

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENDANT: *HARRY S. TRUMAN*

You were serving your second term as U.S. Senator from Missouri when President Franklin D. Roosevelt unexpectedly chose you as his running mate in the 1944 election campaign. Roosevelt won his unprecedented fourth term, and you became Vice President. Then, suddenly, on April 12, 1945, Roosevelt died. You had to take his place, though you had never been kept properly informed. Roosevelt was so used to running things that he seldom bothered to bring his Vice President up to date. You never even heard of the top-secret atomic bomb project until the day after you became President. Yet within the first few weeks of your Presidency, you had to make decisions affecting a global war and millions of people's lives.

Inevitably, you relied heavily on your advisers. On June 18, 1945, you called a meeting of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. You asked them to report on their strategy for victory over Japan. They told you they had unanimously agreed on an invasion of the Japanese home islands. The meeting ended with a decision to begin detailed planning of the invasion, with a target date of November 1.

Meanwhile, in mid-July, you had to represent the United States at your first big international meeting. This was the Potsdam Conference of the "Big Three" (you, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union). During the conference you got the welcome news that the atomic bomb had been tested successfully. As commander-in-chief, you had to decide whether, when, and where it should be used. You summoned your advisers. You queried Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall about the expected cost of the invasion in American lives. Marshall replied that it might take from 250,000 to a million American casualties.

Soon afterwards, the "Potsdam Declaration" was issued. In it the U.S., Britain, and China demanded Japan's immediate and unconditional surrender. It warned the Japanese of "prompt and utter destruction" if they did not surrender, but it did not specifically mention the atomic bomb. The Japanese Government rejected the Potsdam Declaration. As you later noted in a letter, you then "ordered atomic bombs dropped on... two cities.... Dropping the bombs ended the war, saved lives, and gave the free nations a chance to face the facts." Since then, you have always accepted full responsibility for this decision.

The horrifying prospect of the invasion was not the only reason why you ordered the bombs used. For some time you had been increasingly angered by the Russians' stubborn refusal to cooperate on most questions affecting the postwar world. As you stated on several occasions, you hoped our exclusive possession of the bomb would make the Russians more reasonable. As early as April 23, you told a U.S. diplomat that you had no intention of allowing our agreements with the Russians to become a "one-way street." If they didn't quit acting so aggressively, you said in your typically outspoken way, "they could go to hell."

In the upcoming trial you may be questioned about your refusal to consider anything less than "unconditional surrender" from the Japanese. In the spring of 1945 it was suggested to you that a promise to allow the Emperor of Japan to retain his throne might encourage the Japanese to give up. At first you deemed this idea worth trying, but you changed your mind. Several high American officials had denounced it as "appeasement." The promise was never given.

By the time of this trial, eight years have passed since Hiroshima. After completing Roosevelt's term, you won election on your own in 1948. You proved yourself a tough-minded, decisive leader. You retired from the Presidency about a year ago, after seven stormy years. *You are outraged that your decision to use the bomb should be judged in the same category as the war crimes of the Nazis and Japanese. Your conscience is clear.* As you testify, bear the following in mind:

1. As a former President, insist on being treated with proper respect at all times.
2. Conduct yourself in accordance with your well-earned reputation as a blunt, plain-speaking Midwesterner, with a "salty," no-nonsense personality.
3. Your key reasons for ordering use of the atomic bomb were:
 - a. It made the invasion of Japan unnecessary, saving thousands of lives — both American and Japanese.
 - b. It shortened the war by forcing the Japanese to surrender long before they would have without it.
 - c. By demonstrating the awesome power of its exclusive new weapon, the U.S. gained a powerful advantage in its postwar dealings with the Soviet Union.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: *HENRY L. STIMSON*

You have a long record of distinguished public service. After serving as Secretary of State under President Herbert Hoover, you were appointed Secretary of War by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940. In that post you planned and supervised the top-secret \$2 billion "Manhattan Project," which produced the atomic bombs.

