To: Stuart Innerst
Gilbert White
Ray Newton
Roy McCoriel
Subject: Atomic Bombing

A meeting was held to consider the implications of atomic bombing at the W.S.B.R.C., Monday, August 12, 1945. Organizations represented were: FOR, WEL, NCOE, HSBAO, MSC, BSC, Washington, D. C., Council of Churches and AFSC. Stuart Innerst and John Ferguson represented the Peace Section of the AFSC.

There was general agreement that the bomb was vicious and the bombers wicked. This being the case the group felt that the organizations represented ought to issue pronouncements condemning the bomb's use.

It was also agreed that the difference between atomic bombs and those of lesser caliber was of degree only. So, while condemning the more destructive instrument, attention ought to be called to the basic assumptions underlying our opposition to war.

All agreed that the use of atomic bombs dramatized the need for peace if civilization is to survive. Everyone concurred with the view that peace forces ought to use the present situation to extend and expand peace educational activities.

To implement the discussion it was agreed that:

1. Participating agencies should proceed with their declarations condemning the use of atomic bombs on moral grounds.
2. Participating agencies should use their channels for the dissemination of literature and information calling attention to the significance of atomic bombing. (The enclosed copy of the special supplement to Conscriptio News indicates what the conscription outfit has already done. This, you will
recall, goes to about 2,500, including prominent labor, farm, church, Negro and educational leaders.)

3. Jim Stanley, NSBRO, would proceed to assemble editorial comments on atomic bombing with a view to the preparation of literature and educational materials.

4. The group constituted itself an informed committee to advise on future plans. Claude Schotts was designated acting chairman.

5. Claude Schotts and Jim Stanley would report to the next meeting of the Joint Peace Board with a view to deciding what further measures ought to be taken. The hope was expressed that at that meeting a decision could be reached whereby one or more staff members might be made available to concentrate on calling public attention to the significance of atomic bombing.

During the course of the discussions the question was asked whether the conscription field staff could be used for the special purpose of promoting consideration of atomic bombing. John Ferguson said that the conscription field staff immediately saw the implications of atomic bombing and were already referring to them in their conversations. Beyond that, he thought they could not go at present for the following reasons: 1) the conscription fight is still with us, and it is now entering the final stage; 2) they had been authorized to fight the conscription issue and were being financed by funds obtained for that special purpose; and 3) staff members might not be interested in devoting time to a program containing a different emphasis.

He thought, however, that if and when a concrete program emerged there would be many ways in which the contacts which have been made during the conscription campaign could be used.

As things now stand, Gilbert White is proceeding with preparation of the AFSC statement; Jim Stanley is assembling editorial materials; Claude Schotts and Jim Stanley are planning to attend the next meeting of the Joint Peace Board with recommendations.
MILITARY ANALYST CALLS MASS CONSCRIPT ARMIES OBSOLETE BECAUSE OF ATOMIC BOMBS

Hans C. Baldwin, the New York Times military analyst, in commenting on the new atomic bomb stated on August 8 that as a result of the new bomb, mass conscript armies would be outdated. Baldwin, who has on several previous occasions indicated his doubts about the effectiveness of peacetime military conscription for the United States, now believes that the whole concept of modern warfare has been changed.

"The atomic-energy bomb that fell on the Japanese homeland," he said, "destroyed immediately not only the enemy, but also many of our previously conceived military values."

Mr. Baldwin added, "And if it be one of the objects of armies and navies and air forces to keep war from one's own soil and to carry it to the enemy's, all of these armed forces as we now know them become obsolete. Mass conscript armies, great navies, piloted planes, have, perhaps, become a part of history."

SENATOR JOHNSONClaims ATOMIC BOMB WILL BLOW UP PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D., Colo.), ranking member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, stated August 7 that it is clear now that Congress should not pass peacetime military conscription. He said:

"The atom bomb ought to blow up peacetime conscription as well as bring the war with Japan to a speedy conclusion."

