I left on the trip to China; also what Lauch Currie had told me about the President's attitude. Perhaps I should have spoken up but I didn't say a word. It seemed as though the President and Secretary Byrnes had made up their minds as to the course they were going to follow and that any effort to speak about the true situation in China would be misunderstood. I think it is undoubtedly true that the Russians don't look on the Chinese communists as communists. But that doesn't mean that they don't have a great deal of sympathy among the masses of the Chinese people. President Roosevelt, of course, did his best to get the Generalissimo and the communists together. Apparently this has been hidden from Jimmie Byrnes and President Truman. It is my observation that the Russians wished Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek well but wondered why he had so many rascals around him.

The President called attention to the fact that this was the first time he had met with the entire cabinet and no one but the cabinet. He said he had complete confidence in every man present. He said in the future he was going to keep his afternoons free for conferences with the members of the cabinet. He said he wanted the greatest harmony among the members of the cabinet...

NOVEMBER 7, 1945

...At Secretary Byrnes' office we discussed British counter proposals on the loan. Strangely enough, the British have come back to the proposal which I suggested in the first place, a month ago, namely, that their payments be deferred in case their exports and invisible balance should fall below a certain level. In the first instance the British had been very unfavorable to this approach.

At Ambassador Davies' luncheon there were present two Poles, Janusz Zoltowski, Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy, and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Vice Premier and Minister of Commerce of Poland. I asked Mikolajczyk what truth there was to these stories which Senator Vandenberg was telling about the way the Russian army was abusing the Poles. He said there were certain marauders in Russian uniform who didn't belong to any of the units officially stationed in Poland who were causing a lot of trouble. Mikolajczyk had spoken to Stalin about it and Stalin had said he would straighten the situation out. Apparently the situation is not at all what Vandenberg says it is. However, there is still a lot of confusion. These two Poles were very eager to work out a friendly relationship with Russia. They went into some detail describing the great problem ahead of them in getting the population properly placed. I was amazed to have them tell me how nearly East Prussia had been vacated by the Germans.

At John Snyder's office we went over the way in which the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion could change the Johnson-May bill. They had the original version in one column and their suggested changes in another.

Kenneth Royall, the Undersecretary of War, carried the battle for the War Department, although Bob Patterson was present. It seems that Royall and another army officer by the name of Marbury⁴⁰ drafted the Johnson-May bill under the supervision of Conant, Karl Compton, Vannevar Bush, George Harrison,⁴¹ Jimmie Byrnes, and several others. Kenneth Royall started out by saying how after the bill had been drafted it had been cleared by the State Department, the Attorney General's office, and the Department of the Interior. I asked them why they had not cleared it with the Department of Commerce. He had no defense. Later on I asked Bob Patterson the same question. He also had no defense. I said, "Well, I take it you cleared with Secretary Ickes because you thought he had a higher nuisance value than I did." Ickes and I carried the ball against the War Department. Royall told how they had tried to get in touch with the various scientists who had been criticizing the bill but the scientists would not see them. He qualified his statement by saying that they had tried to get in touch with everybody but Szilard and indicated that the War Department didn't think much of Szilard...

I exchanged telephone views with Harold Ickes and we both have the idea that a certain small group of scientists which works pretty closely with a certain small group of industrialists, who in turn work very closely with the War Department, are trying to control the atomic energy thing in their own way. Pregel says the only way the atomic energy thing can be made safe for the world is to develop its peacetime potentialities as rapidly as possible. After noting the way in which the Army has spread rumors about Pregel, Szilard, and Condon, I am inclined to think they will knife anybody who, directly or indirectly, fights the legislation which they are pushing. The war psychology has gotten into their blood and the ends justify the means. I am expecting them to circulate the most absurd stories.

NOVEMBER 8, 1945

...When Henry Hart of Fortune came in he started out in a way which led me to think he wanted to drive a split between me and the Truman administration. He is writing a story illustrated with color photographs on each of the cabinet members for the January Fortune magazine. I told him I was very happy at my work and that I felt it was possible for the Secretary of Commerce to make some contribution toward preventing the debacle which came after World War I. When he went out he said, "Well, I hope I can vote for you in 1948." I said, "Don't you think you had better make it 1952?"

HENRY A. WALLACE TO HARRY S. TRUMAN

Dear Mr. President:

Immediately after the cabinet meeting this morning, John Snyder suggested to me that I write a letter to you giving my impressions of the analysis of the May-Johnson Bill made by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Before taking up the OWMR recommendations, I should like to say that the cabinet discussion this morning was very much to the point in that it had a direct bearing on the control features of the proposed Atomic Energy Commission. You, and many of the rest of us, were concerned because the House and the Senate had exempted some 10 or 14 agencies from the Reorganization Bill. The point was made that some agencies had strong lobby power, stronger in fact than that of any cabinet member, or even the President. The point that I should like to make is that the Atomic Energy Commission as proposed in the May-Johnson Bill has potentially the opportunity to become much more powerful than the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal Trade Commission, or even the Army Engineers.

It seems to me all important, therefore, that the administrator of an Atomic Energy Commission – the person who would be most responsible for directing the development of this great new force – be brought immediately under the control of the President and that he not be placed under the commission. I am confident that with the May-Johnson Bill as it now stands it would be easily possible for certain groups that definitely do not stand for what you and I stand for to gain an astonishing amount of control in an amazingly short time.

The OWMR analysis of the bill recognizes this all-important matter of assuring democratic control of the Atomic Energy Commission. I should like wholeheartedly to endorse the OWMR recommendations which would remove the restrictions on the authority of the President to assume responsibility to the people for the activities of the commission. Provisions should be made in the bill to enable the President to remove members of the commission when he deems it necessary in the national interest, and for the administrator to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, with tenure, as in other major appointments, at the President's pleasure.

Of major importance also is the OWMR recommendation that the bill be revised to place at least as much emphasis

on atomic energy for peaceful purposes as for national defense. In my opinion it is important to place *much more* emphasis on the peacetime development of atomic energy. *We must recognize that the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes may soon be of much greater concern to the nation and have greater effect on our economy and our way of life than further improvements of the atomic bomb.* (Italics added by editor.) It will of course continue to be of the greatest importance to find the road to international peace, but while working in this direction we must be mindful of the industrial peacetime implications of atomic energy. I endorse, therefore, the specific recommendations made in the OWMR analysis with respect to the basic policies and objectives to be pursued by the commission.

I am not in accord with the OWMR recommendation that members of the commission should be full-time personnel if the administrator is responsible to you. If the administrator is made directly responsible to the President, it seems to me that members of the commission should serve on a part-time basis; and that in addition to representatives of the various elements of the American people, they could also include representatives from the various cabinet departments most concerned with this vital problem. Such an arrangement would result in better integration of federal activity in respect to atomic energy development and control and further strengthen the principles of democratic responsibility in the administration of the commission.

Atomic energy is potentially the major factor in our domestic, economic, and political life. This leads me to concur in the OWMR recommendation that it would be more in keeping with American democratic principles and traditions to provide that neither the administrator nor the deputy be an active member of the armed forces.

The recommendations made by the OWMR as to research in the field of atomic energy are also in the public interest. Especially important is the recommendation for provision to secure to the public the fruits of inventions or discoveries resulting from the expenditure of public funds...

In agreement with the OWMR recommendations I regard the provisions of the May-Johnson Bill as extreme in the matter of security regulations and violations. The recommendations made by the OWMR should receive your complete support. Moreover, positive emphasis should be placed on the importance of maintaining complete freedom in research endeavor to assure a climate in which science can best develop. The continuation of wartime security regulations, such as those imposed in the development of the atomic bomb, into peacetime research activities would greatly retard scientific progress and would probably drive many of our most talented scientists into other fields.

I am in full accord with the recommendation by the OWMR for complete nationalization of production, processing, and ownership of fissionable materials. As you yourself have indicated, atomic energy is a force too revolutionary to be dealt with in the framework of old ideas and I cannot conceive that the materials from which this force may be drawn should ever be in the hands of any but the government representing all the people of the country. It would seem to me just as dangerous to permit private interests to own, produce, or process fissionable materials in significant quantities as to permit, say, any private group to raise its own military force or to store its own arsenal of weapons.

