Listen to the voices | American and Japanese childhood experiences during the Pacific War, 1941-1945

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Listen to the Voices

American and Japanese Childhood Experiences
during the Pacific War, 1941-1945

by

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B.S. Grand Valley State University, Michigan, 1989

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Interdisciplinary Studies

The University of Montana

May 2003

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Comparing similarities in American and Japanese childhood experiences during the Pacific War, 1941-1945.

Chair, Stephanie Wasta

The reality of war contributed to the loss of childhood during the Pacific War, 1941-1945. This war dramatically affected the lives of children and brought about new and different ideals that produced “little patriots”. These children assertively supported their nations with pride and volunteer assistance. The mass mobilization in Japan and the United States significantly encouraged children to ration, collect scrap, sell war bonds, write letters to soldiers, send off care packages to soldiers overseas, and perform other activities. Mobilization also centered on a child’s education. Prior to the start of the war between Japan and the United States, certain nationalist edicts were inculcated into children’s minds. These adages continued to be ingrained into children’s daily lives. In Japan, children believed the emperor was a god and in the United States, children believed in the ideals of democracy as a divine philosophy. The results for the victors confirmed that democracy was righteous, while the vanquished felt betrayed and confused after being taught their leaders’ tenets.

Fear surfaced daily with actual bombing in Japan and the threat of raids in the United States. The tales from the media caused a significant rise in insecurity among children. The rampant propaganda had children believing the enemy was subhuman and a lesser being. Children used play as a form of modeling adults’ racist behavior and enjoying emulating soldiers in battle. A child experiencing the harshness of the Pacific War took years to recover from the affects. Psychologically, a child needs time to heal and a method to release painful emotions. Twenty-six interviews yielded valuable information towards this research. In addition, these adults as wartime children expressed their pain and tragedy from living through the war years. Listening to childhood stories of war helps others to understand war and discover preventive measures against racism and fear.
Preface

This thesis examines Japanese and American children during the Pacific War. The innocence of children resulted in a career as an elementary teacher for seven years, which five years were spent in Japan. The nexus of war and children became an interest for me at the University of Montana in 1996 where I began taking classes related to Japan. Professor Philip West, who taught Japanese History 306 and was responsible for the America’s Wars in Asia project, recognized my ambitions and initiated a graduate program of study for me. He personally took me under his wing providing guidance and resources to carry out this assignment. I am deeply grateful for his time and commitment. I also would like to thank Professor Steven I. Levine as chair and then co-chair of my graduate committee. His energy and enthusiasm kept me going when mine dwindled. I especially appreciate all the time he spent editing chapters from my thesis. I thank Professor Stephanie Wasta for stepping in as co-chair in the last stages of my thesis completion and offering her expertise in the area of education. Professor Roberta Evans deserves many thanks for all of her compliments toward my work and my future endeavors. Her positive energy spurred me to finish this task.

In accordance with the Asian style of name placement, surnames are written first, following with the given name, even in notations. Most Japanese words are written in italics with the translation, either in parentheses or separated by commas. There are some exceptions if the word is commonly written or heard, such as a city or name.

I personally conducted all aspects of my research and interpreted all meetings and questionnaires. However, much gratitude is extended to Taneoka Rie who supported me during my first interview in Japan. I also thank Iwatani Sensei from Japan for her assistance in writing thank-you notes to all my interviewees. I am deeply grateful for Tokiwa Sensei’s assistance in organizing interviews with many of her friends and acquaintances. In the United States, I would like to offer gratitude to Daiki Matsumoto
for help in clarifying certain translations and to Jack Rowan for his willingness to spend
time correcting many technical mistakes and for his help with the typesetting process.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family for their constant encouragement.
Most of all I am grateful for my husband, Russell Dzuba, for his patience and belief in
my ability. Their support and my determination are the reasons one is able to read about
the lives of American and Japanese children during the Pacific War.
Governmental Control over Children in Japan and the United States through Regulation, Mobilization and Censorship

These factors influenced children's thinking during the Pacific War and emotions such as fear, hatred, and pride emerged.

