

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

NEWSLETTER

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GENERAL INFORMATION

Established in 1967 "to promote historical research in the period of World War II in all its aspects," the American Committee on the History of the Second World War is a private organization supported by the dues and donations of its members. It is affiliated with the American Historical Association, with the International Committee for the History of the Second World War, and with corresponding national committees in other countries, including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Spain, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. The ACHSWW meets annually with the American Historical Association. The 1990 annual meeting will be held in the last week of December in New York City, the 1991 annual meeting a year later in Chicago.

THE NEWSLETTER

The ACHSWW issues a semiannual newsletter (assigned International Standard Serial Number [ISSN] 0885-5668 by the National Serial Data Program of the Library of Congress). Back issues of the newsletter are available from the ACHSWW Archivist through Sunflower University Press, 1531 Yuma (Box 1009), Manhattan, Kansas 66502-4228. The first eighteen issues (1968-1978) are available as a spiral-bound, 360-page xerox paperback (ISBN 0-89126-060-9) for \$36.00. Subsequent back numbers are available as single, unbound issues for \$3.00 each. (There is no postal charge for prepaid orders to addresses in the United States, but there is a shipping charge of \$4.00 for orders sent to addresses in Canada and other foreign countries).

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES

Membership in the ACHSWW is open to all who are interested in the era of the Second World War. Annual membership dues of \$10.00 are payable at the beginning of each calendar year. (Students with U.S. addresses may, if their circumstances require it, pay annual dues of \$2.00 for up to six years.) There is no surcharge for members abroad, but it is requested that dues be remitted directly to the secretary of the committee (not through an agency or a subscription service) in U.S. dollars. (The newsletter, which is mailed at bulk rates within the United States, will be sent by surface mail to foreign addresses unless special arrangements are made to cover the cost of airmail postage.)

A membership renewal form is attached to this newsletter. Please note that it should be sent, with dues for 1991, not to the current secretary, but to his successor as of 1 January 1991, whose address is given on the form.)

COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

In ACCHSWW elections held prior to the meeting of the International Committee in Madrid in August 1990, the following were elected to three-year terms beginning on 1 January 1991:

Chairman: Donald S. Detwiler, Southern Illinois University
at Carbondale

Secretary: D. Clayton James, Virginia Military Institute

Director: Dean C. Allard, Naval Historical Center
Stephen E. Ambrose, University of New Orleans
Robert Dallek, University of California, Los Angeles
Harold C. Deutsch, Army War College and University of Minnesota (emer.)
Brig. Gen. Roy K. Flint, U.S. Military Academy
David Kahn, Great Neck, New York
Richard H. Kohn, Office of Air Force History
Carol M. Petillo, Boston College
Robert Wolfe, National Archives

Nine rather than eight directors were elected because there was a three-way tie for the last two vacancies. At the conclusion of his fifth term as chairman, at the end of December 1990, Prof. Arthur L. Funk will become a permanent director.

THE 1990 MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The International Committee on the History of the Second World War held its quinquennial meeting, in conjunction with that of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, in Madrid at the end of August 1990. As announced in the spring 1990 newsletter, a symposium of sixteen papers was held on public opinion and propaganda on the eve of the war. Two were given by ACHSWW directors: one by Robert Wolfe, U.S. National Archives, on public opinion in the United States regarding Germany and the coming of the war in Europe, the other by D. Clayton James, Virginia Military Institute, on public opinion in the United States on the conflict in Asia and the deterioration of relations with Japan. Details regarding the plans of the International Committee to publish the proceedings have yet to be announced.

At the business meeting, elections were held for officers and executive board members of the International Committee for five-year terms (until the 1995 quinquennial meeting). The former secretary general and treasurer, A. Harry Paape, Amsterdam, was elected president (succeeding the retiring Norwegian historian Magne Skodvin) and reelected treasurer. Having just been elected secretary general of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, François Bédarida, an International Committee vice president and director of the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent of the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris, declined nomination as an officer of the

International Committee. He nominated Henry Rousso, a colleague at his institute, for the position of secretary general of the International Committee, and Rousso was elected. Bédarida then invited the International Committee to transfer its secretariat from Amsterdam (where Paape had recently retired as director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation), to Paris, where it could be housed at the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent (44, rue de l'Amiral Mouchez, 75014 Paris). The invitation was accepted with appreciation.

Elected vice president, with ex officio membership on the executive board, were Dusan Biber (Yugoslavia), Donald S. Detwiler (U.S.A.), David Dilks (Great Britain), Czeslaw Madajczyk (Poland), and Oleg A. Rzheshesky (U.S.S.R.). The Norwegian historian Ole Kristian Grimnes was elected to one of the three remaining executive board vacancies; the other two are to be filled by a representative of the Hungarian Committee not yet named and by a German representative to be named after the consolidation of the two German committees following unification.

