National Archives Conference on World War II Research

In Washington on June 14-15, the National Archives held a conference on Research on the Second World War. The meeting was co-sponsored by the American Committee on the History of the Second World War and was attended not only by American scholars but by delegates from 12 of the 23 foreign countries affiliated with the International Committee. The foreign representatives included the president and vice president of the International Committee, Henri Michel of France and General P. A. Shilov of the Soviet Union. The American Committee expresses its thanks to Dr. James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, to the co-directors of the conference, Robert W. Knust and James E. O'Neill, and to members of the Archives staff, for their fine work in making the meeting an outstanding success.

Brief summaries of the papers follow. The complete texts will ultimately be published by the National Archives. (Meanwhile, a two-page summary of each paper has been prepared for use of the International Committee. Copies of these summaries are available on request from the secretary of the American Committee. Please indicate the paper or papers desired.)


Early interpretations ran along political lines and along the question of isolationism versus internationalism. At first the division was between traditionalists (Langer and Gleason, Feis, etc.) who maintained that the United States tried in good faith to stop Japanese expansion, and the revisionists (Beard, Tansill, Barnes) who saw Roosevelt deceitfully leading the country into war. In the 1960's, a new group of revisionists tended to see Japan following a legitimate expansion pressed on her by economic needs rather than led by a conspiracy of military men. Among these historians are David L. Robert Butow, J. B. Crowley, Dorothy Borg. Akira Iriye describes Japan involved in a complex relationship with China, Russia, and the United States. More and more Japanese historians have presented views, generally emphasizing the role of the military and seeing a "hard-line" approach dominating American decision-makers. Worthy of note is the multi-volume study of the road to the Pacific war, published by 16 Japanese historians in 1962-63. Soviet historians, such as David Goldberg, see the conflict as a marxist struggle, and historians of the New Left, influenced especially by William A. William, interpret American expansion as running into inevitable conflict abroad -- the Turner thesis internationalized. Some areas still need exploration: the influence of events in Europe on the Far East; studies of Soviet and Chinese influence; American military influence. The subject offers many possibilities and continues to be an area of passionate debate.
Many of the records of the French Resistance were destroyed, or exist as reports from the Allied Governments, the German authorities, or from the Vichy Government. To document the Resistance, a Commission d'Histoire de la Résistance has had the task of preserving, collecting, creating, and elucidating a huge and varied mass of documents. For example, the Commission has been instrumental in having gendarmerie and railroad records preserved, in cataloguing the underground press, and in collecting posters, photographs, notices, and other miscellaneous materials. Most important, the Commission has interviewed nearly 2000 persons involved in the Resistance. By using questionnaires, interviews in depth, and by checking and double-checking, a considerable body of material has been built up. Out of all the information available, the Commission is establishing on cards a chronology of the Resistance movement. So far, about 45,000 cards have been filed in Paris, and an equal number in the provinces. When complete, the file will have some 200,000 cards. Through the Commission's encouragement, a number of books, theses, and articles have appeared.


Soviet work may be considered in three areas: 1) publication of documents 2) research 3) memoirs. (1) There are more than ten central archives, 400 regional archives, and 3000 local archives. About 500 volumes of documents have been published, most recently The Ussr in the Struggle for Peace on the Eve of the Second World War. Wartime correspondence of Stalin has appeared, as well as documents on summit conferences, and on the Communist Party. Much material exists in museums. (2) Some 500 monographs, nearly 600 dissertations, and 4000 scientific popular works have appeared. In the mid-sixties the collective work in six volumes, History of the Great Patriotic War, appeared. Over 50 works have been published on Stalinism--recently the collective The Great Victory on the Volga. Some historians have written on the war in the west, and recently three volumes, The Second World War, include the papers of the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of V-Day. (3) Among the important memoirs are those of Marshal Zhukov; G.M. Chlenenko, The Soviet General Staff at War; N.O. Kuznetsov, On the Eve: Action Stations in the Fleet. More than 1000 memoirs have been published. On current trends: work is being done on prewar history, to correct misconceptions about Soviet foreign policy. Work is progressing on a 10 volume history of the war.

[Further details may be obtained from General Zhilin's 17-page pamphlet, "Studies by Soviet Historians for the Period 1965-1969" published in English by the "Nauka" Publishing House, Moscow, 1970. Russian titles are given in footnotes. Studies by General Zhilin are available in English in They Sealed Their Own Doom, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970. See also the bibliography section in this Newsletter.]