The OWMR recommends that the same policy extend to the development of devices which may be used with atomic energy. I do not agree, and I strongly urge that the development and utilization of atomic energy for industrial purposes be placed in the hands of free private enterprise as far as can be consistent with public safety and security. Government controls or government monopoly of uses of atomic energy should be restricted as much as possible and should be accepted only when necessary to public welfare. I favor a policy of nonexclusive licenses for all important economic applications of atomic energy, with the government reserving only the right to establish safety and security regulations to govern such licensees. Inventors of devices for the economic use of atomic power should secure a reward for their genius in the form of reasonable royalties under such non-exclusive licenses.

In light of the major way in which atomic energy can affect our economic, social, and political life I cannot too strongly urge the importance of effecting modifications of the May-Johnson Bill along the lines indicated by the OWMR recommendations and the further suggestions made above...

NOVEMBER 9, 1945

At the cabinet meeting the President started out by saying that the Republicans were getting ready to open up a real attack on us...

.. I presented... charts⁴² to the cabinet. The President seemed quite interested in these charts and stopped around to talk to me about them after the meeting was over. I told him that our objective should be to get \$30 billion more consumer dollars; that we should have \$130 billion consumer dollars instead of \$100 billion. He said yes, we must get full production as soon as we can. He said, smiling very whole-heartedly, "We can get thirty billion more

consumer dollars.” He takes matters of this sort very confidently and lightheartedly; I hope he has a firm basis for his confidence...

NOVEMBER 13, 1945

...I sat at the left of Prime Minister Attlee at dinner. He is a rather mousy little man who speaks without spark. He made it clear that the socialism of England is derived from William Morris and that it has a Christian base in contradistinction to the Marxian socialism of the Continent. He feels like he is preaching pure Christian doctrine when he preaches socialism. I told him that if socialism were to gain in the United States it would have to have the same kind of base as in England; that the Marxian socialism would never appeal to the rank and file of the common people of the Middle West who had a Christian background. He said, “You know we have a great many Catholics in our party in England. They are not offended by our type of socialism. There are a number of Catholics in my own constituency in Limehouse.”

Attlee is very enthusiastic about the idea of having full employment in the United States and England as a method of preventing worldwide revolutionary disturbances. On the whole, everything considered, I would say that Attlee's administration will probably be more conservative than Winston Churchill's would have been. Certain very large industries may be nationalized but they will be nationalized in a very conservative way...

After dinner I talked to Admiral Somerville⁴³...He was much disturbed about atomic energy and claimed that the only safe thing to do was to outlaw it so that it would not be used either for munitions or any other way. About this time Lord Halifax came up. Lord Halifax told the Admiral that he was completely unrealistic about atomic energy. Lord Halifax spent some little time going over the diplomatic history from 1930 to 1940. He claimed that Chamberlain could not have done anything else at Munich. He said that Churchill in 1939 had gone to him and said, “The thing you ought to do is to make friends with Russia.” A year or two later Halifax asked Churchill, “Do you think if we had given Stalin everything he wanted in 1939, including the right to have his way in the Balkan States and in Poland, that he would have come in with us against Hitler?” Churchill answered, according to Halifax, that looking back on Stalin's problem he thought he would not have come in at the time for the simple reason that his army was not prepared at that time properly to resist the German army. Stalin, knowing the facts, simply had to play for time and use any method he could.

I then said to Halifax, “Well, when was it that you did make your mistake, then? Was it in Manchuria in September of 1931? Was it when Mussolini went into Abyssinia in 1935? Was it when Hitler went into the Rhineland in 1936? Or was it when Hitler went into Austria in April of 1938?” Halifax shied away from meeting the Manchurian issue; I thought he definitely was not frank on that. With regard to Italy going into Abyssinia, both he and Somerville agreed that if the British had taken a strong stand to close the Suez Canal to Italian shipping, the Italians couldn't have gone ahead with their Abyssinian venture and that they would not have called the British bluff. I raised the question of the extent to which we were now promoting economic situations which would result in the rise of other madmen at some future period. As I listened to Halifax and Somerville I couldn't help thinking, “Yes, there will always be a Britain doing her part to perpetuate economic and political injustice in a way that will result in a war every generation.”

The British are very likable people but it seems to me their whole attitude inevitably leads to causing the other peoples of the world to feel inferior and fearful and therefore willing and anxious to strike out in a violent way as soon as they think they can do so with some chance of success. The United States is the only country which has gotten away in a big manner with resisting the British. British policy in my opinion will be to try to set us in the United States against the Russians as much as possible...

NOVEMBER 15, 1945

...Joe Alsop was on a fishing expedition. He said that both Vinson and Hannegan were disgusted with the small-caliber men immediately around the President and they were putting forth pressure on the President to get rid of such little fellows as General Vaughan, Commodore Vardaman, George Allen,⁴⁴ et al. He wanted to know whether I felt the same way and whether I thought they would succeed. I didn't make any statement myself but said that I understood that Bob Hannegan felt this way very strongly. I didn't know about Vinson. As to whether they would succeed I said that it was my opinion that Truman was very loyal to his friends and therefore I wouldn't care to predict. I said that those immediately around the President were inevitably shot at and said this was true in Roosevelt's day also. Alsop interjected to say, “Ah, but they were giants in those days compared with these little men”...

At the dinner at Sumner Welles' home the chief subject of conversation was the 9-point declaration on the atomic bomb by the President, Attlee, and King.⁴⁵ I took Evatt⁴⁶ to the dinner and back again. He spoke very freely on

Jimmie Byrnes, whom he looks on as a double-dealing reactionary who doesn't read anything and doesn't know anything. He looks on the British Foreign Minister Bevin in almost exactly the same light. He thinks Attlee is a sincere man but of very limited outlook.

The others present at the Welles dinner were Senators La Follette, Ball, McMahon, and Fulbright; also the Mexican Ambassador; Dr. Shotwell,⁴⁷ Marquis Childs, and Clark Eichelberger. Senator McMahon criticized at some length the first sentence in Section 8 of the declaration, which reads as follows:

The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each one of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken.

He said this was evidence of the hand of General Groves. He thinks this is likely to lead to wrangling and misunderstanding. There was also the question of who would serve on the United Nations Commission. It was also noted there was no statement as to whether the matter was to be dealt with by the United Nations Security Council or the Assembly.

McMahon, during the dinner, took a number of cracks at J. Edgar Hoover. McMahon was assistant to the Attorney General under Homer Cummings. He said that Homer Cummings allowed Hoover to operate on his own too freely. He said that Hoover was taking a lot of credit for things that he had no right to take credit for.

Evatt in discussing China criticized the Chiang Kai-shek regime as fascist. He said it was a horrible military dictatorship...

NOVEMBER 16, 1945

At the start of cabinet meeting the President indicated that he thought Attlee, King, and himself had done a pretty good job in the declaration which they put out on November 15, the previous day. He said he wanted to get the opinions of everyone there about it. Vinson said he thought it was good. Acheson said the same; so also did Tom Clark, Patterson, Forrestal, and Hannegan. Ickes and Anderson were not there.

I said that the President knew from his conversations with me that the declaration carried out the points which I had made... I read the first paragraph of Section 6 and said I was sure that the second sentence of this paragraph was true.⁴⁸ I said, however, that this sentence was used in a rather deceptive way; that the paragraph had to do with the peacetime application of atomic energy and therefore the way the second sentence should have read would be "The industrial exploitation of atomic energy depends, in large part, upon the same methods and processes as would be required for military use." I said that for peacetime use it was not necessary to go nearly as far as in military use. I said that I had not had opportunity to talk with any of the scientists about this matter and that Condon was out of town. I said that I thought a number of the scientists would feel that the argument used in Section 6 was somewhat deceptive. The President said that the particular section to which I referred had been drawn up by the scientists. I said that Vannevar Bush didn't necessarily represent the view of all the scientists at the present time. The President said that Oppenheimer was in on it. I said, "Neither does Oppenheimer altogether represent the view of the scientists at the present time." Then I went on to talk about Section 7, saying that I noted that the international commission was to be set up under the United Nations Organization to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. I said I assumed this meant that this action was to be taken by the Assembly of the United Nations and this meant that the small nations would be in on it in a big way. I said no doubt this problem had been fully considered but it seemed to me that the small nations, as they considered the commission and its recommendations, would conceivably create considerable confusion.

I then dealt with Section 8, and particularly the sentence saying, "The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each one of which would develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage was undertaken." I said this sentence suggested that Russia would have to pass the first grade in moral aptitude before she would be allowed to enter the second grade in moral aptitude. I said I thought there was a fifty-fifty chance that Russia might accept. The President said that this step-by-step procedure is one which we have found is best in dealing with the Russians. I did not say so in cabinet meeting but I suspect the Russian agreement to come along will depend on just how far along her scientists are. If they have made a really great advance they may not care to accept England, the United States, and Canada as their teachers in international morality.

