

NOVEMBER 1, 1994 AIR FORCE Magazine article on the Enola Gay exhibit. "The Three Doctors and the Enola Gay," by John T. Correll, editor in chief.

NOVEMBER 3, 1994 Letter from the Air Force Association Executive Director to the Under Secretary of the Smithsonian with analysis of Script 5.

NOVEMBER 17, 1994 Concerned historians write to the Director of the Air & Space Museum voicing their concerns that veterans groups are promoting propaganda versus history.

NOVEMBER 23, 1994 Air Force Association meets with the Under Secretary of the Smithsonian to discuss ways to make the exhibit less political and more historical.

DECEMBER 1, 1994 AIR FORCE Magazine editorial on the proposed Enola Gay exhibit, "Airplanes in the Mist," by John T. Correll, Editor in chief.

DECEMBER 13, 1994 Congressmen convey deep concern to Smithsonian and request to see a sixth script in February.

DECEMBER 15, 1994 Air Force Association, The Retired Officers Association and the Veterans of Foreign Wars meet with Smithsonian and Air & Space leadership to discuss ways to make the exhibit less political and more historical.

JANUARY 9, 1995 Air & Space Museum changes label on number of estimated invasion casualties.

JANUARY 18, 1995 American Legion calls for cancellation of exhibit.

JANUARY 19, 1995 Eighty-one Congressmen ask for the resignation of the Director of the Air & Space Museum.

JANUARY 20, 1995 Air Force Association Press Release -- "AFA Blasts the Air & Space Museum on Enola Gay Reversal."

JANUARY 20, 1995 Air Force Association calls for cancellation of the exhibit.

JANUARY 30, 1995 Smithsonian scraps the Enola Gay exhibit.

## APPENDIX IV



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
Washington, D.C. 20560  
U.S.A.

April 4, 1995

Honorable Sam Johnson  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515-4303

*Sam*  
Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of March 22 provides the Smithsonian with an opportunity to set the record straight with respect to the several remaining issues stemming from our once-planned exhibition on the end of World War II, better known as the Enola Gay exhibition. As you know, on January 30, 1995, I announced the replacement of that exhibition with a more straightforward display of the airplane and ancillary materials on its mission and its crew.

To provide as complete a record as possible, I will repeat each of your questions and reply to them in the order they were asked.

1. To what extent did the now canceled exhibit conform to the charge of the Smithsonian Institution, as stated in 20 USC, Ch. 3 Para #80? NASM officials respond to that requirement to present "the service and sacrifice of America's service men and women as an inspiration to the future generations" applies only to the National Armed Forces Museum -- which was never built. However, the language in the cited section clearly states that "The Smithsonian Institution shall...." Absent case law to clarify the intent of the legislation, no prevailing interpretation of that language exists, it appears that NASM is citing an interpretation designed to free their hands from responsibility as probably intended by Congress.

The legislative language quoted pertained to a National Armed Forces Museum which was authorized but never funded. The statute containing it specifically provided that that statute was not intended to apply to the National Air and Space Museum. As stated in 20 USC §80:

The provisions of this subchapter [Subchapter X- National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board] in no way rescind subchapter VII of this chapter, which established the National Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, or any other authority of the Smithsonian Institution.

It is worth noting at this point the language from Subchapter VII §77 which addresses the "functions" of the National Air and Space Museum as follows:

The national air and space museum shall memorialize the national development of aviation and space flight; collect, preserve, and display aeronautical and space flight equipment of historical interest and significance; serve as a repository for scientific equipment and data pertaining to the development of aviation and space flight; and provide educational material for the historical study of aviation and space flight.

As you know from my statement on January 30, I am undertaking a management review of the National Air and Space Museum, and one of our goals is to review a mission statement for the Museum to make sure that it is responsive to this statutory provision. I will discuss with the Regents the parameters of this management review on May 8, 1995, and I expect to have the review completed by September 1995.

2. To what extent did the municipal museums in Hiroshima and Nagasaki enter into a prior agreement with NASM concerning the now-cancelled exhibit? It was reported in the Washington Times, without verification or citation, that a prior, four-point agreement was extant. We have not been able to put our hands on that agreement. The Mayor of Nagasaki, in an AP dispatch published around the nation last month, is reported to have said if NASM will not display "their exhibit" they will find another museum that will. This tends to underscore the significance of the Nagasaki Peace Museum catalog, which parallels the original NASM exhibit beyond an extent explicable by coincidence.

I am assured that no formal agreement ever was drawn up between the National Air and Space Museum and the municipal museums in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However the Air and Space Museum wished to borrow a number of artifacts from the two municipal museums, and those museums were willing, in principle, to loan them. Both sides, however, saw difficulties. The Air and Space Museum did not wish to cede authority over the script to the Japanese side, and the Japanese did not wish to make a loan if they did not agree with the thrust of the exhibition. Eventually a tacit understanding was reached that:

(1) The National Air and Space Museum would be the sole judge on the contents of the exhibition. NASM would write a script for the exhibition, which, if necessary, would be mounted without the use of any loans from Japan.

(2) The Hiroshima and Nagasaki museums were under no obligation to loan artifacts to the Air and Space Museum if they did not find the proposed exhibition acceptable. On the assumption of a positive outcome, however, they were willing to receive a request listing artifacts, images and video tapes that might be used in the exhibition, so that they could rapidly prepare to loan materials to the National Air and Space Museum, if they chose to respond favorably.

As it turned out, the Japanese did have objections to the script that never were clearly specified, even as late as January 1995, when the exhibition was cancelled. At that time, less than four months before the scheduled opening of the exhibition, no agreement on the loan of any materials had been reached.