Victors-Americans
- The outlook was democracy is good
- The United States Government felt vindicated spreading their philosophy, which became inculcated in American children's minds.

Losers-Japanese
- The outcome from the war changed the ideology of the Japanese population.
- Japanese citizens felt betrayed and brainwashed, while children felt confused since their thinking was altered with a new set of ideals.
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Introduction

War has affected children from the beginning of man’s presence on earth. At a time of war, children are subjected to the opinions of adults and leaders. Children, hearing these axioms, absorb like sponges the attitudes of their role models. One of the affects of war, propaganda, is harmful to innocent children. Other psychological affects of war on children are unthinkable to those who have not lived through austere war years. The influence of war on children is not laughable, but plausible. Years after children experience war, the affects continue to emerge and manifest in various ways. Some adults who lived through bombing raids in wartime jump every time lightning strikes or they hear a loud noise, while others continue to hate the enemy that was once the formidable foe. War rarely is kind to children, or anyone, and the destruction of property and the psyche takes years to rebuild and heal. Wars continue to be waged in our society; therefore, steps need to be taken to combat the effects on children. In order to find ways of dealing with the effects of war on children one must learn about war such as listening to childhood experiences. These narratives provide understanding and insight to the affects of war and will help educators, parents, diplomats and others find ways to help children during and after war.

This thesis explores the effects of war on children in Japan and the United States. I researched the experiences and education, both formal and informal, of children during the period of 1941-1945. Formal experiences are those encountered in schools, while informal experiences refer to education gathered outside of the classroom, such as at camps, athletic events, boys’ and girls’ clubs, and community events. In Japan, formal education was controlled by the government and had a major impact on Japanese children. In the United States, education also played a vital role in shaping the attitudes of American children, however with limited regulation by the government.

This thesis is divided into two major parts: children’s wartime experiences in Japan
and the United States and specific comparisons between children who lived in small towns in Japan and the United States. The larger framework of wartime experiences examines the changing daily life experiences and education of children, both positive and negative. Second, the characterizations of the enemy in Japan and the United States, as portrayed by the media and manifested in war play are examined. Third, personal interviews with Japanese and American citizens who lived during the Pacific War offer original insight into their childhoods. Whether Japanese or American, these children “share an ethos because they lived through the same historical experiences during the same stage of the life course.”1 This thesis explores similar childhood experiences of Japanese and American children during the Pacific War, from 1941 to 1945.

One method for conducting my research was the use of phenomenology, as outlined in John Creswell’s *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. The focus is on the concept, or phenomenon, of Japanese and American children’s educational experiences from 1941-1945. Following Creswell’s definition, one should search for the meaning, or essence, of the individual’s experience during the war years and use bracketing, setting aside all prejudgments, to discover what the experience meant or means for that individual. After that, I related it to the phenomenon of an individual’s experience.2

Personal interviews were especially useful in my phenomenological study. *Japan at War: An Oral History* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore I. Cook advantageously uses biographical sketches of experiences during the war. Those interviewed by the authors tell stories that should be heard over, strengthening my resolve for this project so more people will understand the human side of war. The autobiographical format used by the Cooks is not my choice of organization; however, the stories lend valuable examples to support my claim of education taking on a major role in influencing children. Although

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outside sources are used to corroborate stories I personally recorded in Japan and the United States, they do not take precedence over the interviews I conducted.

**The Interviews**

Personal interviews for this research began in 1999 in Missoula, Montana, the first year of my graduate studies at the University of Montana. From Montana, I traveled to Kumamoto, Japan for an eighteen-month study abroad program. While living in Kumamoto, Japan, I conducted sixteen applicable interviews. After returning to the United States in March 2001, I interviewed fourteen Americans in the area of my hometown, Leelanau, Michigan. The criteria for interviewing was simply that one must have grown up during the Pacific War and be prepared to discuss wartime events. The ages of the participants ranged from four-fifteen years of age at the start of the war, December 7 and 8, 1941. Before each meeting I asked each interviewee for permission to record the session, which no one refused allowing me to possess twenty-six valuable, recorded experiences.