Selig Adler, State University of New York (Buffalo). "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Palestine Question, 1941-1945."

A minority of American Zionists, whose spokesman was Abba Hillel Silver, felt that Roosevelt purposely dragged his heels in the issue of the creation of a Jewish state. The evidence is so confusing that it is impossible to determine just what solution, if any, Roosevelt had in mind for the problem of Jewish homelessness. His diplomacy can only be rated as a failure. The demands of war made him delegate decisionmaking in the Middle East to military chieftains and the State Department. Both groups felt that introduction of the Jewish state in Palestine would endanger the war effort, especially the supply route to the Soviet Union through Persia. With the exception of Justice Felix Frankfurter, Roosevelt's advisers were neutral or hostile to the Jewish State. Winston Churchill was as ambivalent as the President on the issue. The overwhelming probability is that neither intended to keep his promises, barring drastic changes in the circumstances of Middle Eastern politics.

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There was a marked contrast in American policy toward Indochina between the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. FDR's reliance upon personal diplomacy was marked by an anti-Gaullist position which made him reluctant to permit the French back into Indochina. He considered the alternative of turning the area over to China or to an international trusteeship. But he never staffed out the study so records of FDR's policy are based upon memoirs of his associates. Truman relied upon advice from the State Department which was pro-French and the interest of the departments of War and Navy which wanted to have American bases in the Pacific islands after the war. The latter consideration vitiated FDR's anticolonialism. American policy toward resistance movements in Indochina did not take any definite stance until the Japanese assumed direct control from the French, on March 9, 1945. FDR's policy was to prevent the return of French dominance. Very limited assistance was given to the Vietnamese through the OSS. The French were quite bitter about this aid. At the Quebec conference in 1943, the creation of the Southeast Asia Command divided Indochina between the two main theaters; Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam came under the China theater; the remainder came under the Southeast Asia Command. After FDR's death, the division of commands was made at the 15th parallel, but soon shifted to the 16th. It was clear that the United States did not intend active involvement in the area.

Barbara Tuchman, "Sources and Problems in Writing the Biography of General Stilwell."

General Stilwell and the American Experience in China is not a military biography; the book has two aspects, a biography and a study of Sino-American relations. Stilwell is a focal point, but the fact that he was a soldier is incidental. Work on the book posed certain problems. By personal preference, Mrs. Tuchman eschewed clearances and tape recorders; but she nevertheless did interview many people and she was able to find sufficient material among unclassified documents. But research is easy compared to writing. As a writer, she prefers the narrative approach, finding it simple, natural, logical, and dramatic. She attempts to avoid saturating the reader with too many names of places and persons. She carefully reviews all material for relevance even though this may eliminate some anecdotes and incidents. Condensation and selection is difficult but basic -- the real test of the historian. The historian should describe events in the light of the times; she prefers to avoid disputes over evidence (keep them in the notes) and to leave hindsight interpretations to others. Although she does not consider herself a military historian, Mrs. Tuchman accepts the validity of military history; it should be part of the whole, doing its bit, along with other approaches, to reveal what a given society was like at a given time.


Three questions are posed: (1) Where and how accessible are materials? Unpublished documents are found in the National Archives, and other federal depositories, in the Library of Congress, Roosevelt and Hoover Libraries, in the Office of the Chief of Military History, in Army, Navy, and Air Force Collections, in various university library collections (Duke, Columbia, etc.), in various local and private depositories, and in archives located in Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines. Access is difficult because of geographical distance, over-classification, and sheer size. (2) How helpful are official histories? They are very useful as guides to the sources and for purely military events. But there are many questions on personality, on diplomacy, on controversies, which are not covered. In general, they do not handle questions like public opinion, nor do they cover interpretations which unofficial historians have made. (3) How revealing of MacArthur are the unpublished sources? Some incidents are poorly documented, and in others, MacArthur's personality does not come through. MacArthur was not always frank, and the historian must assess what he said against what he really believed. MacArthur was difficult to know, and constantly concerned with his public image. The historian must penetrate into his complex personality -- a problem which is difficult but worth attempting.
The National Archives with its branch depository at Suitland, Maryland, has about 164,000 cubic feet of military records on the Second World War. Most of these records were turned over to the National Archives in 1958 by the Department of the Army. The collection includes records from the three services, the home and overseas commands, front-line reports, allied command records, and captured military records. The records have already been used to produce a number of published works and are available as basic source material for the scholarly study of the Second World War.