THE DECEMBER 1990 MEETING OF THE ACHSWW IN NEW YORK

The annual meeting of the ACHSWW will be held in conjunction with that of the American Historical Association in New York at the New York Hilton at Rockefeller Center, 1335 Avenue of the Americas at West 53rd Street, with the Business Meeting on Friday, 28 December, 5:00-7:00 p.m., in Suite 513, and the joint session with the AHA the next afternoon, 2:30-4:30, in Nassau Suite A. The program below begins with a paper in which Prof. Stephen E. Ambrose, author of "Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect, 1890-1952: (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), will comment on allegations in James Bacque's "Other Losses: An Investigation into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans After World War II" (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989), which is reviewed in this newsletter.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, 1890-1969: A CENTENARY RETROSPECT

Chair: Forrest C. Pogue, Arlington, Virginia

Eisenhower and German Prisoners of War

Stephen E. Ambrose, University of New Orleans

Eisenhower and de Gaulle

Arthur L. Funk, University of Florida

Eisenhower, Eleanor Roosevelt and Human Rights: The Failed Connection

Blanche Wiesen Cook, John Jay College, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York

Comment: Martin Blumenson, Washington, D.C.
John E. Wickman, Eisenhower Library

FUTURE MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

Siena College Conference on World War II (May 1991)

Siena College at Loudonville, New York, is sponsoring a series of multidisciplinary conferences commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of World War II. The focal point for the next conference, scheduled for 30 and 31 May 1991, will be 1941 and earlier. Proposals are invited for papers dealing with subjects such as Fascism and National Socialism; the war in Asia; literature; art; film; diplomatic, political, and military history; popular culture; women's studies; and Jewish studies. Asian, African, Latin American, and Near Eastern topics of relevance are solicited. Collaboration and collaborationist regimes, the events in Greece, Yugoslavia, and the Balkans in general, as well as North Africa, the invasion of Russia, Pearl Harbor, etc., would be of particular relevance. Those interested in participation (possibly in future conferences if not in 1991) are invited to contact the director of the conference series, which began in 1986 and is expected to continue through 1995:

Prof. Thomas O. Kelley, II
Director, World War II Conference Series
Siena College
Loudonville, New York 12211

National Archives OSS Conference (July 1991)

In conjunction with the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War, the National Archives is conducting the first major scholarly conference on the role of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. This conference, which will take place on 11 and 12 July 1991 at the National Archives, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the appointment of William J. Donovan as Coordinator of Information. The OSS was the predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Among the topics on which the conference will focus are: "The World Goes to War, 1939-1941"; "OSS: A Review of Records, Research, and Literature"; "OSS Around the Globe"; "The Tools of Spying"; and "The Legacy of OSS, 1945-."

A number of historians, former OSS operatives, and policy makers are tentatively scheduled to participate, including Stephen E. Ambrose, Martin Blumenson, Ray Cline, Harold C. Deutsch, Max Corvo, H. Stuart Hughes, Walt W. Rostow, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Robin Winks.

Further information regarding the conference may be requested from the conference director, George Chalou, Office of Interagency Liaison, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408 [(202) 501-5520].

Tenth Naval History Symposium (Annapolis, September 1991)

The History Department of the United States Naval Academy will sponsor its Tenth Naval History Symposium in Annapolis, Maryland, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, 11-13 September 1991. Past symposia have brought together an international assembly of historians concerned with the entire spectrum of naval history from ancient to modern times and including the United States, European, Asian, and South American navies. A comparable range of papers is anticipated in 1991.

The director of the 1991 symposium, Prof. Jack Sweetman, has issued a call for papers and an early invitation so that those interested in attending the symposium can begin to make plans. Individuals wishing to propose a paper or an entire panel should submit an abstract of approximately 250 words to Dr. Jack Sweetman, History Department, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland 21402-5044, USA. The deadline for proposals is 1 March 1991.

Prof. Sweetman notes that, according to traditional procedure, individuals who delivered papers at the previous symposium (held in 1989) are not eligible to do so at the 1991 symposium, but may serve as moderators or commentators.

Projected ACHSWW Conferences at the National Archives

Preliminary planning has now begun for two conferences on World War II to be held at the National Archives with the cooperation of the ACHSWW. One of the conferences is tentatively projected for 1992, the other for 1994. The Inter-agency Liaison Officer of the National Archives has met with two senior directors of the ACHSWW, Robert Wolfe of the National Archives and D. Clayton James of Virginia Military Institute, together with the chairman of the ACHSWW, to begin work on the development of an agenda for the conferences. A report on these plans is scheduled for presentation at the ACHSWW business meeting in New York in December 1990.

RESEARCH RESOURCES AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Publications

Microfilm Resources for Research, a 120-page catalog with a listing of more than 2,000 microfilm publications, has been published. The information in the catalog is arranged by numbered record groups. Within each record group, microfilm publications are listed chronologically or topically. Related records regarding foreign countries are arranged alphabetically by country or city. The catalog, priced at \$15.00, is available from the National Archives Trust Fund Board (NEPS), P. O. Box 100793, Atlanta, GA 30384.

Accessions or Declassifications

Records of the Office of Strategic Services (Record Group 226)

Five cubic feet of microfilm copy of files selected for filming by General William J. Donovan, Director of the OSS, 1941-45, are open for research. Also declassified and open for research in the Military Reference Branch at (202) 501-5385 are thirty-two cubic feet of related records, including

Field Intelligence Reports, Theater Office Correspondence, and Draft Histories, 1942-45;
OSS Research and Analysis Records, 1941-45; and
Shanghai Field Station Intelligence Files.

Records of the Office of Alien Property (Record Group 131)

Records largely from the period 1942-65, but in part from the 1920s, totalling some 132 cubic feet, are open and available for research at the Suitland Reference Branch of the National Archives at (301) 763-7410. Accumulated in the Washington headquarters and in the field at San Francisco, these OAP records document the identification, valuation, liquidation, or other disposition of seized German and Japanese vested property and assets in the United States, in the Philippines, and in cooperating Latin American countries.

Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1942- (Record Group 338)

Eleven cubic feet of Chemical Corps Records, 1944-52, are available from the Suitland Reference Branch (301) 763-7410.

Records of U.S. Theaters of War, World War II (RG 332)

Available from the Suitland Reference Branch are ten cubic feet of recently declassified records of the Mediterranean Theater of Operations, U.S. Army, Decimal Files, 1942-47.

Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (RG 38)

Over a hundred cubic feet of records of the Office of Naval Intelligence (without indication of dates of coverage) are declassified and available from the Military Reference Branch at (202) 501-5385, including

Moscow Naval Attache Files (ca. seven cubic feet);
Monograph Files, Pacific Ocean Area (ca. twenty-four cubic feet; and
Far Eastern Section, Captured Japanese Documents and Translations (ca. three cubic feet).

Records of the Public Health Service (Record Group 90)

Ninety cubic feet of the Records of the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps, 1941-49, documenting nurse training during World War II, have been declassified and are now available at the National Archives at (202) 501-5395.

Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense (RG 330)

Nine cubic feet of Records of the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, tracing the history of AFRTS from 1940-1987, are declassified and available from the Suitland Reference Branch, Suitland, Maryland, at (301) 763-7410.

Calvocoressi, Wint, & Pritchard, "Total War"

Peter Calvocoressi, Guy Wint, and John Pritchard, Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War, 2nd ed., rev. (New York: Pantheon Books; London: Viking, 1989), xxviii & 1,315 pp., with 160 photographic illustrations; 80 maps; a four-column synoptic chronology of events in the West, in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Middle East, in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and in the Far East; and separate, selective, unannotated bibliographies and indices for the war in the West and for the war in Asia and the Pacific, \$39.95.

When published in 1972, this two-part history in one volume--Calvocoressi's account of the war in the West followed by Wint's of the war in Asia and the Pacific--was generally well received and it remained in print for many years as a Penguin paperback. In this new edition, its first revision, Calvocoressi has incorporated into his treatment of the war against Germany (pp. 15-592) the story of Ultra intelligence--the Allies' deciphering secret German radiograms, with decisive consequences. Calvocoressi had known of Ultra, still a closely guarded secret in 1972, through his wartime service at the cryptography center at Bletchley near London, but was unable to get clearance to disclose it. He wrote what he published at that time "in the full knowledge of certain things which I might neither mention nor explain" (p. xxiii). Now, in this second edition, he discloses, in context, the vital role that code-breaking played in the Battle of the Atlantic, its importance in the North African and Normandy landings, and how it was not or could not be effectively used in other cases, such as the defense of Crete in 1940 and the Battle of the Ardennes in 1944. Apart from his treatment of this previously concealed factor and changes in his handling of several episodes cast in a new light by memoirs published or archives opened since 1972, Calvocoressi has not undertaken major revisions in his history of the war in the West--nor did he feel that he needed to, considering that it has stood the test of time.

An attractive feature of Calvocoressi & Wint, when their dual history of the war first appeared, was that their book offered far more extensive and generally better focussed coverage of the war against Japan than most other single-volume treatments. In the second edition, this feature has been reinforced by the substantial revisions of and additions to the late Guy Wint's work by R. John Pritchard, a British-trained American historian who, under Prof. D. C. Watt, edited, with S. M. Zaide, one of the most valuable primary sources on the history of World War II in Asia and the Pacific, The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Complete Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, 22 vols. (New York: Garland, 1981), followed by The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: Index and Guide, 5 vols. (New York: Garland, 1981-87). Pritchard has updated and retouched Wint's detailed, often illuminating treatment of China, Burma, and India, but done considerably

more in the case of Wint's interpretation of Japan's troubled relations and conflicts with both America and Russia. He has revised and expanded large segments of Wint's account of Japanese politics and strategy on the northeast Asian mainland, elucidating the role of the military in Japan's clashes with China and Russia. On the Manchuria Incident and Japan's development of Manchukuo, Pritchard has written a full chapter, "The Great Manchurian Adventure" (pp. 703-731) to supplant what amounted to a four-page orientation by Wint, "Manchuria, 1931" (pp. 623-26 in the Penguin edition).

What is entailed in the revision of a work such as Wint's well-crafted history of the war against Japan? Two passages may serve to exemplify the way in which Pritchard has gone about it. In the chapter on "MacArthur in the Pacific," Wint wrote of "General MacArthur, in whom burned most clearly the determination to restore the United States' position, and whose skill, confidence and military genius made him the most effective commander for the purpose . . ." (p. 768, Penguin ed.). Pritchard inserted the four words underlined here: ". . . and whose skill, confidence and military genius were thought to have made him the most effective commander for the purpose . . ." (p. 1,073).