Schwellenbach, General Philip Fleming, Jack Blandford⁴⁹ and John Snyder all agreed that the statement was excellent ...

After the meeting was over Schwellenbach was rather slow coming around because he was waiting for John Steelman to come in. John Steelman⁵⁰ is the newest presidential adviser. At that time I gave the President the letter... with regard to the Export-Import Bank.⁵¹ The President said that he had had a terrible time with the Export-Import Bank; that there had been some lobbyists in town who under the old setup had been making a lot of money out of getting loans for certain foreign countries from the Export-Import Bank. He said in trying to break up this bad situation he had been exposed by the Republicans to the necessity of appointing two Republicans on the board. He said the only position he had left was a position for a Republican. I told him that the work in FEA was such that the Department of Commerce should have a representative on the board and said we might see if we couldn't get someone in the Department of Commerce who was a Republican. He said that when he revised the board that Jimmie Byrnes had given him the devil of a time because of certain State Department attitudes. The way he said this indicated to me that the situation between the President and Jimmie is not at all happy. Apparently the President has heard some of the cracks Jimmie has taken at him in some of his press conferences.

Before the cabinet meeting took up I said to Bob Hannegan, "I understand that you are now looked on as one of the most progressive members of the cabinet." Bob said, "Does this mean that you think the cabinet is so reactionary?" I said, "No, not at all." Bob then thawed out quite completely and told me how he had been working with Sidney Hillman and that Sidney Hillman had told him that the number one business from the standpoint of the CIO people was the minimum wage bill⁵²...

Hannegan, during the time I was talking with him... indicated that the President now had a number of advisers who were continually referring to his progressive friends as "Reds," saying to the President, "Don't pay any attention to what those 'Reds' want you to do."

NOVEMBER 21, 1945

...I had quite an extended talk with Spruille Braden and Carlos Montero Bernales, the Minister of Finance of Peru. They both claimed that the communists in Latin America played with the dictatorships; They said that Prado of Peru had an alliance with the communists, that Medina of Venezuela had such an alliance, that Batista of Cuba had had it, and also Vargas of Brazil. Braden claimed that the objective of these alliances was to drive a wedge between the United States and the Latin American countries. The Finance Minister made the same claim even more emphatically...

Spruille Braden, who is very thick-set and weighs about 260 pounds ...was extraordinarily vigorous in his statements about the communistic activities in Latin America. After I had heard both Braden and the Finance Minister talk at some length, I made the statement that their observations led me to think that it was very important that we have an understanding with Russia so that we could develop our inter-American relations without the danger of the communists continually stirring up trouble. I said it seemed to me that there might be a number of quid pro quos on both sides and there was a possibility that Russia might feel about the Balkan states in somewhat the same way as we feel about Latin America. At the conclusion of the luncheon I suggested we stop over and see Joe Davies. Spruille Braden told Joe how he felt about the matter. Braden went on to develop the thesis that he didn't like it when the communists in Latin American countries tried to make it so difficult when a democratic government took the place of a dictatorial government. Davies made the point that there are many definitions of a democratic government. Davies proclaimed that his real interest in the Russian affair was to be sure that we got a basis for an enduring peace. I could see that he was not so much impressed by Braden's presentation. I could also see that Braden was not in the least impressed by Davies. After listening to Braden I am beginning to think that perhaps he was brought in by Jimmie Byrnes as much because of his vigorous stand against communism in Cuba as because of his vigorous stand against fascism in Argentina...

NOVEMBER 23, 1945

At the cabinet meeting the chief subject up for discussion was strikes. Schwellenbach said that recent events had changed his opinion and that he is now convinced that the administration ought to step in and step in in a very decisive way. He pointed out that both the unions and General Motors were very recalcitrant and thought the government had to carry the ball. Jimmie Byrnes and Vinson expressed their opinions. I expressed briefly most of the points dealt with in the memorandum which appears herewith.⁵³ I said there would be some difficulty in getting set up in law a fact-finding commission because the large corporations with great profits did not want their profits looked into. I said, however, it should be possible to have as a part of the facts for the public the general profit situation in industry...

The President, in shifting from consideration of domestic to foreign affairs, said, turning to Jimmie Byrnes, "I am sure

you agree with me, Mr. Secretary, that if we can't straighten out these domestic affairs we shall not be able to have the influence we should have in international affairs. The people of the world won't have much respect for us if we allow ourselves to get engaged in a lot of internal disagreements."

Jimmie Byrnes discussed at some little length the Iranian situation.⁵⁴ He said that he was sure that the disturbances in Iran had been fomented. He called the attention of the President to the fact that at Potsdam he and the President were on record to the effect that we were in position to get our troops out of Iran within thirty days. He said the British were as bad as the Russians in wanting to hold their troops in Iran. He thought the only thing for us to do was to act at once and get our troops out. He said there were still 5000 men there but they were service men and not combat troops. Patterson agreed with Byrnes that we ought to get these men out at once...

NOVEMBER 27, 1945

... The cabinet luncheon started out by the President walking in with a roll of teletype yellow paper in his hand, saying, "See what a son-of-a-bitch did to me." Then he proceeded to read the story of Pat Hurley's resignation as it had been given out just a half hour previously.⁵⁵ He said that Pat Hurley had assured him just the day before that he was going back to Chungking. Pat Hurley's statement as read by the President over the teletype was a marvel of political demagoguery, appealing both to the British-haters and the communist-haters as well as to all those who don't like the State Department. I immediately thought it was some high Republican masterminding.

Bob Hannegan said that Hurley had called him up at 11:30 today saying that he very much wanted to see Bob and indicating that he was going back to Chungking. Bob Hannegan said that Hurley spoke in the very highest terms of Jimmie Byrnes and the President, saying that the President's Navy Day speech was absolutely perfect and that Jimmie Byrnes had given him absolutely splendid backing in every way.

Jimmie Byrnes said that Hurley had also assured him that he was going back to Chungking. Apparently, Hurley has had a violent attack of hatred against two State Department men, one by the name of John Service and the other by the name of George Atcheson.⁵⁶ He spoke most violently against them both to Jimmie Byrnes and to Bob Patterson. He claimed they were "Reds" going against the policy of the President continually...

The subject then shifted over to the desperate state of affairs in China. The President read a wire from Ed Pauley indicating that the Russians had taken all the machinery out of the factories in Korea and Manchuria. The President said that both England and Russia wanted a weak and divided China. He said we were the only big nation that wanted a united democratic China. The President said that unless we took a strong stand in China, Russia would take the place of Japan in the Far East. I thought to myself, "This (the President's attitude) means World War Number 3." Byrnes said that the Chinese Nationalists have informed the State Department that the Chinese communists now have lots of Russian tanks and guns. I couldn't help remembering that when I was in China in June of 1944 the Chinese Nationalists were continually claiming that the Russians, as the result of their pact with Japan, were pulling out their troops in a way to permit Japanese troops to fight against the Generalissimo. I found that the American Embassy people didn't believe the Chinese claims. Pat Hurley, however, is much more sympathetic with the Chinese Nationalists than Ambassador Gauss was.

Jimmie Byrnes also said that the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow had asked the Russians to remain in Manchuria until January. Apparently they feel that if the Russians pull out too soon the Chinese communists will take over. It all sounded to me like the Chinese Nationalists were playing the game which I suspected them of when I was there in June of 1944, namely, "Doing their damdest to provoke a war between the United States and Russia." With all our superiority in material things I am inclined to think that the Chinese are smarter than we are in the psychology of diplomacy.

Jimmie Byrnes outlined his policy as being one of using our armed forces to disarm the Japs in China and Manchuria. He said we were obligated under the Japanese surrender terms to do this; that we were supposed to assure the Japanese troops on the mainland of transport to Japan so they could engage in civil peacetime pursuits. He thought we ought to carry out this assurance and in doing it make it possible for the Chinese Nationalist troops to take over as fast as the Japanese troops were withdrawn. He seemed to think there are about 200,000 of the very best Japanese troops, fully armed, guarding certain key railways in northern China and Manchuria. Altogether in Manchuria and China there are still about 720,000 Japanese soldiers and about 120,000 Japanese civilians. These are being moved out of Korea at the rate of about 8000 a day. At the conclusion of getting the Japs out Jimmie Byrnes thought the United States should stand pat and not give Chiang Kai-shek anything whatsoever until he agreed to come to terms with the Chinese communists and give them some places in a combination cabinet. Jimmie Byrnes again quoted what Stalin said to the President at Potsdam about the Chinese communists. It appears that Stalin called them brigands, robbers, and fascists. He also said that Stalin was for backing up the Generalissimo, thus furnishing the only hope for a strong central government in China. The various statements seemed to be as

utterly contradictory as Hurley's own actions of the past month.