All of the presidential libraries contain materials related to World War II. The Hoover Library (West Branch, Iowa) covers Hoover's activities in World War II, and includes materials on isolationism, e.g., papers of Sen. Gerald Nye. The Roosevelt Library (Hyde Park, N.Y.) has a vast number of the President's papers relating to the war. Of special interest is the President's Secretary's File, the "Safe File," kept in Roosevelt's office, and the Map Room File. There are many papers in the Harry Hopkins collection which have not been used. A number of personal papers are of interest: those of Henry Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare; papers of Leon Henderson, Earl Smith, Oscar Cox, John M. Carsady, Herbert Marks, are valuable. Eleanor Roosevelt's "White House" papers will be opened in October, 1971. Other collections include the Rubber Survey Committee; Soviet Protocol Committee; Portal-to-Portal Travel Time materials; papers of the War Refugee Board. In the Truman Library (Independence, Missouri) are Truman's senatorial and vice-presidential papers. The Eisenhower Library (Abilene, Kansas) has important papers for World War II; not only the Eisenhower collection but papers of Bedell Smith, Courtney Hodges, and other officers. The John F. Kennedy Library (Waltham, Mass.) will hold the papers of James P. Warburg relating to the Office of War Information.

The three following papers concerned the accessibility of documents, and they provoked the liveliest discussion. The Pentagon Papers were coming out during the Conference, but no one at that time could assess the significance to historians. Comments were made by William M. Franklin, Director of the State Department Historical Office; Louis Morton, speaking of the work done by the AHA-OAR Coordinating Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government; Barbara Tuchman; Julius Epstein (see Time, July 5, 1971, p. 15); and others. (See also the New York Times, June 19, 1971.) Worth reading regarding the issue is Richard W. Leopold's presidential address, "A Crisis of Confidence: Foreign Policy Research and the Federal Government," in the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter of May, 1971; also Louis Morton's article, "The Historian and the Federal Government: A Proposal for a Government-Wide Historical Office," in Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives, Spring, 1971.


The greatest problem in making materials available to historians comes from the sheer bulk of papers to be declassified. Between 1940 and 1945, some 770,000,000 pages of military records were produced. All except 100,000,000 pages have been declassified and turned over to the National Archives. What remains, being classified and subject to the processes of the 'Freedom of Information' law, must be screened. This is an extremely complicated and time-consuming process. Many of the records are personal, and many include material given in confidence. Various agencies have different rules on declassification, and frequently a given file will have in it material from different sources. Some of the papers come from foreign governments. For example, intermixed with American records are over 1,000,000 British papers. Progress is being made but the review process is slow. Some automatic declassification of lower-echelon materials has been in effect since 1958.
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The archivist is the man caught in the middle, trying to serve two masters whose interests are in conflict. He must follow the rules of the officials of government departments and guard their papers from the prying eyes of the uncleared. He also must deal with the historians whose lack of power is more than compensated by the persistency of their demands. There are three kinds of restricted materials: agency-restricted material, classified material, and donor-restricted material. The whole apparatus is complicated, troublesome, inconsistent, and time-consuming. A solution would be a reconstitution of the system so that there would be in all cases automatic declassification. If documents existed that were very sensitive they could be reclassified for a limited period. There must be some means of achieving a balance between the Government's need for secrecy and the public's right to know.


The brunt of criticism on the limits of access of archival materials from the Second World War deservedly fall on the State Department. The record of the State Department is self-serving and at odds with any serious definition of an open society. Moreover, the Department's objections are of dubious legality under American law. A gap of twenty-five years for granting access is too long. Long-term secrecy promotes excesses. A ten-year gap on classification makes better sense. It is hoped that the issue can be confronted in such a way that it will serve the public interest instead of protecting the policymakers.

Meyer Fishbein, Records Appraisal Division, National Archives and Records Service. "Archival Remains of Research and Development during the Second World War."

The topic, research and development during the war, is so well represented in the National Archives that a relatively brief guide should give free range of the materials; yet the subject leads to a tortuous route through a maze of problems. Amongst these are the problem of note-taking: some notes are so personalized that many scientists take the notes with them when they end their federal service. There is also the problem of files retained at universities, private companies, or governmental agencies that were contracted by the government to do specific research and development projects. The most important organization on this area was the Office of Scientific Research and Development. Records can also be found in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation with such subsidiaries as the Rubber Reserve Corporation and the Defense Plants Corporation. Records of the War Production Board, the National Inventors Council, the New Development Division of the War Department and the Naval Underwater Sound Laboratory, and the Strategic Bombing Survey are also of importance in this field.