"It ought to mean the end of big armies, and militarism is bred by big armies. Some of the things scientists have found out about atom power are almost fantastic. The big trouble has been that the scientists have progressed faster than the statesmen. Unless the statesmen catch up, the destruction of mankind itself may be in sight."

ATOMIC BOMBS POINTS TO NEED FOR WORLD COOPERATION

The first popular reaction to the atomic bombing of Japan seemed to be one of awe and fear—fear that other nations will learn the secret and use it on New York or some other American city, and fear that it would make the United States so over-confident in terms of imperialism and armed might as to provoke war. The atomic bomb is so much worse than poison gas that some believe there should be an agreement not to use it in modern war just as poison gas is outlawed.

However, more realistic thinking seems to point to the need for a real international agreement to limit or abolish arms, to abolish conscription, and to reconstruct or amend the world organization so that war, empire, nationalism are outlawed. Now that a bomb can vaporize steel and kill all life over an area of five square miles, we have the instrument for the obliteration of man and his creation. Mass armies and compulsory military training are as outdated as bow and arrow squadrons.
RELIgIOUS ANd EDUCATIONAL LEADERS ISSuE
STATEMENT ON THE ATOMIC BOMB

An appeal to President Truman to immediately discontinue production of
the atomic bomb and to press for "commitments by all nations outlawing the
atomic bomb and also war, which has developed the technology of mass destruc-
tion", was issued today by thirty-four religious and educational leaders. In
a joint statement, signed by George A. Buttrick, Paul E. Scherer, John Haynes
Holmes, E. McWill Poteat, E. Stanley Jones, Robert L. Calhoun, Ernest Fremont
Tittle, Abraham Cronbach, and twenty-six others, the signatories condemn Ameri-
can's use of the atomic bomb against Japan which they call "an atrocity of a
new magnitude". The unleashing of this "cosmic disturbance" over Hiroshima
and then Nagasaki, is said to mark "a new low of inhumanity". The new missile
"was not used to save ourselves in an extremity of desperation. We cannot
believe it was even essential to the defeat of Japan", say these leaders,
and they continue by saying: "Its reckless and irresponsible employment
against an already virtually beaten foe will have to receive judgment before
God and the conscience of humankind. It has our unmitigated condemnation."

The statement points out that "our own future fate is involved in the
warsite use of the atomic bomb," that if it clinched victory in the Pacific
it "sowed the whirlwind", which we may have to reap. Doubt is cast upon the
President's power to keep "the new demon" under control. If it is thought,
"that no one else will ever obtain the formula or another effective one, or
will ever obtain a specimen bomb, or will ever be able to visit our shores
with one in some future conflict, we must disagree", say the signers.
Expressing gratitude "for the scientific achievement that lies behind this weapon", the signers of the statement assert their wish "to see the new power reserved for constructive civilian uses".

Following are the text of the statement and list of signatories, all of whom have signed as individuals and not representing organizations.

THE USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB

We have at last achieved the Atomic Bomb. In the lethal race against Germany, we got there first. It was too late to try out our bomb on the Germans but there was still time to test it in the centers of two Japanese cities. It did its work thoroughly and the heart of each city is atomized and the 'dead are too numerous to count'.

Our nations' leaders announced this with satisfaction. We do not share this sentiment. We believe we have committed an atrocity of a new magnitude; and though technically it may not contravene the recognized rules of "civilized" warfare, in essence it violates every instinct of humanity. If it is covered by no accepted regulation that is because it is outside the entire code of human relationships.

We have repeatedly voiced our condemnation of obliteration aerial bombing. Japan was universally and rightly condemned for the bombing of Chinese cities with their civilian populations. We have descended step by step to an equally low level of moral culpability by the systematic wiping out of half a hundred Japanese cities, most of which have offered no serious defense.

But this new weapon opens new areas for our moral judgment. While we were ostentatiously announcing in advance the doom of one after another of the smaller enemy cities, and calling it mercy, we suddenly unleashed by
parachute over the large city of Hiroshima, and then of Nagasaki, this "cosmic disturbance" which has dragged the war and all of us with it, to a new low of inhumanity. This new missile of two thousand times the magnitude of our attacks hitherto, was not used to save ourselves in an extremity of desperation. We cannot believe it was even essential to the defeat of Japan. Its reckless and irresponsible employment against an already virtually beaten foe will have to receive judgment before God and the conscience of humankind. It has our unmitigated condemnation.

