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THE RECONCILIATION MOVEMENT BETWEEN JAPANESE AND
AMERICAN PACIFIC WAR VETERANS

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PREFACE

In the spring of 1986, I began the study of a new skill in computer-aided design and drafting (CADD). My intent was to fulfill one of my life long interests concerning the Pearl Harbor attack by producing scaled drawings depicting the damage inflicted on each of the five sunken American battleships at Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Imperial Navy. My aim was the creation of highly detailed computer graphics that would precisely illustrate the enormous amount of damage inflicted on the five ships.

My project had never before been attempted. I was determined to produce a polished product that could one day be used in a book on the Pearl Harbor attack I hoped to write. After expending an enormous amount of money and time in preparation, I began the first of five trips to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. to collect photographs. Later, having gathered several hundred photographic reprints of battle damage, I began my computer drawings.

The six months that I envisioned for this project grew into a strenuous four year-long task. Each drawing consumed between eighty thousand and a hundred thousand lines of computer drawn art and hundreds of hours of labor. The completed artwork, however, was impressive. Personnel at the National Park Service and the United States Naval Institute were astounded by it, and in

December 1991 the Naval Institute published two of my drawings in its *Naval History Magazine*, along with a special article on the subject that I prepared entitled, “*Japanese Thunderfish*.” The article included the battle damage profiles of the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* and the *U.S.S. West Virginia*. The computerized digital artwork of my Pearl Harbor Attack project had captured the attention of naval history enthusiasts in the United States and Japan, and my lifelong interest in military history was finally coming to fruition.

Throughout the same period, I also pursued this interest academically. By the end of the decade, I had taken all the military history courses and undergraduate seminars that the University of Hawai‘i offered, and I began to look for a graduate program that had the independent research flexibility necessary to accommodate my military history interests. In 1991, encouraged by my military history professor, Dr. Raymond Nunn, I decided to seek a master’s degree in American Studies, a department that allowed graduate students to explore diverse aspects of the American experience. This brought me into contact with Dr. Paul Hooper who further directed me to expand my interests.

As part of this effort, I decided to travel to Japan to make contact with surviving Japanese aviators who had participated in the Pearl Harbor raid. Over the next five years, I visited Japan six times and became acquainted with a

number of Japanese veterans. In the course of this, I also realized three significant accomplishments: First, my Pearl Harbor research allowed me to become well acquainted with many American Pearl Harbor survivors, and I was made an honorary member of the Hawai'i Chapter of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association. Second, I became friendly with many Japanese veterans and was accepted as a friend by the directors of the Unabarakai, Japan's primary organization for retired naval veterans of World War II. Third, I collected two dozen interviews of Japanese and Americans who had fought in the Pacific War. Their observations are first hand windows into the Japanese and American war experiences.

My interest in naval history and friendship with both American and Japanese veterans enabled me to gain insight into the actual naval battles and the personal experiences of the veterans. However, after completing the first half-dozen interviews with the Japanese veterans, it became apparent that I was reaching too deeply into the personal memories of the men I was interviewing. While listening and talking about the battles, there was a certain reluctance on their part that I found difficult to describe. In my view, the Pearl Harbor attack was simply a major event in naval history, but it turns out, for the Japanese veterans, it was much more. They recalled their early jubilation following their initial success at Pearl Harbor, but in the bigger picture, this was the beginning of difficult and sensitive recollections of nightmarish destruction

and great personal loss. Perhaps for this reason, a number of the Japanese veterans politely refused to meet with me. My interviews were forcing them to recollect a past full of sadness and death. Without a sufficient understanding of such feelings on the part of the Japanese veterans, my task had become more destructive than constructive. I had become, like so many other western researchers and historians, a chaser of stories simply for the notoriety. My task needed to be made more meaningful to both the veterans and myself.

Upon returning to the United States, I wrestled with the problem of finding a more meaningful way to use my developing intermediary position. While things were initially unclear, it was quite apparent from the onset that many American veterans were interested in hearing Japanese perspectives on the Pacific War, especially their accounts of the Pearl Harbor attack. As I began to share these accounts with the Americans, more and more of them showed an interest in the Japanese accounts. Inversely, whenever I visited Japan, Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators were eager to hear about American battle reports and to see my composite drawings of the sunken warships at Pearl Harbor. I often found myself serving as a talking encyclopedia of events related to the Pearl Harbor raid and to other Pacific War battles. The American veterans were far more inquisitive than the more reserved Japanese veterans. Americans wanted to know details about battles, tactics, equipment, and the personalities of their old adversaries. In contrast, many Japanese veterans assumed that they

were still hated by Americans and thus more reserved. There were, however, three things that both the Japanese veterans and American veterans had in common. Both saw war as an abhorrent torment inflicted on the human race. Both were still sensitive as a result of their war experiences, and each respected the other side as tough combatants.

A number of Japanese and American veterans expressed their belief that the Pacific War was an ugly conflict that had left them with many unsettled feelings and what they needed was some sort of closure. Despite knowing the emotional uneasiness within and between these veterans, I was still unsure of my next step. The veterans themselves provided the answer. A small but growing number of American veterans expressed an interest in meeting personally with Japanese veterans, and I became a bridge connecting the two groups for face-to-face encounters. Between 1992 and 2001, I played key roles in a dozen large and small reconciliation meetings in Hawai'i and Japan, all of which were great successes. The heart warming emotions that flowed from these meetings are almost beyond description, and it came to me that I had finally found the specific story that needed telling, one of reconciliation among combatants after a half century of post-war bitterness.

What follows is a more detailed examination of this process, its background, development, and outcome. The first half of this document

explores how the strain between the American and Japanese political, economic, and cultural ideals intensified as Japan struggled to find its place among the great powers of the world. This presentation covers the period from Commodore Perry's 1853-54 mission to open Japan to outside contact and through the years of the Pacific War. The second and most important section of this document traces the efforts made by American and Japanese Pacific War veterans in their search for a special connection, and thus a meaningful closure to the war years. This portion tracks the series of progressively more successful reconciliation meetings between Americans and Japanese veterans from 1991 until 2001 (see Appendix A).

This account is of extraordinary meaning to me. Having been directly involved in the healing process for more than a decade, it is with great satisfaction that I describe it here. I was there to plan and to witness what I hope is the lasting last chapter of the Pacific War. I also wish that other contemporary and future peace makers, reconciliation facilitators, and psychological therapists will find inspiration in it and thus be able to bring about closure for still others tormented by war. Finally, it is my ultimate desire that governmental and institutional leaders will take a more active role in the healing process by providing leadership and financial support to help ensure that our shrinking world is a better place to live for generations to come.

I am extremely fortunate and thankful to have been involved with something that provided constructive and meaningful experiences for so many veterans and their family members. There were many good people who directly and indirectly supported these happy events, and I wish to thank them, my professors, my family, and all my friends for their assistance in helping make this story possible.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

It was a peaceful and sunny day at Pearl Harbor. Motor launches hummed in the background as they crossed Pearl Harbor's east channel to and from Battleship Row. Seated on the stern of an American battleship and facing its towering forward superstructure, a large gathering of people waited as the United States Marine Corps band prepared to play the American national anthem. In some respects, it was not unlike that peaceful Sunday morning at Pearl Harbor nearly sixty years earlier.

Today, however, was December 6, 2000, and the group consisted mainly of Pacific War veterans and their families who had gathered to participate in a long delayed postwar reconciliation ceremony. The wrinkled faces and thinning white hair of most of the men showed how much time had passed since the historic "Day of Infamy."

The significance of the occasion rested heavily upon the hearts and minds of all present. World War II American and Japanese veterans were to come face-to-face in a solemn act of reconciliation. They chose to meet at Pearl Harbor where the Pacific War started, not so much to bring a final closure to the war as to provide one for themselves. Seated on the *U. S. S. Missouri* where the Pacific War officially ended with Japan's surrender in August 1945, with unwavering resolve, the veterans, their families, and their supporters now chose to end the life-long emotional torment

that had lingered for nearly fifty-five years. Each veteran came to this gathering to lay to rest decades of negative emotions that had for too long hindered his desire for wholesome psychological and physical well-being.

Among the many veterans gathered together were ten American Pearl Harbor survivors and three former Imperial Japanese aviators who had attacked Pearl Harbor. There were also two Americans who survived the Bataan Death march, another two dozen Pacific War American veterans, and fifty Japanese naval veterans. Many wives, friends, younger onlookers, and news media people were there to witness the occasion. No spoken or written words are likely to fully describe the two hours of shared tears, handshakes, and hugs that followed. A deep sensation of sweetness passed over almost every person present. Some even said that it was heaven sent. Several of the veterans later stated that they felt eighteen years old again or that a great weight had been lifted from their chests. Another veteran said that he could go to heaven with a clear conscience. The many emotions expressed moved onlookers and media people in such a way that the gathering promised to be forever etched in their memories.

News of this joyous event was carried nationwide by the major cable networks. On the following morning, December 7, 2000, the *Honolulu Advertiser's* front page featured a photograph of an American Pearl Harbor survivor, Richard Fiske, hugging

a Japanese Pearl Harbor attacker, Zenji Abe, in a tearful act of reconciliation. Fiske was a marine bugler aboard the battleship *West Virginia*, and Abe was a dive bomber pilot. Their tearful meeting was long overdue, as each side had come to a point where it was ready to reach out to each other on a personal level. However, with the exception of the Japanese Consul General in Hawai'i who personally participated in the program, the governments of the two nations remained silent. It was obvious that Washington and Tokyo were hesitant to endorse this process.

With little governmental encouragement, individual citizens took it upon themselves to extend their hands in friendship toward old battlefield foes. Almost certainly, it took fully as much courage for the aging American and Japanese fighting men and their families to come forward and to meet each other in friendship as it took for them to go to war. Further, many participants spent many thousands of dollars and traveled thousands of miles in order to be present at this ceremony. Despite these obstacles, they succeeded in their quest to at last let go of the bitterness, hate, and personal guilt that grew out of the war. By late afternoon, their hearts were filled with a great relief and a warmth filled the hearts of all the rest who participated.

This eventful day marked a historic milestone for the century and a half-long diplomatic and cultural relationship between the United States and Japan. Unlike the formal exchanges that occur at the highest diplomatic levels, this event showed how

friendship bonds can be reconnected and renewed at the level of individual citizens. It was not driven by power or money; instead, it was inspired by human love and by a desire for individual peace and harmony.

CHAPTER 2 HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Like fire and water, Japan and the United States were distinctly different societies in all respects, large to small. Japan was an older, established, East Asian nation with a largely indigenous population, whereas the United States was a much younger nation born almost wholly from the westward immigration of Europeans. Japan was a landlocked island nation, heavily populated, with little room and limited resources. It was a place where conformity and loyalty to one's fief lord meant security and survival. In contrast, North America was a place of wide open space, seemingly endless territory, and great individual freedom.

In the wake of the civil war, military adventures in Korea and early contacts with the West during the middle of the 17th century, Japan turned inward and fell into a long isolationist slumber.² Young America, on the other hand, was about to bloom with ever-increasing numbers of European immigrants seeking religious freedom, open space, and wealth. Spurred on by opportunity and abundance, the early settlements soon grew into larger colonies which in turn gave birth to the new American nation. A growing population gave rise to a westward movement, and a mere seven decades after her formation, the United States had reached the Pacific and was knocking at the door of isolated feudal Japan.

For Americans and Europeans alike, early 19th century Japan was mysterious. Widespread rumors and some factual accounts depicted the Japanese as a cold-hearted people who did not like outsiders. Stories circulated about Japanese decapitation of shipwrecked foreigners who were stranded on her shores, circumstances that countries with trading fleets in the region's seas found intolerable.

During the first half of the 19th century, the Japanese government resisted attempts by Russia and Britain to open her ports to western ships. By the middle of the 19th century, Japan found herself increasingly squeezed by America's westward expansion into the Pacific and by European colonialism in eastern Asia. One way or another, her isolationistic policy was destined to end.

In 1853 the United States government took action. Commodore Matthew C. Perry, a well disciplined fifty-seven year old career naval officer, was ordered to take his naval squadron to Japan and to pressure the country to open her ports to the outside world. He arrived in Edo (Tokyo) bay with four warships on July 14, 1853. He carried a forceful letter from President Millard Fillmore insisting that Japan open herself to the United States with respect to trade, coaling stations, and humane treatment of shipwrecked foreigners. Perry gave Japan almost a year to ponder the demands before returning on March 8, 1854, with a fleet of

nine warships. Three of the nine ships were steam-driven men-of-war, an innovation the Japanese had never before seen. Impressed by the show of force and the display of western technology, Japan relented and decided to open her ports.

This led to the Treaty of Kanagawa which was signed on March 31, 1854. The United States received a promise of protection for shipwrecked Americans, two ports with coaling stations, and the establishment of a diplomatic consul in both ports. With the seal of seclusion broken, it became evident that what was once thought to be a small island nation was in fact a substantial nation with a population nearly 25% greater than that of the white population of the United States and approximately 10% larger than that of England (Wales and Ireland included). In time, it would become evident that the Americans had awakened a "sleeping giant."

Opened still further to the West by the 1858 Harris Treaty concerning trade and cooperation, Japan realized that it must reform and modernize if it was to compete with the world's great industrialized powers. It did so through a recentralization of government authority and socio-economic-military reform movement known as the Meiji Restoration (after the Meiji Emperor, 1868-1912).

With the help of a determined inner circle of daimyo and court nobles, the

young Emperor Meiji became the personal symbol of Japanese modernization. His government pushed through a massive array of new procedures, policies, and reforms. Traditional feudal privileges and class restrictions on professional employment were abolished. With the creation of a new army in 1871 and passage of a conscription act in 1873, the central government solidified its military authority. Industrialization was openly embraced, and the introduction of western technology and mechanization led to the rapid growth of strategic industries within Japanese cities and ports. Private factories, banks, and mercantile establishments, most manned by a combination of samurai businessmen and peasant entrepreneurs, melded together to create a vital new national economy. Modern educational institutions were founded. Within twenty years of its inception, the Meiji government succeeded in transforming agrarian Japan into a modern industrial society.³

By the last decade of the 19th century, Japan openly competed with her Asian neighbors, the Europeans, and the Americans for economic markets. Inevitably, she found herself engaged in economic rivalry and needed to assert her own sphere of influence. This first came to head in 1894 when heated competition between Japan and China over Korean markets exploded into warfare. Foreign observers predicted that the larger Chinese army could easily handle the small Japanese force of 6,000 men in Korea. However, the smaller Japanese force moved quickly and attacked the Chinese army without warning causing it to

crumble.⁴ With great swiftness, the better trained Japanese military followed-up their initial victories and advanced into China proper. Stung by a string of defeats, the Chinese government was compelled to pursue peace, pay heavy monetary retribution, and give territorial concessions (principally Taiwan) to Japan.