Albert A. Blum, Michigan State University. "Mobilization of Men and Machines during the Second World War."

Only 85 of the 23,493 doctoral dissertations in history, political science and economics, completed between 1946 through 1968 dealt with any aspect of economic or manpower problems of the Second World War. Too much has been made of the military-industrial complex without recognizing its failures. The more important aspect of the acts of the War Manpower Commission or the Selective Service System have many lessons for present-minded historians. The role of individuals such as Bernard Baruch has been overemphasized while that of Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, has been neglected. The war's effect on society merits as much study as bullets, battleships, and bombadiers.


Historians have concentrated on combat, diplomacy, and biographies, but little or nothing has been done on the economic and social phases of the war. One exception: the evacuation of
the population of Japanese descent. But the war was won as much by industrial strength as by
the armed forces. The archives contain tons of materials on such things as wartime civil con­
trols. The first step of these controls was the resuscitation of the Council of National
Defense and its Advisory Commission which was organized into seven divisions to deal with the
factors involved in industrial production and materials, employment, agricultural production,
price stabilization, transportation, and consumer protection. From these and some other impor­
tant units of the Council practically all of the Independent World War II emergency agencies
were derived. These emergency agencies, that were considered temporary, more than trebled the
33 listed in the World War II guide of such agencies. As the war progressed, the War Production
Board was created to coordinate the economic aspects of the nation at war. The records that
survive have done so through several methods. Records disposition was done at times under the
guidance of the National Archives. Differing philosophies, administrative guidelines, or use
by successor agencies had led to different ways and places of archival storage and retrieval.
But significant and numerous materials are available for research.

Stetson Conn, former Chief Historian, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of
the Army. "Preparing the Army's History of the Second World War."

To date, seventy-seven volumes of the "big history" have been published in the series, The
United States Army in World War II and in the associated series, The Army Air Forces in World
War II. This work has come from the Office of the Chief of Military History which is headed
by a military chief but has had as a principal adviser a civilian chief historian who has
exerted great influence on the history. The project which started with a preliminary series,
American Forces in Action, has been done under the mantle of academic freedom, with differing
interpretations by the different authors. The history is limited essentially to the American
side using the records that are said to weigh more than 17,000 tons. Interviews have been
trebled extensively used. The success of the series has resulted from the Army's desire to know the
truth about its recent history without glossing over mistakes.

Noble Frankland, Director, Imperial War Museum, London. "Historical Research and Archival
Policies: Some Reflections."

The archivist ultimately serves the historians by (1) arranging collections, (2) indexing
them, and (3) producing finding aids. Experience in arranging the papers of Lord Clarendon
(1800-1870) led to the conclusion that the best way to arrange materials is to leave them in
their working position, as deposited by their creator. Confronted with diversity of materials,
the historian ultimately makes judgements which are subjective; and if his historical inter­
pretations are right, it is likely to be because his instincts are right. To serve the his­
torian, the archivist operates best when he gives the historian good browsing access to his
collections. Specialized and subdivided archives are good, because they enable the archivist
to know his material. The archivist's best policy is (1) to get his collection into the sort
of order it was when it was deposited, and (2) to list the items in it describing their
character, but leaving their contents as a matter for the historians to decide about.

Reports by Foreign Delegates.

On June 16, after the two-day National Archives Conference, a meeting of the foreign
representatives together with interested American scholars took place. Each of the represen­
tatives, from Austria, Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, The Netherlands,
Poland, Italy, Israel, Rumania, France, and Canada, gave reports on research and publications
in their respective countries. (A report on the Soviet Union had been given the previous day.)
Summaries of these reports are in process of being made and will be disseminated at a later
date.


After a luncheon, at which the American Committee was host, a meeting of the International
Committee was called by the president, Mr. Henri Michel. General Zhilin expressed on behalf of
the participants a word of appreciation to the organizers of the conference. The President announced that conversations regarding membership were under way with Finland, Albania, New Zealand, Australia, and Switzerland. Japan and South Korea had recently affiliated. The Secretary, Mr. Rachat, announced that the International Committee's Newsletter would hereafter be available in an English as well as a French edition. Mr. Michel reported on the Festival of World War II Films held June 1-3, 1972, at Eto, and praised the work of Mr. Gobetti, of the Resistance Film Archives in Turin. Various comments on the worth of films were made, and Mr. Wolfe, of the National Archives, announced that the Archives is planning a conference on films.