In your memoirs, published in 1947, you presented what still stands today as the most eloquent defense of the decision to drop the bomb. You argued that though Japan was badly hurt by the early summer of 1945, her leaders still seemed determined "to fight rather than accept unconditional surrender." The Japanese armies were then estimated at about five million men. The only way we could force them to capitulate was by invading and conquering the Japanese home islands. Our military intelligence experts believed the invasion might cost a million American casualties. The fighting might go on for another year and a half. Millions of Japanese would also be killed.

On July 16, while you were with the President at the Potsdam Conference, you received the momentous message about the first atomic bomb test. This new weapon, you wrote later, could "produce exactly the kind of shock" the Japanese rulers needed. They could then surrender with honor, instead of fighting to the death to avoid disgrace. The invasion with all its horrors would be avoided. "No man," you wrote, "holding in his hand a weapon of such possibilities... could have failed to use it and afterwards looked his countrymen in the face." You therefore recommended to the President that the bomb be used.

Before this decision was made, you had considered several other possibilities. After Germany's surrender on May 8, 1945, a number of leading atomic scientists pleaded that the bomb should be used only after the Japanese had been warned about it, shown its power, and given a chance to surrender. You appointed a special panel of scientists to investigate this plan. They eventually reported that they were unable to design "a technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war." They recommended "direct military use," without warning.

Another possibility was an American pledge that the Emperor of Japan would be allowed to remain on the throne if they surrendered. This

proposal was supported by those experts who most understood the Japanese mentality. The Emperor at that time was revered as a religious figure as well as head of state. Permitting him to remain would make surrender seem less dishonorable to the Japanese. You agreed, and carried the idea to the President and Secretary of State Byrnes. But several other high U.S. officials argued hotly that any such offer would be seen as an indication of American weakness. Truman and Byrnes rejected the proposal. You expressed regret in your memoirs: "History might find that the United States, by the delay in stating its position, had prolonged the war." The fact is we ultimately did allow the Emperor to retain his throne.

Still another complicating factor was the Russian problem. You were deeply concerned about "the massive brutality of the Soviet system and the total suppression of freedom" in the Soviet Union and Russian-occupied Eastern Europe. You hoped our use of the atomic weapon might make the Russians easier to deal with and might even influence them to modify their communist political system.

In 1945, you were already 77 years old. As you testify at this trial eight years later, conduct yourself with suitable stateliness. Defend the decision to drop the bomb with these key points:

1. The only military alternative to using the bomb was an invasion of the Japanese home islands. It might have cost a million American casualties, and have taken a year and a half.
2. The bomb gave the Japanese an honorable excuse for accepting unconditional surrender. Without it, they would have fought to the death.
3. You appointed four atomic scientists to investigate the other scientists' idea of warning the Japanese about the bomb and demonstrating its powers to them. They proved the idea impractical.
4. You agreed with those who urged that we promise to allow the Emperor to remain. This too would have encouraged the Japanese to surrender.
5. The bomb gave us a powerful new instrument with which to influence the Russians in the postwar world.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

You became Prime Minister of Great Britain shortly after the outbreak of World War II. You were a close personal friend of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Though you met President Truman only in the closing months of the war, you have come to like and even admire this plain, blunt man from Missouri.

On July 17, 1945, you were attending the Potsdam Conference with Truman and Stalin when the news arrived of the first successful A-bomb test. You were overjoyed. "Here then was a speedy end to the Second World War," you wrote later; and thinking of the mounting menace of Soviet communism you added, "and perhaps to much else besides." You realized at once that for the Japanese this "almost supernatural weapon" would come as "an excuse which would save their honour and release them from their obligation of being killed to the last man." For your own soldiers, who were preparing to join the Americans in the invasion of Japan, it meant a welcome alternative to a long and bloody campaign.

Your government had agreed earlier to the use of the new weapon. At Potsdam

"there never was a moment's discussion as to whether the atomic bomb should be used or not." The final decision was, of course, up to President Truman, but you never doubted that he would order its use, "nor have I ever doubted since that he was right."