Four years later in 1898, the United States herself gained considerable global attention and territory with her successful war against Spain. With the gain of *Spanish Philippines and Guam*, the amount of territory acquired by the United States surpassed that acquired by Japan or any of the other imperialistic powers in the Far East.⁵ More ominous still, the American takeover of the Philippines made the United States and Japan not only close neighbors but also direct competitors in the western Pacific.

At the start of the 20th century, Japan and the United States fought side-by-side as part of the multi-national military force that defeated the Chinese Boxers in the famed Boxer Rebellion of 1900. While this demonstrated Japan's ability to work with the West, rising tension between Japan and Russia over Russian territorial claims in Manchuria soon produced another war. On the night of February 8, 1904, the Japanese navy opened hostilities with a surprise night torpedo attack on Russian ships in Port Arthur. The hostile maneuver succeeded in bottling-up the Russian warships. Throughout the 1904-05 war that followed,

Japan's military proved to be both tenacious and able in defeating the larger Russian force, most especially during the decisive naval victory of Tsushima Straits in 1905. Despite frequently desperate circumstances, Japan adhered to international protocol. Likewise, her good treatment of Russian prisoners-of-war was well-noted.⁶ In short, Japan's military actions won her a considerable amount of admiration and respect by western observers and nations, especially the United States.

In the American view, Japan was the underdog in the war against Russia. Japan's victory was applauded as it appeared to undergird the Open Door policy that the United States desired for China. The United States came to see Japan as her protege and took great paternal pride in the island nation's victory over Russia, the first Asian defeat over a western power in modern times.⁷ While war made Japan a recognized power in the region, it was costly and Japan quietly asked the United States to mediate an end to it. President Theodore Roosevelt accepted the task of brokering a settlement, an effort that led to the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 and a subsequent Noble Peace Prize.

Japan's victories over China and Russia made her the dominant regional power. Blinded by her protege's remarkable debut in the global arena, the United States, in effect endorsed Japanese military propensities when admonishment for the overly quick resort to warfare would have been more appropriate. Thus, the

most dangerous aspect of modern Japan's culture was left unbridled. As a consequence, Imperial Japan took to heart the lessons learned from its war experiences. The key lesson in this regard was that a smaller country can fight a larger and stronger country and force a negotiated peace that in turn can lead to a considerable gain in territory and esteem. The annexation of Korea in 1910 and the strategic assumptions underlying Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's planning for the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack are among the by-products of this lesson.⁸

Despite American support of Japan at the diplomatic level, there was widespread popular resistance to the growing tide of Asian immigration to the United States. Fear of the "Yellow Peril" stopped all Chinese immigration in 1892, and by 1906, with some one thousand Japanese immigrants arriving monthly in the west coast states, there were demands for a similar ban with respect to Japan.⁹ When Washington failed to halt this inflow, Californians in San Francisco reacted by passing a school segregation law restricting attendance by Japanese children. The tense situation finally eased when President Theodore Roosevelt conjured a face saving measure known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908," an understanding whereby Tokyo agreed to voluntarily restrict Japanese immigration into the United States, and California agreed to allow school-aged Japanese youth to attend regular public schools.¹⁰ This arrangement, however, was not a complete solution as some Japanese immigrants still managed to enter the country and the tensions remained. This problem continued to simmer until it boiled over again

in the 1920's.

In World War I, Japan was an ally of the United States, England, and France and thus was included as one of the "Big Five" nations in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. During the negotiations, one of Japan's major initiatives called for the nations of the world to end racial discrimination. However, this proposal was seen as both self-serving and unacceptable by a number of prominent nations and was rejected even before it reached the table for a vote. One consequence of this rejection was that it encouraged Japan to see herself and her people as morally superior. The concept of "Kokutai," which meant that Japan was founded upon superior national values and virtues, became instilled in the lessons taught in Japanese schools and especially in military institutions.¹¹ Needless to say, this ethnocentricity also contributed to the mounting tensions.

To compound matters further, as a consequence of its aid to the allies during the war, Japan was given Germany's Micronesian island possessions in the central Pacific. This had the practical effect of giving Japan a territory between the United States mainland and the American-held Philippines. In conjunction with growing tensions relative to other issues, this led military planners in the United States to further develop contingent military war plans for a possible war between America and Japan. Utilizing the code name "Orange," the plan envisioned an American victory that would come within a year or possibly a little

more but would not involve a protracted war. No matter what the circumstances, the planners believed that the brute force of American military, backed by American industry, would lead to a quick victory in any war with Japan.

The 1920's brought still more tension to the relationship between Tokyo and Washington. Despite a postwar aloofness that, among other things, kept America from joining the new League of Nations, Washington did press for a naval limitations treaty involving the world's great naval powers and succeeded in averting an expensive global naval arms race. With the signing of the Washington Naval Treaty in 1922, limits were placed on the construction of capital warships (battleships) for the next dozen years. While this slowed, but by no means halted, naval construction, this act saved some nations from bankruptcy. This pact involved a ratio that gave a 40% advantage to the United States and Britain and slighted Japan by the same amount. Thereafter, while Americans turned their attention away from the world's problems and looked inward, most Japanese felt that their nation had been dealt another slap in the face by these discriminatory limitations. This insult was especially sharp within Japanese naval circles, and great attention was directed at seeking ways to offset the American and British advantage in battleship tonnage.

Another result of this slight was that Admiral Togo, the now retired but highly venerated naval hero of the decisive Battle of Tsushima Straits, urged the

officers and enlisted men of the Imperial Japanese Navy to train harder. He argued that Japan will always face more numerous and larger enemies in battle. Better training was the key to offset the western advantage in battleship numbers. While the West trained five days and slept two days a week, the Japanese Navy must train seven days a week. The Japanese Navy's Saturday will be another Friday, and Sunday will be another Monday. So inspiring were his words that a naval song was written for the Imperial Japanese Navy titled, "Monday-Monday-Friday-Friday."¹² Ironically, the Washington Naval Treaty, conceived to stop runaway naval spending, served mainly to spark the imaginations of Japanese naval engineers in their research and development efforts for newer and more potent weapons and procedures to offset the American and British battleship advantage.

On the other side of the Pacific, the still sensitive issue of Japanese immigration to the United States flared up again in 1924. The United States Congress passed the Immigration Exclusion Act barring all Asians (and most others) from entering the United States. Insulted Japanese protested throughout Japan, and the Japanese government declared July 1, 1924, as a "Day of Humiliation." Although private organizations like the Y.M.C.A. and the new Institute of Pacific Relations labored mightily to heal the breach, relations continued to deteriorate and the two nations drifted even further apart.

During the 1930's, Japanese and American relationship grew even more antagonistic. Japanese aggression in China was rekindled in 1931. Without civilian government sanction and reflecting the rising militarization of the government, restless Japanese army officers used a contrived railway bombing as an excuse to attack Chinese forces in Manchuria. The League of Nations found itself in a awkward position. How could it sanction the Japanese government when Tokyo did not have control over its rogue army in Manchuria? Under League of Nations pressure to withdraw from Manchuria, Japan simply walked out in 1933 and ceased all further League participation. Coupled with Germany's withdrawal in the same year, the organization's reputation was irreparably damaged as was its ability to avert further conflict.

In March 1934, the Japanese government announced that it had no interest in a new naval limitation treaty to replace the 1922 accord that was soon to end. Worried by this, American and British governments increased the bore size of the main batteries on their new battleships from 14" to 16" but took no further steps.¹³ Compounding the uneasiness in the Far East, belligerence broke out in Africa and Europe. In October 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia, and in July 1935 civil war broke out in Spain. Then in March 1936 Hitler defiantly sent German troops into the Rhineland. Facing global unrest in East Asia, Africa, and Europe, the United States Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1937, a "head-in-the-sand" stance that reflected its inner-directed focus and diminished military

strength.¹⁴

In 1937 Japan renewed her offensive in China, attacking along the Chinese coast and marching inland to Nanking, the capital of Nationalist China. With the capture of Nanking in that same year, brutality toward Chinese civilians and military reached a barbaric scale. Tens of thousands of women were raped and further, tens of thousands of helpless Chinese prisoners-of-war and civilians were murdered. News of the Nanking Massacre and related atrocities elsewhere in China irreparably damaged Tokyo's world reputation, but few nations did anything more than condemn the activities.

Perhaps, because their interest in the Philippines were increasingly threatened, the United States finally awoke to the threat of a militarized Japan late in the decade and began to use economic leverage as the only viable tool America had at the moment in an attempt to curtail Japanese aggression. Being resource poor, Japan depended upon the United States for almost all her oil and a significant amount of the raw materials necessary to supply her industries. The United States was also a major market for Japanese goods. Hence, American economic leverage was a potent tool, and once Japan saw it being used to end trade agreements and begin embargoes (especially the 1941 oil embargo), she concluded, understandably from her prior experiences, that war was inevitable. Put otherwise, the transformation of friend into foes was complete.

The Japanese Psyche

Beyond the obvious racial and language barriers, the single biggest chasm separating the United States and Japan during these years was the lack of an American understanding of the Japanese national psychology. Most Americans had no insight into the ways of thinking among the Japanese. The American assumption that the United States was Japan's guiding light was not bi-directional; the leader/follower model implied by this assumption was definitely not shared. Still, the attitude held by many Americans was that the Japanese wanted to be like westerners because so many of Japan's industrial ideas and concepts had in fact come from the West. This was especially true of the Japanese modernization of her military where Japanese naval officers went to England and army officers trained in Germany. All this encouraged Americans to believe that the Japanese people were pliable "copycats."

There is no denying that the Japanese did eagerly experiment with many western trends and ideas. They accepted western techniques in activities ranging from manufactured goods, men's and women's fashions, social dancing and baseball.¹⁵ However, in other areas of human endeavor, the Japanese proved to be far more imaginative and innovative than most Americans and Europeans realized. During the 1930's, for example, the Japanese were the first to discover the fast moving high altitude winds later known as the jet stream. Their aviation

engineers designed and built twin engine passenger aircraft that held the world's record for long distance flight, and their scientists undertook nuclear research which resulted in Japan's own wartime Manhattan project.¹⁶

Additionally, during the same period, Japanese military research and development produced a number of potent war machines that were equal or better than their western counterparts. Japanese torpedoes were faster, more reliable, and, in most cases, carried a heavier warhead. Japanese carrier-borne aircraft carried heavier armor piercing bombs than found in any other navy. Japanese naval ship builders produced the world's largest battleships, and the same shipyards also constructed some of the world's finest aircraft carriers. Later, at the onset of the Pacific war, Japanese carrier-borne bombers and fighters were at least equal to, and in many cases, superior to that of their western rivals. Thus, in nearly every military category, American and British military officials, civilian leaders, and laymen underestimated Japan's ability to wage a real war.

Caught up in the agony of the Great Depression, the appeal of isolationism deepened in the United States and apathy towards the problems of Asia and Europe mounted. It was not until Japan's signing of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940 that American leaders began to take a hard look at Japan's war potential. Even Russia, preoccupied as she was with European issues, was more aware of Japan's aggressive nature than America. The notion that the

small island nation of Japan would attack the United States was simply beyond the comprehension of most Americans. However, this view failed to appreciate not only Japan's technological sophistication but also its sheer size. By 1941, Japan's population had grown to nearly 70 million, more than half that of the United States, and her largest city, Tokyo with almost seven million people, rivaled that of New York City and London in size.¹⁷

Perhaps, even more to the point, the Japanese people were indoctrinated with the idea of ultimate sacrifice for the Emperor. Duty to the Emperor was a part of Japanese Shinto religious teachings which stressed the importance of devaluing the individual's personal agenda and ego and seeing oneself as an instrument of a higher cause. One must totally commit to duty to the Emperor and for the greater cause of the country. Shinto worship thus served as the social and psychological vehicle to indoctrinate Japanese citizens into servitude. Even traditionally passive religions like Buddhism felt compelled to conform to this militant view. To illustrate this point, during the Russo-Japan war era, Japanese Buddhist Abbot Soyen Shaku gave a number of lectures on Buddhist thoughts and teachings in the United States. He observed that when faced with war, "The hand that is raised to strike and the eye that is fixed to take aim, do not belong to the individual, but are the instruments utilized by a principle higher than transient existence. Therefore, when fighting, fight with might and main [sic], fight with your whole heart, forget your own self in the fight, and be free from all

atman thought.”¹⁸ Traditional Japanese culture also contributed to this outlook. The Bushido or Samurai warrior code taught that soldiers must dash forward to engage the enemy without thought of self. The fierce fighting from the start to end of the Pacific War reflected this deep seated notion, and in many instances both Japanese military personnel and civilians sacrificed themselves rather than surrendered.

Despite the general lack of understanding about the Japanese fighting spirit and Japan's rationale for war, there were some Americans who did grasp the seriousness of the issue. Joseph Grew, the United States Ambassador to Japan in the years prior to the Pacific war, was one of them. He sent a number of insightful messages to Washington warning of Japan's explosiveness and, in fact, passed the first hint to Washington that the Japanese were planning an attack on Pearl Harbor almost a year prior to the actual event. His warning was considered fantastic and went unheeded.¹⁹

Subsequently, Grew noted that there was a school of thought among military figures in Washington D.C. which held that it was altogether improbable that Japan would risk war with the United States and he warned against such thinking. In an August 1941 message to the Department of State, he noted that the Japanese government was moving toward a “head-on collision” with the United States. With great perception, he also stated that there was a growing

Japanese “psychology of desperation” which was developing “into a determination to risk all...”²⁰ Like his prior warning, these messages fell upon deaf ears in Washington. None of them appeared to have made any appreciable impact upon the American leadership.

Surprise at Pearl Harbor

As December 1941 approached, war clouds swirled in the Pacific. The United States escalated her economic boycott of Japan in an effort to curtail the latter’s militaristic expansion but with little awareness of how this was contributing to the growing Japanese desperation. While American political leaders were not blind to Japan’s economic needs, they were not much aware of the drastic way that Japan might react in a crisis involving a threat, such as the boycott was, to her economic lifelines. As is now so obvious, once the Japanese Empire decided this threat as real, war was inevitable. Admiral Yamamoto’s planning for a surprise strike against the American Pacific fleet was approved and the course of events was irrevocably set.

The Imperial Navy was Japan’s sword of anger, and was so charged with carrying out the attack which was not long in coming. At 7:40 A.M. (Hawai‘i Time) on Sunday, December 7, 1941, Commander Mitsuo Fuchida signaled his

Japanese air armada into attack formation off the northern coast of Oahu. Two waves of carrier-borne aircraft, a total of 350 warplanes, crossed over the Hawaiian coastline and began wrecking havoc on the American airfields and capital ships of the Pacific fleet.

The Japanese attack lasted just under two hours and caused great damage to a host of targets. The military death toll was 2,341 personnel.²¹ Of the eight American Pacific fleet battleships moored in Pearl Harbor, five were sunk and the other three were left in various states of damage. The most devastating loss was the *U.S.S. Arizona*. Her forward magazine was struck by a bomb that penetrated her decks and exploded, taking 1,177 lives. This was and remains the greatest loss of life ever recorded for a single American warship disaster.

