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later than that, in 1965, he would say that he didn't mean by sin "the deaths that were caused as a result of our work. I meant the sin of pride. We had the pride of thinking we knew what was good for man."

Such comments, reaching beyond Rhodes's book, leave continuing questions about Oppenheimer: What did he actually believe and feel? Was Oppenheimer perhaps so convoluted he did not know or would not say? Perhaps, often confused about self, he chose further to conceal it-an enigma who out of defensiveness and pride further wrapped himself in a second enigma. For at Trinity, we know from his only words recorded there, he spoke of the successful test's having "somewhat restored . . . my faith in the human mind." Did he also, as he later claimed, think during this first atomic explosion of the words from the Bhagavad-Gita, "I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds"? Frank Oppenheimer believed his brother said something less lofty: "It worked." I. I. Rabi recalled much later that Oppenheimer, right after the blast, came in and "his walk was like High Noon . . . this kind of strut. He'd done it."

In late September 1945, Oppenheimer and his three associates held their last formal meeting as the Scientific Advisory Panel to put together recommendations on postwar nuclear policy. Because Rhodes apparently never used the files of Lawrence and Compton, he did not discover that these four men, in the aftermath of Hiroshima, gave startling advice on the H-bomb. Summarizing their sentiments in a secret memo on 27 September, Compton informed Washington: "We feel that this development [the H-bomb] should not be undertaken primarily because we should prefer defeat in war to victory obtained at the expense of the enormous human disaster that would be caused by its determined use."

Such moral counsel did not prevail. Nor, amid the developing cold war, did Lawrence, Compton, Fermi and possibly Oppenheimer desire by 1947–48 to adhere to such advice. In ways more subtle than Rhodes understands, the making of the A-bomb helped build the jagged path that led nine years later to the H-bomb.

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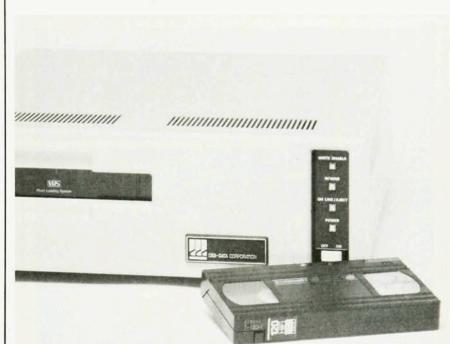
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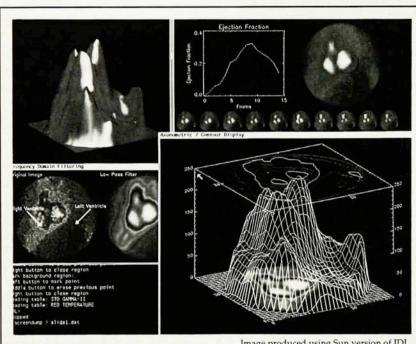


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