

without question and approving your budget request without question are unfortunately over. So we would like to work with you.

Dr. Singer, as I said, I admire your work and that report. I wish we could send a copy of it to every American citizen as a matter of fact. It might help the institution.

Ms. SINGER. Sir, in response to that. The report is on the Internet. It is one of the things that is available through the Smithsonian home page.

The CHAIRMAN. That is good. I agree with you also about using the Internet and World Wide Web. I think that through the Library of Congress you have the greatest access to the world that we have ever had. We want you to be able to continue to meet those demands, but also not neglect the preservation of our artifacts because of this incessant demand for information from the people who come onto the Internet.

Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 12:56 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

[To obtain a copy of the script of the proposed exhibit, "The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II," make your request in writing to Mr. James Douglas, Office of the General Counsel, Smithsonian Institution, MRC 028, Washington, DC 20560. Due to its substantial size, there is a charge of \$37.00 to cover the costs of reproduction, binding and mailing. Make checks payable to the Smithsonian Institution.]

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

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May 15, 1995

Statement of Martin Harwit  
Former Director of the National Air and Space Museum  
For the Committee on Rules and Administration  
United States Senate  
104th Congress  
Hearings on  
The Smithsonian Institution's  
Future Management Practices

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

In testimony delivered before you on May 11, 1995, the National Air and Space Museum, and I, as its Director during the planning of the exhibition *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, were accused of mounting an exhibition that dishonored the memory of the brave young Americans who fought for truth and liberty in World War II. We were accused of portraying the Japanese as victims and the United States as the aggressor. These are distortions of the record which must be refuted because they are an injustice to one of the nation's greatest museums.

I attach four pages of detailed quotations from the final script of the exhibition as it stood on January 30, 1995, the day the exhibition was canceled. They speak for themselves. If members of the Committee doubt that they are representative of the document as a whole, the entire script can be made available, at the Committee's request.

One further note may be in order. The American Legion's testimony accuses me of intending to "include unilateral changes to the script that violated agreements and understandings" reached with them. I want to point out that I proposed the cited changes only on finding that a historian, whose research the script was quoting, had misinterpreted the minutes of a June 18, 1945 meeting on casualties expected in an invasion of Japan -- attributing to Chief of Staff Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, a casualty estimate which directly contradicted both Leahy's diary entry for that day and his later memoirs. Had I wished to perpetrate some kind of deceit, we at the Museum could have made the changes without immediately notifying the Legion. However, I knew of the Legion's interest and felt I should let them know, as soon as possible, that the label as previously discussed was now likely to be attacked as inaccurate. In concluding my letter to them I wrote, "If you have any concerns or comments, I'd greatly appreciate your letting me know." I do not know how else I could have broached the subject.

Sincerely yours,

Martin Harwit

"THE LAST ACT: THE ATOMIC BOMB AND THE END OF WORLD WAR II"

The following are verbatim excerpts from the FINAL label script (Jan. 18, 1995) of the exhibition planned for the National Air and Space Museum. The exhibition was cancelled at the urging of critics who claimed that the script was "pro-Japanese" and "portrayed the United States as a racist aggressor and Japan as the victim" in the war. [Note: the first digit in brackets is the script section, followed by the page number.]

• Japanese expansionism was marked by naked aggression and extreme brutality... Civilians, forced laborers, and prisoners of war were subject to brutal mistreatment, biological experiments, and execution. [001]

• [In] the Chinese capital of Nanking... Japanese soldiers went on an unprecedented rampage. Some 200,000 to 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered (more than were killed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined), and 20,000 women of all ages were raped. The staff of the German Embassy in Nanking reported on the atrocities and described the Japanese army as "bestial machinery." [005]

• [Photo captions] (1) A December 1937 issue of the Tokyo Daily News reported that these two Japanese sergeants, competing in a contest, beheaded 105 and 106 Chinese civilians in Nanking. (2) Chinese being buried alive in Nanking. [005]

• The Pearl Harbor attack plunged the United States into a just war against Japanese aggression in the Pacific. [007]