The calculated strike at Pearl Harbor stunned Americans. They could not believe that Japan had the will and the means to successfully strike the great naval base. The astonishment, in some cases outright disbelief, expressed upon hearing the news of the attack demonstrated the depth of America's prewar short sightedness with respect to Japan and her people. To further underline this point, following Grew's repatriation to the United States in August 1942 he noted that "Very soon after I returned from Japan, I found that our people were woefully, if not dangerously, misinformed about Japan's fighting power. The American people had been told that after Germany's fall, we would clean out the Japanese in the

Pacific in a matter of weeks.”²² Subsequently he lectured across the United States and made it a point to inform Americans of Japan’s real fighting potential. Although there was no doubt that the United States and her allies would eventually win, the cost and effort were going to be higher than expected. The Japanese determination to risk all proved to be a difficult concept for westerners to understand and counter.

A War Full of Hate

The news of the Pearl Harbor attack shocked Americans in all walks of life. Unlike the slow boil of the older teletype days of World War I where news was printed once-a-day in the newspapers, the typical American household now had a radio and news arrived at the speed of light. When the word of the attack on Pearl Harbor flashed over the American airways, repeating itself again and again on every network, the broadcast swept through the nation like electronic fire and worked its predictable effect upon the American psyche. Hence, in the days following the attack, surprise and shock turned into anger and hate. A call to arms resonated throughout the land, and Americans braced themselves for all-out war. Three days after the Pearl Harbor attack, Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the United States, and any lingering doubts were removed. Lines of determined American men lined the streets outside military recruiting centers in

every town and city. Across the nation, enraged Americans committed themselves to smashing the perfidious “Krauts” and “Japs.”

America’s emotional outburst against Japan began almost immediately. Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, ordered unrestricted submarine warfare against Japanese shipping, a tactic the United States so adamantly opposed in World War I and more recently to trans-Atlantic shipments to Britain. The flurry that developed is perhaps best illustrated by the famous billboard at the entrance to Talagi Harbor in the Soloman Islands. It read “KILL JAPS, KILL MORE JAPS, KILL ALL THE SONS OF BITCHES - Bull Halsey.” United States Navy and Pacific War veteran Scott Green recalled how the Japanese were depicted as monkeys with big glasses and coiled tails. In other words, the enemy was dehumanized by all means possible. After the conquest of Saipan in 1944, Green remembered seeing many dead Japanese Imperial Marines lying along a beach on the island with their testicles cut off and pushed into their mouths.²³ There are, of course, accounts of Americans being treated similarly by the Japanese.

The ugliness of the Pacific fighting reflected the distinctly different perceptions of one another held by the two sides. In the eyes of many Americans, Japanese were evolutionary primitives, and in the Japanese view, westerners lacked the purity inherent in the Japanese people because of the assumed divine

ancestry of their ruler. Throughout the war, American newspapers and periodicals commonly referred to the Japanese with such terms “Yellow Bellies”, “Slant Eyed”, “Yellow Monkeys”, “Yellow Bastards”, “Squint Eyes”, and other demeaning descriptions suggesting evolutionary retardation.²⁴ Japanese characterizations of their American and British adversaries were no less flattering, with “white demons,” “devils,” and “barbarians” among the most frequent descriptions.²⁵

Due at least in part to such racial enmity, the Pacific War was unparalleled in terms of its ferocity and cruelty. Almost without exception, every encounter involved raging sea battles followed by savage land fighting as American forces island-hopped their way across the Pacific. They had to fight for every inch of Japanese-held territory as the Japanese forces refused to surrender, choosing instead to fight to the bitter end. Adding to the misery, the Japanese military proved to be merciless to their prisoners-of-war. Since 1908, it had been a capital crime for Japanese military personnel to surrender, and as a consequence, Japanese military doctrine expressed little regard for even her own captured soldiers, downed aviators, or adrift sailors.²⁶ Reflecting this outlook, captive Japanese soldiers asked to be killed rather than be held as prisoners. Needless to say, there was even less regard for enemy captives, and senseless brutality thus became the order of the day.

Levels of savagery increased with time. As circumstances grew more desperate for Japan, “Kamikaze” suicide air attacks on warships were initiated in an attempt to stem American advance. Despite the large numbers of such planes lost to anti-aircraft fire, the Japanese continued this strategy as the payoff for each successful attack was often the lives of dozens of enemy servicemen. This “tokkotai” or special attack strategy caused the American casualty count to climb dramatically in the last ten months of the war, and by war’s end, was responsible for the sinking of 34 American ships and the damaging of another 283 vessels.²⁷

American savagery also hit an all-time high during the same period. American B-29 raids brought the war to the Japanese homeland and involved bombing without regard to civilian casualties. Jelly gas (napalm) bombs accounted for almost two thirds of the bomb tonnage dropped on the Japanese homeland. After the war, General Curtis LeMay, commander of the bombing force during these months, proudly stated that the May 9-10 fire bombing of Tokyo alone “...scorched, and boiled, and baked to death more people...” than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.²⁸ Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, one of General Douglas MacArthur’s aides, observed that the fire bombings were “one of the most ruthless and barbaric killings of non-combatants in all of history.”²⁹ The European theater had its own horror stories in this regard but, aside from the Holocaust, none were quite as terrible as those from Asia.

In the years that followed the war's end, the emotional scars and memories of death and destruction remained vivid to most Americans who had been part of the conflict. The sinking of the *U.S.S. Arizona* and the torturous treatment of American and allied prisoners-of-war were used as an "anvil" to shape an ongoing hatred of the Japanese. For surviving prisoners, the harsh and inhumane treatment by their Japanese captors was something that perhaps never could be washed from American memories. Their immense suffering under conditions involving forced labor, lack of medical services, and starvation diets was further compounded by exposure to friendly fire. No records exist of the thousands of American and Allied prisoners of war who drowned in the holds of Japanese ships sent to the bottom by American torpedoes or were burned to death in the bombing of Japanese cities.

Japan itself was a burnt out shell of a country, filled with hungry, ill, and injured people. Every major city save Kyoto, spared because of its ancient architecture, was in ruins. Her industrial capacity was destroyed and her economy was devastated. The count of her military dead was estimated at just under 900,000 with another 400,000 civilians killed in the five largest Japanese cities alone.³⁰ Further, this count does not include the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tolls. Dealing with such seemingly hopeless circumstances was the task facing the American occupiers under the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur.

MacArthur made sweeping changes in Japanese government and society through constitutional, political, economic, and social changes. He managed to preserve the symbolic place of the Emperor and at the same time gave the Japanese people an acceptable form of democracy. War making was outlawed in the new constitution and remaining self-defense forces could not wear their military uniforms in public. Common people could now vote. Old landlord fiefdoms were broken with land parcels going to the peasant farmers and commoners. With the prewar ideals pushed aside, Japan was able to embrace a new future.

To re-construct the Japanese government infrastructure, MacArthur invited American business leaders to serve as advisors. Detroit banker Joseph M. Dodge revamped the Japanese monetary and banking systems. Business visionary W. Edward Deming fostered the concept of quality in all manufactured goods, an idea central to Japan's emergence as the world's most successful contemporary exporter.³¹ Within five years of the war's end, Japanese society and industry had begun its climb toward a pre-eminent position in world affairs, and the United States and Japan were again friends and allies. This rather surprising outcome was in part due to American magnanimity in victory, in part to Japanese determination to regain stature, and in part to the emergence of the Cold War, a development which assured continued American assistance in the face of the communist challenge.

Victorious American veterans returned home to pursue the opportunities of civilian life. Some went to college while others found jobs in industry and elsewhere. Still others decided to stay on with the postwar military as the developing struggle with the Soviet Union soon made it evident that there was a need for a standing military. In contrast, Japanese veterans returned home to burnt-out cities, towns, and villages. Postwar Japan held many uncertainties, not the least of which was simple day-to-day survival. The now dispersed Japanese military personnel faced not only international scorn but public disdain for the suffering they had caused the Japanese populace and for the shame of losing the war. No longer was there pride or meaning in having worn the uniform of the Imperial Navy or Army. For many years after the war, disabled Japanese military men, begging for handouts, filled the shelters and courtyards of religious temples throughout Japan. Sufficient governmental assistance did not come to these men for some years. Yet, despite all of this, the Japanese nation was rebuilt through a combination of American assistance and native sacrifice, and eventually regained a place in world affairs.

With its political, economic, and social institutions restored, a revitalized Japan marched toward the end of the 20th century. However, beneath the seemingly tranquil surface, there remained a festering sore of ill feelings generated by the war, especially with regard to the veterans. Five years of

conflict filled with hate indoctrination, blood letting, and other savagery left thousands of them with emotional scars. These scars sometimes brought back flash recollections of events that maddened the mens' minds, but no one in any official or private capacity had any real notion of how to deal with this final personal remnant of the war.

Without any established procedures for treating this condition, all that could be hoped for was that time would somehow mend their feelings. In the early post war years, there was simply too much hate running in their veins for this to happen, nor was there sufficient understanding of how to bring about a constructive and respectful closure. Asking veterans to confront their past and learn to let go of their emotional baggage was not something many people or institutions knew how to do. Furthermore, there was always the nagging fear that coming to terms with the lingering psychological elements of war would somehow set back whatever healing had taken place. Some matters were just too sensitive to explore. Clearly, any resolution of the dilemma was going to require approaches not yet developed.

CHAPTER 3 SEARCHING FOR CLOSURE

By 1981, the United States and Japan had shared three-and-a-half decades of uninterrupted peace. However, one last thorn from the past remained. An uneasy feeling of disdain continued to divide American and Japanese veterans. It was a problem best kept in the closet, out of sight and hopefully out of mind. With no obvious remedy to employ, it was quietly pushed aside as a hopeless issue that all concerned must somehow suppress. As Everett Hyland, a Pearl Harbor survivor who was badly injured with shrapnel wounds and burns over much of his body recalled, "Psychological (pain)...we were not allowed that. That came with the new wars and more lawyers. We were not allowed to have traumas."³² Any expression of psychological concerns stemming from the war tainted one as an undesirable or even a "mad man." Few in society wanted any close association with a person suffering from a "crazed mind." With almost no postwar resources available for the trauma treatment, people touched by the war had to make due as best as they could. As a consequence some veterans found ways to cope and to heal themselves while many others simply remained distressed.

Medical Issues

The idea of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) due to war did not come into full-focus in the world of professional psychology until after the American-Vietnam war. In previous wars, various terms were used to identify people, especially war veterans who suffered from psychological distress. Terms like “shell shock” and “battle fatigue” were blanket descriptors used for the resulting ailments associated with the stress of war.

Today, with ongoing research and an ever-growing collection of data, more is being understood about the psychological factors behind hate and violence at the individual level. However, there is less written with respect to the problem when the conditions are the results of war. Far more is known about the prewar psychological indoctrination necessary to persuade a soldier “to hate the enemy,” “to kill with no guilt,” to suspend society’s moral restrictions against violence, and to otherwise dehumanize one’s foe.³³

The study of postwar psychological treatment is still in its infancy. Understanding the long term pressures of being trained to kill in combination with actual combat experience is an ongoing process that has yet to produce major insights. In a recent presentation to the United States Naval Academy Ethics Round Table, United States Veterans Affairs Office staff psychiatrist Dr. Jonathan Shay

stated that "...the average American Psychiatrist will tell you that it (healing veterans with PTSD)...never happened, and is not possible."³⁴ A great deal more research will be needed before satisfactory methods of identifying and healing veterans who suffer PTSD are found. Sufferers of PTSD usually have suppressed feelings of guilt and/or hate. Vietnam war experience indicates that the most frequently reported problems were related to the guilt of killing. Apparently, the feelings of guilt and empathy were not completely extinguished despite the training period or indoctrination noted above.³⁵ Hate, on the other hand, is rarely internalized as guilt. Hate and anger, emotions that often appear together, can serve both as a protective mechanism to shield oneself from responsibility and guilt and to increase the capacity of a group (from street gang to nation) to fight an outside adversary. Hence, hateful, violent human behavior may well be an adaptive guard to protect one's own group against the behavior of another.³⁶

The main cognitive primers behind any military action are the dehumanizing of the enemy and the simultaneous arousal of nationalism and patriotism. Persuasive arguments showing that "we are right and they are wrong" or "we are innocent and they are guilty" give a nation and its people the justification needed to fight and to kill. Furthermore, the amount of guilt felt as a result of the inevitable carnage of war is increasingly dampened as the belief in the justification for action increases. In other words, nations that succeed in moving popular opinion toward ever greater support for war are more successful in providing their patriotic soldiers with a blanket

of absolution and thus reducing the incidence of PTSD.³⁷

Psychologist Dr. Daniel Goleman, another researcher concerned with human conflict, notes that the source of human action is not always found in the thinking (rational) mind but sometimes comes from the emotional apparatus deep within the human psyche. He states that, "A view of human nature that ignores the power of emotion is sadly short sighted."³⁸ Passions often over-ride intellect as emotion is a substantial part of the "hard-wiring" of the human race. In this regard, studies of American Vietnam veterans indicate that trauma (combat killing) may cause certain structural changes within the brain and may make remediation next to impossible.³⁹

As evident, there are no precise methods to use for the treatment of PTSD. Expressing his personal opinion, Dr. Matthew Ikeda, a Veterans' Administration Hospital practitioner in Hawai'i's Tripler Army Medical Center's Traumatic Stress Recovery Program, observed that a veteran suffering from war-related PTSD must make an effort to seek help and to make a real choice to get well. Since the end of the Vietnam war, there has been an increase in the number of such cases because veterans are more aware of the disorder. Ikeda stated that a common strategy in helping veterans to recover involves a combination of talk and drug therapy. The talk therapy can be either one-on-one with the therapist or in groups.⁴⁰ Reconciliation meetings where veterans meet their old adversaries is also useful provided the individual veteran chooses to participate. He noted that some Vietnam war veterans

have returned to meet their old adversaries but warned that there is always a possibility of negative reactions when they do meet.⁴¹ A key requirement in any reconciliation program is that the person chooses to participate and he or she feels safe while doing so.

The present state of understanding about the emotional needs of veterans is clearly in the early stages, and thus, it is no surprise that many of the veterans of the Pacific War remain unreconciled. There has never been a core agency with the insight and the tools to initiate the healing process, and on both sides of the ocean veterans have been left to find their own methods for dealing with their problems. Some two decades ago, at the very place where the Pacific War began, a small group of Japanese veterans did just that and started what may in time may come to be recognized as one of the great advances in postwar reconciliation and healing. The story of their undertaking follows.