There was discussion of the International Conference of Historical Sciences to be held in the United States in 1975. As at Moscow, the International Committee proposes that a day be made available for papers. The topic will be "Politics and Strategy in the Second World War."

Announcements on future conferences were made:

Warsaw, October 1972: "Forced Migrations in Areas Occupied by Nazi Germany."

Closing the session, Dr. Pogue undertook to express to the National Archives the appreciation of the delegates for the cordial reception they received.

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Future Programs.

A questionnaire was distributed at the Archives Conference. The tally on questions follows:

**Newsletter.** Optimum number per year: 2 (50%); 3 (8%); 4 (40%); 5 or more (2%).
Prefer an annotated bibliography: Yes (65%); No (35%).
Materials to include: Projects underway, research facilities, historiographical information, summaries of meetings, exchange of information.

**Delegates to International Meetings.** Overwhelming majority believes it worthwhile to raise funds for this purpose.

Conferences on World War II. Overwhelming majority believes conferences would be useful. How often? Every year (60%); every two years (40%). Optimum number of days: 2-3. Best time of year: Early summer (45%); late summer (37%); September (40%); December (6%); March (6%); Midsummer (3%).

**Sponsorship of Periodicals:** For (60%); Against (30%); No opinion (10%).
Suggestions for activities included: concern with teaching problems; team research; translation coordination with other organizations.

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The Fifth Military History Symposium at the Air Force Academy, Colorado, will be held on October 5-6, 1972, and will emphasize the theme, "The Military and Society."

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The Director of Naval History, Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, has announced the opening of access to records dated prior to 1 January 1959 in the Navy's Operational Archives.

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Announcements. Please forward to the editor any information, such as work in progress or queries, which you would like published in subsequent Newsletters. Names of prospective members will be welcome.

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International Situation Prior to the War


Command and Direction of War


Operations (Ground, Sea, Air)

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Technical, Administrative, etc.

Infield, Glenn. Unarmed and Unafraid. Macmillan, 1971. (War, missions, training, and techniques of aerial reconnaissance.)

Prisoners, War Crimes, Espionage, Refugees, etc.

Hilberg, Raul (ed.). Documents of Destruction. Quadrangle, 1971. (Fate of Jews.)
Asian and Pacific Area


France


Germany


Great Britain


Italy


Soviet Union


United States

Corwin, E. S. Total War and the Constitution: Books for Libs, 1970.


The Ballantine paperbacks on World War II, selling for $1.00 at a variety of outlets, now include some items on the First World War, and have been given the overall title "History of the Violent Century." The titles will reach 100 as now planned, and will include biographies and political studies. Some recent volumes, now in print or to appear:

Politics in Action
G. Deschner. Warsaw Rising
J. Pritchard. Reichskrieg Fire
N. Tolstoy. Night of the Long Knives

Battle
D. Mason. Salerno
R. Holmes. Blr Makati
R. W. Cooper. Rhine Crossing
W. Rosenbloom. Rotterdam
D. Graham. Cassino
R. Macksey. Beda Fomm

Campaign
J. Vider. New Guinea
J. Sweetman. Schweinfurt Raids
R. W. Condon. The Winter War
W. Koenig. Over the Hump
V. Jones. Operation Torch

War Leaders
P. Masson. De Gaulle
D. Rooney. Stilwell
G. Malting. Bradley
M. Blumenfeld. Eisenhower
S. Mayer, MacArthur in Japan

Human Conflict
J. Holmes. Olympiad: 1936
J. Bradley. Lidice
L. Kahn, Nuremberg Trials

Weapons
R. Humble. Hitler's High Seas Fleet
J. Weeks. Infantry Weapons
M. Calvert. Chindit 2

Full Color Special
J. Pia. Nazi Regalia
A SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS FROM THE SOVIET UNION
ON THE
GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR PUBLISHED DURING 1968 - 1970
(Prepared by Michael Parrish of Indiana University)

(M.D. = Ministry of Defense)

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60. Марков, Д. К., Marshal of Artillery, В огне и поле. Москва: М. Д. 1969.
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