• [Photo caption] Only 289 of the 1,466 men aboard the USS Arizona survived the attack. Of the 1,104 Navy men and 73 Marines killed, only 150 bodies were recovered. More than 900 others remain entombed in the hull of the ship. [007]

• The Japanese were brutal toward the American and Filipino soldiers captured at Bataan... More than 600 Americans and 5,000 to 10,000 Filipinos perished during what became known as the March of Death. Of almost 20,000 Americans captured during the fall of the Philippines, over 40 percent would never return. [013]

• [Photo captions] (1) Treated by their captors with a mixture of contempt and cruelty, American prisoners await their fate during the Bataan Death March. (2) American dead during the Bataan Death March. [014]

• [Photo caption] A burial party prepares graves for fellow Marines who died during the battle on Bougainville. The fight cost the Marines 423 dead and 1,418 wounded. [025]

• [Photo caption] American dead, Peleliu, September 1944. The Marines and Army suffered 9,804 casualties, including 1,794 dead. Only 301 of 10,695 Japanese surrendered. [038]

• [Photo caption] ... Japanese troops systematically destroyed [Manila] and slaughtered about 100,000 civilians out of a population of 1 million. Men, women, and children alike were burned to death, blown up, bayoneted, shot, or beheaded in their homes, hospitals, churches, schools, and streets. [044]

• "In a shallow defile to our right... lay about twenty dead Marines, each on a stretcher and covered to his ankles with a poncho -- a commonplace, albeit tragic, scene to every veteran... Every crater was half full of water, and many of them held a Marine corpse. The bodies lay pathetically just as they had been killed, half submerged in muck and water, rusting weapons still in hand. Swarms of big flies hovered over them." E.B. Sledge, 1st Marine Division, describing a scene on Okinawa, 1945 [105]

• The Two-Thousand-Yard Stare by Tom Lea, a painting made during the vicious fighting on the island of Peleliu. Lea's note states: "He left the States 31 months ago. He was wounded in his first campaign. He has tropical diseases... He half-sleeps at night and gouges Japs out of holes all day. Two thirds of his company has been killed or wounded... he will return to attack this morning. How much can a human being endure?" [114]

• Starting in June 1945, American aircraft dropped millions of leaflets like this one over dozens of Japanese cities, including Hiroshima, warning people to leave cities that were to be bombed. The leaflets were intended to save lives and counter Japanese accusations of "indiscriminate bombing of civilians." [133]

• The Japanese government turned to slave labor to ease severe manpower shortages and provide prostitutes for its troops. Some 667,000 Koreans and 38,000 Chinese who had labor contracts to work in Japan ultimately became slave laborers or were forced to be "comfort girls." ... Protests were punished by beating, flogging, and execution. During the war, an estimated 67,000 Korean and Chinese laborers died in Japanese custody. By 1945 some 10,000 of almost 26,000 American prisoners of war had died or been executed. Those held in Japan were also treated as slave laborers. Like their compatriots in Japanese camps overseas, they were often starved, beaten, tortured and executed. [144]

• Truman saw the bomb as a way to end the war and save lives by avoiding a costly invasion of Japan. He wanted, he said, to prevent casualties on the scale of "an Okinawa from one end of Japan to the other." [201]

• ... there is little doubt that if Japan (or Germany) had been able to construct such [an atomic] weapon, it would have been used against the Allies. [206]

• [Truman] saw the atomic bomb principally as a means to end the war quickly and save American lives. [221]

• American military intelligence [learned] in the summer of 1945

that the Japanese had achieved an alarming buildup of forces in southern Japan -- precisely in the area American forces were scheduled to invade late in the year. Thus, despite the peace initiative, Japan was preparing to fight to the bitter end. [229]

• Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb was based on saving American lives and shortening the war. [231]