The Return to Pearl Harbor

On December 9, 1982, a group of six elderly Japanese men, some alone and some with their wives, walked through the entrance of the Arizona Memorial Museum Visitors' Center.⁴² The front ticket counter person, volunteer William Speer, greeted the group and issued the required tickets for the theater and boat ride

across the harbor to the Arizona Memorial. However, the Japanese group paused, apparently not certain of their next step. A nearby Japanese tour guide informed the puzzled Speer that the visitors wanted to speak to an official or an administrator. Surprised by the request, Speer asked for a reason. The tour guide said that the group wanted to make a special presentation at the Arizona Memorial. Further conversation revealed that the men were former Japanese Imperial Navy aviators who had attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Speer, himself a Pearl Harbor survivor, was caught completely off guard. He was looking into the faces of his former enemies, men who had attacked the base he had tried to defend and may have caused the deaths of his comrades. Surprised but calm, he waved the Japanese group to follow him to the administrative office. Already alerted to the news, National Park Service (NPS) Superintendent Gary Cummings and other NPS administrators received the Japanese group with civility but also with a great amount of curiosity. The Japanese men were all dressed in suits, not the usual form of attire for a warm Hawaiian day at a location filled with casually dressed tourists. One of the six men, Mr. Iyozo Fijita, speaking in heavily-accented English, introduced himself and his companions. They were Hirata Matsumura (aircraft carrier *Hiryu* - Torpedo Group leader), Heijiro Abe (aircraft carrier *Soryu* - Level Bomber Squadron Leader), Iyozo Fujita (aircraft carrier *Hiryu* - Zero Fighter Pilot), Jinichi Goto (aircraft carrier *Akagi* - Torpedo Squadron Leader), Hideo Maki (aircraft carrier *Kaga* - High Level Bomber Squadron Leader), and Sadao

Yamamoto (aircraft carrier *Soryu* - High Level Bomber Element Leader). At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, all held the rank of Lieutenant in the Imperial Japanese Navy.

The men requested permission to take a flower wreath to the Arizona Memorial. They had planned for some months to come to the new museum and visitors' center to pay their personal respects, leave a wreath and pray for all the Americans who died at Pearl Harbor. Without hesitation, Cummings arranged to personally escort the visitors out to the memorial site. In its shrine room where the names of *Arizona's* sailors entombed and missing are listed, all six Japanese aviators stepped forward, collectively placed their wreath, and then bowed together in a moment of silence.

These former officers were the first group of World War II Japanese veterans to publicly express regret for the Americans deaths on December 7, 1941 and during the ensuing war. They paid their respects quietly, without fanfare or publicity. There was no newspaper or television coverage for the occasion. Such an event had never before occurred at the Arizona Memorial, and no one knew what to do except to quietly standby. However, for the Japanese this act honored their former enemies and brought at least partial closure to an event that resulted in so much destruction, agony, and death for all concerned.

JAPANESE PEARL HARBOR PILOTS MEET AMERICAN PEARL HARBOR SURVIVORS AT THE ARIZONA MEMORIAL



Photograph 1: William Speer and Japanese Aviators

Heijiro Abe (high level bomber pilot), Sadao Yamamoto (barely visible in back row - high level bomber pilot), Unknown American Pearl Harbor Survivor and wife, William Speer (back row), Mrs. Maki, Jinichi Goto (back row - torpedo pilot), Hideo Maki (high level bomber pilot), Michael Slackman (back row), Hirata Matsumura (torpedo pilot), unknown Japanese wife, Iyozo Fijita (zero fighter pilot), and Gary Cummings (back row). - William Speer photograph collection.

Later that day, Michael Slackman, a NPS Ranger at the Visitors' Center, managed to get the aviators to give statements about their roles in the attack. Regrettably, lack of time prevented him from recording an explanation of their personal reasons or the meaning of their wreath.

One other spontaneous happening occurred during the group's visit. After returning to the Visitors' Center following their visit to the Arizona Memorial, Speer and a second Pearl Harbor survivor, who happened to be visiting from the mainland United States, asked for a group picture. Cummings and Slackman joined the two Pearl Harbor survivors and the Japanese veterans for a group photograph. This photograph of the former foes standing side-by-side for a friendly picture, was a historic first in the Pacific War reconciliation process, and for many years thereafter Speer proudly carried it with him while volunteering at the Visitors' Center.⁴³

No one was really certain of what the future would bring as a result of this event. However, it was now a demonstrated fact that there were surviving Japanese Pearl Harbor veterans and that they were willing to visit iconic places like the Arizona Memorial. More important, it also proved that Japanese and American veterans could meet one another with a substantial degree of mutual respect. Hence, this small, spontaneous event in 1982 can now be seen as an important first step in a reconciliation process that grew over the following years.

CHAPTER 4 THE BRIDGES OF FRIENDSHIP

In 1990, with the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack approaching, the Arizona Memorial Association (AMMA), the National Park Service (NPS), and the Admiral Nimitz Museum & State Park (ANMSP) decided to host a series of historical symposia to commemorate the beginning of the Pacific War. The primary objective for both the AMMA and the ANMSP was to strike a proper historical balance between Japanese and American perspectives in their programs, something they realized would require at least a degree of Japanese participation. In a joint effort, the two groups organized a two-part symposium dealing with historical topics.. While the organizational efforts were underway, a third group, the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association (PHSA) veteran's group from Georgia also decided to formulate a program. All three groups recognized the need for Japanese participation and began to seek out Japanese contacts at about the same time.

A Rough Start in Georgia

Of the three groups, the Atlanta Chapter of the PHSA was the first American group to actually make contact with former Japanese adversaries. This began with a simple request by the group for a speaker on Japanese and American business and

trade issues. Its leaders, John Westerman and Denver Gray, failed in their initial attempt when no Japanese business person in their area responded to their request for a speaker. When this request failed to elicit a response, Westerman and Gray were advised to write a short letter which could be published in various Japanese business newsletters and informational circulars. Westerman did this early in 1991, stating that he was the PHSA chapter president in Atlanta and that, although he and his group were Pearl Harbor survivors, they had put the war behind them and wanted to make contact with any English-speaking Japanese national in the Georgia area who might be interested in speaking about economic issues at one of their meetings. Unknown to Westerman, his letter was published in Japan rather than the United States, and it caught the attention of an elderly Japanese businessman named Ujihito Kimoto. Kimoto knew an English-speaking Japanese veteran name Zenji Abe who was open-minded and already had a number of American friends. The timing for him to address the group could not have been better as it just so happened that he was already making plans to visit the United States.

Westerman was pleased when he received word that a Japanese speaker would like to visit Atlanta and could speak to his group. However, he soon discovered that Abe had taken part in the Pearl Harbor attack and worried that this fact would offend some of the association's members. On the other hand, there was an increasing interest in Pearl Harbor-related histories and speakers, and the idea

of inviting a Japanese Pearl Harbor attacker would certainly provide a novel change in the group's usual meeting format.⁴⁴ Westerman and Gray polled the chapter members and found that a majority would like to meet and hear Abe.

Paying his own way, Abe embarked on the potentially unsettling journey and carried a special letter that he had prepared to read to the American veterans. It was a personal message of regret for the destruction and death that had occurred fifty years earlier at Pearl Harbor, a tragedy he had long felt could have been avoided. However, as Abe departed Tokyo, the Georgia PHSA chapter became embroiled in controversy. A former Atlanta chapter president decided Abe's visit was ill-advised and approached the PHSA national president to force the issue. Upon Abe's arrival, the national PHSA issued a statement to the effect that no official meeting or contact would be sanctioned between American and Japanese veterans. Furthermore, the directive warned that if members decided to meet with Japanese veterans as individuals, they could not wear the PHSA shirt or hat. Shocked by these actions, Westerman, Gray, and a handful of other members stripped off their PHSA garb and met with Abe as individual American veterans.⁴⁵

The national PHSA's actions taught Abe and his new friends in Atlanta a bitter lesson. There were American veterans who still harbored hate and distrust toward the Japanese, and so long as this sentiment existed within the ranks of the PHSA, any significant reconciliation activities between American and Japanese

veterans were unlikely. Future meetings would have to be planned by like-minded individuals, people freed of past prejudices.

Despite this first setback, not all was lost. The initial meeting between Abe and the Georgians had set the wheels in motion for a nationally televised event a few months later. Filming in Hawai'i, television commentators Bryant Gumbel and Katie Couric orchestrated a special November 20, 1991, "Today Show" which was supposed to include a short session with Westerman and Abe. The program took place at a difficult time as trade tensions between the United States and Japan were high and it was just two weeks before the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. Gumbel was seeking something newsworthy. So he scheduled the two veterans. The show started with a news interview involving Abe and Westerman. Westerman commented that "I think it is a very good idea that finally old enemies can meet." When commentator Joe Garangiola said that there were many American veterans who did not wish to meet Japanese veterans, Westerman replied, "There are some who believe that the wounds just haven't healed enough yet, but there are many of us who feel that we should now look to the future and not look back to the past... look to the future for peace and goodwill."⁴⁶

Garangiola then read Abe's written statement "We, the Japanese veterans of Pearl Harbor, deeply regret that fifty years ago, the United States and Japan,

because their leaders could not sufficiently understand their respective positions, entered into a terrible great war.” Garangiola then concluded this unexpected and surprising apology by paraphrasing Abe’s closing words “...as former enemies, I want to shake hands and further world peace.” Garangiola paused, then extended his hand to Abe and said, “I’ll shake your hand; how about you Jack?” Westerman smiled and extended his hand to Abe. Millions of Americans watching the show witnessed a Pearl Harbor survivor and a Pearl Harbor attacker greeting each other with evident warmth. Westerman closed the segment with the statement, “I feel very good about this reconciliation.”⁴⁷ One suspected that many viewers felt the same way.

Daniel Martinez, the NPS historian at the Arizona Memorial, witnessed the show’s filming and found it surprising for other reasons. He recollected that nobody, including Gumbel and Couric, expected Abe to express regret about his role in attacking Pearl Harbor and that his letter was thus unexpected. He concluded that “...Gumbel and Couric came looking for a worthy news clip and instead made national news.”⁴⁸ For the first time, Americans across the country had an opportunity to see Japanese veterans as real human beings with real feelings and therefore much the same as the American veterans most of them knew.

History Symposia Success

In the early months of 1991, the ANMSP, AMMA, and NPS combined efforts to organize a two-part Pearl Harbor history symposium. The first portion, entitled "The Storm Rising," was to be held in Admiral Chester Nimitz's hometown of Fredricksburg, Texas under the direction of the ANMSP. The second, entitled "The Storm Unleashed," was to be staged at the Neal Blaisdell Center in Honolulu and coordinated by the AMMA. The two gatherings were to serve as leads into the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies at Pearl Harbor

In preparing for these events, both the ANMSP and AMMA found themselves lacking Japanese perspectives. In the combined ANMSP and AMMA files there was only one known Japanese Pearl Harbor veteran. Then a glimmer of hope appeared. A Texas resident, David Aiken, was an avid Pearl Harbor researcher and active correspondent with many of the surviving Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators. He was approached for help early in 1991 and eagerly responded.⁴⁹ Subsequently, he provided listings of Japanese veterans' phone numbers and addresses to both the ANMSP and the AMMA.

As the planning for the symposia gained momentum, a second major barrier developed. It turned out that the United States government was fearful of encouraging contact between American and Japanese veterans. Worried about

negative situations that might embarrass both the American and Japanese governments, the Department of the Interior, which oversees the NPS, was told in no uncertain terms by the State Department that Japanese veterans were not to be involved with American activities during the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies. Martinez, the NPS official in charge of planning the Hawai'i symposium, despaired at the thought of not having any Japanese participation. However, as things stood, only the ANMSP symposium in Texas could do so since it was being sponsored by a semi-autonomous state group.⁵⁰ Luckily, the AMMA was the collaborating partner with the NPS in coordinating the Hawai'i symposium, and an independent non-profit group similar to the ANMSP. The AMMA was not constrained by the State Department's directives. It took the responsibility for inviting Japanese veterans to participate, and the Hawai'i symposium thus managed to avoid the State Department's strictures.⁵¹

After these two obstacles were overcome, another problem arose. When the ANMSP and AMMA began making contact with Japanese Pearl Harbor veterans, it quickly became apparent that most Japanese veterans were reluctant to participate. Although most were willing to correspond by personal letters many were fearful of appearing in public at an open forum. For many Japanese, acknowledgment of participation in the Pacific War was an invitation to shame and humiliation as everything associated with war-making was so broadly frowned upon, and few veterans thus dare admit publicly to participating in the

Pearl Harbor attack. In addition, personal concerns about the media exposure and coming into contact with angry American Pearl Harbor survivors proved problematic.

Finally, after repeated assurances regarding personal safety and numerous statements about the importance of sharing information within a historical context, the two American organizations succeeded in attracting a small group of Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators. All received and accepted invitations to share their experiences. Among them was Lieutenant Commander Hirata Matsumura, part of the group of six Japanese veterans who had visited the Arizona Memorial in 1982. By the time of the fiftieth anniversary commemoration, he was the senior ranking attacker still living, and he not only accepted the invitation but also financed his own trip.

In addition to Matsumura, Zenji Abe, Takeshi Maeda, and Kazuo Sakamaki also agreed to participate in at least one of the two symposia. As the sponsors had hoped, the Japanese veterans soon discovered that many Americans, both young and old, were friendly and eager to hear the other side of the Pearl Harbor story. A number of American Pearl Harbor survivors in attendance at the event befriended the Japanese veterans, and to the delight of the audience, the former adversaries openly reflected on the past and shared their thoughts and experiences. An avid interest in the history of the event on the part of the

audience helped dispel any remaining worries about possible animosity. They were far more interested in stories, autographs, and other memorabilia than in confrontation.

Although the Texas and Hawai'i symposia suffered financial losses, both were priceless human success stories. The planners had successfully used the veil of history to promote international understanding. By taking simple logistical precautions regarding crowd control and maintaining quiet rooms, Japanese participants were given the choice of mixing or keeping a distance from the audience, a tactic which helped provide a feeling of personal security. At no time during the symposium or the after-hours programs was there any emotional flare-up between Americans and Japanese. The primary participants and the crowd blended into the fabric of the events, and it evolved into a thoroughly worthwhile experience. It was the first time most of the Americans present saw the Japanese as rational military men, and the Americans came away with the understanding that their counterparts were real people who simply had done what they had been told to do to the best of their abilities. Indeed, many of the Americans came to admire the Japanese veterans for their responsibility to duty and country. Although assessment is more difficult, it seems that the Japanese participants left with similar feelings.

A few days later, President George Bush participated in the December 7th

ceremonies at Pearl Harbor. He was a Pacific War veteran who was shot down twice but managed to survive the war. While at Pearl Harbor, Bush gave a speech in which he stated, "I have no rancor in my heart toward Germany or Japan, none at all, and I hope, in spite of the loss that you have none yours. This is no time for recrimination, World War II is over, it's history."