Jimmie Byrnes spoke at some little length about Bob La Follette, how exceedingly anti-Russian he was and how he believed that Russia was going to take over all of China. Bob La Follette advocated, according to Jimmie Byrnes, that the United States keep her troops more or less indefinitely in China until a stable government was really assured. It is amusing to see the way in which La Follette has now swung around to become an interventionist. Apparently those who had a large German constituency were for a strong America First policy prior to 1942, whereas today the same people are strong interventionists and anxious to follow a policy which would eventually get us into a war with Russia.

Clinton Anderson urged that General Marshall be appointed at once as ambassador to take Hurley's place.⁵⁷ The President said he planned to put General Marshall in as head of the Red Cross. This job would not be open, however, until March. When we left the cabinet luncheon the President and Jimmie Byrnes were getting ready to get hold of Marshall to talk him into going out to China. It was also suggested that he stop off in Moscow on the way. Marshall is very strongly anti-Russian and if he takes the job this may produce a rather unusual situation.

I suggested that former Ambassador Gauss be consulted with regard to the Hurley matter. Hannegan spoke up and said that Gauss, who was a Republican, was being recommended both by Senator Harf⁵⁸ and Senator McMahon as the man for the Republican place on the Export-Import Bank.

I mentioned that when it came to getting the Generalissimo and the communists together they might have a pretty hard job and cited the conversations I had had with the Generalissimo in June of 1944 in Chungking.

Somebody mentioned that there was great need for educating the American people with regard to the true situation in China. Jim Forrestal said that the New York Times and the United Press could be counted on to carry the ball from the administration point of view.

NOVEMBER 28, 1945

I gave the President my speech on "Peaceful Atomic Abundance."⁵⁹ He started out by saying that he liked the title very much. I called his attention particularly to the sentence which reads, "Thank God the key to the atom is owned by all the people and not by those creatures of special privilege who would hide behind a military or industrial cloak to use this new device to bring the peoples of the world into subjection to Atomic Imperialism." He liked the sentence and said that was just the way he felt. Again I called his attention particularly to the paragraph dealing with the methods of developing atomic energy for peacetime purposes.⁶⁰ Here again he agreed enthusiastically and wholeheartedly.

I called his attention to the paragraph dealing with commendation of the scientists for condemning the destruction of the Japanese cyclotrons. He said he agreed with me on the sentence but said he thought that might cause him some difficulties with MacArthur. I told him I would be most happy to take this sentence out.

When I first came in I referred to the broad general memorandum which I had left with him on atomic energy and he said that had been very useful to him; that he had used it in his conversations with Attlee and King.

I then told him I would like to talk with him briefly about the foreign situation. I told him that for the past 200 years there had been a continual race between the British Empire and the Russian Empire; that this was a matter of geographical position and historical tradition. I told him it was not our business to take sides in this race but that at the present time it appeared we were playing the British game and a fascistic game. I told him that the British actions in Greece had been pretty bad. I was going to list some others but he interrupted to say he agreed with me. I then said I was afraid that one of the troubles was with Jimmie Byrnes; that it was a part of the tradition of people raised in the South to play up to England. This is partly a tradition carried over from the Civil War and partly due to the fact that the South looks to England as its chief market for cotton. They are not familiar with the Russian language, the Russian background, or the Russian situation. I then said I didn't think Jimmie really understood just what was going on. He said he agreed with me entirely; that he didn't realize that I had watched the situation so closely as to catch what he was up against. He said the grand thing about the Hurley resignation was that it was going to give him a chance to get into the State Department to straighten it out.

I talked at some little length about the relationship between Russia and China on that long border and especially about the situation among the Mohammedan tribes that move back and forth across the border. I told him that President Roosevelt had been his own Secretary of State and that, as I looked at the current situation, I felt that he also would have to be his own Secretary of State; that I didn't see any hope in the foreign situation unless he did take over. He professed himself to be much baffled by it all. He said he very much wanted to talk with me at greater length but now he had to go and eat lunch with his mother-in-law. I told him I would be happy to help him.

Just before I started to talk about the foreign situation I said to him that a number of newspapermen had been coming in, some of them apparently representing the extreme right and others the extreme left, saying that they understood I was going to resign. I told him that I had told them all that President Truman had given me 100 percent co-operation every time I had approached him on anything. He said, "I don't want you to resign and that comes from the heart"...

The President expressed considerable disquietude that the peacetime utilization of atomic energy would so shorten the hours of labor that the people of the United States would get into mischief. I said I could understand how he felt but it seemed to me that abundance should be made into a blessing rather than a curse; that I recognized that it took more spiritual strength to live with abundance than with scarcity...

After the luncheon given by Juan Chavez, the Peruvian minister, Harry White said he would like to see me. We drove over to the Treasury in my car. The point he wanted to make was that everyone recognized that the administration was very rapidly going to pieces on both the domestic and the foreign front. He thought I ought to come out in the very near future and make a very forthright speech in order to dissociate myself as nearly as possible from the impending wreck. He said the businessmen in New York City felt very strongly that things were going to pieces... I told White that the situation was so critical now that I thought I should do what I could to help the President and that I had found the President had expressed himself as willing to be helped. White broke out rather impatiently, saying, "Yes, that is the trouble, the President always uses good words but never does anything, or if he does act he acts weekly or on the wrong side." Harry White apparently is not [a] great admirer of his present chief, Vinson. Apparently he feels he is quite opportunistic.

Harry White told me that he was very much alarmed about Marshall's appointment to China because Marshall was anti-Russian and the Russians knew he was anti-Russian. He felt the Russians would place a very unfortunate interpretation on our sending our top military man to this post at this time.

After the staff meeting Condon wanted to tell me about the progress of the investigation by the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy. He showed me a Senate Atomic Energy Manual. This he said had been given to General Groves. General Groves had indicated the questions which he would and would not answer. With regard to the question dealing with British-American-Canadian cooperation Groves said he would not answer because his answers would reflect on President Roosevelt. He indicated that he had used his own judgment and had acted deliberately against directions from President Roosevelt. In view of Groves's disloyalty to President Roosevelt, Condon felt that it was very important that one broad question be answered, "In whose hands is the control of the present stockpile of bombs? Are they completely assembled and ready for use? Can the War Department furnish assurances that there is no possibility of our stock of bombs falling into the hands of unscrupulous persons?"

Condon told me that he felt now that Groves definitely was a fascist and that there was serious danger of a certain element in the Army at a certain stage of the game launching a bomb against Russia. He felt, therefore, that the stockpile of bombs should be under a type of lock whereby it would be necessary in order to get them out to use a series of keys coming from the President, the members of the President's cabinet, the president of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. The danger of unscrupulous use is such that the United States for the first time is in danger of the kind of military coup d'etat which happens so frequently in Latin America.

Condon went into some detail as to Senator McMahon's characteristics. He says that he has a very disorganized mind; that his office is a mess; that his instincts are good but that his capacities are small...

John Carter Vincent brought me up to date on the Chinese situation. As nearly as I can discover, he is absolutely sound in his views. He says the State Department has definitely been playing a pro-British game and that it has taken all that he and Dean Acheson can do to hold the scales even halfway level so far as Byrnes' actions are concerned.

He is optimistic about the outcome of the Hurley affair. He welcomes the Marshall appointment but is deeply concerned about the underlying trend both in the direction of helping British imperialism and with regard to the State Department itself. I cheered him up by saying I thought the President was definitely susceptible of education. He made the same point as Harry White to the effect that the President oftentimes seems to use the right words but not to do anything effective.