Our own future fate is involved in this wartime use of the atomic bomb. We agree with Hanson Baldwin's comment, that "we clinched victory in the Pacific, but we sowed the whirlwind". We may have to reap not only the whirlwind of revenge and retaliation at so colossal a crime as we have committed against other human beings by its indiscriminate use; this very missile may be the instrument of our own destruction as a nation. Our President gravely assures us that the new demon will be carefully kept in control. If this means that no one else will ever obtain the formula or another effective one, or will ever obtain a specimen bomb, or will ever be able to visit our shores with one in some future conflict, we must disagree. We have now brought forth the new weapon that the world has been seeking and yet dreading. Now we shall have to take the consequences. We are grateful for the scientific achievement that lies behind this weapon, and we wish to see the new power reserved for constructive, civilian uses. The spiritual nature of man is challenged to achieve this. But, if once we legitimatize use of the Atomic Bomb for enemy destruction, no power can again bring this new death-energy within bounds.

We, therefore, with a sense of the utmost urgency protest against all further use of the atomic bomb and we respectfully ask the President to take
immediate steps to discontinue its production; and, to press for commitments by all nations outlawing the atomic bomb and a war which has developed the technology of mass destruction.
LIST OF SIGNERS — STATEMENT ON THE ATOMIC BOMB

(Signing as individuals only; organizations named only for identification)

Prof. Roland H. Bainton
Rev. A. D. Beittel, D.D.
Rev. George A. Buttrick, D.D.
Prof. Robert F. Calhoun, D.D.
Rev. J. Henry Carpenter, D.D.
Franklin D. Cogswell
Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, D.D.
Prof. Walter P. Davison
Rev. Phillips P. Elliott, D.D.
Mary Farquharson
Rev. John Haynes Holme, B.D.
Prof. Charles Iglehart
Rev. B. Stanley Jones, D.D.
Rev. John Paul Jones
Prof. Rufus H. Jones
Rev. Samuel W. Marble, B.D.
Alfred D. Moore
Rev. A. J. Muste
Rev. James Myers
Kirby Page
Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce
Clarence Pickett

Yale Divinity School
President, Talladega College, Ala.
Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church
Yale Divinity School
Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation
Secretary, Missionary Education Movement
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio
Union Theological Seminary, New York
First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Former member, Washington State Senate
Community Church, New York
Union Theological Seminary, New York
Missionary and evangelist
Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Quaker author and leader
Church of Our Savior, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Trinity Methodist Church, Denver, Colorado
Foreign Missions Conference of North America
Co-secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
Federal Council of Churches Industrial Dept.
Author and lecturer, La Habra, California
Secretary, Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship
Executive Secretary, American Friends Ser. Com.
Rev. Edwin Howell Potter, D.D.
Dorothy M. Roberts
Rev. John Nevins Sayre
Rev. Paul S. Scherer, D.D.
Prof. Walter M. Sikes
Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., D.D.
Rev. Winburn T. Thomas, D.D.
Rev. Ernest Freemont Tittle, D.D.
Osvald Garrison Villard
Rev. Theodore D. Walser, D.D.
E. Raymond Wilson

President, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School
Formerly missionary in China
Co-secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, N.Y.
Teresa College, Kentucky
Union Theological Seminary, New York
Student Volunteer Movement, New York
First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois
Author and journalist
Secretary, N.Y. Fellowship of Reconciliation
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Atomic Bomb Responsibilities

Resolving of Problem in Relation to Peace Is Linked to Moral Leadership of America

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Five weeks ago the first atomic bomb ever used in warfare was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan.

In that five weeks the war has ended, reconstruction is well started, troops are pouring back from overseas, some political problems—international and domestic—have been at least tentatively resolved, and the American public is gradually readjusting itself to the new dynamic of peace.

But nothing has been done about the atomic bomb.