Initially, the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki also asked that the destruction of their cities should serve the purpose of warning the world of the dangers of nuclear weapons. The Museum countered that it cannot be an advocate on such issues. As time went on, the Japanese seemed to lose interest in this request, and the Museum independently determined that a topic as complex as nuclear policy was beyond inclusion in an exhibition that already was growing in size and needed to be pared back.

As you might expect, we incurred certain costs for the translation and transmission of draft scripts in the course of these discussions. At no time, however, were any monies paid to the municipal museums. The total cost of these services amounted to \$15,898 which was considered a legitimate expense of developing the exhibition.

3. How often, when, and why did NASM Curators travel to Nagasaki and Hiroshima in connection with this exhibit? We know that curators and the Director made at least three trips to Japan in connection with the exhibit, the first occurring in 1988.

Three trips to Japan occurred in connection with this exhibition and the desire of the National Air and Space Museum to borrow objects from Nagasaki and Hiroshima. It is important to note, however, that at all times the Museum officials made it clear that there would never be in the hands of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima museums the authority to veto any portion of the script. The only power invested in the Japanese museums was to loan the objects or not.

None of these trips took place in 1988. Museum Director Martin Harwit and Chairman of the Museum's Aeronautics Department, Tom Crouch, were in Japan in early April, 1993. Dr. Crouch, exhibition curator Michael Neufeld, and exhibition designer William Jacobs returned for a second visit in late May, 1993, and Martin Harwit made a final trip in August, 1993.

4. What is the significance, if any, to NASM Director Martin Harwit's travel to the Netherlands in early December 1994?

Martin Harwit has been a member of the Science Team working on the European Space Agency's Infrared Space Observatory, an astronomical satellite to be launched in September 1995. This is part of a NASA effort to minimize the costs of space ventures through international collaboration. Work by the science team began in 1985, and regular meetings have taken place four times a year since then. The December 1994 meeting was the 36th of these regularly-held meetings. NASA funds Harwit's participation.

5. Why did NASM fund the exhibition totally from non-appropriated funds?
6. Were there specific donors for the exhibit? What is the source of the non-appropriated funds?

Most of the Museum's exhibitions are funded largely through support from industry, although the salaries of staff working on the exhibitions are largely Federally funded. This exhibition was no exception in that regard. Half of the funds came from a Smithsonian Special Exhibition Fund administered centrally, and the other half was provided by the Museum, largely from unrestricted, non-appropriated funds. The Museum felt that for this exhibition it would be inappropriate to seek funding from an outside sponsor. The Museum wished to avoid the appearance that the exhibition's contents could in any way have been influenced by such a sponsor. The Museum's non-appropriated funds come largely from earnings from the operations of its wide-screen theater, from revenues generated by the museum shop and public restaurant, and from special events co-sponsored with professional associations and corporations.

7. Why was Michael Neufeld, a Canadian National, hired by NASM? What are his philosophical and political underpinnings?

I am informed that Michael Neufeld was hired for his broad knowledge of World War II, as displayed in his prize-winning book on the development of the V-2 rocket, *The Rocket and the Reich*, published in 1994. The book won the "best book of the year" award from the American Institute for Aeronautics and Astronautics, and was critically acclaimed in the New York Times Book Review (see Attachment A).

Before embarking on the exhibition of the Enola Gay, Dr. Neufeld had already curated a World War II commemorative exhibition on the Republic P-47 Thunderbolt, affectionately known as "The Jug." In the same commemorative series he curated a display on the German Arado, the first operational jet bomber which was used also for reconnaissance.

I do not know Dr. Neufeld's political affiliations or philosophical propensities. These are not matters that the Smithsonian inquires about.

8. Why was Tom Crouch, an early aviation history specialist, assigned as a curator? Why was he assigned to curate the American History Museum [exhibition] which focuses on the internment of Japanese American Citizens? Why is there language in the American History exhibit that is verbatim that which is contained in NASM's now-canceled exhibit?

Curators at the National Air and Space Museum are expected to be able to curate a wide variety of aviation or space-related exhibitions. Like most other museums, NASM does not have more than one specialist in any particular area. Large exhibitions, however, tend to require three or four additional curators working with one leading specialist. This was especially true of the "Last Act" exhibition, where Dr. Thomas Crouch and two other curators, Joanne Gerstein and Tom Dietz, aided Michael Neufeld on this project.

Tom Crouch joined the National Air and Space Museum as a curator, in the early 1970s, and helped to install the initial galleries for the Museum's opening in 1976. In the mid-1980s, he made a career change, leaving NASM for a curatorial position in the National Museum of American History. There, at the request of NMAH's then Director, he curated a gallery on the internment of Japanese American citizens, among other projects. In 1989, he was recruited back to the National Air and Space Museum by Director Harwit as chair of the Department of Aeronautics.

The Air and Space Museum has indicated that its very first script for the Enola Gay exhibition had a label on the Japanese American internment which used the same quote about American hatred of the Japanese as had been used in the exhibition in the American History Museum. It should be noted, however, that by May 31, 1994 (the second draft script for the Enola Gay exhibition) the quote was dropped from the script, and the entire matter of the internment of the Japanese Americans was dropped from the fifth draft script (October 1994).

9. Why does Martin Harwit maintain an astrophysics laboratory in NASM, devoting sums and personnel to that endeavor, and dispatching staffer to Europe on related business when the Smithsonian already has a similar lab in Cambridge Massachusetts?