DECEMBER 3, 1945

...I didn't go to the dinner... given by Secretary Byrnes to the senators for the purpose of discussing the British loan. But I did get in immediately after the dinner. From the Executive Branch were present Jimmie Byrnes, Fred Vinson, Dean Acheson, Will Clayton, Marriner Eccles, Tom McCabe, and myself. The senators present were Tom Connally, Walter George, McKellar, Wallace White, Austin, Vandenberg, Tobey, and Wagner. Connally said that if there was going to be a loan to England there ought to be a loan to Russia also. Vandenberg said that he was against the loan to England because he thought that meant a loan to Russia. He said the Senate with mis-givings would vote to give a loan to England but would not vote to give a loan to Russia; that Russia would therefore be offended and that would mean war; that therefore a loan to England would mean war. He didn't phrase it quite this brutally but that was what he meant.

Connally didn't think England would ever repay the loan. George claimed England was bankrupt and ought to be given a bigger loan. George was pretty "tight" and at the start was brutal in his treatment of both Fred Vinson and Will Clayton. Dean Acheson told me after the party was over that he never saw such stupendous ignorance in his life as that displayed by the senators. Tobey and Austin showed some comprehension of the nature and magnitude of the problem.

I agreed with Tom Connally that a loan to England meant there should be a loan to Russia. Fred Vinson, after the show was over, expressed disappointment that Jimmie Byrnes didn't carry the ball more. He thought Jimmie did a poor job of selling. Probably the senators were just blowing off and the situation was not nearly as bad as Dean Acheson thought. Will Clayton did, as usual, a good job of making a presentation.

DECEMBER 4, 1945

At the cabinet luncheon the President mentioned that Brian Mc-Mahon, who usually is a reasonable fellow, seemed to be going off on a tangent.⁶¹ He said he thought it must be because of the advice he was getting from the scientists. I suppose he was referring to Condon and Newman and that his statement reflected something that Bob Patterson had told him. I asked who had control of our stock of atomic bombs. Bob Patterson interjected to say that there were not any atomic bombs; that the material out of which they were made was available but that the material was not assembled in bomb form. He did say, however, that they could be assembled in less than a day. He said General Groves was in charge. I said that it seemed to me that no one man should be in charge. I said that the material should be held under some kind of lock and key where it would be necessary to get the permission of the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of State, and the President in order to make the material available. Bob Patterson spoke up rather sharply to say, "I don't want control of this material; you can have it if you want it." I merely repeated that the President himself should have the supreme authority...

DECEMBER 11, 1945

The cabinet luncheon was held on the Williamsburg, of which the President is very proud. It is by far the fanciest presidential yacht which has ever been in use. The skipper told me that it could go to Europe and back. The various rooms are fixed up in grand style...

The President brought up the subject of Alaska for conversation ...I made the point that in order to develop Alaska the way it should be developed it would require much more governmental action than was necessary in places farther south. I said the individual farmer would not have much chance in Alaska. The President suggested that Ickes, Anderson, and myself get together to work out a program for Alaska. In view of the fact that the President mentioned Ickes' name first I very much doubt if anything will come of the suggestion.

Anderson brought up the question of sugar quotas. It seems the President out of the goodness of his heart gave the Philippines a quota of a million tons, feeling the Filipinos had done such a magnificent job fighting for us that they ought to have anything they wanted. Anderson told the President this had created great confusion in our negotiations with Cuba. I suggested to the President that he have an open mind with regard to the question. He said he had already made his decision. I said that it was important that anything we gave the Philippines got back to the Filipinos who were actually doing the work and suggested that if he would reopen the matter with the Filipinos on the basis of making sure of this point it might be possible to take care of the legitimate needs of the other sugar areas as well.

It is more and more evident that the President arrives at his decisions on the spur of the moment on the basis of partial evidence. He does so like to agree with whoever is with him at the moment...

DECEMBER 13, 1945

I first told the President I was seriously disturbed about the way in which the atomic bombs or atomic bomb material were being held by General Groves and five people under him. I urged that he at once make arrangements whereby this material be put under the control of a man appointed by himself, by the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy as a very minimum. I told him that General Groves was a Roosevelt hater and a Mrs. Roosevelt scornor. (Condon had told me that Groves in 1943 at Los Alamos had called Roosevelt a son-of-a-bitch and had told two off-color stories about Mrs. Roosevelt.) I told the President that Groves felt that Roosevelt had made some blunders with regard to the international handling of atomic energy and that he, General Groves, would straighten the matter out on his own. (This statement was based on what Groves told Senator McMahon about two weeks ago.) I said, "It may be that Groves was altogether right and Roosevelt was wrong." President Truman interjected to say, "We can't conclude that because Roosevelt isn't here." I told the President it was important to move and to move fast...

I told the President the point I was making was merely that there was always a certain group in the Army who had their own ideas as to what constituted national security and that if the situation either on the national or the international front got bad you couldn't tell what they would do, especially if they had something like the atomic bombs at their disposal...

We then talked about the labor situation.⁶² The President said he thought Phil Murray had not done right by him. He said that, last August, Phil Murray, Kennedy of the Mine Workers, and "that clothing man, let's see, what is his name?" I said, "Sidney Hillman." He said, "Yes, Sidney Hillman has the best brains of the lot." He said, "They sat here and told me they wanted the War Labor Board continued with the no-strike pledge up until January first. Now see what Phil Murray is doing to me, calling me a thief, etc." I told him I couldn't account for the violence of the CIO statement. I also told him that I hadn't seen any of the CIO people but the Electrical Workers, who had talked to me about another matter altogether. I asked his judgment as to whether it would be a good plan for me to see the CIO people in order to find out just what accounted for their very strong attitude. He said he thought it would be a good plan for me to see them if they made the inquiry but that I should not ask to see them...

The President got out the atomic bomb documents that Jimmie Byrnes was taking with him to Moscow and read a page or two about the commission which would be set up under the UNO. He also told me about the personal letter that he had sent Stalin and how he had gotten a reply from this personal letter transmitted by wire within two hours. This indicated to Truman that Stalin was very anxious for the conference.

DECEMBER 14, 1945

...At the cabinet meeting the President asked where Jimmie Byrnes was and Acheson said bad weather had forced him to stop at Frankfurt. The President then mentioned that the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy was very anxious to see him (the President) before Byrnes got to Moscow. The President thought they wanted to see him in order that the President might get to Byrnes a caution to hold back on giving the Russians any information about atomic energy. The President said he was convinced they were wrong; that the Russians had just as good scientists as we had; that the scientific information was now available to everyone and that it was important that we help create an atmosphere of worldwide confidence. Mc-Kellar took quite violent exception to the President's statement. Patterson stated that the Senatorial Committee had been egged on by the scientists (meaning Condon and Newman) to ask General Groves how many atomic bombs there were. Patterson said the senators themselves really did not want to know. The President at this moment chimed in to say that he didn't really want to know either. I promptly intervened to say with the greatest earnestness, "Mr. President, you should know; also the Secretary of War should know, and the Secretary of the Navy." I said I agreed that giving any information of this sort to the senators, especially to senators in executive session, would promptly result in a leak, and returned to the original theme and hammered with all the energy I could to the effect that the president himself must have this information. The President retreated in some confusion and said he guessed he should know and then covered up by saying, "I do know in a general way." Jim Forrestal agreed with me, saying that while he, himself, did not want the information he felt definitely the President should have it; that it was a necessary protection for him in case any investigation ever were made. I thought it was utterly incredible that Patterson and the President should be willing to trust full information and responsibility on this to a man like Groves and his underlings without knowing what was going on themselves.

The President then turned to Secretary Schwollenbach and said: "Well, how is your atomic bomb, the steel strike, coming along?" Schwollenbach gave the current details, giving it as his opinion that there would not finally be a steel strike. The President said he had been over the profits of the steel companies since 1890. He said they felt that they could afford to grant a wage increase if they got an increase of seven dollars a ton in their prices. I asked the

question, "At what volume?" He replied, "Operating at sixty percent of capacity." Judge Vinson intervened to say that he thought they would be operating at more than 60 percent of capacity and therefore they would not need this much of an increase.