You have come to this trial to lend the full weight of your worldwide prestige to the defense of your American friend. You are outraged at the very idea of trying President Truman as a war criminal. You should speak out vigorously, though with the dignity of a man now in his eighties. You should emphasize these points:

1. The British nation welcomed the use of the atomic bomb as enthusiastically as the American people.
2. The bomb eliminated the grim prospect of invading Japan, which would have cost many British as well as American lives.
3. The bomb brought a quick and merciful end to the war.
4. The bomb strengthened the free world in its postwar struggle to contain communist aggression.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: *GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL*

As Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army during the war, you were the most influential member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Your most difficult task was to persuade the other members to endorse the Army's plan for victory over Japan. The Navy argued that its blockade alone would soon compel the Japanese to surrender. The Army Air Force was equally convinced that its bombing campaign, coupled with the naval blockade, would have the same result. You pointed out that our extremely destructive bombing campaign against Germany had not forced the Germans to surrender until their ground armies were smashed. Germany had also been under almost total naval blockade, yet had been able to fight on to the bitter end. Furthermore, our bitter experience in battle against Japan had shown that Japanese fighting men rarely surrendered, preferring to die for their Emperor.

Throughout that spring and early summer of 1945, you therefore contended for the invasion and conquest of the Japanese home islands as the quickest way to insure Japan's surrender. Ultimately you were able to persuade your colleagues on the Joint Chiefs to join you in recommending the invasion un-animously to the President at the meeting on June 18.

You and your civilian superior, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, attended the Potsdam Conference as advisers to President Truman. On July 17, when the great news about the first A-bomb test was received, you were elated. But before the President made his final decision to use the bomb, he specifically asked you about the probable cost of the invasion in

American lives. You replied that from 250,000 to a million American casualties might be expected. You got the clear impression that this fact was the single most important influence in convincing the President that the bomb should be used.

You agreed with that decision at the time, but you had one reservation. You thought the Japanese should be warned about the A-bomb and given a chance to surrender before the bomb was used. You still feel today that Americans' consciences would be clearer if such a warning had been given.

As you testify at this trial, remember that you were not only America's top military man in World War II; later you were a distinguished Secretary of State. You were the author of the celebrated 1947 "Marshall Plan," America's vast program of aid that saved devastated postwar Europe from a possible communist takeover. Following are the most important points in your testimony:

1. The only sound strategic option available to the U.S. before the successful testing of the A-bomb was the invasion of Japan.
2. The naval blockade and the aerial bombing campaign by themselves would not have insured Japan's surrender.
3. The decision to use the A-bomb made the invasion unnecessary, saved thousands of American lives, and brought the war to a rapid conclusion.
4. Your one objection was that the Japanese should have been given reasonable warning about the atomic bomb and a chance to surrender before the bomb was used.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: *FOREIGN*

MINISTER SHIGENORI TOGO

As Foreign Minister of Japan in the closing months of the war, you were a leading member of the peace party within the Japanese government. When the Allies issued the Potsdam Declaration on July 26, 1945, you proposed that your government make no immediate response. Instead, Japan should wait for some definite answer from the supposedly neutral Soviet Union, which you had requested to act as mediator in starting peace negotiations with the Allies. (Your government was unaware that the Soviets had already secretly pledged to enter the war against Japan.) Meanwhile, the Potsdam Declaration with its surrender demand should simply be published in the Japanese press with no official comment. This proposal was approved by the Cabinet. But at a subsequent meeting which you did not attend, the military leaders pressured the aged Prime Minister Suzuki to issue a public statement that seemed to reject the Potsdam Declaration. As you later stated in your memoirs, this sensational announcement gave President Truman the pretext for ordering use of the atomic bomb. "The incident," you wrote, "was thus a deplorable one in its embarrassment of our move for peace."