Most of the Smithsonian Institution's Museums are directed by leading scholars, principally historians, scientists, and art scholars with various areas of expertise. Secretary Adams' decision to hire Martin Harwit as Director of the National Air and Space Museum was prompted by his desire to bring a recognized scholar into that position as well. This was not a radical departure from earlier practice. Among the three previous directors, Michael Collins was an astronaut, Noel Hinners a planetary geologist, and Walter Boyne a retired Air Force officer.

The terms under which Martin Harwit was hired as director of the Museum sought to assure that he could continue providing scholarly leadership in space science and astrophysics, where many of the nation's most sophisticated and costly spacecraft currently are making the United States a world leader. His letter of appointment specified that he would be provided an astrophysics laboratory so that he and colleagues could bring to the Museum expertise in space research, which has made America this century's pioneer in the discovery of our place in the Universe. This team is now designing an exhibition, tentatively titled "Universe," in which space telescopes and instrumentation will be displayed together with clear explanations of the discoveries they have helped bring about to increase our understanding of the nature of space and the structure and evolution of the universe. In this fashion, the Air and Space Museum complements work carried out at the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts, some of whose discoveries and achievements have already been displayed in the Museum's galleries.

10. Have the military veterans who are on staff as historical consultants and acknowledged military historians in their own rights been systematically excluded from the decision making on such exhibits as the one at issue?

The military veterans on the Museum's staff have made major contributions to the exhibitions mounted in the past few years:

- Tim Wooldridge, a former aircraft carrier pilot and retired U.S. Navy captain, in recent years instituted a major modernization of the Museum's Sea-Air Operations Gallery, made possible with the support of the Association of Naval Aviation.
  - Tom Dietz, a young U.S. Navy veteran, was one of the four curators on the "Last Act" exhibition.
  - Tom Alison, a retired Air Force colonel, who had come to the Museum in late May, 1993, after the "Last Act" exhibition already was under way, was later asked to curate an introductory section to that exhibition. It covered "The War in the Pacific," and was added because the Museum found that many young people no longer know the history of World War II.
  - Working with Alison on this section were Tim Wooldridge and Lt. Col. Don Lopez (USAF Ret.), who had recently retired as Senior Advisor to the Museum's Director.
11. Why did curators rely on historians only from the revisionist school, such as Bird, Alperovitz, Bernstein, and why did curators not contact established experts in the era and the key people involved?

In compiling a list of Advisory Committee members for the exhibition the Museum, tried to assemble a set of experts with a broad range of backgrounds and a variety of points of view. These established experts were initially brought in to provide the curators with constructive criticism and advice. They included:

- Edwin Bearss, Chief Historian at the National Park Service, a decorated disabled veteran of the Guadalcanal campaign. He was in charge of the 50th anniversary commemoration at Pearl Harbor.
- Barton Bernstein, a Professor of History at Stanford University.
- Victor Bond is a radiation physiologist, expert on the radiation effects of atomic bombs.
- Stanley Goldberg who is completing a biography on Gen. Leslie Groves, who headed the successful Manhattan project.
- Richard Hallion, an Air Force Historian and a former curator at the National Air and Space Museum, with extensive experience in exhibitions.

- Akira Iriye is Professor of History at Harvard and a recognized expert on 20th century relations between the U.S. and Japan.
- Edward Linenthal, a Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh. He had written about the controversies that attended the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor and was asked to serve in the hope that he could help the Museum anticipate and steer clear of such difficulties.
- Richard Rhodes, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*.
- Martin Sherwin, an historian and Director of the John Sloane Dickey Center at Dartmouth College.

Though they may have made their perspectives known in the media, Drs. Bird and Alperovitz had no role in developing the exhibition, nor were they ever invited to participate. Both men, however, often berated the Museum's script in the media.

One might wonder, as I often do, how it was that with a balanced set of advisors we seemed to have developed a script which was imbalanced. I suspect that the explanation is not only complex but also entirely worthy of extensive exploration, which we intend to give it at the symposium we have planned with the University of Michigan, "Presenting History: Museum in a Democratic Society," Ann Arbor, MI, April 19, 1995.

12. Why did Harwit fire docent Frank Rabbitt, for speaking about the exhibit?

Director Harwit informs me as follows:

Frank Rabbitt, a long-time volunteer who gave guided tours at the National Air and Space Museum, was first suspended from his duties for interfering with legitimate inquiry into the exhibition of the *Enola Gay* by a Baltimore Sun journalist. While on duty at the Museum, he had heard the reporter tell him he had an appointment the next day to see General Tibbets in Columbus, Ohio. Rabbitt then called some of the General's friends to warn him not to see the reporter, and when the reporter appeared at General Tibbets's house, he was met at the door and sent away.

Mr. Rabbitt's suspension was not aimed at his rights to free speech. The action was taken to reaffirm that individuals affiliated with the Museum have no right to interfere with legitimate inquiries into the Museum's activities by the press.

Shortly after his three-month suspension, Mr. Rabbitt was found to be openly soliciting signatures in opposition to the Museum's exhibition of the *Enola Gay*. At that juncture, he was dismissed from his volunteer duties, since volunteers are brought to the Museum to help ongoing activities, not to oppose them. In abrogating his services, the Museum told Mr. Rabbitt in writing that it was not challenging his right to speak out as he

saw fit. His activities simply were seen as more of a hindrance than a help to the Museum. Service as a volunteer at the Museum is not a right; it is a privilege that many applicants seek and few are accorded.