The President indicated that he had made a number of mistakes in taking off controls too soon and that he was now prepared to back up Chester Bowles to the limit. Judge Vinson then brought up the status of the full employment legislation.⁶³ He made the same presentation as he had made to me late Thursday night over the phone. He said the Senate bill had not been discussed in the committee and therefore it would be impossible to get it favorably considered on the floor of the House. He thought the thing to do was to pass the weak House version and rely on getting the matter straightened out in committee. I spoke up and said that following Secretary Vinson's conversation with me last night I had gotten in touch with Outland⁶⁴ and that I had undertaken to tell Outland in confidence the nature of my conversation with the President Thursday noon. The President said that was all right. This means, therefore, that the President is definitely prepared to come out with a statement on behalf of the Senate bill once the House bill is passed and before the conferees meet. I told the President that Outland was rather disturbed at the way in which Manasco and his colleagues were calling the Senate legislation socialistic and communistic. I said Outland was surprised at their indulging in such epithets in view of the fact that Republicans like Vandenberg had voted for the measure. The President then kidded McKellar on the Senate being a bunch of communists. Bob Patterson spoke up to say that he was being attacked for having ordered the destruction of the Japanese cyclotrons. He said actually he hadn't been aware of signing the order but that the order had been put out in his name. He said Groves was responsible for the action. He said, however, that he was going to stand behind Groves; that he thought that a cyclotron was just as much an implement of war as a pistol. He said, "I know Henry Wallace doesn't agree with me." I said, "I most certainly do not. I think the destruction of the Japanese cyclotrons was an act of barbarism – as barbaric as the destruction of the library at Louvain." I said it was more proper to look on the cyclotron as a piece of iron than as a pistol; that it was more important in research than in making bombs and with the Japanese in their position it could not be used in making bombs. When I referred to iron, Bob Patterson interjected to say that he didn't think either Germany or Japan ought to be allowed to have much iron. I replied, "Well, iron is necessary to make agricultural implements."

Bob Patterson took violent exception. Senator McKellar said it was the Japanese who had committed an act of barbarism when they attacked us at Pearl Harbor. Later on Bob passed some rather humorous notes over to me, saying that he had ordered the destruction of the Japanese cyclotrons on the advice of the Secretary of Commerce. After the meeting was over I talked with Bob a little bit telling about the way in which cyclotrons were used in the construction of tagged atoms, which were very useful in conducting biological research. It was obvious that Bob knew nothing whatever about cyclotrons or about atomic research. He is merely in the hands of the generals. He promptly resorted to the position that both the Japanese and the German people were very wicked and he was going to do everything he could to see that they did not have anything with which to make war. Bob is a fair-minded person and a decent person but from a scientific point of view very ignorant. His instincts are of the highest but he is one of the most narrow-minded men I have ever met.

At the conclusion of the cabinet Dean Acheson came up to Bob Patterson and said, "I don't think we ought to continue making atomic bombs." Bob replied, "Well, if anyone forces me to reply to the question I could say, 'We don't have any atomic bombs.'" Then he added, "But we do have the materials all ready out of which we can make atomic bombs almost immediately. They just are not assembled." Patterson said, "We are keeping the plants running because if we closed them down we couldn't get them going again. Actually they are going to spend something over a half a billion dollars this year for making atomic bombs." Acheson's point was that as long as we were doing this the other nations of the world couldn't trust us. He said it was the old hen-and-egg proposition. We would not trust the other nations until they trusted us and until they trusted us we would not stop making atomic bombs. On the other hand, the other nations could not start trusting us until we stopped making atomic bombs. Arguments of this kind have absolutely no effect on an opaque mind like Bob Patterson's. It is a shame that Secretary Stimson could not have continued as Secretary of War...

DECEMBER 15, 1945

...In view of the comments I made Friday, December 14, about Bob Patterson and the cyclotrons, it is only fair to say that Bob apparently was influenced by the discussion in cabinet meeting and on Saturday morning called me on the phone to say that he had admitted it was a mistake.⁶⁵ ...It appears, therefore, that my comments regarding Patterson on Friday were too harsh. It also should be said, however, that if I had not come out vigorously Patterson would probably not have taken the action he did.

DECEMBER 18, 1945

John Beecher⁶⁶ told an amazing story of his experience at Stuttgart, Germany, and Antwerp, Belgium, running UNRRA affairs in cooperation with the British. From what he tells me the British performance has been absolutely disgraceful. He claims that the British by their black market methods have siphoned off tens of millions of dollars' worth of UNRRA materials from the docks at Antwerp. He had the matter up with the British authorities there and they tried to scare him by a pseudo court-martial. He also told about his experience with the British in handling displaced persons at Stuttgart. The Army had asked him to process and sift out the Ukrainians who were supposed to go from the Stuttgart area back to that part of the Ukraine east of the Curzon Line. When he started to work on the problem there was a great uproar in camp and it appeared from the uproar as though none of the Ukrainians wanted to go back. The next day he took out of the group those Ukrainians who had on them the Free Ukraine buttons that had been supplied by Hitler. When they were taken out and put in a separate place he found that all of the remaining Ukrainians wanted to go back to Russia, so he loaded them up in trucks and took them to the place where the displaced Russians were. The Russians went over them one by one and accepted them all. Then they brought in as the last truckload those who had the Free Ukraine buttons on. They all turned out to be Poles. They were London Poles masquerading as Ukrainians and out to create the maximum of disturbance.

Beecher had a number of other illustrations dealing with the activities of the British and the London Poles. He said the British were training the London Poles so that they would fight against Russia to obtain the disputed territory east of the Curzon Line and west of the Russian line as it existed prior to 1941. Everything he said confirmed me in the view that there is grave danger of the United States' playing the British game and getting into all kinds of trouble in eastern Europe. Beecher said the Russians were absolutely correct in their handling of every situation that he had anything to do with.

I mentioned this situation a little later in the day to Gladioux⁶⁷ and Gladioux said that when he was with UNRRA he found exactly the same problem. He had a wealth of details about it. Apparently the British and the London Poles in their operations in Europe are first-class sons-of-bitches and many of the United States people are suckers in falling for their game...

Marquis Childs came in all hot and bothered about the atomic bomb. He had already written a story which had been sent off earlier in the day and therefore what he was asking of me was not for quotation. He shared my views that the all-important thing to the future of the world had to do with Russian-American relations, with the British situation as a corollary to that. Apparently he had been talking to some of the senators on the Atomic Committee up on the Hill who were very much worried because we were still making bombs and the bombs were under the control of General Groves. He wanted to know how I felt about that. I told him the bombs ought to be more directly under the control of the President; that the control definitely ought to be lifted to a higher notch than it was now. Childs said that he had found some very level-headed senators were of the view that if we were unable in the present conference to come to an agreement with the Russians with regard to inspection of their establishments along the principles laid down in the document signed by Truman, Attlee, and King, we should immediately declare war against Russia and drop bombs on her. He said the senators told him that we now had bombs which were two times as powerful as those which were dropped on Hiroshima. I told Childs that if the Usted Sties became an aggressor nation on this basis it meant our complete moral bankruptcy; that it meant that we, like the Germans, were going out on the basis of a superior race to dominate the world with a beneficent dictatorship. I said I just couldn't imagine the United States doing a thing of this sort but if the United States did that I would be very much tempted to leave the country; that I couldn't reconcile myself to living with fascists. I then closed on the optimistic note, saying I just couldn't believe the United States was a nation of fascists; that I couldn't believe these senatorial members of the Atomic Bomb Committee, level-headed though they might be, represented the views of the American people...

DECEMBER 29, 1945

...My brother-in-law, Charles Bruggmann, told me about some friends who were in Dublin, Ireland, recently. At a social gathering were present several Jesuit priests who indicated that one of their supreme purposes was to bring about a war between the United States and Russia. Later on I began to speculate about the forces that are interested in trying to bring about such a war. In addition to a small group in the Catholic hierarchy there is also a small group among the English Tories and a small group in the American Army... a small group among the American big-business hierarchy, a substantial group among the Chinese Nationalists, the London Poles, and in general the more wealthy people who live in the countries close to Russia. Also there is a small group in the Navy (note for example Admiral Stark's⁶⁸ statement in the Pearl Harbor hearings with regard to communism being a greater danger than Naziism); also there should be included in this group a very strong element in the Republican Party. All of these people feel that it is only by the United States whipping Russia that they have a chance to maintain their present

position in life. Against this group is found the peace-loving people everywhere. Unfortunately, the love of peace is a general sentiment and doesn't bind people together in the same way as hatred binds together those who are intent on producing war between specific countries. The bulk of the Catholics, the bulk of the British, and the bulk of the common people everywhere do not want a third world war. These various groups that want a third world war in order to lick Russia are not at the present time working together but as time goes on they will tend more and more to coalesce. This is the great danger of the future.

