Hitler's Atomic Bomb

Who were the German scientists who worked on atomic bombs during World War II for Hitler's regime? How did they justify themselves afterwards? Examining the global influence of the German uranium project and postwar reactions to the scientists involved, Mark Walker explores the narratives surrounding "Hitler's bomb." The global impacts of this project were cataclysmic. Credible reports of German developments spurred the American Manhattan Project, the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in turn the Soviet efforts. After the war these scientists' work was overshadowed by the twin shocks of Auschwitz and Hiroshima. *Hitler's Atomic Bomb* sheds light on the postwar criticism and subsequent rehabilitation of the German scientists, including the controversial legend of Werner Heisenberg and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker's visit to occupied Copenhagen in 1941. This scientifically accurate but nontechnical history examines the impact of German efforts to harness nuclear fission and the surrounding debates and legends.

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History, Legend, and the Twin Legacies of Auschwitz and Hiroshima

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This book is dedicated to my wife Linda, son Chris, and daughter Kerry.

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Preface

Historians usually get only one chance to write a history. My Ph.D. dissertation, subsequently published as a book, also examined the German efforts to build atomic bombs during World War II.¹ This book is not an updated version of my earlier work but rather a new history written directly from the sources, many of which were not available when I first researched this topic. These new materials include the Farm Hall transcripts, documents from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics retrieved from Russian archives, Niels Bohr's unpublished letters to Werner Heisenberg, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker's papers, and the correspondence between Elisabeth and Werner Heisenberg.

I am breaking with historiographic tradition in a few ways. When writing about the Third Reich, as opposed to the postwar period, I use the adjective "National Socialist" or its acronym "NS" instead of "Nazi," except when a historical actor used the latter term. Rather than use Adolf Hitler's title in German, "Führer," I have translated it as "Leader." In both cases I want to help the English-language reader better experience what life was like during National Socialism. During the Third Reich a German would not have often heard or said the more pejorative "Nazi," while using the German word "Führer" in English hides the symbolism, which was very important and clear to Germans, that Hitler led and they were expected to follow.

Although I discuss historiography where appropriate in this book, this will be supplemented by a more thorough discussion of the literature in a forthcoming separate publication.

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Because I have been wrestling with this topic for all my professional career, my debts of gratitude are many. Historians can only write history when they have access to sources. I am grateful to Helmut Rechenberg at the Max Planck Institute for Physics and the Archives of the German Museum for Science and Technology, including its former archivist Wilhelm Fußl, both in Munich; the Berlin Document Center (now part of the Federal German Archives) and the Archives of the Max Planck Society, both in Berlin; the Niels Bohr Library at the American Institute of Physics in College Park, Maryland; and the Archives and Special Collections of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York and its former archivist John Dojka for making this book possible. My research was greatly facilitated by grants from the German Academic Exchange Service, the Berlin Program of the Social Science Research Council, the Humboldt Foundation, and the Fulbright Program. I was very fortunate to be a visiting researcher in the Max Planck Society Research Program directed by Carola Sachse for the History of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society during National Socialism, the codirector along with Dieter Hoffmann of the Research Project for the History of the German Physical Society in the Third Reich, to teach as a visiting professor at Nikolaus Rupke's institute at the University of Göttingen and as Friedrich Steinle's guest at the Technical University of Berlin, and be the guests of Helmuth Trischler and Ulf Hashagen as a scholar-in-residence at the Research Institute in the German Museum for Science and Technology. I am most grateful to the many colleagues who have helped me grapple with the history of science and technology during National Socialism: Helmuth Albrecht, Ulrich Albrecht, Mitchell Ash, Richard Beyler, Cathryn Carson, David Cassidy, Ute Deichmann, Michael Eckert, Paul Forman, John Guse, Ulf Hashagen, Susanne Heim, Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, Klaus Hentschel, Dieter Hoffmann, Uwe Hoßfeld, Horst Kant, Andreas Kleinert, Hemut Maier, Herbert Mehrtens, Benno Müller-Hill, Michael Neufeld, Gerhard Rammer, Volker Remmert, Monika Renneberg, Volker Roelcke, Carola Sachse, Florian Schmaltz, Reinhard Siegmund-Schultze, Ruth Lewin Sime, Helmuth Trischler, Heike Weber, Burghard Weiss, Sheila Weiss, and Stefan Wolff.

Abbreviations

DAAD	Deutsche Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic
	Exchange Service).
DAL	Deutsche Akademie für Luftfahrtforschung (German Academy
	for Aviation Research).
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research
	Foundation).
DFR	Deutscher Forschungsrat (German Research Council).
DWI	Deutsches Wissenschaftliches Institut (German Cultural
	Institute).
HWA	Heereswaffenamt (Army Ordnance).
IDO	Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit (German Institute for Eastern
	Work).
KWG	Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (Kaiser Wilhelm Society).
KWIfC	Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Chemie (Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for
	Chemistry).
KWIfP	Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Physik (Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for
	Physics).
MPG	Max-Planck-Gesellschaft (Max Planck Society).
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration.
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
NDW	Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (Emergency
	Society for German Science).
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National
	Socialist German Workers Party).
NSDB	Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Dozentenbund (National
	Socialist University Lecturers League).
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command).
OSRD	Office of Scientific Research and Development.
PTR	Physikalisch-Technisches Reichsanstalt (Reich
	Physical-Technical Institute).
REM	Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung
	(Reich Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture).

xii	List of Abbreviations
RFR	Reichsforschungsrat (Reich Research Council).
RSA	Reichssippenamt (Reich Kinship Office).
SD	Sicherheitsdienst der SS (Security Service of the SS).
VDW	Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler (Federation of German
	Scientists)