A few pages later, Wint had written that the backbone of MacArthur's force deployed in 1942 against the Japanese on Papua "was an Australian division which had won distinction at the battle of Alamein, and had been among the Australian forces in the Middle East which were shifted to defend Australia" (p. 770, Penguin ed.). In this case, Pritchard, by the deft insertion of several extra lines, gives the reader different but more accurate impressions of both the Middle East and the Far East in that grim period: on page 1075, he writes that "on 23 September [1942] MacArthur handed over the counter-offensive to General Sir Thomas Blamey, the Australian Commander-in-Chief for Allied Land Forces in the South-West Pacific" (not mentioned by Wint or listed in the index of the first edition) and that in the ensuing struggle, conducted "under appalling conditions," the "backbone of the force was the Seventh Australian Division, veterans of the Middle East who had been among the Australian forces originally sent out as a rag-tag force, under-equipped and under-trained, to Palestine, then ordered to Greece, but diverted first to the Western Desert and back to Palestine, whence it earned its spurs in a difficult but forgotten campaign in Lebanon and Syria against the Vichy French. With the collapse of British resistance in Malaya, the Seventh had been pulled out of the Middle East as part of the forces shifted to defend Australia." (The Australians' deployment in the Middle East mentioned by Pritchard is described in the first part of the book in Chapter 8, where Calvocoressi, in his account of the fall of Crete, writes [on p. 178] that General Sir Bernard Freyberg "had received full and accurate intelligence from Ultra about German strengths and intentions," but, because it had come from no source except Ultra, was forbidden--under an iron rule imposed by Churchill--to redispense his forces on Crete accordingly, lest the invaluable source be compromised.)

In the revised edition, Pritchard has expanded Chapter 25, "The End," to twice its original length, critically analyzed the American decision to use atomic bombs, and presented a chilling account of Japan's biological warfare program.

"The story of Japanese biological warfare," he writes, "implicates more than half [my emphasis--DSD] the persons tried by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, and more than 5,000 others who worked on the BW programme in some capacity. It involved a genuine conspiracy of silence Thousands of people were butchered in the name of science and for the sake of war technology in experiments conducted by a secret network of research establishments. The first of these was established in 1932 in Manchuria, where others followed. A detachment spirited off victims for experimentation on the outskirts of Nanking in 1937. That detachment became a major research institute in its own right. University medical faculties on the Japanese mainland were headhunted for the brightest and best biochemists and physiologists the Japanese Army could buy or conscript, and university medical laboratories in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and a number of other places were utilized in the research and experimentation. Delivery systems were refined, vast quantities of bacteria were produced. Thousands of cultivators grew so much bacteria that at full capacity the monthly output of germ-laden froth could be measured in tonnes.

"Field trials of Army biological munitions were conducted, first in Manchuria and then in China Proper. Attacks were made at Ningpo in 1940, at Changteh in 1941, in the Chekiang offensive of 1942 (in the revenge attacks that followed the Doolittle raid), and elsewhere. . . . A ship carrying a biological warfare assault team was dispatched to Saipan to slow down the American advance: it was sunk en route by an American submarine. Funds amounting to a ten million yen annual budget were allocated for offensive BW research as the B29 raids on Japan intensified. . . . Production facilities increased more or less continuously: three million rats were to be ready for use by September 1945

"The scientists and technicians who were involved in these, the most ghastly atrocities of the Eastern War, were granted immunity from prosecution by General MacArthur with the blessing of the United States Government, with at least the tacit consent if not complicity of the British Government and the acquiescence of the Chinese. The British and Americans pooled what they knew. . . . In Singapore, the Central Pathology Laboratory of Lord Mountbatten's forces had occupied the only Japanese BW laboratory now known to have remained operational following the surrender of Japan: records concerning what happened next are unavailable. The Chinese, whose own knowledge about the Japanese use of BW was quite extensive (as appears not only from the quality of their war-time reports but also from information which they shared with Allied prosecutors on the eve of the Tokyo Trial), must have lived in hope of gaining some kind of a quid pro quo for their silence during the Court proceedings. The Russian authorities, who sought to raise the matter at Tokyo, allowed themselves to be silenced. The French and the Dutch Governments, on whose

territories in Indo-China and the East Indies human experimentation also took place, were kept in the dark by the British and Americans but may have learned of what had happened by other means" (pp. 1201-1206).

In the concluding chapter, "The End," Pritchard stresses "that the Japanese surrender was not unconditional (although at the time it was regarded as such by most Japanese themselves). Under the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, the Imperial Rescript ending the war, the Instrument of Surrender, etc., the Japanese armed forces surrendered unconditionally. But the Japanese Government retained its civil powers. Indeed, under the terms of the surrender, the Japanese Government was obliged to exert those powers in order to ensure compliance with the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. Accordingly, many of the steps taken by General Douglas MacArthur and his forces to impose their will upon the civil Government of Japan amounted to a usurpation of authority which breached the terms of the surrender." This was nowhere "more evident than in the establishment of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and in the great purges and blacklists imposed upon the Japanese by MacArthurian Diktat." Pritchard continues with a comparison (the details of which are rendered unintelligible by a typesetting deletion) between the occupation of Germany "as a result of the Allied conquest of German territory and its sub-division by the occupying Powers," and that of Japan "as a result of a contract between the two sides," and writes that "while the Japanese civil power was clearly in no position to contest the issue, the fact remains that the Occupationaires grossly exceeded the terms of that contract. American defence attorneys challenged the International Military Tribunal on this basis (and on other grounds), and they were ruled out of order. Nevertheless, the truth of the matter is perfectly clear and is a subject of some controversy in Japan in our own day. Unfortunately, it has the effect of diminishing still further the gulf which was once believed to exist between the capricious and arrogant abuse of power by the Japanese armed forces in Occupied East Asia and the self-righteous morality of the Allied Powers who brought them down" (p. 1208).

The first part of the volume, in which Calvocoressi updated and revised his treatment of the war in Europe, especially regarding the significance of Ultra intelligence, is unannotated, but the second part, which Pritchard has substantially revised and expanded, using previously unexploited or underutilized material, has footnotes. It is not heavily annotated in the style of a monograph, but has unobtrusive explanatory notes and citations identifying archival documents, sources of quotations (including Japanese works), and monographs, such as Peter Williams and David Wallace, Unit 731: Japan's Secret Biological Warfare in World War II (New York: Free Press; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), which is also cited in the selective bibliography.