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- ¹ Ira Mosher, Massachusetts business executive, former vice president and general manager of the American Optical Company, in 1945 president of the Russell Harrington Cutlery Company.
- ² Groves was guest speaker at a dinner that night of the Business Advisory Council of the Commerce Department.
- ³ James McCamy, the economic adviser in Austria of the Foreign Economic Administration.
- ⁴ Negotiations for an American loan to Great Britain were then under way. The meeting at the Treasury Department about that loan addressed itself, as the Treasury continually had during the war, to the question of the probable impact upon American exports of sterling assets accumulated by the British Dominions but confined for use within the British Commonwealth – that is, “blocked sterling.”
- ⁵ Wallace's position at this meeting became an object of public controversy after a distorted version of his remarks was leaked to the press. Newspapers hostile to him and to his views about atomic energy accused him of advocating the release to the Soviet Union of the “secret” of the atomic bomb. Though Truman denied that allegation, and though Wallace had struck a position almost identical with that of Henry Stimson (who was attending his last cabinet meeting), the distortion of Wallace's ideas remained a target for continual conservative attack. Wallace provided the fullest and clearest statement of his opinion in his letter to Truman of September 24, 1945 (published below), a letter based not only on his own reflections but also on advice he solicited from four atomic scientists, who reinforced his opinion. Those scientists were Szilard, Fermi, James Franck, and Farrington Daniels.
- ⁶ Julius A. Krug, at that time chairman of the War Production Board.
- ⁷ John W. Snyder, at that time director of the OWMR.
- ⁸ Wallace had gone to Chicago to confer with atomic scientists there.
- ⁹ Theodore P. Wright, head of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and William A. M. Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce.
- ¹⁰ W. Stuart Symington, then head of the Surplus Property Administration.
- ¹¹ The American negotiators decided on a credit of \$3.5 billion. The British had come down from their original request for \$5 billion to \$4 billion. Truman interceded to split the remaining difference and offer \$3.75 billion with the entire sum to bear interest at 2 percent but with a four-year period of grace before payments were due. That made the effective rate 1.63 percent, only slightly higher than the British had hoped for.
- ¹² Braden's appointment as ambassador to Argentina was confirmed.
- ¹³ Wallace broadcast on “Meet the Press” with four reporters as his interrogators, Alfred Friendly of the Washington Post, Richard L. Wilson of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, Walter C. Hornaday of the Dallas News, and Marquis Childs of the United Feature Syndicate.
- ¹⁴ Entitled “The Significance of the Atomic Age,” it read:
When many nations have atomic bombs and some of them are held back only by fear of retaliation, suspicion and apprehension will eventually mount up to a point, under the encouragement of the yellow press or the controlled press, which will require only the smallest spark to set off a world-wide, humanity-destroying explosion. Steps should be taken at once to call into being a vital international organization based on the elimination of all weapons of offensive warfare, the pooling of the constructive aspects of atomic energy, and the adoption of the principle of international trusteeship for certain areas of the world...
With regard to the atomic power commission, the President himself should have the power to appoint the director by and with the consent of the Senate. Any board should serve in a consultative fashion and should represent equally the governmental, the scientific, and industrial, the labor, the agricultural, the military, and the consuming public point of view. The commission with its director should deal primarily with the practical engineering development and civilian use of atomic power under appropriate safeguards. Most of the fundamental scientific work should be carried out by scientists in governmental, university, and private laboratories under the encouragement of some such scientific research foundation as that set up under this revised Kilgore-Magnuson bill.
It is time for the military to release the scientists from restraint so that we may have genuinely free public discussion at once.
- ¹⁵ Truman on October 3 had sent Congress a message about the control of atomic energy. Drafted at Acheson's request by Herbert Marks in the State Department, the message, while cautious and unspecific, followed Stimson's approach to the sharing of atomic information. The President proposed the appointment of a commission to control all sources of atomic energy, all research, materials, plants, production, and licenses. That control was to involve “minimum practical interference with private research and private enterprise.” In international policy, Truman had noted, it would be futile to attempt to keep a

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- scientific secret. To avoid “a desperate armaments race,” he recommended negotiation of an international agreement “under which cooperation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power.” Truman contemplated no exchange of information about weapons. He did not mention the Soviet Union by name.
- ¹⁶ Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, the foremost Russian general during the Second World War, had had, in the informed opinion of Dwight D. Eisenhower, “a longer experience as a responsible leader in great battles than any other man of our time.”
- ¹⁷ Washington rumors then had Truman about to appoint Pauley Secretary of the Navy. Liberal Democrats objected to Pauley’s connections with large oil companies and his advocacy of turning tideland oil rights over to the states for their alienation to private exploitation. Truman did appoint Pauley, but Ickes led the opposition that grew sufficiently strong in the Senate to persuade Pauley, during the debate over his confirmation, to withdraw.
- ¹⁸ Watson Davis was managing editor and director of Science Service; Harlow Shapley, an eminent American astronomer, was director of the Harvard Observatory, a trustee of M.I.T., and an articulate advocate of sharing scientific information with the Soviet Union. Among other scientists Wallace mentioned, J. Robert Oppenheimer had been and then still was director of the laboratory at Los Alamos where the atomic bomb was perfected; Harley L. Curtis was the principal physicist at the Bureau of Standards, and Edward U. Condon, a theoretical physicist, had worked on the problem of U-235, had been associate director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratory, and was about to be Wallace’s candidate for appointment as Director of the Bureau of Standards.
- ¹⁹ Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia Democrat; Glen H. Taylor, Idaho Democrat; James E. Murray, Montana Democrat; Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire Republican; H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey Republican; Brien McMahon, Connecticut Democrat.
- ²⁰ That day Wallace sent Truman a list of observations that had been made by leading scientists and public administrators about the pending Johnson bill. Those comments pointed out the enormous powers the bill gave to the Administrator and the Atomic Energy Commission. One paragraph, as Wallace put it, conferred “the strongest controls over citizens not in the military service, in either time of peace or of war, ever proposed in federal law.” Wallace particularly noted another paragraph granting the commission authority to establish security and secrecy rules and penalties for violating them. The bill provided that those security rules should apply not only to all persons who participated in the development of the atomic bomb, either directly or through employment by a contractor, but also to all persons who had at any time experimented with the release of atomic energy in amounts which the commission might retroactively establish as “constituting a national hazard or being of military or industrial value.”
- ²¹ In March 1945 Szilard had written a memorandum about the necessity for international control of atomic weapons. At his request, Albert Einstein attempted, without success, to arrange a meeting for him with President Roosevelt. After Roosevelt’s death, with anxieties rising among atomic scientists at Los Alamos and Chicago, Compton introduced Franck to Wallace. Franck gave Wallace a memo from the Chicago group explaining the restiveness of the scientists with military security restrictions and the futility of permitting statesmen to make international policy without precise scientific information. Stimson said as much to Truman. Oppenheimer’s remarks to Wallace revealed a misconception about exactly what had happened during Roosevelt’s lifetime; see Hewlett and Anderson, *The New World*, pp. 342 ff.
- ²² Robert P. Patterson had succeeded Stimson after the latter’s resignation in September.
- ²³ Leslie L. Biffle, since 1937 secretary of the Senate.
- ²⁴ Wallace H. White, Jr., since 1931 Republican senator from Maine.
- ²⁵ James R. Newman, assistant deputy director of the OWMR, was also special assistant to the Senate Commission on Atomic Energy. Newman and Harold Smith, among others, persuaded Truman to oppose the pending May-Johnson bill on atomic energy and to support the substitute and ultimately successful bill of Senator McMahon.
- ²⁶ Condon’s memorandum stated that “the international situation is deteriorating day by day.” He suggested the President “call a Big Three conference of an exploratory character designed to bring out the terms of an international agreement leading to renunciation of the making of bombs together with development of a scheme of cooperation through mutual inspection which would satisfy all parties to the agreement that it was not being violated... Because of public confusion over the question of whether we shall ‘give away the secret’ it should be made clear that matters of this kind will not be discussed, that the subject matter is restricted technically to a study of adequate control measures and politically to means of expressing them in an effective document.”
- ²⁷ Kenneth C. Royall, recently appointed Undersecretary of War.
- ²⁸ Mary M. Bethune, a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt and a leader in black women’s organizations, had served since 1934 in a succession of federal offices.
- ²⁹ Edwin S. Smith, director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and Anatola B. Gromov, First Secretary of the Soviet embassy in Washington.
- ³⁰ Alexander Sachs, while an economist with the investment house of Lehman Brothers, had helped to organize the original effort to interest Roosevelt in atomic research. There exists no known documentary record of what he told Wallace he had agreed upon with Roosevelt about the use of the atomic bomb.