On January 30, 1995, immediately following the Secretary's decision to change the exhibition, Martin Harwit wrote Mr. Rabbitt, stating that there now was no reason to deny his return to the Museum, since the main object of his opposition had been removed, and since he had served the Museum loyally for many years. Mr. Rabbitt promptly accepted that offer to return and has been fully reinstated.

13. Has it been Harwit's intent since his hiring to "radicalize" and "redirect" NASM? Does revision conform to the charge and intent of Congress?

Director Harwit responds that the National Air and Space Museum, as initially conceived and realized by its first director, Astronaut Michael Collins, has been the most visited museum in the world, ever since it opened its doors to the public in July 1976. Given this popular appeal, it would make no sense to attempt any radical changes. Nevertheless, the Museum cannot stay static. It needs to comply with changing national demands. When the present director came on board, a number of alterations meeting new priorities seemed in order:

a. At a time when many youngsters are turning away from careers in science and technology, and the number of licensed pilots in the United States is rapidly declining, it seemed incumbent on the Museum to show youngsters the opportunities for space exploration that might be open to them when they grow up. The "Where Next, Columbus?" gallery, opened in 1992, asks what explorers like Columbus might be doing in the next 500 years. What goals would they set? What challenges will have to be overcome for us to explore further and deeper in space?

b. To date it has been possible to go through the entire Museum without ever learning what keeps balloons aloft, aircraft flying, and satellites from tumbling down to earth. For a nation that is placing renewed emphasis on science and technology education, that deficiency seemed in need of correction. A new gallery called "How Things Fly" has been in preparation for several years. It will answer those questions and feature numerous interactives that will help youngsters to understand the most fundamental scientific and technological aspects of flight. The gallery will open in the summer of 1996.

c. The awe-inspiring machines exhibited at the Museum are more than technological wonders. They provide a cross section of America's history and our nation's contribution to human civilization in the twentieth century. Airplanes and spacecraft have radically altered the ways in which we travel, trade, wage war, communicate across the globe, predict weather, monitor the state of our planet, and view our place in the Universe. Each machine carries

a unique story in that regard, which the Museum should strive to tell. Flying machines are not just technology devised for its own sake. They provide opportunities and services to humanity that were never available before. America's history can be vividly told through these national treasures that the Museum displays. Their stories are fascinating and convey the essence of America's role in changing life in the 20th century. In recent years, the Museum has attempted to place greater weight on those stories, in a balanced way, as it displays the artifacts.

I would add that none of these changes are radical; rather, they are designed to enrich the Museum's offering to a public eager for additional information. Still, some exhibitions in the Air and Space Museum may appear to depart significantly from earlier ones; for instance, a few exhibitions have taken a new critical approach, but they are hardly characteristic of the whole museum.

But when the question remains whether there is an appearance of some sort of bias in our museum presentations, the answer leads inevitably to an exploration of our exhibition review processes and, indeed, a thorough examination of how exhibitions are framed philosophically at the outset. I am conducting a study of these matters across the board at the Smithsonian, but I am satisfied in the meanwhile that there has been no fundamental effort at the Air and Space Museum or at any Smithsonian museum to do exhibitions only of the newer sort.

14. What comprises the exhibit now touring Japan, entitled "The Smithsonian's America"?

The exhibit, "The Smithsonian's America," is not now touring Japan. However, from July 9 through August 31, 1994, there was on view such an exhibition created by the Smithsonian Institution for the American Festival at the Nippon Convention Center in the Chiba Prefecture near Tokyo. That exhibition used artifacts, historic images and film footage to tell the rich and complex story of the United States. Examples of the subjects and objects in the exhibition are as follows:

- Photographs and artifacts representing American icons suggesting the cultural richness and ideals of the American people.
- A high-definition television presentation introducing the American landscape and the ways in which Americans have explored its incredible beauty and enormous natural resources. Part of the exhibition covered the fact that America is a land of many faces and cultures with unifying experiences such as military service, popular culture, education and work. The highlights of that section of the exhibition included: a Crow feather headdress; a Mohawk baby carrier; a French spinning wheel brought to the United States in the early 1800s; and a vest embroidered in a traditional Hungarian style by a young immigrant.

- Other subjects covered in the exhibit included: the national popular culture; the Western Frontiers; conquering time and space; Americans at Home; Looking American (focussing on clothing); and a section on Commodore Perry's visit to Japan and subsequent events.

- Some of the objects included were: the ruby slippers worn by Judy Garland in *The Wizard of Oz*; a 19th-century ballot box; George Washington's mess kit; the compass used by Lewis and Clark; Apollo 15 spacesuit; a Morse telegraph key and receiver; a 1920s cowboy hat made by Stetson; a hat from Commodore Matthew Perry.

During the first two weeks of the American Festival, the Smithsonian presented a series of concerts from eight musical groups from bluegrass to Cajun to Native American music and from gospel to the blues.

The Festival was sponsored by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) and The Yomiuri Shimbun. The Media International Corporation, an affiliate of NHK, coordinated the planning activities.

In addition, an exhibition titled "The Smithsonian Exhibition of Grand Gems and Minerals" began touring in Japan in the fall of 1994 and will continue through January, 1996. The exhibition was organized jointly by the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, the Japan Frontier Association and the Association of Space Development and Information.

15. What is the status of the companion volume on the now canceled exhibit? How does Secretary Heyman intend to stop this? What will happen to the 10,000 copies said by an unidentified spokesperson at the Press to exist? Do they? If so, have they been distributed to anyone? How will they be recalled?