All interviewees voluntarily discussed their wartime childhoods during interview sessions. The majority received a questionnaire prior to the meeting. The queries ranged from questions about activities, play, fear and their educations during the war. Questions were similar but not the same for the Japanese and American interviewees. (For a complete list of questions see Appendix A) In Japan, the meetings lasted from one hour to five hours. All of the participants eagerly conveyed their struggles and trials during childhood. Most of all, they wanted to share their experiences in the hope that more people would learn what their lives were like. The majority now express strong pacifistic

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3 Four of these interviews were obtained from the Leelanau Historical Society in Leland, Mich. These interviews, recorded in 1994, were part of an oral history project on World War II in the community.

4 The time difference between the United States and Japan denotes Pearl Harbor happening on Dec. 7 in the United States and Dec. 8 in Japan.
views. Some participants also met with me out of politeness. Even with the hope of conveying their personal messages and their advocacy for peace, I am certain many of the Japanese interviewees met with me only because I was an American. On occasion they even took my picture and sent me a copy. In the United States, meetings were less formal than in Japan and usually lasted one to two hours. All the Americans were eager to discuss their war years, distinctly remembering mobilization, rationing, racial comments and other war-related activities.

It was a cathartic experience for many. Some admitted, "It felt good to talk about what it was like." Others cried, or laughed ironically as if they were releasing a haunting memory, and others felt relief in speaking with someone who was truly interested in their wartime experiences. A few told their stories matter-of-factly as if it were an everyday occurrence. For the most part, I ascertained the Japanese and Americans I interviewed experienced a catharsis from our meetings.

All of my interviewees were students during the war and had poignant memories of wartime America and Japan. If language was not a barrier, the stories could have interchangeably occurred in Japan or the United States. Some of the common emotions among the interviewees were fear, hatred, and pride. All shared the fear of being bombed, killed or dismembered by the hated enemy. Hatred was a dominant emotion during the war years and manifested itself in aggressive behavior. Actions indicting the hated enemy were effigy drawing, name-calling, and a belief that the enemy was subhuman. Pride emerged with the notions of victory, racial superiority, and in patriotic activities performed by children.

Physical activities were also universal among Japanese and American wartime children, such as rationing, scrap collecting, buying war bonds, sending care packages, writing soldiers letters, volunteering time, and participating in parades and marches.

During the Pacific War, Japan and the United States mobilized children to be stewards of the nations.

**Resources and Procedures**

Primary sources including interviews, news articles, and personal memorabilia, provided an indication of the relationships among children, war, society, and education during the early 1940s. Those sources shaped my project methodology of phenomenology, while the lifestyles of children in Japan and the United States during the war offered necessary background knowledge. On a smaller scale the lifestyles of children from rural Kumamoto, Japan; Missoula, Montana and Leelanau, Michigan as well as several other urban cities in Japan and the United States presented a personal look at the war years. This comparative study relied on interviews to build upon the phenomenon of changes in children’s lives during the war and answers some questions pertaining to the behavior during war. For example, what kinds of perceptions or stereotypes were predominant in the minds of the participants? What did Japanese children think of the Americans, and vice versa? Where did these thoughts originate? Not only did the educational system of each country have a major impact on shaping children’s thoughts, but society as a whole molded children during the Pacific War. Negative stereotypes prevailed over positive ones and shaped the mentality of the children into believing the enemy was inhuman and dangerous to society.

This thesis compares the lives of twenty-six people in Japan and the United States and draws conclusions from these interviews based on other secondary sources. This thesis does not delve into minority experiences in Japan or the United States, although two interviews from Japanese citizens utilized information from childhood experiences in Taiwan. The interviews I conducted are influential because they are sincere accounts of childhood wartime experiences that illuminate this field of study. According to many
researchers, childhood experiences during the Pacific War have revealed a scarcity of scholarly literature. Therefore these interviews are another source of information regarding childhood experiences during the Pacific War.