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- ³¹ Walter S. Carpenter, Jr president of the du Pont Company which had, under government contract, played a major part in the development of the atomic bomb.
- ³² Joseph W. Alsop, Jr., journalist and author, had been an aide to Chennault.
- ³³ Byrnes had recently returned after several exhausting weeks of negotiations at the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, set up by the Potsdam Conference.
- ³⁴ Lyman J. Briggs had held that post since 1933.
- ³⁵ At Reelfoot Lake, Tennessee, a fishing resort, Truman had had "an old-fashioned bull session" with the reporters there with him. He had said that scientific knowledge, by its very nature, could not be withheld, but that he had no intention of sharing engineering secrets. The United States alone of all nations, he added, had the industrial capacity and resources necessary for producing the bomb. To his audience, as they reported his remarks, he seemed to be minimizing the importance of international control of atomic weapons. In New York on October 28, in his Navy Day speech, Truman made his intentions clearer. The United States, he said, would open discussions about the control of atomic explosives with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other countries, before the formal organization of the United Nations. Those talks would look to the free exchange of fundamental scientific information, though they would not relate to manufacturing the bomb. American possession of the bomb, "a sacred trust," constituted, he said, no threat to any nation. The following week the White House announced that Prime Minister Attlee would be in Washington November 11 to begin the talks, as the President had promised.
- ³⁶ Truman and Byrnes had already substantially decided against making a loan to Russia.
- ³⁷ Manuel Avila Camacho had won a tense election in re. He was a more conservative reformer than his predecessor President Lazaro Cardenas or his rival of 1940, Juan Andreu Almazan, whom organized labor had supported.
- ³⁸ Edward C. Carter, secretary-general of the International Secretariat of the Institute for Pacific Relations.
- ³⁹ Thomas B. McCabe, president of the Scott Paper Company and since February 1945 Army-Navy Liquidation Commissioner.
- ⁴⁰ Wallace had in mind William L. Marbury, a Baltimore lawyer, whom Patterson had made chief counsel on War Department contracts.
- ⁴¹ George L. Harrison, New York banker, had been a special consultant to Stimson on the Manhattan District and was co-chairman of the Interim Committee on postwar atomic policy.
- ⁴² The charts expressed predictions of the Department of Commerce about gross national product and national income. They revealed the importance of generating more consumer buying power to prevent a recession. To the same end, and on the basis of related statistics, Wallace had announced his belief that the automobile industry could raise wages 15 percent in 1946 and another 10 percent in 1947 without jeopardizing profits.
- ⁴³ Admiral Sir James Somerville, head of the British Admiralty delegation in Washington.
- ⁴⁴ George E. Allen, professional friend of generals and Presidents, an entertaining and sometimes influential Washington wheeler-dealer.
- ⁴⁵ The declaration, signed that day by Truman, Attlee, and Canadian Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, observed that no single nation could have a monopoly on atomic weapons, and called for using atomic energy to benefit mankind, instead of for destruction, and for the prevention of war. The signatories declared their willingness to exchange fundamental scientific information and to encourage free interchange of scientific ideas. To those ends, they promised they would make further basic information available from time to time. They also maintained that the release of military information would retard rather than assist the development of international safeguards against use of the bomb. They recommended the establishment of a United Nations commission to prepare recommendations for preventing military use and encouraging civilian use of atomic energy. The work of that commission, they said, should proceed step-by-step, with each stage instilling confidence for movement to the next. The United Nations, they concluded, with its commitments to the rule of law and to the banishment of war, afforded the best hope for world peace.
- ⁴⁶ Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Foreign Minister.
- ⁴⁷ Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, an authority on international organization.
- ⁴⁸ That sentence read: "The military exploitation of atomic energy depends, in large part, upon the same methods and processes as would be required for industrial use."
- ⁴⁹ John B. Blandford, Jr., then administrator of the National Housing Agency.
- ⁵⁰ John R. Steelman, then director of the United States Conciliation Service.
- ⁵¹ The letter repeated Wallace's arguments for making the Secretary of Commerce a director of the Export-Import Bank.
- ⁵² With Truman's support, Wallace had testified in behalf of the bill raising the minimum wage to 65 cents an hour.

⁵³ Wallace's memorandum, while defending the right of labor to strike, advocated legislation to create a fact-finding organization, a mediation and conciliation service, and compulsory arbitration in cases where labor and management could not agree. He also suggested arbitration of jurisdictional disputes and the prohibition of separate unions for supervisory employees.

⁵⁴ In September 1945 the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union had promised to withdraw their troops from Iran. On November 18 a communist rebellion broke out in the province of Azerbaijan, and Soviet troops remained in Iran as one device for preventing the Iranian government from suppressing the rebellion. British and American oil interests in Iran added tension to the crisis. It was resolved the following spring. In March 1946 Iran protested against Soviet activities to the United Nations Security Council. In April the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its troops in return for various political reforms in Azerbaijan and the creation of a Soviet-Iranian oil company. The Iranian parliament later blocked the latter project.

⁵⁵ At the National Press Club that noon, Hurley had attacked the administration, the State Department, and its Foreign Service officers as lacking any policy for China and, by innuendo, being soft toward the Chinese communists.

⁵⁶ John S. Service and George Acheson, neither of them a communist, had offended Hurley and other uncritical supporters of Chiang Kai-shek by their honest but devastating reports about the weakness, corruption, and disingenuousness of the Generalissimo, his entourage, and his party. The previous March Hurley had arranged the transfer of Service and Acheson from Chungking. He and Chiang were both distressed when Acheson was assigned to MacArthur's staff in Tokyo. Service went temporarily to the personnel office in the State Department. In his letter of resignation, Hurley, still angry, accused them of siding both with the Chinese communists and with "the imperialistic bloc of nations whose policy is to keep China divided." Those paranoid observations were only the first of a long series of harassments to which the China lobby, the Luce publications, the Republican Party, and many misguided Democrats subjected the country's ablest experts on China.

⁵⁷ Marshall agreed that afternoon, as Truman announced at once, to go to Chungking as the President's personal representative.

⁵⁸ Thomas C. Hart, retired Rear Admiral, recently appointed Republican senator from Connecticut to complete the unexpired term of Francis T. Maloney.

⁵⁹ Wallace delivered the speech at Madison Square Garden on December 4, 1945, to a meeting of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

⁶⁰ The paragraph pointed to the extraordinary future possibilities of atomic energy as a source of power and of radioactive materials as research tools in biology, agriculture, and medicine. Returning to those ideas later in the speech, Wallace linked them to his vision of a future of shared abundance.

⁶¹ Truman had assisted disaffected senators and scientists who opposed the May-Johnson bill, which was dead by this time. McMahon for his part had managed to become chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy. During December he permitted hearings to ramble on while he waited for James R. Newman of the OWMR and his associates to complete drafting a new bill, which McMahon was about to introduce. Wallace, the Chicago scientists, and others who had disagreed with Bush and with the May-Johnson bill were pleased by McMahon's measure, but the War Department hesitated to endorse it.

⁶² On December 3 Truman had asked Congress to pass legislation establishing factfinding boards to investigate labor-management disputes and providing for a thirty-day cooling-off period while those boards conducted their inquiries. Pending that legislation, which was not passed, he issued an Executive Order creating the boards. He hoped thereby to settle the ongoing automobile, oil, and meat-packing strikes and to forestall a threatening steel strike. His order provoked quick, angry protests from the UMW and the CIO.

⁶³ The Senate had passed an employment bill that Vinson and Wallace considered satisfactory. Representative Carter Manasco, Alabama Democrat and chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures, opposed the whole concept of the Senate bill and was moving his committee to prepare a substitute measure. It eliminated a declaration of the right to employment opportunity, of federal responsibility for full employment, and of the pledge of federal resources to achieve that end. For a detailed account of the legislative history of the Employment Act of 1946 at this and other stages, see Stephen K. Bailey, *Congress Makes a Law* (New York, 1950).

⁶⁴ George E. Outland, California Democrat, a leading supporter in the House of the Senate's employment bill.

⁶⁵ Patterson regretted, as he told Wallace and Karl T. Compton, that he had not consulted leading American scientists before ordering MacArthur to destroy the Japanese cyclotrons.

⁶⁶ John Beecher, former editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

⁶⁷ Bernard L. Gladieux, Wallace's executive assistant.

⁶⁸ Admiral Harold R. Stark had been Chief of Naval Operations at the time of Pearl Harbor. He commanded United States Naval Forces in Europe (1942-45).