There has been no publication of the catalogue that was to have accompanied the Enola Gay exhibition. No catalogue has been printed, published or distributed that must be recalled. The Acting Director of the Smithsonian Press reports that the Press did not even keep copies of the draft manuscript.

In response to my decision regarding the Enola Gay exhibition and the decision to cancel the publication of *The Last Act*, the Smithsonian Press took the following steps:

- Sent a memorandum to all sales representatives throughout the world informing them of the cancellation. The same memorandum went to key wholesale accounts.
- Placed a message in the system at the warehouse that automatically informs customers who order the book that it has been canceled.
- Sent a letter to book reviewers and other media that informed them that the publication has been canceled. That information was included in a routine letter from the publicist to the key media contacts.

16. Does Secretary Heyman intend to honor his promise to cancel all related materials? More important, is he positioned properly to effectively control the actions of NASM personnel?

I fully intend to honor my promise to cancel all related materials. The only material that may be in the public purview are copies of the various draft scripts that were out for comment prior to the decision to cancel the exhibition. The Institution has received some requests for the first and last scripts. We are referring those requests to the Office of General Counsel. There is, however, no basis to deny people access to the documents that had already been made public. To date there have been very few requests of the General Counsel to supply copies of any of the draft scripts.

17. How has the Enola Gay controversy effected fund-raising?

During the time of the controversy, there were concerns raised about the impact on our fund-raising ability. Some potential major donors waited to see the outcome before making a commitment to the Institution. However, the level of funds that have been raised this fiscal year has increased over the first quarter of last year and thus deleterious impact, if any, has been remedied.

18. Why does one major corporate donor insist on anonymity despite the Institution's offer of on-exhibit acknowledgements to all donors?

I am not aware that any major corporate donor to any of our exhibitions or programs has insisted on anonymity.

19. How many subscribers have withdrawn their membership and financial support? What is the extent of the loss?

During the height of the controversy, we received letters from members and subscribers of the Magazine indicating that they intended to cancel their subscription and withdraw their support from the Institution. In each case, we explained what we were doing to respond to the criticism. In most instances, the members/subscribers decided to reserve judgment. You should know that there is always a percentage of the Magazine subscribers who do not renew their subscription. We do not know what percentage of those were affected by the Enola Gay controversy, but the number is not significant.

It is worth noting that from February 16 to 19, 1995, Peter D. Hart Research Associates conducted a nationwide survey among a representative cross section of 1,003 Americans. The poll has a margin of error of  $\pm 3.2\%$ . Among its findings were the following:

There has been much discussion and commentary about the Air and Space Museum's World War II exhibit that features the B-29 bomber *Enola Gay*, and the survey includes two questions designed to gauge the American public's familiarity with and reactions to this controversial exhibit. Sixty-one percent of Americans overall have heard of the story, while 38% have not heard about it.

The most significant finding reveals that the situation has made little or no difference to most adults' perception of the Institution: just 14% of Americans have a less favorable opinion of the Smithsonian because of the way it handled the *Enola Gay* situation, while 5% say they have a more favorable opinion of the Institution because of it. A plurality of the public say that the controversy has not really affected their opinion of the Smithsonian: 31% say the situation did not affect their opinion of the Smithsonian, and another 7% say that it did not make much difference either way.

Despite the coverage of this controversy in the press, it seems to have made little difference to the American public, with 86% of adults saying the situation has not adversely affected their opinion of the Smithsonian, including 39% who either have not heard or are not sure whether they have heard about the *Enola Gay* story. In the open-ended question about their impressions of the Smithsonian, a mere 1% of adults volunteered *Enola Gay* comments.

20. Are the safeguards and oversight sufficient to ensure the Smithsonian Institution uses taxpayer dollars in the way that Congress intends?

The Institution is subject to and complies with all laws and regulations that govern the use of appropriated funds. We have an Inspector General who reports regularly to the Institution's Board of Regents through the Audit and Review Committee and responds to Congress, providing information through a semi-annual report as well as upon request. In addition, the Institution has an independent auditor who reports annually to the Audit and Review Committee of the Board of Regents on the financial management of the Institution. We also voluntarily comply with the provisions of the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990 as well as other financial requirements of federal agencies such as the Federal Managers Financial Integrity Act, even though we are not subject to them by law.

All of these elements combine to provide a significant degree of oversight. I believe the Institution has put into place the safeguards that are essential to protect the Institution and to ensure that we are using all funds as they are intended whether they be appropriated by the Congress or generated in the private sector. We are also looking at our exhibition review processes to determine whether further measures are needed to ensure that our activities, including exhibitions, meet not only the letter but also the spirit of Federal expectations. Again, I expect that the April 19 symposium at the University of Michigan, with its focus on "Museums in a Democratic Society," will shed important light on these matters.

21. Why did the Institution send all complaining members a "form letter" that falsely implied no problem with the *Enola Gay* exhibit?

I am not sure that I know the letter that is being referenced here. I do know that during the process of the controversy my predecessor attempted in various communications to explain what was being done to address the problem. Early in the process, there was a letter sent to some saying that the various advisory groups were in the process of reviewing the script and that problems would be addressed in that process. During the Fall of 1994, I, too,

wrote a letter indicating that the changes and the review by the American Legion made me very optimistic. I was wrong. Once I canceled the exhibition, the Institution informed those who had written about my actions and enclosed a copy of my statement.

22. Why do Smithsonian personnel have business cards that have their name transcribed in Japanese on the back of them?

Those Smithsonian personnel who travelled to Japan in connection with the American Festival in 1994 had business cards with their names transcribed in Japanese on the back. There were many negotiations regarding the exhibition with various business entities. As you know, the exchange of business cards in Japan is an important first step in a business meeting and American businessmen characteristically carry such cards.