All three groups gained valuable lesson from these experiences. It was clear that a reasonable number of American veterans both wanted and enjoyed interaction with their Japanese counterparts on the individual level. However, it was also evident that a couple of established institutions like the PHSA and different governmental departments did not feel comfortable dealing with events that called for old adversaries to interact. New strategies were needed to encourage mixing, and the one device that had been shown to work well in this regard was the apolitical historic symposium concept. It created a context within which interested veterans could meet and mix, and it was evident that future events would likely make fuller use of it.

A Ceremony With Two Roses

Among the many Japanese and American friendships that grew out of the AMMA's 1991 Hawai'i gathering, one in particular blossomed. It involved Zenji

Abe and Richard Fiske, an aviator and a bugler mentioned earlier. Abe was especially interested in such friendships as he was anxious to more fully express his regret about the costly war. Knowing that Fiske was still an active bugle player, Abe asked Fiske if there could be a small monthly ceremony on the Arizona Memorial in which taps could be blown. Fiske agreed but suggested that a joint American and Japanese expression of sorrow would be most appropriate. They concluded that taps should be sounded and that two roses should be placed in the Arizona Memorial shrine room, one for the Americans victims of war and the second for the Japanese victims. Abe gave Fiske \$300 to cover the cost of the flowers for the first year.

Initially, there was some concern that the NPS or, worse, the Navy might have reservations about the monthly sounding of taps and the short flower ceremony on the Arizona Memorial. There was always a chance of a backlash, something that would be a terrible setback to the budding relationship between the American and Japanese veterans. Hence, when Fiske performed the ceremony the first several times it was with heightened anxiety. However, after the ceremony had been performed several times, all seemed well, and there was an acceptance of it within the NPS ranks. People who happen to be visiting the Arizona Memorial on those days are invariably touched by the event. Before blowing taps, Fiske tells the onlookers that despite his loss of many friends and the sinking of his own ship, he no longer has room in his heart for hatred toward his



Photograph-2: Fiske and Two Roses
Richard Fiske and Zenji Abe on the Arizona Memorial at the close of their Roses
Ceremony. Fiske has continued the ceremony every month since 1992.
[Richard Fiske Collection]

former enemies and concludes, "...today I have placed two flowers and sounded taps for all the fallen American veterans and my former Japanese adversaries."

By the time Fiske plays the last notes on his bugle, most eyes are filled with tears. He closes by thanking the visitors for their patience and understanding. On many occasions, people clap to express their moral support for his effort to put the past behind him and heal old wounds. The monthly flower and taps ceremony continues to this very day, eleven years after it was conceived.

Japanese Remembrance of American Victims

Abe and Fiske are not alone in their effort to mourn the sacrifice of life during the Pacific War. Across the ocean on the Japan's main island of Honshu there is a similar event led by a different man. Just southeast of Mount Fuji, there is a small Japanese city named Shizuoka. At the top of a high hill on the outskirts of the city stands a slender seven foot high stone monument. Carved into the stone is a single vertical row of Japanese kanji characters stating, "This monument is for the fallen men who died when two B-29 bombers crashed." The monument's keeper, Hiroya Sugano, is a local medical doctor who was only a boy during World War II. Sugano tells the story of how and why the monument to the American

flyers was built. He recalls that many American B-29's bombers were returning from one of their night bombing raids over Tokyo in 1945 when they collided over Shizuoka City and crashed. No one in the then burned out city wanted to touch the dead Americans except an old Buddhist monk and two young teenage boys. The young Dr. Sugano and his brother Domenic were the two young teenagers. The monk said that Americans were human just like anybody else and needed to be given respectful burials. The American soldiers were doing their duty and should be respected for their beliefs. Knowing that Americans preferred burial rather than cremation like most Japanese, the monk asked the two boys to help him dig the graves. Thereafter, he went to the memorial site yearly to pray for the Americans and pour sake over the memorial stone. Years later, when the monk felt that his time was near, he passed on the annual prayer and sake obligation to Sugano and his brother.

Although his brother has since passed away, Sugano still prays and pours sake over the stone monument each year. The sake is contained in a blackened airman's canteen found in one of the crashed bombers. It has an imbedded hand print on it, something that symbolizes the sacrifice of the airman and creates a clear sense of the meaning, of giving one's life on behalf of one's country. That



Photograph 3: Shizuoka City B-29 Monument

An American representative pours ceremonial sake over the stone shrine erected for the American servicemen killed when two B-29's collided over Shizuoka City in 1945.

such a monument can be found in the middle of Japan is beyond the imagination of most Americans. Although there is a small marker for a Japanese pilot killed in action in Hawai'i and another marker for deaths in Alaska, there are no monuments in America like the one in Shizuoka City.

The First Group Meeting

Late in October 1992, Abe and eight other Japanese veterans, in concert with a handful of Pearl Harbor survivors from Atlanta, decided that they wanted to meet in Hawai'i. Abe's friend, Ujihito Kimoto, a well-to-do Japanese businessman (Kimoto Co., Ltd.), believed that reconciliation between American and Japanese veterans was important and agreed to financially support the anticipated meeting. They decided to meet in Hawai'i, a half way point between Tokyo and Atlanta, and wanted to call their combined group the "Friends of Pearl Harbor." Their plans included visits to a handful of historical sites on the Island of Oahu and closure with a dinner party to publicly signify their reconciliation.

As a result, on October 18, 1992, nine Japanese who had participated in the Pearl Harbor attack and ten Pearl Harbor survivors greeted each other at the Honolulu International Airport. The following day, the group visited the National Cemetery of the Pacific at Punchbowl, the Arizona Memorial, the Nichiren Mission

(a Buddhist temple in Nuuanu valley), Hickam Air Force Base, and Marine Corps Base Hawai'i at Kaneohe. The latter two sites were among the targets of the 1941 attack. During their visit to the National Cemetery, the veterans walked side-by-side, one American and one Japanese, to pay their respect, at the base of the cemetery's monument. Likewise, the wives walked up to the base of the monument, side-by-side, one American and one Japanese. At the Arizona Memorial, the men, holding hands, one American and one Japanese, stepped forward to drop flower leis in the water over the sunken hull of the *Arizona*. The wives followed their husbands and also dropped flower leis into the water. It was an especially touching and welcome sight as it was the first time that wives had actively participated in any of the ceremonies.

On that same evening, four Pearl Harbor survivors and several more friends living in Hawai'i joined the Georgians and the Japanese for dinner in Waikiki. This later group included Robert Hudson, Richard Fiske, Joe Morgan, Herbert Weatherwax, NPS ranger Daniel Martinez and this paper's author. The gathering was held in the Princess Kaiulani Hotel. After opening salutations and thanking a teary-eyed Kimoto for his sponsorship, each veteran stood at his table and introduced himself to the other guests. A joint declaration, read by the master of ceremony, stated, "...we pray silently that there will be no more war like the Pacific War and that our countries and other countries will not send young men to die again."⁵² This dinner represented the first planned group meeting of American and

Japanese Pearl Harbor veterans, men who had engaged each other on the first day of the Pacific War fifty-one years before. It is important to note that one of the participants at this dinner was Takeshi Maeda, the new President of the Unabarakai, Japan's largest naval veteran's group, and a man who would become instrumental in future veteran reconciliation gatherings.

This assembly of American and Japanese Pearl Harbor veterans in fact was the beginning of a number of reconciliation events that would take place over the next several years. A short time later, Maeda asked the author to speak at the annual Unabarakai meeting in Tsuchiura City, Japan on the last weekend of October 1992 to encourage the members to participate in future reconciliation meetings. As the American and Japanese national anthems came to an end, Maeda informed the group of over a thousand that there was a visiting American from Hawai'i with a special message for all. The full text of my talk follows:

“Ladies, gentlemen, and honored guests, it is with great honor that I speak to you today. In all the countries around the world, we find memorials of remembrance to those who served their country in time of war. Today, we have gathered together here in Tsuchiura City to give honor and to pay tribute to all the veterans of Japan. This day is for the living to remember those who are no longer with us.

In time of war, there is great pain and suffering. There are really no winners or losers in war. All peoples on all sides suffer great misery. People from all walks of life are affected by war. A great majority of men and women called to arms were no more than common people, innocent school boys, farmers, fishermen, shop keepers, and factory workers. Yet, when war comes, there is little choice but to serve your country as best as

you can without hesitation.

Many thousands of soldiers, still in their prime of life, never returned. So many families and loved ones have felt deep anguish and sorrow and know that their men made the ultimate sacrifice by dying for their country. Many thousands of men still lay where they fell with no hand to close their eyes. To the missing soldiers and the unmarked fallen, we must pay a special tribute to you and salute you. Our hearts and prayers are with the unknown soldiers.

As military veterans, family members, and descendants, we must count our blessings and not take the calm of peace in the present day for granted. We must not forget those who are not here today to share in the brightness of the new world order. Special consideration needs to be bestowed on all the mothers and wives of every fallen soldier. There are no words for the solemn sorrow and grief that you have kept through the years. For each and every woman who lost a loved one, we salute you, for your sacrifice is far greater than can be imagined.

In closing, I wish to leave a few words for the Japanese Navy men who served the Emperor and their country in the time of war. History has noted your courage and heroism. The records of military history are full of accounts of Japanese military men who chose to fight even when badly outnumbered. Your character and discipline reflect positively on your commitment and your duty toward your country.

The people of modern Japan have greatly benefitted from your commitment and efforts. As an American, I have never met a more cultured, well mannered, and friendly people. This is my fourth trip to your country, and I am very glad to have made so many friends on each visit. It is my sincere wish that ever lasting friendship will be shared between our two countries. We must always remember that real friends never stop talking and always have time to recreate and strengthen old bonds.

At this time, I would like to conclude my speech by offering a small token of friendship to the Unabarakai. President Takeshi Maeda, please accept this framed print as a symbol of friendship."⁵³

Judging by the enthusiastic applause, the speech was well-received. The crowd then moved to an open memorial area where a large bronze statute of two

airmen stood. A short prayer was offered and several brief speeches followed. Then the entire group walked to a nearby aircraft hanger where rows of tables were set with "bento" lunch plates and bottles of sake, juice, and beer. As the number of chairs were limited, most of the group stood to eat, and this encouraged visiting. Many approached me with thanks for the sentiments I expressed. An elderly lady stated that it was the first time that she heard anyone publicly acknowledged the sorrow felt by women who lost loved ones. After the ceremony, the Unabarakai directors discussed inviting more Americans to visit Japan, and in the weeks and months that followed, the organization began to explore the possibility of future meetings. The decision was finally made to invite an American veteran for their next reunion in October 1993 and that it should be Richard Fiske. The invitation was sent and Fiske accepted.

On the second weekend of October 1993, Fiske and his wife Carmen visited Tsuchiura City where the Unabarakai was holding its annual meeting. Seated in the front row, he stepped forward and played American and Japanese taps on his bugle. He was the first American Pacific War veteran and Pearl Harbor survivor to attend the annual Unabarakai event, and no guest ever before made such an impression. He and his wife returned home with many gifts, all carefully wrapped in traditional Japanese fashion. The most cherished of these was a new Japanese brass bugle that he received from Maeda.

Following the 1993 meeting, the Unabarakai executive committee appeared to be totally convinced that it was time to take a bold step on behalf of Japanese and American reconciliation by expanding interaction meetings between veterans. At the same time, Jiro Yoshida, the new public affairs director for the Unabarakai, needed ideas for future events. Enlisting the help of the author, Yoshida asked about the feasibility of a program that would bring several hundred Japanese veterans and the same number of American veterans together in Hawai'i in the near future. Aware that Yoshida's proposal was beyond the managerial ability of one or two persons and would require lengthy planning by a working committee, I formed a planning committee in Honolulu and named it the "World War II American and Japanese Veterans' Friendship Committee" (Friendship Committee). This proved to be another dawning moment in the march of the reconciliation movement.

CHAPTER 5 THE FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE

Toward the end of 1994, the Friendship Committee began to gain support. The key committee members were the author, acting as the Committee Chairman and the liaison between American and Japanese veterans, Dr. Geoffrey White of the East-West Center, and Dr. LouAnn Guanson of the Matsunaga Institute for Peace. Both White and Guanson were able to tap resources within their institutions to facilitate the organization of events within the reconciliation program. There was also considerable contact with the National Cemetery of the Pacific and a number of American veterans' groups headquartered in Honolulu. The Japanese Consul General, then Kishichiro Amai, was also kept informed of the process, and he provided the group with continuous moral support. Finally, there were another half dozen interested individuals who regularly attended the many meetings and contributed their time, and in some cases, personal funds (see Appendix B).

The Friendship Committee met regularly every two weeks from October 1994 to the end of January 1995. In the beginning, the objective was to hold a major reconciliation event on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II in September 1995. A hand shaking event would help symbolize not only the end of the war but also another step toward friendship between the veterans. By mid-November 1994, there were rumors of a large scale "V-J Day" (Victory over Japan Day) celebration during the first five days in September 1995. By November, the

rumors had become facts, and Hawai'i was designated as the venue for the celebration. A group of American businessmen and military officials started to work on the events for the program, and the Friendship Committee was thus thrown into competition with the new group. At first, there was some discussion within the Friendship Committee about postponing the reconciliation program for several months or even a year to avoid any conflict with the V-J Day celebrations. There was considerable concern that close association with the V-J Day events might generate some backlash from certain American veterans' groups. A number of the Unabarakai directors in Japan shared these concerns and worried about the timing of the reconciliation event. They were fearful of the bashing they might receive from angry American veterans.

After some debate, the Friendship Committee concluded that there would actually be an advantage in scheduling a series of several small events and one large reconciliation program as part of the national V-J Day celebrations. The reason was that this commemoration would be one of the few times when substantial numbers of American veterans would be present at one place and there would thus be an opportunity to promote reconciliation on a major scale.

After looking at the V-J Day schedule, the Friendship Committee decided that several of its events could easily be worked into various open time slots. These were to be a Friday dinner program, a visitation to military bases (Hickam,

Kaneohe, and Pearl Harbor), a large reconciliation handshake ceremony at the Hale Koa Hotel, and a Friendship Plaque dedication in the National Cemetery of the Pacific. The gatherings at the hotel and at the cemetery would be open to all interested World War II veterans, and both occasions would be free of charge to make them that much more attractive to American veterans. The night mixer at the Hale Koa included free juice, appetizers, and a historic friendship banner signing for veterans.

The Hale Koa Hotel event was the most important. The large open air lawn on the ocean side of this military hotel in Waikiki was reserved for the veterans' meeting. The plan called for the hotel's catering service to prepare refreshments and appetizers for an estimated 500 people. This number included 350-400 Japanese and a projected 100-125 Americans. Again, there would be no fee or cover charge for visiting American veterans. The carefully planned chair set-up around the edges of the lawn and hedges allowed for mixing and resting as well as proper traffic flow. Four hundred one inch-wide hat pins with the American and Japanese flags around clasp hands were ordered.