The first edition's maps on the war in the West have been supplemented by a score of selections from Martin Gilbert's historical atlases. The maps on the war in Asia and the Pa-

cific in the first edition have been supplanted by a collection of over three dozen well-designed, very clearly lettered maps--some of them quite detailed without being cluttered, notwithstanding the wealth of information conveyed with large-scale insets, boxed explanatory texts, and symbols for military units, battle-lines, etc. (Unfortunately, a number of them include a significant error. It does not greatly detract from the value of the fine maps in this volume, but the mistake is so often found on historical maps of the war that I think it merits the consideration given in the note below.)

The revised edition of Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War, with Calvocoressi's additions to the first part and Pritchard's expansion of the second, can be recommended to the general reader and the student as an update of one of the more readable concise histories of World War II. Historians of the war will appreciate particularly the incorporation of material from previously unavailable or underutilized sources--and the questions and issues thereby raised about the course and conduct of the war, especially in Asia and the Pacific. DSD

A Note on the Diversion of the Yellow River in 1938

In the new edition of Total War, reviewed above, the breaching of the Yellow River (Hwang Ho) dikes in spring 1938 and the consequent flood and high death toll are mentioned in the text on page 810, but the four maps on page 808, entitled "China Fights Alone 1937-41," fail to show any diversion in the river's course. The diversion lasted from 1938 until after the war, when the river was returned to the channel in which it had flowed since the mid-nineteenth century. Though other maps in the book covering the period of diversion have the same mistake, the two-page map of the Far East (1942-45) correctly shows (on pp. 1170-71) the course the river eventually took after the waters receded. The initial flood was triggered on 11 May, when Chinese engineers, on orders from Chiang Kai-shek, blasted open a 200-yard breach in the dikes on the south bank of the Yellow River near Chengchow, west of Kaifung, some 300 miles inland from the sea. The deluge engulfed the vanguard of the Japanese forces advancing southward, after having been delayed only slightly by the reverse at Taierchwang a month earlier. The breach in the dikes did not simply switch the river from one channel to another, but inundated the coastal plain of eastern China south of the Shantung Peninsula, transforming vast areas into quagmires. For several weeks, much of the flow from the upper Yellow River, which had followed a channel emptying it into the Gulf of Chihli north of the Shantung Peninsula, made its way into the channel of the Yangtze, flooding parts of that river's lower delta as well.

The diversion of the Yellow River slowed down the Japanese advance, buying time for the Chinese withdrawal westward up the Yangtze--but at an appalling cost: eleven cities, thousands of villages, and much of three provinces were flooded.

A million Chinese were estimated to have died by drowning; if it had been the Japanese whose grand strategy had called for breaching the dikes of the Yellow River and if they had done so, with such horrendous consequences, it is not hard to imagine that they would have been denounced for an atrocity no less brutal and even more ruthless than the rape of Nanking. (The channel of the Yellow River after its diversion is shown as a solid blue line and its earlier channel as a broken blue line on Map 1, "Asia and Adjacent Areas" [Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1942] pocketed inside the back cover of Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, Stilwell's Mission to China, United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater [Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1953; repr., 1970]). DSD

A Report on American Preparations to Use Poison Gas in Japan

Two recent articles by John Ellis van Courtland Moon provide a well-documented introduction to the issue of tentative plans and preliminary preparations for the use of chemical weapons against the Japanese. In "Chemical Warfare: A Forgotten Lesson," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 45, No. 6 (July-August 1989), pp. 40-43, Dr. Moon, professor of history at Fitchburg State College in Massachusetts, and a long-time member of the ACHSWW, dispels the myth that Iwo Jima might have been taken at far less cost if only the use of poison gas had been approved, pointing out that it had not been seriously considered for operational use at Iwo Jima and that, in logistical terms, "the United States was unprepared throughout the war to wage chemical warfare in the Pacific Theater."

"Project SPHINX: The Question of the Use of Gas in the Planned Invasion of Japan," The Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 12, No. 3 (September 1989), pp. 303-323, is an account of staff planning and field testing for the possible use of poison gas in conjunction with Operation OLYMPIC, the invasion of Kyushu. The project was authorized in May 1945, at a time when possible German retaliation was no longer a deterrent and when staggering losses (12,500 Americans had died at Okinawa) had led to a quest for any means possible to reduce the anticipated casualty rate of the planned invasion of the Japanese home islands. Moon defines the political and military issues involved, describes the toxic agents and delivery systems tested by the Chemical Warfare Service at Dugway Proving Ground, Tooele, Utah, and estimates that preparations for gas warfare could have not have been completed before March 1946. In the last part of his article, "The Unanswered Questions," he weighs the practical and moral issues. The forty-eight back-notes include discussion of the relevant archival and bibliographical sources. See also Moon's earlier "Chemical Weapons and Deterrence: The World War II Experience," International Security, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Spring 1984), pp. 3-35, and "Pressing at the Limits: The Challenge of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation to Chemical Warfare Policy," Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual, Vol. 2 (1985), pp. 139-147. DSD

Historians' Recollections of the War: An OAH Panel in 1989

"A Round Table: The Living and Reliving of World War II," with an introduction by Richard Wightman Fox, Journal of American History, Vol. 77, No. 2 (Sept. 1990), pp. 553-593, includes personal recollections of World War II by five professors of history at the meeting of the Organization of American Historians fifty years after the outbreak of the war: Anne Firor Scott, "One Woman's Experience of World War II" (as a Washington intern); Bradford Perkins, "Impressions of Wartime" (in Europe); Mikiso Hane, "Wartime Internment"; John Hope Franklin, "Their War and Mine"; and David Brion Davis, "World War II and Memory" (of service in occupied Germany at the end of the war). Also printed are two audience responses ("Another View," by Gerda Lerner, who commented on the Holocaust, and "A Rejoinder on Wartime Anti-Semitism," by Rowland Berthoff) and "An Afterthought on Scale and History" by the editor of the Journal of American History, David Thelen.