23. With regard to new employees, what is the hiring criteria with regard to background and experience in the air and space field? Is any on the job training occurring instead of hiring qualified and experienced personnel?

New professional staff of the Air and Space Museum are hired according to criteria which vary in accordance with each position. The Museum seeks people with expertise appropriate to specific fields, and that expertise may be largely academic or more practical depending on the needs of the Museum at that time. The Museum sometimes hires and trains promising younger professionals right out of college or graduate school; this is often more economical than hiring fully experienced professionals. On the other hand, the Museum also hires professionals already in their mid- to late-careers, when the positions would benefit from their specialized experience and when those individuals' salary requirements can be met.

24. Are any NASM staff currently teaching in the Washington D.C. public school system? If so, how is this funded?

As is typical of other major Smithsonian museums, the National Air and Space Museum, through its Educational Services Department, provides a range of public services to fulfill its educational mission. However, those services do not include teaching in schools, and we are not aware of NASM personnel serving as teachers in school classrooms.

The Museum conducts workshops for teachers on-site at the Museum to help them strengthen their science and history teaching with current research and with interactive, inquiry-based approaches for students. It is rare for these workshops to happen in the schools. The Museum also produces aviation- and space-flight-related curricula for use in the classroom. All produced to date have been funded with external support from corporations and foundations.

In addition, through two other programs, also funded by external grants, the "Museum Explainers" and "Sin Limites: The Latin American Experience in Aviation," NASM has been able to allow schools to come to the Museum and experience a more extended relationship with the Museum.

Several partnership schools also work with NASM to test materials, integrate galleries and collections into school requirements, and view the IMAX films and public programs the Museum offers. Generally, the schools pay or external funders pay for any services that have attached costs.

25. Have NASM personnel participated in visits to space shuttle launches? If so how often, and how are they funded?

Three or four members of the Museum's staff each year accept NASA invitations to attend Shuttle launches. Transportation to these events is on NASA-provided aircraft. Where occasional overnight stays have been necessary, the Museum has borne the per diem cost. Seeing at least one Shuttle launch seems entirely in line for Museum staff who daily deal with a public interested in aviation and space flight.

26. Is it true that Mr. Harwit is working on a book addressing strategic bombing? If so, how is it funded, is it going to be an official Smithsonian publication and what will the review process be?

Dr. Harwit is not working on a book addressing strategic bombing.

However, attached is a copy of a book proposal on that subject by Tami Davis Biddle (see Attachment B). The book in question, *The Legacy of Strategic Bombing*, will be a collection of essays based upon papers given at a series of symposia on the topic, held at the Air and Space Museum between September 1989 and December 1990, and funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The book will be edited by Ms. Biddle, who was a Museum fellow in 1989-90 and one of the organizers of the symposia. Ms. Davis is now an assistant professor of military history at Duke University and is completing a doctoral dissertation at Yale on the history of strategic bombing.

Among the participants in the symposia who will have essays in the book are General Curtis LeMay, Freeman Dyson, Paul Nitze, John Kenneth Galbraith, Kurt Vonnegut, Max Hastings, and former Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

Portions of the draft manuscript for *The Legacy of Strategic Bombing* were recently submitted to the Smithsonian Institution Press for a decision on publishing the book. The manuscript will undergo the usual review process at the Press, which includes review by outside scholars familiar with the topic but unaffiliated with the Smithsonian or the Air and Space Museum. No funds from the Air and Space Museum will be used in the publication of the book.

27. How many people are currently employed by the NASM? How many are directly involved in restoration, preservation and display versus those involved on administration and side studies? Please itemize.

The vast majority of the Museum's staff of 239 Federal employees, an additional 145 largely part-time Trust employees, and roughly 420 volunteers are dedicated to restoration, preservation and display.

The collections management staff, numbering 45, registers acquisitions, monitors the status of artifacts, recommends preservative measures, undertakes preservations and restorations, collects and archives supporting documentation, answers public and professional inquiries about individual artifacts, and ships and receives items that are loaned out to other museums that care for and display artifacts from the Museum's collections. Within the total of 45 collections management staff, 12 are devoted to airplane restoration, an additional post is filled by a supervisor, and several additional conservators advise the restoration staff on the work to be done.

The exhibition staff of 41 designs and produces exhibitions in collaboration with the Museum's curatorial staff, and oversees additional exhibitions produced for the Museum by external contractors.

The building management staff of 82 cleans artifacts and has the enormous task of daily cleaning up and providing maintenance in the wake of the eight to nine million visitors who come to the Museum annually.

A staff of roughly 20 provides educational services to teachers and students from all over the country coming to see the exhibitions and wishing to acquire educational materials to enrich their school curricula through the insertion of aviation and spaceflight, as displayed by the Museum.

Staff dedicated to research and curatorial activities number 58. Curators are expected to spend approximately 30% of their time dedicated to the collections in their care, 30% to exhibitions for which they are responsible, 30% on research, and 10% on public service. While individual curators might spend close to 100% of their time on a major exhibition during the year of two before it opens and then spend a correspondingly large amount of time on their collections or research in subsequent years, these percentages indicate characteristic averages for the activities of this group.

Approximately 100 part-time staff members also service the theater that daily shows popular wide-screen, IMAX films on aviation and space flight, which the Museum produces with support from NASA and the aerospace industry.