Research problems I encountered with the interviewees in Japan and the United States were fading memories, changing perceptions over the years, and difficulty articulating childhood experiences. Some could not respond to certain questions because during the war they did not have the cognitive processes necessary for expression. Notably, other problems arose in Japan because of language disparities. Nevertheless, listening to the recorded sessions later provided a fair amount of clarity.

The next seven chapters range from a brief historical analysis to childhood activities and experiences with shared commonalties. Readers will recognize some repetition and marrying of concepts in various chapters causing an amalgamation that interconnects, and then branches off into new discoveries. I divided each chapter as necessary since many of the childhood experiences are interrelated. American and Japanese children were distinctly molded by the events of Pacific War, for that reason I offer them a chance to let their voices to be heard.

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**Historical Background**

The Pacific War involving the United States and Japan did not start with Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. As with most wars, before the actual aggressive acts commenced, it began in the minds of government leaders and in the expectations of the general populace. In order to wage war, governments need support from the masses. This support begins with mobilization and preparation for the war effort. In the United States and Japan, preparation and mobilization for war began long before Pearl Harbor.

This chapter focuses on the historical background leading to the Pacific War and identifies the major reasons for the conflict that occurred between the United States and Japan. It examines various manifestations of the war in both countries and summarizes how Japan and the United States planned and prepared for war. From the Japanese perspective, the “open door” policy of the United States threatened Japan’s sovereignty. From the United States’ perspective, democracy was a keyword throughout the war, and as in American political crusades of the past, and present, democracy was to be spread throughout the world. Repressive or undemocratic nations were to be transformed into true democratic nations. These contradictory perspectives and cross-purposes suggest that war between Japan and the United States was virtually inevitable.

The leaders of both Japan and the United States knew before the actual commencement of hostilities that a war was probably unavoidable. In anticipation of war with Japan, the United States Navy at Pearl Harbor had trained for years for a possible attack. Although the training became routine, the fact that it went on proved that America was well aware of Japan’s inclination to attack the United States. After the United States embargo of aviation fuel and scrap metal placed upon Japan in July 1940,

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the Japanese military became desperate for fuel to power their war machines. The United States had been supplying Japan with sixty percent of its oil imports. The embargo was a great blow to Japan, which was already occupying Manchuria and fighting a war in China with designs on advancing southward into Southeast Asia. The neutral United States had known since the early 1930's that the political situations in Europe and Asia were leading toward the outbreak of war that would likely result in a redrawing of current boundaries. Japan's need for oil and other raw materials combined with the militaristic ideals of hakkou ichiu were two of the main factors that led to the attack on Southeast Asia. The United States imposed the oil embargo, an action that "was seen as tantamount to an act of war, and [one that] Japan would respond by its own military action."

Japanese Foreign Policy

From a Japanese viewpoint, it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that Japan's war preparation began in 1853 the year United States' Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Tokyo Bay with a fleet of American warships. Commodore Perry, armed with a letter from President Millard Filmore, believed Japan had ample coal to supply his trade ships on the way to China and demanded that Japan open itself to trade with the world. The Japanese feudal government at the time had successfully kept the country closed to most foreign influence and trading for 260 years. Fearing subjugation or attack like their Chinese neighbors experienced in the Opium War of 1839-1841, Japan acquiesced and opened up the country for trade a year later. Commodore Perry then returned in force

10 Hakkou ichiu was a policy that claimed all eight corners of the world under one imperial roof. This doctrine can be traced back to the time of Japan's first emperor, Jimmu. In the Nihon shoki, a sacred text about the evolution of the kingdom of Japan, he promised to "extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster right-mindedness." See Edwin P. Hoyt, Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict 1853 to 1952 (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1986), 2.
and demanded an amenable response. This was the beginning of friction between the United States and Japan.