The great surge of public awe, of overwhelming interest and international concentration has slackened; the iron of public opinion, which was setting into a new and frightening cold mould of the old order. What was needed to accompany the atomic bomb was some action in the political and moral and psychological fields as dramatic and as tremendous as the achievement of atomic fission. That no such action has yet been taken is the world's loss—and America's loss.

For the truth is that the United States has sacrificed its moral leadership of the world. Actually the first use of the atomic bomb did not mark the end—it is to be hoped the temporary end—of that leadership. The mass bombing of European cities, miscalled "precision" bombing but actually area bombing in its effects, was just as terrible for the civilian men, women and children killed and wounded as for those blasted by the atomic bomb.

The fire attacks upon Japanese cities burned people to death fully as irrevocably as did the atomic bomb, but atomic bomb had a quantitative advantage in death and annihilation; more people were killed, more burned, more homes destroyed, but actually the moral principle involved in its use was no different from that established a thousand times before in the war.

Moral Aspect Stressed

It may be argued with perfect validity that the Germans and the Japanese started the evil practices, and that there is no crime worse than war itself. It may also be argued that it is futile to try to make war moral; in fact that there is a certain humanity about trying to make it so horrible that it will be ended quickly—thus saving many lives at the expense of a relative few, as in the case of Japan—or in the ultimate case by making war so annihilating and terrible that it will be made impossible.

Regardless of the validity of these arguments, in the mind of many foreigners and of a considerable number of Americans, the atomic bomb was not only a tremendous scientific achievement; it marked the end of the moral leadership of America.

It is possible that this is a mistaken conclusion, certainly our leaders are earnestly pondering long and seriously the terrible alternatives with which the bomb confronted them. But it is certain that the United States, which has won by far the material supremacy of the world, which today is incomparably the world's most powerful nation, is not equally the world leader in the moral, political and psychological fields.

We have, therefore, to find the cause for international collaboration. But this is not enough; since San Francisco the atomic bomb has changed the world as we knew it. We helped to achieve, with the atomic bomb, the aim of winning the war, but we did not do any beyond the war to enunciate a moral principle in the winning of the peace.

The first great psychological surge of mixed fear and hope—fear that man had at last created a Frankenstein monster, hope that at last war might be ended—has passed, and therefore the key moment gone, but it is not perhaps too late to enunciate a statement of principles and desires to be pressed and fought for.

We have, maybe, three to five years—perhaps more perhaps less—before the secret of the manufacture of the atomic bomb becomes more or less world-wide. They should be years wisely used, for the opportunity will not knock again.

Program Is Suggested

As a start, the program that might guide some of our international actions might include:

(1) Retention for the time being—at least for several years—of the secret of the atomic bomb, pending the strengthening of the United Nations organization, better political stabilization of the world, determination of some of the outstanding problems of the war and progressive steps for the world-wide limitation of armaments.

(2) Immediate proposals for the world-wide abolition of conscription.

(3) Immediate proposals for the world-wide limitations, even at high levels, of national armies, navies and air forces.

(4) Rapid determination of the size of the armed forces to be made available to the United Nations' organization and determination of the exact role of the military staff committee; the strengthening of both and a progressive internationalization of both as rapidly as possible; and the opening of the armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations to international enlistment.


(6) Eventual proposals for the outlawing of the atomic bomb. These proposals might embody a mutual agreement on the part of all signatories not to utilize atomic fission for war purposes except in retaliation. When such an agreement has been made, and when and if the United Nations Organization has been strengthened and the above program realized, at least in part, the secret of the manufacture of the atomic bomb might be transmitted to the United Nations Organization. Any such program as the above is fraught with difficulties so great that no easy accomplishment can be possible and our best efforts may be doomed to failure. But we must make those efforts nevertheless if the United States is to compensate for what in the eyes of much of the world is its decline in moral leadership.

We must make those efforts, too, for the interest of man. Not to prevent man's annihilation, or the end of civilization, for neither is impending, but to prevent man's reversion to the Dark Ages and the spiritual, mental and political loss of all that our material progress has made possible.