• Estimates of the number of American casualties -- dead, wounded and missing -- that the planned invasion of Japan would have cost varied greatly. In a June 18, 1945, meeting, General Marshall told President Truman that the first 30 days of the invasion of Kyushu could result in 31,000 casualties. But Admiral Leahy pointed out that the huge invasion force could sustain losses proportional to those on Okinawa, making the operation much more costly. Had the Kyushu invasion failed to force Japan to surrender, the United States planned to invade the main island of Honshu, with the goal of capturing Tokyo. Losses would have escalated. [250-51]

• After the war, Truman often said that the invasion of Japan would have cost half a million or a million American casualties. The origin of these figures is uncertain, but Truman knew that Japan had some two million troops defending the home islands. He believed, along with the many Americans who would have had to invade Japan, that such a campaign might have become, in his words from June 18, 1945, "an Okinawa from one end of Japan to the other." Added to the American losses would have been several times as many Japanese casualties -- military and civilian. The Allies and Asian countries occupied by Japan would also have lost many additional lives. For Truman, even the lowest of the casualty estimates was unacceptable. To prevent an invasion and to save as many lives as possible, he chose to use the atomic bomb. [250-51]

• [Document] These pages from the original minutes of the June 18, 1945 meeting between President Truman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff discuss the American losses expected in "Operation Olympic". On the second page, General Marshall endorses a figure of about 31,000 casualties for the first 30 days of the Kyushu invasion... On the third page, Admiral Leahy asks whether this figure is too low, based on the bloody battle for Okinawa. [252]

• [Photo caption] For aircrew, capture meant imprisonment in horrible conditions and even execution. Like this Australian intelligence officer, Allied flyers were sometimes beheaded. [321]

• **A HERO'S RETURN.** Lt. Gen. Carl Spaatz awards Paul Tibbets the Distinguished Service Cross for his historic flight. [370]

• This leaflet, warning of the atomic bomb, was dropped on Nagasaki and two other Japanese cities the day before the second atomic bomb. It was largely disregarded because the Japanese people did

not yet understand what had happened to Hiroshima. [374]

• **HIROSHIMA: A MILITARIZED CITY** ...the Second General Headquarters, which was to plan and lead the defense against the expected American invasion, was established in Hiroshima. Supplies for Imperial forces in China, Southeast Asia and the Pacific had passed through the...port throughout World War II. [405]

• **NAGASAKI AT WAR.** Nagasaki...was a major industrial center. One of the most important shipyards in the nation was located in the harbor. The great naval base of Sasebo was nearby...The city was also home to a variety of factories critical to the war effort, including the Mitsubishi Steel Works. The torpedoes used in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 were manufactured in Nagasaki. [411]

• "The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki put an end to the Japanese war. It stopped the fire raids, and the strangling blockade; it ended the ghastly specter of the clash of great land armies." Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson [501]

• Prime Minister Suzuki told his American interrogators after the war that the atomic bomb had enabled his military colleagues to surrender honorably. To surrender when one's powers of resistance remained was dishonorable; to surrender to a force of overwhelming power was acceptable without loss of face. No brigades of children with bamboo spears, no kamikazi attacks, no spiritual strengths could overcome such might...The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the prospect of more to come, compelled Japan to surrender, lest it be destroyed forever. This was the argument that Hirohito made in council to his government, and it ended the war. [511]

• "When the atom bombs were dropped and the news began to circulate that...we would not be obliged in a few months to rush up the beaches near Tokyo assault-firing while being machine-gunned, mortared and shelled...we broke down and cried with relief and joy. We were going to live. We were going to grow to adulthood after all." Paul Fussell, U.S. Army infantryman in Europe, from "Thank God for the Atom Bomb" [512]

• The introduction of atomic bombs and their first use at Hiroshima and Nagasaki left a powerful legacy. For the Allies and Japan, a horrendous war was brought to an abrupt end. For the world, the new weapon was a double-edged sword. It offered both the hope of preventing another global war and the danger that a failure of deterrence could destroy civilization...The atomic bomb cannot be uninvented. But the atomic bombings that ended World War II provide grim evidence of the devastating potential of these weapons -- and perhaps the most compelling reason why they have not been used since. [516]