As noted in the introduction by Prof. Fox, several of the contributions "focus on, or mention, racism." Particularly noteworthy in this respect are those of Mikiso Hane (pp. 569-575) and John Hope Franklin (pp. 576-79). Hane was a nineteen-year-old high school student in Hollister, California, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, was interned as a Japanese-American in May 1942, and was permitted to leave internment camp only in October 1943, when he became a tutor in Japanese with an Army training program at Yale. He interweaves his spare personal account with an illuminating, succinct introduction to the fate of the Japanese-Americans in historical context (including bibliographical references). John Hope Franklin's personal account of the war years, during which he taught history in North Carolina colleges after his attempt to volunteer for service was rebuffed, provides stark insight into the vicious racial caste system prevailing in America during World War II and long afterwards. DSD

An Article on an American War Crime--the Biscari Massacre

James J. Weingartner's "Massacre at Biscari: Patton and an American War Crime," The Historian, vol. LII, No. 1 (Nov. 1989), pp. 24-39, recounts two incidents in which a total of some eighty prisoners of war were shot after having surrendered in July 1943 to forces of Gen. George S. Patton's Seventh Army in Sicily, the subsequent trials by court-martial, and the sequel. In one case, a sergeant was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. In the other, a captain was acquitted on the basis that he thought he had acted "directly under the General's instructions" (p. 31). A War Department review of the case in 1944 verified the commander of the regiment having "communicated to the men of his regiment Patton's apparent desire that enemy troops who resisted to within two hundred yards of advancing American forces be killed (p. 33).

Col. Homer Jones, the Seventh Army's former judge advocate (under Patton), later "revealed that Patton's pre-invasion observations on the circumstances under which the surrender of Axis combatants should be accepted had so disturbed him that he approached the Seventh Army's chief of staff, Brigadier General Hobart Gay, with the suggestion that Patton clarify his meaning lest there be misunderstandings and consequent violations of international law. This had not been done" "As one of Jones' interrogators noted," writes Weingartner, "it was impossible to know how many prisoners of war might have been killed due to the interpretations of Patton's remarks by thousands of American soldiers" (pp. 33-34, citing the "Testimony of Colonel Homer W. Jones," 17 February 1944, pp. 24-34, Records of the Office of the Inspector General [RIG], File 333.9, Record Group 159, National Archives).

Interviewed in London on 5 April 1944, Patton assured an investigating officer from the Inspector General's Department in Washington, that he had not encouraged the killing of prisoners of war. Immediately thereafter, one of Patton's West Point classmates, Major General Everett S. Hughes, Eisenhower's logistics chief, discussed the matter with the Supreme Commander and then wrote a "Dear Pete" letter to Maj. Gen. E. L. Peterson, the Inspector General of the U.S. Army, expressing his opinion that Patton had not "at any time advocated the destruction of prisoners of war under any circumstances." He then hinted that Patton's current difficulty might simply have been the product of candor. . . . 'George believes that the best way of shortening the war is to kill as many Germans as possible and as quickly as possible.' Hughes concluded, 'I am so concerned over the success of this war and the need for fighting men and fighting leaders and I am so convinced that Patton is one of the men we need that I have written the above to you as an old friend and also the Inspector General to tell you what I must tell someone'" (p. 36, citing Everett S. Hughes to E. L. Peterson, 7 April 1944, RIG, Record Group 159, as above).

Weingartner notes that "the investigation of George Patton . . . went no further" (p. 37), and that the unexecuted portion of the convicted sergeant's sentence was remitted and he was restored to duty as a private in November 1944 (p. 39).

Weingartner, professor of history at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville and an ACHSWW member for many years, concludes that "the Biscari atrocities showed that Axis totalitarianism and militarism did not monopolize battlefield criminality. Excesses such as those committed at Biscari (or Malmédy) were in large measure the products of a psychological environment created by total war which affected all participants in approximately similar ways, regardless of ideological or national affinities. Martin Blumenson's observation concerning George S. Patton therefore seems appropriate: 'If he was sometimes brutal in his methods, the brutality was accepted and condoned because it was that kind of war, a total war of annihilation'" (p. 39, citing Martin Blumenson, The Many Faces of George S. Patton, Jr. [Colorado Springs: U.S. Air Force Academy, 1972], p. 2). DSD

The Disclosure of a Tragedy: James Bacque's "Other Losses"

James Bacque, Other Losses: An Investigation into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans after World War II, with a foreword by Ernest F. Fisher, Jr. (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989), xxi & 248 pp., with appendices, illustrations, bibliography, and index, \$26.95.