Of the 420 volunteers, 220 work as docents, giving guided tours through the exhibitions for visitors. About 120 others work behind the scenes as restorers or research aides, while about 80 more answer the thousands of public inquiries that pour in annually.

The NASM administrative staff is comprised of 15 Federal employees and 15 trust employees. Computers throughout the Museum are served by an additional 7 staff members.



28. Why was the script of *The Last Act, The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* advertised in the *Smithsonian's Spring Catalogue* after I had been told by Under Secretary Newman that this advertisement would have a "canceled" mark through it?

The Spring Catalogue of the Smithsonian Institution Press anticipated such a volume and had already been printed and put in the distribution channel by the time of my January 30 announcement. The Catalogue becoming available in mid-April will not include reference to the *Enola Gay* book. However, as I detailed in response to Question 15, in the interim there has been significant effort to inform people of the cancellation of this publication.

I hope these responses are helpful to your greater understanding of the circumstances of the National Air and Space Museum. Like you, I trust they will assist us both in clearing up any misunderstandings that may be lingering in the wake of my cancellation of the exhibition.

Sincerely,

*Mike*

I. Michael Heyman  
Secretary

## Sins of the Rocketeers

The Nazi missile scientists of 1944 became the American space technologists of 1945 and after.

### THE ROCKET AND THE REICH

Feenemünde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era.  
By Richard J. Evans.  
Illustrated 48 pp. New York: The Free Press, 1975.

By Richard J. Evans

On September 1941 Hitler's Third Reich launched its newest wonder weapon, the V-2 rocket, against Britain in an effort to rescue itself from an increasingly desperate military situation. The rockets shot up to the edge of the earth's atmosphere, then plunged down at terrifying speed to crash onto London without warning, capitalizing on impact and causing considerable panic and devastation. There was no possible defense. Hitler expected great things from this new device. But in practice it failed to make any real impact on the course of the war. Only 3,308 of the rockets were ever launched and, contrary to popular belief, more of them fell on Belgium than on England. The main consequences of the V-2 program were longer lasting. At the end of the war, many of the scientists who worked on it were captured by American forces or by the Russian Army and shipped off to begin the American and Soviet ballistic missile and space exploration programs. In the course of their work during the 1950's and 60's, their involvement in the military activities of the Third Reich was conveniently forgotten. They successfully portrayed themselves as politically neutral scientists whose main interest during the Hitler years had been space flight, but who had been reluctantly co-opted by the Nazis into working toward the use of rocketry for military purposes.

In "The Rocket and the Reich," an absorbing new book, Michael J. Neufeld, who is curator of World War II history at the National Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, uses thorough research into the archives of the German rocketry establishment at Peenemünde, together with a wide range of other sources, to provide a full account of the V-2 and other programs pursued there. In the course of doing so, he effectively dismantles the accounts given in what he rightly calls the "dishonest" and "self-serving" memoirs of many of those involved, from the rocket scientist Wernher von Braun to Hitler's wartime Armaments Minister, Albert Speer.

The German rocket program had its unproblematic origins, Mr. Neufeld shows, in the activities of groups of enthusiasts in the 1930's. One such group managed to obtain money from a film company to launch a rocket simultaneously with the opening of Fritz Lang's science fiction film "The Woman in the Moon" in 1929. The attempt was a fiasco. These amateurish groups were suppressed after the Nazi seizure of power, as the program came under military direction. Cunningly playing off the army against the air force in their search for backers, the rocketeers obtained greatly increased funding for their experiments, and had made substantial progress by the outbreak of the war.

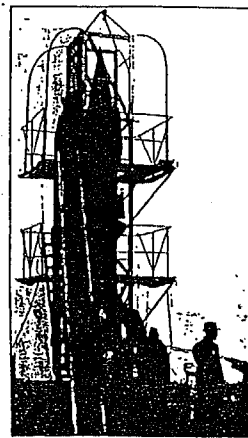
Hitler, however, did not give them his full backing until the military situation began to deteriorate after the battle of Stalingrad in 1943. He never really understood the idea of the rocket, regarding it as a sort of huge shell, and he once demanded a mass attack of 1,000 rockets launched on London, all at the same time. Yet rockets would remain ineffective as long as they did not possess nuclear warheads. The rocketeers hugely overestimated the military potential of their product. So, too, did their masters. As the war went on, vast resources were poured into Peenemünde, but the Reich's leaders only succeeded in diverting funds from other, more important areas like fighter plane manu-

Richard J. Evans is the author of the forthcoming "Rituals of Retribution Capital Punishment in Germany Politics and Society Since the 17th Century."

January 1, 1995



Albert Speer, right, Germany's Armaments Minister, watching a launching of a V-2 rocket with Joseph Goebbels, left, Minister of Propaganda.



A German V-2 rocket, a predecessor of the V-2, on the launching pad in 1937. The tall figure on the right is Wernher von Braun at 25.

facture, jet propulsion, radar and the atomic bomb. Ultimately the resources of the nation were simply insufficient to sustain all these programs at once.

Among those resources was the labor of thousands of slaves drafted from Heinrich Himmler's concentration camps to man the underground production facilities constructed for the V-2 in central Germany after Allied bombing raids had made the manufacture of the rockets at Peenemünde impracticable. Wernher von Braun and other rocketeers later claimed that the use of slave labor was forced on them by the SS. But Mr. Neufeld provides documentary evidence to show that leading figures in the project, like Arthur Rudolph — the chief engineer at Peenemünde, who went on to become project manager of the American Saturn 5 moon rocket program in the 1960's — were enthusiastic advocates of the employment of camp inmates. The harsh, unsanitary and brutal conditions under which the workers were kept led to an extremely high death rate, which was compounded by executions and massacres carried out by the SS at the end of the war. All together, 10,000 slave laborers were killed working on the rocket. This gave the V-2 a unique status among weapons, for, as Mr. Neufeld remarks, "More people died producing it than died from being hit by it."