You will appear at the trial as one of Japan's most distinguished diplomats. A man of conscience and courage, you did all you could to end the war despite the violent opposition of the military fanatics. Though you regret the suffering and death caused by the atomic bomb, you feel that President Truman cannot be held solely responsible. The blame really should be placed upon the military extremists within your own country. It was their rash and illegal actions that incorrectly caused Truman to think the Japanese government had officially rejected the Potsdam Declaration. If Hiroshima and Nagasaki were war crimes, then these extremists are the real criminals.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: *LT. GEN. LESLIE R. GROVES*

You directed the wartime "Manhattan Project," which developed the atomic bomb. You have never doubted that our use of the new weapon was completely justified. You told an interviewer that it would have been "criminal and morally wrong for us to have means to bring [World War II] to a proper conclusion and then not use the means." You do concede that the bomb was not needed to defeat Japan. But the only alternative was the invasion of Japan, which would have cost many thousands of American lives. Using the bomb saved those lives and was therefore our only correct choice.

As for the atomic scientists who worked under your supervision, some of whom tried to prevent use of the bomb without prior warning and a demonstration, they simply did not understand the military situation. You are glad their proposals were ignored.

Now retired, you were a career officer in the U.S. Army Engineer Corps. You have always been extremely proud of the achievements of the atomic bomb project under your hard-driving supervision. Your answer as you testify should be that of a lifetime soldier, accustomed to obeying orders and to being obeyed.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

DEFENSE WITNESS: J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

You headed the brilliant team of atomic scientists that produced and tested the world's first A-bomb at Los Alamos, New Mexico. You disagreed with those among your colleagues who urged that Japan should be warned about the bomb, shown its power, and given a chance to surrender. When these scientists circulated a petition requesting the President to adopt this policy, you not only refused to sign it but also persuaded others not to circulate it any further. You felt that such matters should be left to the nation's political and military leaders. They knew the situation far better than the scientists and were convinced, as you later told an interviewer, that "the choice was either invasion or the bomb." You are still convinced that "it was a damn good thing that the bomb was developed... In that world, in that war, it was the only thing to do."

As one of the nation's most distinguished nuclear physicists, you have volunteered to testify at this trial as the voice of those atomic scientists who agreed with President Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb. You have a strong desire to refute those other scientists who claim to represent the "conscience of science," and who actually tried to prevent the bomb's use against Japan. They didn't know any more about the political or military situation at that time than you did. You believe deeply that the only proper conduct for the atomic scientists was to leave the decision to those who had studied the problem and understood it best.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

PROSECUTION WITNESS: ADMIRAL ERNEST J. KING

Throughout World War II you were the U.S. Navy's supreme commander and were a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In several meetings of the Joint Chiefs in June, 1945, you opposed the Army's insistence on an invasion of Japan. You pointed out that the Japanese Navy had been almost totally destroyed so that our naval blockade of Japan was unopposed. "Had we been willing to wait," you later wrote in your memoirs, "the effective naval blockade would, in the course of time, have starved the Japanese into submission." Nevertheless, at the Army's urging, you reluctantly agreed to order planning for the invasion to begin. But you were sure that the war would end before the actual invasion began on the scheduled date of November 1.

In the crucial meeting with President Truman on June 18, you allowed him to get the impression that the invasion plan

was favored unanimously by the Joint Chiefs. The rule was that even when there was disagreement among the Chiefs, all recommendations to the President must be presented as if unanimous. You now believe this may have been a mistake, as it was an important factor in the President's decision to drop the bomb. You believed then, and you still believe today, that the use of the atomic bomb was unnecessary.

Your conduct on the witness stand should reflect your reputation as the toughest commander in the Navy. A man of firm opinions, you should express your ideas with absolute certainty and great emphasis. You believe the following:

1. The Army's plan for the invasion of Japan was unnecessary.
2. The naval blockade alone would have forced Japan to surrender.
3. The atomic bomb should not have been used.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY
PROSECUTION WITNESS:
GENERAL H. H. "HAP" ARNOLD

You commanded the Army Air Force in World War II. In a memo submitted to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in July, 1945, you stated your ideas about the best strategy for victory over Japan. You favored "complete emphasis upon strategic air offensive, complemented by a naval and air blockade." The Air Force's bombing campaign had already hit "some 60 Japanese cities... destroyed most of the Japanese industries and... made it impossible [for Japan] to carry on a large-scale war." All that was needed was to intensify the bombing, tighten the naval blockade, and await the inevitable Japanese surrender. The Army plan for invading Japan, therefore, seemed completely unnecessary to you. But on June 18, when that plan was presented to President Truman as the unanimous

recommendation of the Joint Chiefs, you did not express your disagreement. The invasion was still five months away and you were convinced that U.S. air and naval power would force a Japanese surrender before then. You were never consulted about the atomic bomb, but you regret its use and feel strongly that the war could have been won without it.