Published by Stoddart Publ. Co. Ltd., 34 Lesmill Road, Toronto, Canada M3B2T6, and issued in the United Kingdom by Macdonald, as noted in the Times Literary Supplement (September 14-20 1990), Other Losses charges that as many as a million German prisoners died in French or American custody after the Second World War. The book has not been widely reviewed in the United States, nor has it found its way into the mainstream tradebook network, for its allegations have generally no more been taken seriously than the initial tidings, during World War II, of the Terrible Secret of the Holocaust--to cite the title of Walter Laqueur's study (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1982). In that work, Laqueur brilliantly analyzed the inability to grasp the unthinkable, despite repeated credible reports, until confronted with the hideous reality in liberated concentration camps, where incredulity was overpowered by wretched survivors' testimony and the stench of the dead.

Bacque would have us believe that, forty-five years after the end of the war, he has discovered another terrible secret--but one that must be accepted on the basis of the evidence presented in his book, because on-the-spot verification of the postwar deaths of German prisoners is no longer possible. Bacque's book does in fact disclose and document a tragedy of heretofore unacknowledged dimensions, but is severely flawed by his presentation of unfounded allegations as proven historical facts. Had the book been written and marketed as a counter-factual historical novel, it could have been celebrated for facile verisimilitude and a kind of technically plausible realism. But taken literally, as an earnest indictment, Bacque's case, based on incomplete documentation, questionable hypotheses, and dubious statistical projections, is not historiographically solid proof that Eisenhower was a war criminal responsible for a million prisoners' deaths.

Because of its documented disclosures regarding the fate of an undetermined number of German captives, and its allegations regarding that of many more, Bacque's work is a significant challenge. This significance can be acknowledged without uncritically accepting his unproven allegations--and without failing to recognize that the book, as a whole, has the character of an irresponsible revisionist polemic (contributing, appropriately, to its ardent promotion by the Institute for Historical Review, 1822 1/2 Newport Blvd., Costa Mesa, California 92627). In responding to Bacque's challenge, two central questions must be answered: whether the prisoners' death toll was in fact higher than previously acknowledged, and if so, just how high it was; and whether, as Bacque contends, Eisenhower, as a matter of malevolent intent, deliberately

pursued a policy contrived to increase that death toll (with the support of Gen. Everett Hughes, whose effectiveness in damage-control after the Biscari Massacre has already been noted in the review above).

The public credibility of Bacque's work has undoubtedly been enhanced by the foreword written for it by Dr. Ernest F. Fisher, Jr., Col., AUS (Ret.), who served as an historian in the Center of Military History and wrote the final volume in the U.S. Army's official history of the war in the Mediterranean Theater, Cassino to the Alps (Washington: D.C.: Center of Military History, 1977). Col. Fisher attributes the inhumane policy toward German prisoners that Bacque reports, and its alleged consequences, directly to "General Eisenhower's fierce and obsessive hatred not only of the Nazi regime, but indeed of all things German More than five million German soldiers in the American and French zones were crowded into barbed wire cages, many of them literally shoulder to shoulder. The ground beneath them soon became a quagmire of filth and disease. Open to the weather, lacking even primitive sanitary facilities, underfed, the prisoners soon began dying of starvation and disease" (p. xix).

This first came to Bacque's attention, according to Col. Fisher, when Bacque was doing research for a book about a French resistance hero. In 1986 a German whom Bacque was interviewing had told him the Frenchman had saved his life, after the war, by getting him released from a French prison camp where he would have died; a quarter of the prisoners had died in one month from "starvation, dysentery, disease." Following up on this, initially through International Committee of the Red Cross reports at the French Army Archives at Vincennes, and then at the U.S. National Archives, Bacque not only found evidence of terrible conditions in many French camps, but indices of far worse conditions in U.S.-controlled camps from which many of the French prisoners had been transferred, and, on further research, evidence of mass deaths--euphemistically reported in U.S. Army records as "Other Losses," the term Bacque used as his book's title. (In backnote 15 to Appendix I, he notes that escapes were also tallied under "Other Losses," but acknowledges having "treated them as statistically negligible" [p. 233]).

In spring 1987, Bacque met Fisher in Washington. "Over the following months," Fisher writes in his foreword, "we worked together in the National Archives and at the George C. Marshall Foundation in Lexington, Virginia, piecing together the evidence we uncovered. The plans made at the highest levels of the U.S. and British governments in 1944 expressed a determination to destroy Germany as a world power once and for all by reducing her to a peasant economy, although this would mean the starvation of millions of civilians. Up until now, historians have agreed that the Allied leaders soon canceled their destructive plans because of public resistance.

"Eisenhower's hatred, passed through the lens of a compliant military bureaucracy, produced the horror of death camps unequalled by anything in American military history. In the face of the catastrophic consequences of this hatred, the cas-

ual indifference expressed by the SHAEF officers is the most painful aspect of the U.S. Army's involvement" (p. xx).

Briefly, Bacque alleges that in the weeks before and after the end of hostilities in northern Europe, in spring 1945, the Western Allies took over seven and a half million Germans prisoners and deliberately mistreated them so atrociously that approximately a million died of neglect, starvation, and disease within a year (attributing a total of 793,239 deaths to inhumane treatment in U.S. Army Camps [p. 186]). They were subjected to this, Bacque alleges, in accordance with the intentions of the Allied supreme commander, General Eisenhower--with the complicity and active cooperation of the French.