The Plaque Dedication to be held at the National Cemetery was the next most important occurrence. With the help of Gene Castagnetti, the cemetery's director, some five hundred seats were set-up for a seventy-five minute program. A bronze plaque was ordered with the following inscription:

“ON SEPTEMBER 4, 1995
WORLD WAR II VETERANS MET IN
RECONCILIATION AND FRIENDSHIP”

Similar to the hat pins, the plague’s artwork consisted of the American, Japanese, and Hawaiian state flag around clasp hands.⁵⁴

These reconciliation and friendship events were publicized for the first time on June 6, 1995. Committee member Beth Lum arranged for a high profile public informational event in the office of then Hawai’i Governor Benjamin Cayetano where he greeted Unabarakai President Takeshi Maeda and Richard Fiske. He brought both men together to shake hands in front of the waiting television cameras and newspaper reporters, and that evening the ceremony was televised on every Hawaiian news channel. On the following day, both of the major local newspapers carried pictures of Maeda and Fiske, two smiling veterans with their hands clasped.⁵⁵ At the end of the month, the Friendship Committee received more good news. The informational flyer being printed by the V-J Day planning committee included the Friendship Committee’s September 3 night event at the Hale Koa. Momentum was growing, and the hard work was paying off.

V-J Day Celebrations

The number of newspaper articles and television reports about the end of the Pacific War events grew through the months of July and August. On Sunday, August 27, an editorial piece I wrote entitled "The Anguish of War" was printed in the Honolulu Advertiser's Focus section.⁵⁶ The article stressed the need for veterans to come forward and make peace with their old adversaries. Key portions are as follows:

"... The Japanese veterans who were interviewed repeatedly stated that war had tormented them all these years. Each veteran asked why I, or for that matter anybody, would want to know about the ugliness of war. The men all stated similar feelings: 'We lost the war, our cities, our families, our friends, and our personal dignities.'

Why anyone would want to hear about such a bitter past was very difficult for the Japanese veteran to understand. With assistance and coaching by a retired Japanese Self Defense Force naval Captain, Yasushi Uesaka, I was able to sit down with some old Japanese veterans.

By the fall of 1994, I had traveled to Japan six times to meet with Japanese veterans. In each succeeding trip, I found the Japanese veterans more open and willing to talk and ask questions about the feelings of WWII American veterans. My response was that American veterans are people with many bitter memories, too.

It was my opinion that there are some Americans who will take the bitterness and hate, eating away at their insides, to the grave with them. However, there are many other American veterans who have managed to come to terms with the emotional scars of war and have found ways to forgive.

During the last five years, I have coordinated or assisted with over a dozen small group reconciliation meetings between Japanese and American veterans. In many instances, the veterans approached each other slowly, with great hesitation and fear.

Their arms often tremble as they raise and extend forward their open hands toward each other. As their hands touch, there is a deep and penetrating feeling that rushes through the hearts of the participants and all the onlookers. A great feeling of weightlessness comes over the veterans

as the emotional burden lifts from their souls. One American veteran stated that he felt as if a 54-year-old, 1,000-pound weight had been lifted off his chest.

One Japanese veteran said his inner pain left his soul; he felt as if he were a boy again. There are no words that can be written as to the feelings and emotions that engulf those who meet in true reconciliation and friendship after so many years of misery. Many veterans who have harbored hate and emotional pain said that they did not realize how much psychological baggage they were carrying.

Other veterans have said that they were completely unaware that they were keeping their hate only to themselves.

A spokesman for the largest Japanese veterans' group stated: 'The warlords who wanted war are all gone, leaving us, lowly veterans, the obligation to stitch together the fabric of friendship. We wish to reach out and shake hands with our American counterparts in Friendship.'

Many Japanese veterans came forward to ask if they could meet with American veterans for a moment of reconciliation and friendship. I was so taken by their sincerity that I promised to bring about this desire for friendship and reconciliation between old adversaries".⁵⁷

The article attracted a wide spectrum of readers. Many called to say how much they were touched. The effect was tremendous. The article gave an informational phone number for interested veterans to call, and over the next five days the phone lines were constantly busy with some 400 calls by American veterans inquiring about the planned events.

On the morning of August 28, the Unabarakai group arrived in Honolulu. It consisted of 222 Japanese veterans and another 170 wives. Seven Japanese Pearl Harbor attackers were in this group. Early the next day tour buses took the group to the Arizona Memorial. Upon returning to the hotel, a smaller bus, filled with the



Photograph 4: Pearl Harbor veterans at Pearl Harbor
 Lieutenant Commander Tom Van Leunen, USN. standing with American Pearl Harbor survivors and Japanese Pearl Harbor attackers at the Remembrance Exhibit located on the grounds of the Pearl Harbor shipyard, Sept. 3, 1995.

Photographs by Alexander Gaston



Battleship West Virginia survivor Richard Richard Fiske with torpedo aviator Takeshi Maeda.



Richard Hausted and torpedo aviator Fukiji Enoue (was Fukuji Murakami in 1941).



Hickam Field survivor Denver Gray and high level bomber aviator Heiji Tamura.

Pearl Harbor attackers, took an announced detour. It drove into the Pearl Harbor Navy yard to visit the newly constructed Pearl Harbor Attack Remembrance Monument. The Japanese veterans were surprised by the appearance of nine American Pearl Harbor survivors. The American and Japanese formed two lines facing each other, then stepped forward to shake hands. It was a memorable moment, and their smiling faces were captured by United States Navy photographers and many onlookers.

By Wednesday, August 30, the Friendship Committee's worry of not having enough American participation was completely reversed. There were now potentially 300 participants instead of the anticipated 125. Public relations director, Yoshida and President Maeda worried that there would not be enough food and drink for such a large crowd. The last minute jump in the numbers of American participants caught everybody by surprise. The hotel had to call in extra help, and the Friendship Committee scrambled to find extra chairs to seat the additional people. The Unabarakai fiscal officer did not have the extra \$10,000 needed to pay for the increased number of drinks and appetizers. Yoshida volunteered to solve the problem by asking the Japanese veterans not to eat. However, when the Japanese Consul General Amae learned of the problem, he arranged to cover the extra costs.

At 4:30P.M. on Sunday, September 3, Japanese and some American veterans, many with their wives, began to arrive at the Fort DeRussy Army Museum for a



Photograph 5: Hale Koa Hotel Event
American and Japanese veterans raise their cups to toast their new found friendship on the ocean side lawn of the Hale Koa Hotel in Waikiki, Hawai'i. - Sept. 3, 1995
Photograph by Alexander Gaston

short tour. They then strolled over to the nearby Hale Koa Hotel just before sunset. As they walked to the reception tables to pick up name tags, it was impossible to keep track of the exact numbers, but it was obvious that the Japanese veterans were outnumbered at least two to one. With the help of several dozen Japanese-English interpreters, the two groups mixed well. Running only a few minutes behind schedule, master of ceremonies Paul Wilcox called for the attention of all the participants. Dr. LouAnn Guanson of the Matsunaga Peace Institute and Unabarakai President, Takeshi Maeda, delivered the welcoming remarks, and the two keynote speakers, American veteran A.A. “Bud” Smyser and Japanese veteran Zenji Abe, offered strong arguments for reconciliation and friendship. Later, standing together at the center microphone, American veteran William Paty and Japanese veteran Kiyoshi Aikawa called for a formal toast to friendship. The group toasts were followed by special hand shakes between nine Pearl Harbor survivors and nine Pearl Harbor attackers. With the Pearl Harbor veterans shaking hands, the rest of the veterans faced each other and shook hands. There was a sensation of happiness in the crowd, and the air was full of kind words and cheer as Americans and Japanese shared a genuine moment of reconciliation (see Appendix C).

The final event for the evening was the signing of the friendship scrolls. There were two identical friendship scrolls for the participants to sign. One scroll was to go back to Japan, and the other was to stay in Hawai‘i. They will serve as lasting records for review and reflection by future generations.⁵⁸ As the program



Photograph 6: Bronze Plaque at the National Cemetery

Zero fighter pilot Kunio Iwashita poses next to the bronze Friendship Plaque placed within the National Cemetery of the Pacific at the Punchbowl.

Photograph by Jiro Yoshida

drew to a close, it was obvious to all that the gathering had been a huge success.

On the following day, events came to a close at 4:00 P.M. with the dedication of the friendship plaque in front of a mixed crowd of Japanese and American veterans at the National Cemetery of the Pacific. The plaque and its supporting granite stone remain on display to remind future generations that old World War II adversaries were able to find grounds for reconciliation, and that others can do the same.⁵⁹

Post 1995 Reconciliation Events

Although the size and scale of the events held during September 1995 remain unsurpassed, there have been four subsequent reconciliation events that are noteworthy. In the fall of 1997, twenty-five American World War II veterans visited Japan. They met Japanese veterans in Tsuchiura, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Shizuoka, and Tokyo.⁶⁰ During the visit to Hiroshima, Richard Fiske played both the American and Japanese taps at several locations within the Atomic Bomb Park.

One of the more memorable events in this series was a meeting between two *Arizona* survivors and the last living Japanese aviator involved in the attack on the ship.⁶¹ On the evening of October 24, 1997, John Harris, Clinton Westbrook, and

Ruth Campbell, a widow of an *Arizona* survivor, Joseph Campbell, and NPS Superintendent Kathy Billings visited Akira Okinaka in his Hiroshima noodle shop.

Within a few minutes of introductions, Okinaka and the Americans were toasting each other and extending their hands into the center of the group to show their new friendship. Okinaka observed that he could now go to heaven in peace.⁶² This was the first and only time that any *Arizona* battleship survivor stood face-to-face with a Japanese aviator who attacked the *Arizona*. Superintendent Billings recalled "...it was great seeing them [the veterans] talking and smiling with each other just as people and that the wounds were healing... it was an over overwhelming emotion seeing these men who were enemies in World War II be able to actually touch each other."⁶³

In 1999, another small but significant group visited Japan. Pearl Harbor survivors Fiske and Denver Gray visited the annual Unabarakai meeting in Tsuchiura City. After meeting with more than 500 Japanese veterans there, they flew to the southern Japanese island of Kyushu to visit Saiki City. In a well-televised program, they met two Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators and together planted cherry trees around a bronze friendship plaque.⁶⁴ Fiske was paired with Yuji Akamatsu, and Gray was partnered with Haru Yoshino. The History Channel recorded this event in a special entitled "Tora, Tora, Tora: The Real Story of Pearl

Harbor.” It was televised in the United States during the first week of December 1999.

Another significant reconciliation event involving American and Japanese veterans were also televised nation-wide. This ceremony took place on the stern of the battleship *U.S.S. Missouri* on December 6, 2000. The *Missouri*, now moored as a floating museum in Pearl Harbor where the Pacific war started, is the place where the surrender document was signed to end the war. This ship is a significant site for ongoing reconciliation activities. During this program, National television captured many warm and touching moments. Unforgettable was the meeting of Japanese Pearl Harbor attacker Abe and Pearl Harbor survivor Fiske. Each held the other in a heartfelt embrace, and many newspapers across the country printed pictures of the touching scene. Another little known fact about this event was that two Filipino American veterans who attended were survivors of the Bataan death march. Like most survivors of that brutal event, they doubtlessly felt a good deal of hatred toward the Japanese but decided it was time to let it go. All this was televised and seen by millions of American and Japanese people. In fact, although it was not the most ambitious of the various Friendship Committee events, it received more major media coverage than any of the other activities.



Photograph 7: December 6, 2000 gathering on the stern of the *U.S.S. Missouri*

American veterans and Japanese veterans face each other in preparation to shake hands. Photograph by Jiro Yoshida



Photograph - 7: Pacific War fighter pilots James “Jim” Daniels and Kunio Iwashita are the first two veterans to start the hand shaking program at the close of the AMMA Pearl Harbor Symposia on December 5, 2001. - Photographs by Jiro Yoshida



Photograph - 8: Other American and Japanese veterans start shaking hands at the closing of the AMMA symposia held at the Hilton Hawaiian Village in Waikiki.

The most recent reconciliation activity happened on December 5, 2001. This took place on the closing day of the four-day-long AMMA- sponsored Pearl Harbor Attack Symposium held at the Hilton Hawaiian Village Hotel in Waikiki. Working in concert with the AMMA and Dan Martinez of the NPS, the Japanese and American Pacific war veterans in attendance were called forward to stand together. From his position at the podium, Martinez then called upon the author to bring the veterans together for a closing handshake. This exchange of friendly hands was also captured by the major national television networks and aired across the country.

Millions of people around the world have now witnessed at least part of the many reconciliation ceremonies involving the Pacific War veterans. In the process, citizens of the world have been shown that a higher good does exist within human nature. That veterans of a war so full of hatred have found the courage to forgive each other is a lasting testament to the fact that people can take control of their destinies and can find personal peace.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

The story of reconciliation can never be concluded, for it is an ongoing saga that will be replayed as long as there is human conflict and war. The story of how the American and Japanese Pacific War veterans sought each other out hopefully will inspire future generations of peace makers. Although many Japanese and American veterans benefitted from the reconciliation events, still more did not. Some of them missed the opportunity to meet their old adversaries because of financial limitations and in other cases, failing health made travel difficult or impossible. Lack of manpower and the financial resources necessary to stage events over a wider range of localities in Japan and the United States prevented several other gatherings. Sadly, much of what did happen came too late for many who had already passed on.

Despite being unable to accommodate all those who desired to participate, a great amount of knowledge about reconciliation was acquired through the gatherings that were held. This information falls into three broad categories, each of importance as regards the success of future reconciliation activities. These categories are “global factors,” “connecting institutions,” and “activity implementation design.” The substance of each of these categories must be fully understood before any reconciliation program can be designed and implemented. The essential “global factors” are: 1) several decades of peaceful co-existence

between the involved nations, and 2) a goodly amount of stability within the society and economy of each participating country. The key connecting institutions and factors include: 1) the number of well-established organizations for veterans such as the Unabarakai, Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, and American Legion, 2) links with cultural exchange institutions such as the East-West Center, Japanese and American Cultural Center, and Peace Corps, 3) the construction of places of remembrance to honor the fallen such as the Arizona Memorial in Hawai'i and the Atomic Bomb parks in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and 4) museum associations and keepers of historic places like the AMMA and ANMP that are staffed by historically-minded and caring people who act as emulsifiers within and between the various veteran and cultural institutions. The activity implementation design is the third and final phase of any successful reconciliation activity. The important factors in this category include: 1) development of an encompassing theme which veterans can permit themselves to identify with, usually one that provides a positive historical context for the activity,⁶⁶ 2) provisions of an environment that assures the safety and welfare of all the various participants, 3) selection of a program director capable of mediating disputes, controlling the activities, and regulating the amount of veteran-to-veteran and veteran-to-public interaction, 4) creation of historic time markers such as monuments, statues, plaques, banners, scrolls, pins, programs, and other memorabilia to mark the time and place of the activity, 5) limiting the numbers and duration of events to accommodate older veterans and their spouses who generally become fatigued if events exceed ninety

minutes, 6) substituting a moment of silent prayer for specific religious activities (in numerous instances veterans have abandoned religion because they could not believe a loving god could allow so much war, destruction, and death as exists in the world⁶⁷), and 7) providing for a sufficient number of bi-lingual translators to circulate in the crowd to help veterans mix and communicate. Aside from finances, nothing has proven more important than the matter of language barriers and translators.