As one of this country's pioneer military aviators, you can testify as a recognized expert on the effects of aerial bombardment. You should expect your opinion about the atomic bomb to be accepted as authoritative. Though personally rather easygoing and good-natured (as your nickname "Hap" indicates), you can be extremely tough if you have to be.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY
PROSECUTION WITNESS:
AMBASSADOR JOSEPH C. GREW

For ten years before Pearl Harbor, you were the U.S. Ambassador to Japan. You spoke Japanese fluently and came to understand the Japanese mentality. As the war drew towards its close, you were convinced that the Japanese would never surrender if it meant that their Emperor would be removed. He was not only the head of state but also a revered religious symbol. An American pledge to allow the Emperor to retain his throne after the war would have strengthened the peace party in Japan and encouraged an early surrender. In May, 1945 you brought this proposal to President Truman. He agreed but suggested you discuss it with Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, and Army Chief of Staff Marshall. They too agreed but argued that such a statement could not be issued at that particular time. The ex-

tremely costly Battle of Okinawa was then raging, and it might seem like an expression of American weakness. At your urging, Secretary Stimson tried again to get the proposal accepted during the Potsdam Conference, but President Truman and Secretary Byrnes rejected it in favor of "unconditional surrender."

You will testify as one of America's foremost experts on Japan. Defend your proposal to retain the Emperor vigorously, though with the calm restraint of a career diplomat. Had your suggestion been incorporated into the Potsdam Declaration, you are certain the Japanese would have accepted it. The atomic bomb would then have been unnecessary. Finally, you can point out that ultimately we did allow the Emperor to remain anyway.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

PROSECUTION WITNESS: PREMIER JOSEPH STALIN

During World War II you simultaneously held the posts of Premier of the Soviet government, head of the Soviet Communist Party, Minister of Defense, and Supreme Commander of the Soviet armed forces. As a lifelong communist you never completely trusted the capitalist countries (mainly the United States and Britain) that were supposedly your allies against Nazi Germany. You believe that they treacherously delayed their main attack against the Germans as long as possible, letting the Russian people bear the brunt of the struggle.

You only agreed to enter the war against Japan at American insistence, and you carried out your promise to the letter. You promised to attack the Japanese armies in Manchuria within 90 days after Germany surrendered, and you attacked exactly on the ninetieth day (August 8, 1945). You are certain that the Americans dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima two days before your entry into the war because they hoped it would force the Japanese to surrender before your troops went into action. The Americans knew that the Red Army's irresistible attack would have sufficed to obtain Japan's capitulation. What the Americans were really concerned about was keeping the Soviet Union from gaining any territory or influence in the Far East.

In all the negotiations you've had with the Americans since then — especially in

your dealings with President Truman — they've tried again and again to use the bomb to intimidate the Soviet Union, in order to impose their imperialistic plans for the postwar world. But it has not worked. The Russians were never afraid of the Americans even when they alone had the atomic bomb. Today, in 1953, the mighty Soviet Union too has the bomb, and it is the capitalists' turn to tremble!