The basic administrative mechanism devised to implement and facilitate the long-concealed atrocity was, according to Bacque, the classification of large numbers of captives not as Prisoners of War (POWs [more commonly, in 1945, "PW's"]), but rather as Disarmed Enemy Forces (DEFs), thereby depriving them of the care to which legally recognized prisoners of war were entitled under the provisions of the Geneva Convention. Bacque illustrates the use of the terms DEF and "Other Losses" by reprinting in his book several facsimile reproductions of documents from the National Archives; on page 177, for example, there is a typed summary of prisoners taken by Allied Forces in northwest Europe (excluding Italy and the Mediterranean), with the heading, "Totals on Prisoners of War Taken & Disarmed Enemy Forces Rounded Up." Dated 11 June 1945, it shows a total of 4,209,845 in the PW column and 3,404,949 in the DEF column, producing a grand total of 7,614,794 prisoners. A handwritten note at the bottom states that ". . . After many attempts we have arrived at this as probably the official PW figure for the operations. May" On page 178, Bacque reproduces a typed "Report of Status of Disarmed Enemy Forces, Twelfth Army Group, Cumulative," for 1 June through 10 June 1945 showing that, in a total of 2,301,170 captured, "Other Losses" had risen by 10 June to a total of 138,136. Even if the number of those who escaped (or were permitted to escape) had not been negligible, as Bacque contends it to have been, 138,136 deaths in captivity as of 10 June, considered in isolation, is, to say the least, very disturbing.

But those 138,136 "Other Losses," and the tally of seven and a half million prisoners that had been taken by 11 June 1945, must be seen in a much broader context--in which Bacque fails to present them. In addition to seven and a half million prisoners, the Allied forces occupying shattered western Germany found there some nine million displaced persons, many of them former slave laborers and concentration camp inmates, virtually all, at least to some degree, in need of care and support. Moreover, the civilian population, enormously swollen by German refugees from the East, was dependent upon the occupation authorities, the local and regional civil administration having been severely crippled, even when remnants of it could be coopted by the new occupation authorities. Under the circumstances, "it was not to be wondered at," as Michael Howard observes in the Times Literary Supplement review cited

above, "if the Allies initially gave captured military personnel a fairly low priority, herded them into compounds and left them to themselves for a bit."

"There can be little doubt," Howard observes, "that some German prisoners were kept in intolerable conditions with inadequate rations, and many probably died as a result. Bacque produces irrefutable evidence of this, and it is high time that the unpleasant facts were brought to light. But there is a great deal of difference between this and the policy of deliberate genocide with which Bacque accuses Eisenhower.

"All really hangs on numbers--on what Bacque calls 'the missing million,' and which he claims to have discovered through discrepancies in the American statistics which he analyses at great length. His statistical analysis needs to be examined by specialists better qualified than myself, but even an innumerate historian can apply the criterion of inherent probability. Which is in fact the more probable explanation: that a million German prisoners quietly died in American hands in 1945-6 without anyone noticing, or that the American authorities in the chaotic weeks after the end of the war made mistakes in their initial figures which they later tried to correct?

"Further, Bacque's figures rely very largely on estimates, extrapolating forward the admittedly high death rates of the first four weeks in the camps into subsequent months. It is curious that the German Red Cross in their compilation of Second World War losses have not drawn attention to 'the missing million.' In fact, as John Keegan showed when writing in the Sunday Telegraph last November, their figure for total German losses unaccounted for on the Western front, including those missing in action, only amounted to 160,000."

The juxtaposition of Bacque's "missing million" and the 160,000 the German Red Cross reported unaccounted for on the Western front suggests that Bacque may have made a significant miscalculation in treating as "statistically negligible" (p. 233) the number of escapes included among "Other Losses." Is it not conceivable that at least a part of the discrepancy between his and the German Red Cross' figures may have been due to "escapes"? Could there not have been more than a negligible number of German captives who could not be fed and therefore were given a chance to disappear? If so, they would have been reported as "Other Losses."

Michael Howard concludes, and I concur, that "there is still much to be revealed about the behaviour of the Allied armies in Germany immediately after the war. The number of German POWs who died through casual brutalization and official neglect was quite high enough to make us examine our consciences before making high-minded accusations against either our German adversaries or our Soviet allies. But on the evidence presented by James Bacque the charge of genocide does not really stick" (1965-66 TLS September 14-20 1990).

(As noted on p. 4 of this newsletter, Prof. Stephen E. Ambrose of the University of New Orleans will give a paper on "Eisenhower and German Prisoners of War" at the joint session with the AHA at the annual meeting in December.) DSD

A Note on Bibliographies on Japan

Frank Joseph Shulman, Japan, World Bibliographical Series, vol. 103 (Oxford & Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1989), xix & 873 pp., with maps and indices, \$139.50.

This annotated bibliography is comprised of 1,615 topically arranged entries providing coverage of works in English on Japan--its history, geography, politics, society, economy, culture, literature, arts, etc., including directories, bibliographies, and research guides. Material on World War II is listed under history, foreign relations, biographies, etc., and is accessible through numerous cross-references and separate, detailed author, title, and subject indices (double-columned pp. 645-873).

On the post-war period, see the reprint of Allied Occupation of Japan: 1945-1952: An Annotated Bibliography of Western-Language Materials, by Robert E. Ward & Frank Joseph Shulman (Chicago: ALA, 1974; repr., Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1990), 867 pp. with listings of 3,167 books, articles, government publications, etc., available for 35,000 yen from Japan Publications Trading Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 5030 Tokyo International, Tokyo, Japan. DSD

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