The poor condition of the workers, which was compounded by acts of sabotage and resistance (punished by mass public hangings by the SS), slowed down rocket production and further hampered the program's effectiveness. Mr. Neufeld refutes claims made by Albert Speer, Wernher von Braun and other leading figures that they tried to introduce more humane conditions among the workers. Von Braun was not an apolitical space scientist but an ardent technocratic opportunist who cared little about the human consequences of what he was doing. Such cavalier attitudes were shared by the American and Soviet Governments after the war. Far from being ignorant of the crimes in which the rocketeers had been involved, they consciously chose to ignore them and to put expediency above principle in the new arms race.

This is a hard-hitting book, but it is also a fair and scholarly one that does equal justice to all aspects of the German rocket program — technical, political, moral and human. It bids fair to become the standard work on this subject for many years to come.

The Legacy of Strategic Bombing

Tami Davis Biddle, editor

Book Proposal

Concept

From September 1989 to December 1990, the National Air and Space Museum sponsored (in conjunction with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation) a symposium and lecture series on the history of strategic bombing. Invited to give lectures and panel presentations were not only some of the best scholars in the field of aviation history, but also some of the men who helped to shape the history of strategic bombing. This formidable list of individuals included: General Curtis LeMay, Freeman Dyson, Paul Nitze, John Kenneth Galbraith, Lord Zuckerman, and former Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Prominent scholars and writers participating included: Paul Fussell, Barton Bernstein, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Max Hastings, Michael Sherry, Wesley Wark, and David Rosenberg.

Over the course of the 16-month series, these individuals offered their thoughts and reflections on one of the most important military developments in modern times: the evolution of long-range bombardment. The purpose of the proposed volume is to bring their essays and speeches together in one place, and to bracket these contributions with a scholarly overview essay on the history of strategic bombing, and an up-to-date and detailed bibliographic essay on the scholarly literature on strategic bombing.

In planning the lecture series, the Museum staff set itself an ambitious goal: to examine the history of aerial bombardment from its roots in pre-World War I theory to its postwar manifestation as the agent of superpower armageddon. The contributions, which cover this entire time span, contain some unique additions to the literature. General LeMay's speech, for instance, was the last one he gave in public before his death in October 1990.

Contributors

Contributors to the volume include some of the most prominent scholars in the field of air power history, as well as notable individuals who had important roles to play in that history. The attached proposed table of contents contains a complete list.

Contents

The volume, which should appeal not only to general audiences but also to more specialized scholars as well, will consist primarily of: an introductory essay of about thirty-five pages; a series of individual essays which will vary in length from several pages (most) to up to fifteen pages (a few); and a bibliographic essay of roughly twenty pages.

Order of Materials:

--Biographies of the Contributors

--Introductory Essay

Tami Davis Biddle

This essay by Biddle, a former historian at the National Air and Space Museum and now a professor at Duke University, will provide a comprehensive overview of the history of strategic bombing. The essay will not only offer an important primer on the subject, but will tie together the many and varied essays which will appear in the pages to follow. Professor Biddle has

recently published an essay "Air Power and the Law of War," in Michael Howard, et al., (eds.) The Law of War, (Yale University Press, 1994), and she has a long essay on strategic bombing appearing in the spring 1995 issue of The Journal of Strategic Studies. She is currently at work on a book titled Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1917-1945.

--Chronology of the History of Strategic Bombing  
Tami Davis Biddle

--Contributions of the Symposium Participants (see Table of Contents)

These will be presented in (rough) chronological order, from the pre-World War I era to the post-World War II era.

--Bibliographic Essay

Tami Davis Biddle

This essay will offer an in-depth survey of the scholarly literature on strategic bombing that has been produced in Britain, the United States, Italy, and Germany between the late Victorian era and 1994.

--Index

--Appendices

Some statistics from the history of strategic bombing.

Approach

The final manuscript will be approximately 300 to 350 pages in length. The book will also include one section of black and white photographs from the Museum's collection, some never before published. These will be captioned by the editor. In addition, a few of the essays included in the main body will require graphs and charts. The volume should be produced in both a hardback edition, for libraries, and a paperback edition for students and Museum visitors.

Market

The book ought to have a strong market among general readers with an interest in military history, as well as scholars with a more detailed knowledge of the subject. As the history of the Second World War, and the history of strategic bombing in particular, of are interest to many people, the book should sell well. The volume will be broad in scope and accessible to the lay reader. In addition, the volume should be suitable as reading for college courses in military history.

The Journal of American History, the Journal of Strategic Studies, and the Air Force Journal should be interested in the book. The National Air and Space Museum tapped into huge interest (albeit negatively) in strategic bombing with the Enola Gay controversy. The combination of essays by people such as LeMay, Vonnegut, Galbraith, Nitze, and Zuckerman as contributors is quite powerful.

Editor

While Professor Biddle will serve as the editor of the volume, it will also be overseen by Dr. Gregg Herken, chairman of the Museum's Space History Department, and the author of The Winning Weapon, Councils of War and Cardinal Choices; and Dr. Tom Crouch, chairman of the Museum's Aeronautics Department, and the author of A Dream of Wings, The Eagle Aloft, and The Bishop's Boys.

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