War may become a thing of the past at some future time, but for most people in today's world, it is simply an everyday fact. The resulting resentment and outright hate generated can sometimes span generations. For example, great grandchildren of American Civil War soldiers still carry grudges against the "Damned Yankees" of the north. The ongoing conflicts involving Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, and Jews, and in communities ranging from Ireland to the Balkans to Indonesia have lasted for centuries. The resulting cost in emotional and physical harm is beyond human calculation. Ultimately, all people touched by these and other conflicts must confront the question of whether they wish to live a cycle of hate and destruction or to seek peaceful resolutions. We can hope and pray that war will become a thing of the past, but these things alone are not enough. Happiness demands a more assertive process. The quest for a safer and more wholesome world requires great effort by a wide spectrum of people consisting of global political and religious leaders, statesmen, psychological

professionals, and scholars, as well as laymen. A new generation of peace and reconciliation experts able to read through hate and find amiable solutions must be trained if we are ever to put and end to hostile human activity.

Humanity must recognize that for reconciliation to be successful a great measure of forgiveness is needed to rekindle the essential spark of redemption and mutual respect. Reconciliation is fundamentally a choice for life over death and for life with a different future. In many respects, this is a new philosophy that embraces both social and cultural respect. At its core, it is predicated upon the promotion of life and shared happiness. It is doubtful, it should be noted, that such a philosophy can have strong ties to any one religion. Institutionalized religion has unequivocally failed to foster global peace and, in many cases, has fueled hatred and death.

The future looks bright for reconciliation programs, thanks in part to the bold efforts made by the Pacific War veterans and their families. As awareness grows, more government agencies, religious and cultural institutions, private organizations, and businesses are likely to lend their support to future undertakings. More awareness promise more willingness.

In the end, however, it is the survivors of war and bloodshed who must make the hard choice to forgive and to seek some form of respectful

reconciliation. The essential word here is forgiveness, the ability to let go of the past and make a new future. Without established methods and practices to encourage this process, all face the ruinous path of continuing resentment and retaliation. But there is hope, for everything rests on making the right choices about living wholesome lives and promoting better communications and cross-cultural intercourse throughout the global community. For those who do so, there is *promise of peace and happiness*. They are helping the world learn to forgive and to embrace the universal truths of life “...Friendship, Love, and Truth.”⁶⁸

Appendix A
Chronology of Reconciliation Events

- December 1981 - The NPS opens the Arizona Memorial Visitors' Center and Museum.
- December 1982 - Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators group comes to Hawai'i.
- November 1991 - John Westerman (Pearl Harbor survivor) and Zenji Abe (Pearl Harbor attacker) interviewed and shake hands on the NBC Today Show.
- September 1991 - Adm. Nimitz Museum and State park sponsors first half of the Pearl Harbor Attack Symposium.
- December 1991 - NPS and the Arizona Memorial Museum Association sponsor the 50th anniversary commemoration of Pearl Harbor attack.
- May 1991 - Author makes first of a dozen visits to Japan.
- May 1992 - Zenji Abe sends message to Richard Fiske about monthly twin rose ceremony. Fiske and Abe begin monthly "Rose Ceremony."
- October 1992 - A dozen American Pearl Harbor survivor from Georgia and Hawai'i meet Japanese Pearl Harbor attackers for a friendship dinner at Princess Kaiulani Hotel.
- October 1992 - Author speaks at annual Unabarakai meeting in Tsuchiura City, Japan.
- October 1993 - Richard Fiske is invited to annual Unabarakai meeting Japan. He offers his friendship to Japanese veterans as a Pearl Harbor and Iwo Jima survivor, blows American and Japanese taps for fallen.
- August 1994 - Nucleus of the Friendship Committee formed; preliminary planning for large scale Reconciliation meeting keyed to the Sept. 1995 V-J Day events initiated.

October 1994 - Geoffrey White of East-West Center invited to speak at annual Unabarakai gathering in Tsuchiura City.

August 1995 - 222 Japanese veterans, wives, and friends visit Hawai'i (August 30).

- Large Greeting Banner is erected outside the Hawaiian Regency Hotel.
- 25 American Midway survivors stage surprise visit as Japanese finish dinner, all veterans shake hands and toast each other (August 31).
- Japanese veterans, wives, and friends are joined by 500 American veterans, wives, and friends (September 3).
- Bronze Friendship Plaque dedicated at the National Cemetery of the Pacific (September 4).

December 1995 - Richard Fiske receives the Emperor's Award for work in promoting friendship.

October 1997 - Two dozen American veterans travel to Japan on a five-city tour to meet Japanese veterans (October 14-24).

December 2000 - The Friendship Committee organizes a reconciliation meeting aboard the battleship *Missouri* at Pearl Harbor (December 6).

December 2001 - Reconciliation hand shaking at AMMA sponsored Pearl Harbor Attack symposium in Waikiki (December 5).

Appendix B

The following men and women were major contributors and participants in the reconciliation meetings between Japanese and American veterans. They are listed alphabetically by family name.

Zenji Abe (Japanese Pearl Harbor aviator)
 Kishichiro Amae (former Japanese Consul General to Hawai'i)
 Kathy Billings (National Park Service Superintendent: Arizona Memorial)*
 Gene Castagnetti (USMC Colonel retired, Director of the National Cemetery of the Pacific at the Punchbowl)*
 Joshua Cooper*
 Helen de Leon Palmore*
 John F. De Virgilio (Chairperson and Veterans' Liaison of the American and Japanese Veterans' Friendship Committee)*
 Richard Fiske (Pearl Harbor survivor)*
 Alexander "Sandy" Gaston (Navy League Director and USN Vietnam veteran)*
 Denver Gray (Pearl Harbor survivor)
 LouAnn Guanson (Director of Matsunaga Peace Institute)*
 Robert Hudson (Pearl Harbor survivor)
 Richard Husted (Pearl Harbor survivor)*
 Joni Koehn*
 Beth Lum (Spark Matsunaga Peace Institute)*
 Daniel Martinez (National Park Service Historian: Arizona Memorial)*
 Takeshi Maeda (Pearl Harbor aviator; President of the Unabarakai)*
 Michelle Matsuo (political & community liaison)*
 Earl Okawa (Director of the Japanese-American Society; USAF Colonel retired)*
 Alan Palmer (Fort DeRussy Army Museum: Director)*
 Hiroya Sugano (Shizouoka B-29 Memorial shrine keeper)
 John "Jack" Westerman (Pearl Harbor survivor)
 Geoffrey White (EastWest Center Senior Fellow)*
 John Williams (EastWest Center Media Specialist)*
 Jiro Yoshida (Pilot and public relations director for the Unabarakai and the Zero-kai)*

*Notates - The primary members of the "Friendship Committee" (a.k.a. World World II American and Japanese Friendship Committee).

Appendix C

Statements of friendship and reconciliation from the "World War II American and Japanese Veterans' Friendship and Peace Program" distributed during the September 3-4, 1995 V-J Day celebrations

Friendship Statements

Once we were enemies. Today, we stand here as friends. It has happened before, after many wars. Learning to know, like and respect people who once were our enemies—to know we might have liked each other even then—makes us think very hard about the roots of war. Let us shake hands in friendship today and also with a deep dedication to democracy and democratic resolution of our difference.

-A.A. (Bud) Smyser, U.S. Navy

Having a day to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the End of the Pacific War, is a deeply moving event for me. On December 7, 1941, the war started here. I participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Here in Hawaii, the veterans from both sides can come together and shake hands as friends. We have a common bond - the scars of war in our minds and on our bodies. We were robbed of our youth and forced to do things which we would never do in peaceful times. We were victimized by circumstances which we could not control. Fifty years ago, goodwill and understanding between our nations were sadly lacking. As survivors, we understand each other even though we may not speak the same language. With this understanding, we can shake hands as friends.

At this time, the Unabarakai Association wishes to present this plaque as a symbol of lasting friendship between our two great nations. This is a sacred place and I cannot thank you enough for your broad minded generosity. To the efforts of the people who have made this all possible, I offer you my most sincerest gratitude and respect.

-Takeshi Maeda, Imperial Japanese Navy

In order to memorialize the 50th Anniversary of the End of the Pacific War, veterans of the United States and Japan have met here in Hawaii to pay their respects to those who dedicated their lives to their countries. This important event should result in closer relations between our two countries. I wish too pay my respects to all those people for their efforts which have made this event possible.

In order to insure world peace among all nations, Japan and the United States must use their combined efforts to overcome any problems that threaten peace anywhere in the world.

The events taking place here today should show the world that we can resolve our differences and heal the wounds. It serves no useful purpose to relieve the tragedies of 50 years past. The Americans have a saying: "Time heals all wounds." I believe the wounds have been healed. We are headed in the right direction.

-Zenji Abe, Imperial Japanese Navy

All of us on both sides were full of intense hatred when we faced each other 50 years ago. We now have a choice. We can leave this world taking with us our individual hate, or we can extend our hand and hope that we may individually help promote friendship between the two nations. We have more similarities than differences. We all love our families and we wish for a brighter future. By looking out of the front of the bus, we can see where we are going. By looking out of the back, we can only see where we have been.

-Denver D. Gray, U. S. Army Air Force

For some time following the war, I was reluctant to extend my hand in friendship. As a result of the B-29 raids, I had lost many family members and friends. Now, fifty years have passed and we have all grown old. It is time to purge our minds of past animosities. I do not wish to go to my grave with such bitter feelings. Anger and hatred are self-destructive and eat away at your heart and soul; it weakens you spiritually and physically.

This solemn occasion provides me with the opportunity to cleanse my body and soul. It has now brought me inner peace. By meeting all of you, this will help me heal my deep wounds. I wish to thank everyone involved who made this all possible.

-Sadao Sugita, Imperial Japanese Navy

If it were not for America, the citizens of the world would indeed be living in far greater adverse conditions. Since the end of hostilities of World War II, America has reached out to all the people of the world. It has provided unlimited financial aid, technical support, sense of caring, and moral support. America has strived to resolve international problems through the wise and patient use of mutual dialogue.

-Jiro Yoshida, Imperial Japanese Navy

Friendship Statements

Maybe when veterans of both sides bury the hate and emerge as friends, we all can live with peace within ourselves.
-Richard Fiske, U.S. Marine Corps

During a B-29 raid on my hometown in Shizuoka, one of the B-29s was lost. I was able to see where it came to rest. The pilot and crew received a proper and respectful burial at the time. Certain personal articles of these brave men we recovered and have been treated with honor and respect ever since. This may seem strange, but it serves to demonstrate that even in war, the human spirit cannot be totally suppressed. To sacrifice one's life for the sake of their country is something that we all understand. While the war forced many of us to be entirely one-sided, there were others who could see and understand both sides.

I have visited Pearl Harbor on seven occasions. With Bishop Ogawa, we conducted memorial services for the dead of both countries.

I have met Mr. Maeda, President of Unabarakai and Mr. Fiske, Vice President of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association. I have come to understand their sincere desire for strengthening goodwill between our great countries. Japan and America of the 1930s and 1940s no longer exist; it is now the proper time to extinguish any traces of lingering animosities to the past.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Jiro Yoshida, Director of Public Relations for Unabarakai. His dedication in making this event a reality is worthy of admiration. He overcame many difficulties to make this event come true.
-Hiroya Sugano, Imperial Japanese Navy

The healing of the wounds of war must start with mutual regret for the acts of war and the mutual forgiveness when the war has ended. The Friendship meeting to commemorate the end of the World War II will demonstrate to the world.

-John J. Westerman, Jr., U.S. Navy

Today, I offer my sincerest condolences to the souls of brave men who rest here in Hawaii. I take this opportunity during the 50th Anniversary of the End of the Pacific War, to convey respects from my country's veterans to those who sacrificed their lives in the defense of their country.

Fifty years have now passed. It is our fervent hope that past hate can finally be extinguished. We can never find eternal peace with such emotions burning in our hearts.

At this time when veterans of both nations come together during this solemn ceremony and at this sacred place, we can together make every effort to forge and strengthen the friendship between our countries. This is a glorious moment for me. With my sincerest respect and humility, I salute you all!

The friendship plaque symbolizes a new beginning; the name is appropriate. We earnestly wish to have eternal peace through this significant public event. We all paid a terrible price to learn a very valuable lesson in history. We were fortunate enough to survive. Let future generations realize that wars do not solve problems - wars create them. We should never repeat the same mistake twice.

-Shoujiro Motomiya, Imperial Japanese Navy

The joint memorial ceremony, to be held in Hawaii, will allow us to pray together for our war dead and to acknowledge their sacrifices. It will also be a celebration of peace and friendship. As a citizen of Japan, I am very impressed with this event. It will be a big help in confirming the mutual trust between our countries. Since the end of World War II, Japan has never fought again. I hope and pray that peace will prevail on earth.

-Kensaku Arai, Imperial Japanese Navy

I feel very humble that former enemies who sought victory on the battlefield with destructive weapons have now found it in the form of a handshake and a desire to be at peace with all mankind.

-Runie Walston, U.S. Navy

At this time, American and Japanese veterans, who 50 years ago were fighting each other, now walk side-by-side along the beaches of Hawaii. This is a symbolic event and proof of the special relationship between our two countries.

-Masayuki Fujino, Imperial Japanese Navy

Friendship Statements

We, the surviving veterans of many conflicts, must take the lead in providing a sound base for us to help each other in a spirit of trust and respect. Friendship takes many forms. Some are a result of armed conflict. Surviving combatants and warriors of all ages and nations have not only experienced, but have built solid friendships within the framework of their personal experiences, and have learned, though sometimes the hard way, to even honor those with whom they have fought. Respect for those who voluntarily give their utmost, do not only rate our greatest regard, but must use that respect to build international friendships on solid foundations within peaceful societies.

-James Daniels, U.S. Navy

Half a century has passed since the Pacific War ended. The world of today is profoundly different than it was back then. It is hard to imagine that the United States and Japan were bitter enemies then. Look around you - the evidence of mutual understanding and friendship are everywhere. Japanese and American technologies are now intertwined. Fashions, entertainment, some of the local language, and people have all mixed together. We are great trading partners and economic superpowers. We can no longer stand alone; each cannot do without the other.

-Shoji Hayakawa, Imperial Japanese Navy

Why should we meet with the enemy? Well, because time passes and old wounds heal. Yes, during WWII and for a time thereafter, I, and probably all Americans hated the Japanese, Germans, Austrians, Italians and others who were considered our enemy, but, as time passed, the bitterness eased, and you began to realize that the "enemy" was only following orders - the same as we were. Perhaps some of them hated war as much as some of us. And now we meet together to bind our wounds, shake hands, and invite friendship.