As the recognized leader of the communist world, you should testify firmly and forcefully, though calmly and with dignity as befits a man in his 70s. You are very sure of yourself and of the ultimate triumph of communism. Some points which you should emphasize:

1. The American imperialists and their British allies showed their hatred for the Russian people by delaying their "Second Front" against the Germans until June, 1944. By that time the Red Army alone had virtually defeated the Nazis.
2. The Japanese would have surrendered without the atomic bomb, if the Americans had simply waited two more days for the promised Soviet entry into the Pacific war.
3. The Americans used the atomic bomb *not* primarily to defeat Japan, but rather for two other purposes:
 - a. to keep Soviet influence out of the Far East; and
 - b. to frighten the Soviet leaders into accepting the imperialists' domination of the postwar world.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

PROSECUTION WITNESS: *HISATSUNE SAKOMIZU*

You were chief secretary to the Cabinet of the Japanese government during the war. In April, 1945, the newly appointed Prime Minister, Admiral Kantaro Suzuki, ordered you to investigate the condition of the Japanese economy. You submitted a detailed confidential report in early June. It showed that Japan's resources were shrinking disastrously, so that the nation could not continue the war for very long. The American air raids and the Americans' capture of most of Japan's conquered territories had caused "great disruption of land and sea communication and essential war production." Supplies of coal and oil were almost exhausted. The food situation was worsening. The people's health was declining. Conditions were so bad that the traditionally loyal and patriotic Japanese public had actually begun to waver in its support for the war effort. Your report provided valuable documentation for those within the government who favored making peace with the Americans as soon as possible.

You have come to testify for the prosecution at this trial because you feel very deeply that the use of the atomic bomb against your country was a tragic and useless crime. In the closing months of the war you knew the catastrophic situation inside Japan better than any other high government official. You are certain that Japan would have had to surrender within a few months at the most. The Americans needed only to continue their blockade and conventional bombing and to wait. Instead, they unnecessarily killed hundreds of thousands of your countrymen with the A-bomb, and you want the man who ordered that action to be punished.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY

PROSECUTION WITNESS: *LEO SZILARD*

Of all the scientists who participated in the making of the atomic bomb, you played the most controversial role. In 1939 you wrote a subsequently famous letter to President Roosevelt, which was signed by the celebrated Albert Einstein and which convinced the President to start atomic-bomb research in this country. At that time you feared that Nazi Germany, with its many first-rate nuclear physicists, might win the atomic-bomb race. This would probably have insured Hitler's winning the war. But after Germany surrendered in May, 1945, you changed your mind and became the leader of the scientists' movement to prevent use of the bomb against Japan. You argued that the Japanese might surrender if they were warned about the bomb and if they were given a nonmilitary demonstration of its destructiveness.

You were also dismayed by a conversation you had with Secretary of State Byrnes in early July, 1945. He frankly ad-

mitted that we did not need to drop the bomb in order to win the war but needed to "make the Russians more manageable in Europe." You felt this was a "false and disastrous" reason for unleashing the horror of atomic destruction upon the cities of Japan.

You should testify as spokesman for those atomic scientists whose consciences are tormented by what their creation, the atomic bomb, did to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Express your feelings with sincerity and deep emotion. Emphasize the following:

1. Japan should have been given a chance to surrender before the bomb was used.
2. Prior warning should have been given, and the bomb's force demonstrated, to the Japanese in some harmless manner.
3. The bomb was not really used to defeat Japan; it was used to intimidate the Russians.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESS TESTIMONY SUMMARY
PROSECUTION WITNESS:
PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

You succeeded Harry Truman as President of the United States in 1952. At the time of this trial you have been President for about a year. You entered political life after a lifetime career as a professional soldier. During the later stages of World War II you were Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies that defeated Nazi Germany. In that capacity you were invited to visit the Potsdam Conference in July, 1945. There you first learned about the atomic bomb from Secretary of War Stimson. You were never consulted about whether the bomb should be used, but you had strong feelings about it and felt fully qualified to declare them emphatically. As you later stated in your memoirs, you "expressed the hope that we would never have to use such a thing." You insisted that it was wrong for "the United States [to] take the lead in introducing into war a weapon so horrible and destructive."

Your main emotion as you testify is regret. In the first place, you regret criticizing the man who preceded you in the White House. But the strong sense of duty developed during your long military service compels you to do it. Secondly, as a career soldier you have personally experienced the horrors of war. You profoundly regret our use of a weapon that intensified those horrors, and as a military expert you do not believe it was necessary.

Remember that you are President. Speak with pride and dignity. But speak too with the simple human feeling that has made you one of the most popular Presidents in our nation's history.