-Nat C. Harrison, Jr., U.S. Navy

I cannot forget his face! At a little past 0300 hours, on June 5, 1942, in order to avoid American radar, I was flying very low over the sea. I then climbed to 3,000 meters as I was closing in on Midway Island. I wanted sufficient altitude for my attack. Almost immediately, I came under attack by many American Navy fighters - they were Brewster Buffaloes. The American came from behind and made a half roll attack and fired at the upper right of my plane. He was a young Marine Corps pilot from VMF-221 and his rank was that of a lieutenant. I was lucky to have survived. I could not forget his face and I remember him to this day. I sure hope he survived, too.

In a very short time, we will enter the 21st Century. Veterans participating in this great event will want to remember the great historical significance of this. This is very definitely the "New Beginning."

I wish you all happiness and good health!

-Tatsuya Ohtawa, Imperial Japanese Navy

Each individual has his own dream and hope for the future. I think the most important time in one's life is youth. Now after half a century has passed, both American and Japanese veterans can shake hands in the spirit of friendship and goodwill. We honor the memories of our fallen comrades. They gave up their youth so that we could survive. Their sacrifice should endeavor for us to work for peace. Our mission now is to let the world know that peace and freedom are precious and worth defending with our lives.

I have looked forward to this event because it will allow me to finally and sincerely express my thoughts. It will lift a heavy burden off my shoulders. Our children must learn from our experiences. It will be their responsibility to make the world a safer place for their children.

-Shurichi Haneda, Imperial Japanese Navy

War is hell! For the sake of our future generations, may there be peace on earth and goodwill to all men

-Herbert Weatherwax, U.S. Army

Friendship Statements

On April 25, 1964, at Yasukuni Shrine, the first memorial service was held by former Japanese Imperial Navy pilots of Kouhi Kai.

At the time, seven former members of the US Air Force, such as Lt. Colonel Tenant, who fought in the Pacific with the 5th Air Force, participated. It was a very impressive occasion.

This time, the American military are kind enough to invite Unabarakai, which consists of former pilots. We feel greatly honored. The establishing of the friendship monument is a grand historical event. I am certain it will bring our two countries even closer.

-Fusaichi Sakurai, Imperial Japanese Navy

We, the former pilots of the old Japanese Navy, salute you! I joined the war during 1944 and lost many friends during the closing battles of the war.

As survivors of that tragic period, we have seen death and misery. We have experienced hopelessness. The war tortured our souls and produced hate and anger. The war robbed us of vitality and inner tranquillity. No one should ever have undergo what we did. This solemn occasion gives us all the opportunity to close the wounds of fifty years past. Needless to say, this is profoundly significant. It is a great honor for me to participate in this healing process.

-Yoshizo Nakamura, Imperial Japanese Navy

A warrior was I, and a warrior was he. Our country "Right or Wrong" we did believe. Battles won and lost, at last we are free. Now not enemies but allies be.

-Louis F. DeVirgilio, U.S. Army

During this opportunity provided by the 50th Anniversary of the End of the Pacific War, veterans from both the United States and Japan will recall the bitter fighting between us. Our comrades gave their lives and youth.

Now, we come together as fellow survivors and friends. In making new friendships, I hope we can forget past animosities and pray together for a very firm friendship between our two countries. We of Unabarakai, through this ceremonial service, aim for peace for all mankind and desire to join with you in friendship and goodwill.

-Masao Matsuda, Imperial Japanese Navy

It is exciting to pause and consider all the marvelous things we can learn from each other and the very act itself breeds "unity" and goodwill among all men on earth. I wish more veterans would make efforts to establish friendships and a "united understanding that can breed hope...hope for a better future for all concerned. We, as the people who inhabit the earth have the ability and skills to create everlasting peace and hopefully, we will find the kind of leadership to help us achieve that noble purpose.

-Bob Hudson, U.S. Navy

On January 5, 1945, Japanese Naval Squadron 205, based in the Philippines, was repairing the remaining 5 Zeroes to attack the approaching enemy mechanized units in Lingayen Gulf. The entire command was lost. The last message from these brave men were: "Protect our country!"

Now, fifty years have passed. I realize the pilots from both countries fought with skill and bravery. Our two countries have prospered during the last half century. I ask the God of Heaven to care for the dead of both sides.

-Toshimitsu Imaizumi, Imperial Japanese Navy

A half century has passed since the cold war ended. For the past 50 years, we who served our countries have come to realize how precious peace is.

Our primary mission and duty is to leave to the generations that follow us, the hard lessons we learned. We paid for these lessons in blood and grief. No one should ever have to go through what we did. Through mutual understanding and goodwill, we can avoid future wars.

Here in Hawaii, far beyond the hate of the past, veterans of Japan and America can come together with mutual respect and shake hands as friends and survivors. This is a significant event for all of us.

The distinguished ladies and gentlemen of the beautiful state of Hawaii gave been kind enough to call this a "New Beginning." We are indebted to them for their efforts. Indeed, this is a "New Beginning."

You have provided the opportunity for all of us to meet and shake hands as friends. I pledge to relate this great event to succeeding generations for as long as I live. This is, in my opinion, the mission of all of us survivors.

-Keizo Kojima, Imperial Japanese Navy

Footnotes and Endnotes

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (Englewood cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 309-10 (hereafter cited as Bailey, *Diplomatic History*).

Chapter 2 Historical Background

2. During the mid sixteenth century, Japan's fragile central government began to dissolve and the nation became a land of feuding warlords. However, the Oda family under Oda Nobunga (1534-1582) soon established itself as the dominate force and laid the foundation for the overall re-unification of Japan.

Nobunaga was assassinated but one of his loyal followers, a peasant named Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1536-1598) who had been promoted through the ranks to general, finished the task unifying Japan. Ambitious to conquer foreign lands and needing to channel the energies of thousands of unemployed samurai, Hideyoshi made plans to invade Korea. In the spring of 1592, he sent nearly half of Japan's trained army, some 160,000, to the Korean peninsula.

Armed with swords, and spears, and backed by legions of matchlock riflemen, the Japanese army swept north through the Korean peninsula and captured Seoul within a month. The poorly equipped Korean and Chinese defenders were pushed aside with great losses. However, as the Japanese army pressed north toward the Chinese border, it became bogged down due to a combination of over-extended supply lines and stiffening Chinese resistance. stalled the Japanese army. After several years of failed negotiations, Hideyoshi initiated a second Korea campaign in 1597. His army struck quickly, driving back the haggard Chinese and Korean forces. Everything stopped, however, with Hideyoshi's death in August 1598. The Japanese army withdrew and armed aggression in Korea stopped.

A new shogun named Ieyasu Tokugawa came to power in Japan.

Despite having one of the world's best-trained and best-equipped armies, his regime took a dim view of both foreign conquest and foreign contact. Although initially open to recently established relations with western traders and missionaries, the Tokugawa Shogunate soon became fearful of their influence and in 1639 sealed Japan off from the outside world. Westerners were expelled, and Japanese citizens associated with Christianity were rigorously persecuted. Only the port of Nagasaki was open and it was restricted to the Dutch. This lasted until the Perry mission during the middle of the 19th century. For greater detail see John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), Mikiso Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey*, (San Francisco: Westview Press, Inc., 1991), and Robert B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Raising Sun: A History of the Japanese Military* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1997).

3. John K. Fairbanks, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 250-254 (hereafter cited as Fairbank, *East Asia*).
4. Fairbank, *East Asia*, p. 383.
5. Ibid., p. 476.
6. Robert B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Raising Sun: A History of the Japanese Military* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1997), p. 18 (hereafter cited as Edgerton, *Warriors*).
7. Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 517.
8. Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers: Inside the Japanese Plans* (Dulles, Virginia: Brassey's, 1999), p. 116.
9. Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 517.
10. Ibid., pp. 521-23.
11. Edgerton, *Warriors*, p. 235.
12. The Japanese naval song was composed in 1926 by Rear Admiral Shunsaku Takahashi. It remains popular to this day in the Japanese Self-Defense Force Navy.

13. The new Japanese sister battleships, the *Yamato* and sister ship *Musashi* were designed and constructed in the same period carried even larger 18.1" bore guns in their main batteries.
14. Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History* [Army Historical Series - Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 410.
15. One American influence that penetrated deep into the Japanese cultural fabric was baseball. In 1934, American professional baseball all-star team played 17 games against Japanese teams. Promoters were amazed at the large Japanese crowds that attended the one-side games. Despite the lop-sided scores favoring the Americans, there was one close game which the Americans won by a single run. In this November 11, 1934, game between the Tokyo Giants and the American all-stars, an 18 year old pitcher named Eiji Sawamura became a national hero by limiting the all-stars to just five hits. In doing so, he struck out nine Americans including Gehringer, Ruth, Gehrig, and Foxx in a row! This astonishing performance helped the Japanese to realize that could become equal of their American counterparts.
16. Arthur H. Compton, *Atomic Quest: A Personal Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 24.
17. Fairbank, *East Asia*, p. 521.
18. Shaku Soyen, *Zen for Americans* (New York: Dorset Press, 1967), p. 196.
19. Joseph C. Grew, *Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), p. 1277 (hereafter cited as Grew, *Turbulent Era*).
20. *Ibid.*, p. 1285.
21. Raymond Emory is the Pearl Harbor Survivor Association's National Historian. He has collected all the names of all servicemen killed in action during the Pearl Harbor attack. The official death count by his records stands at 2,341 killed.
22. Grew, *Turbulent Era*, p. 1380.
23. Scott Green, Taped Personal Interview, August 28, 2002.

24. John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), p. 163 (hereafter cited as Dower, *War Without Mercy*).
25. Ibid., pp. 236-37.
26. Edgerton, *Warriors*, pp. 316-17.
27. Capt. Rikihei Inoguchi, and Cmdr. Tadashi Nakajima, with Roger Pineau, *The Divine Wind: Japan's Kamikaze Force in World War II* (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute Press, 1958), pp. 234.
28. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 41.
29. Ibid., p. 41.
30. Edgerton, *Warriors*, p. 317.
31. Los Angeles Times Oct. 25, 1999, p. U-8.

Chapter 3 Searching for Closure

32. Everett Hyland, Written Response to Author's Questionnaire, Sept.8, 2001.
33. Aaron T. Beck, *Prisoners of Hate: The Cognitive Basis of Anger, Hostility, and Violence* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1999), p. 221 (hereafter cited as Beck, *Prisoners of Hate*).
34. Jonathan Shays, M.D., Televised Ethics Roundtable Discussion, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, January15, 2003 (hereafter cited as Shays, Roundtable).
35. Beck, *Prisoners of Hate*, p. 223.
36. Ibid., p. 33.
37. Ibid., p. 223.

38. Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence: Why it Can Matter More Than IQ* (New York: Bantam Books, 1997), p. 4.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
40. Matthew Ikeda, M.D., Taped Personal Interview, November 22, 2002.
41. *Ibid.*
42. December 9, 1982 was also the first day that the author saw Japanese Pearl Harbor aviators.
43. William Speer, Taped Personal Interview, April 30, 2002.

Chapter 4 The Bridges of Friendship

44. Denver Gray, Taped Personal Interview, December 5, 2000.
45. *Ibid.*
46. NBC, Today Show, November 20, 2001.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Daniel Martinez, Taped Personal Interview, May 1, 2002 (hereafter cited as Martinez, Interview).
49. David Aiken, Taped Personal Interview, February 23, 2003.
50. Martinez, Interview.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Denver Gray, Video Collection, October 18, 1992.
53. This speech was written by and delivered by the author.

Chapter 5
The Friendship Committee

54. The two bronze “Commemorative Friendship Plaques” were designed by the author.
55. Honolulu Advertiser, June 7, 1995, p. A1.
56. Honolulu Advertiser, August 7, 1995, p. A1.
57. The Honolulu Advertiser column was written by author.
58. One scroll is kept in the museum locker at the Arizona Memorial Museum and one is at the Japanese Self-Defense base in Tsuchiura City, Japan.
59. Note: Two identical bronze “Friendship” plaques were made. One plaque was placed in the National Cemetery of the Pacific at Punchbowl and the other was sent to the Japanese Self-Defense base in Tsuchiura City, Japan.
60. Unabarakai Archive Video, October 1997 (hereafter cited as Unabarakai Video).
61. Okinaka was a radioman on a high-level bomber from the aircraft carrier *Kaga* on the morning of the Pearl Harbor attack. His level bomber was part of a five-plane group that dropped a pattern of five 800kg bombs on the *U.S.S. Arizona*. At 8:04 A.M. one bomb from this group hit the *U.S.S. Arizona*'s number four main battery turret and caused only minor damage. Approximately a minute later, a second group dropped another pattern of five 800kg bombs which resulted in the catastrophic magazine explosion that destroyed the battleship.
62. Unabarakai Video.
63. Kathy Billings, Taped Personal Interview, February 22, 2003.
64. History Channel Special “Tora, Tora, Tora: The Real Story of Pearl Harbor,” December 2000.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

65. A common program theme used throughout the many Japanese and American reconciliation programs was “All the old warlords who wanted war are now long gone, leaving the lowly veterans with the final obligation to stitch together the bonds of friendship and peace.” It was developed by Jiro Yoshida and the author.
66. Shays, Roundtable.
67. Richard Fiske, *Video statement to Arizona Memorial visitors*, February 28, 2003.

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Hawaii; Benjamin J. Cayetano, Governor of Hawaii; James Daniels, Pearl Harbor survivor - U.S. Navy; Richard Fiske, Pearl Harbor survivor - USMC; Denver Gray, Pearl Harbor survivor - U.S. Army; Louis F. De Virgilio, U.S. Army veteran; Shunichi Haneda, IJN veteran; Jeremy Harris, Mayor of Honolulu; Nat. C. Harrison, Jr., Pearl Harbor survivor - U.S. Navy; Shoji Hayakawa, IJN veteran; Robert Hudson, Pearl Harbor survivor - U.S. Navy; Toshimitsu Imaizumi, IJN veteran; Daniel K. Inouye, United State Senator and U.S. Army veteran; Keizo Kojima, IJN veteran; Takeshi Maeda, IJN veteran and Unabarakai President; Masao Matsuda, IJN veteran; Shoujiro Motomiya, IJN veteran; Tatsuya Ohtawa, IJN veteran; Fusaichi Sakurai, IJN veteran; A. A. (Bud) Smyser, U.S. Navy veteran; Sadao Sugita, IJN veteran; Hiroya Sugano, Shizuoka fire bombing survivor; Herbert Weatherwax, Pearl Harbor survivor - U.S. Army; John J. Westerman, Jr. Pearl Harbor Survivor - U.S. Navy; Jiro Yoshida, IJN veteran.

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