Japan cautiously opening up to the western world, gradually removed the feudal armor from the Tokugawa regime that had come to power in 1603. Because of Perry’s coercive diplomacy, Japan turned toward the west for industrial advice, governmental models and administrative organization. She adeptly transformed into a “modern society” during the new Meiji Period (1868-1912), albeit with some turmoil, but without the convulsive agonies, that China experienced for decades. However, the newly revived and transformed monarchy culturally appeared like a good fit for Japan. Japan learned from Germany, other European countries and America about industrialization, education, and militarization by sending a delegation of high-powered envoys, the Iwakura Mission, around the world to observe Western countries. The German-style military and constitution particularly suited the Japanese oligarch, since it allowed them to keep the monarchy intact. Before the voyage of this special delegation, Japan especially observed the imperialist nature of the Western powers and the threat posed to China by the West. They became cognizant of the fact that the Dutch had territorial rights in the Dutch East Indies, and the French were beginning to occupy Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. They also knew the British possessed special privileges in China and occupied Hong Kong, and that the Portuguese had holdings in East Timor, and the Germans after 1898 in China. Even Russia was expanding southward toward Manchuria and the Kurile Islands north of Japan. With this logic in mind, the Japanese government and military

were noting the "open door" policy of the United States and the colonial, imperialist attitude of the West.

In order to prevent their country from becoming another victim of Western predators Japan set about organizing a National army and navy. Japan quickly grasped that a strong, centralized government needed the backing of a strong military. The renowned Meiji oligarch, Yamagata Aritomo built up an army for Japan. "By 1890, Japan had advanced so far in its industrialization and modernization that the government and the upper class considered their country to be on par with European nations." "Manifest destiny" and imperialist policies led Japan to follow the western role model and utilized their own expansionist tendencies in Asia beginning with China in 1894. Great educational leaders such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, a strong spokesman of learning from the West while preserving Japanese culture, prodded the government to look toward Asia, mainly Korea as a venue for expansion. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 "lasted only a few months" and involved only the navies from the two countries. This small war involved a supposed Chinese-induced assassination of a pro-Japanese Korean reformer. Both nations sent troops to Korea to "put down internal disturbances" and soon a declaration of war followed on August 1. Hence, Japan displayed to the Western world its growing military prowess. In addition, Japan annexed Taiwan in 1895. Following the Sino-Japanese War, Japan became involved in a conflict with Russia 1904-1905. President Theodore Roosevelt personally acting "as host and mediator" negotiated the Portsmouth Treaty that concluded the Russo-Japanese War. The treaty in effect conceded Korea to Japan, the victor, as well as large tracts of land in China, Manchuria, and half of the Russian Island of Sakhalin. In spite of everything they received, Japan did not

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17 LaFeber, 45.
19 LaFeber, 37, Boyle 90.
20 Boyle, 131.
21 Ibid. 143.
collect the cash indemnity their delegation demanded. Consequently, the Japanese public was so angry at the terms of the treaty that some strong advocates “demanded the resignation of the government.”

Edwin P. Hoyt, a historian who spent time in Asia as a war correspondent, comments on the Portsmouth Treaty; “the seeds of discord that began with Commodore Perry’s black ship arrival continued to grow between the white, western powers and the yellow, Japanese power.”

As the effects of the belief in “manifest destiny” showed themselves among the Western nations and Japan, the need for vast amounts of resources grew constantly to power their transportation, commerce and industry. Japan, with a paucity of resources, was no exception. Japan’s need for oil, tin, rubber and other natural resources increased along with its need for agricultural space. In the early 20th century the Western powers became preoccupied in their homeland with World War I. Japan, using this to its advantage, expanded further into Asian territory. By the late 1920’s, deepening economic depression in Japan created greater economic stress in Japanese communities. Dissension became rife among the masses and spread to the top governmental positions. After the September 18th Manchurian Incident, designed and coordinated by Lieutenant Colonel Ishiwara Kanji in 1931, the militant faction of radical military leaders gained increasing power by touting their newfound strength in Manchuria. Following the incident, blamed on the Chinese, the super patriotic leaders of the Kwantung Army incorporated Manchuria into the Empire of Japan.

A series of military actions ensued, that gave rise to a version of Japanese fascism, in view of some scholars. These scholars believe this outcome resulted from Japan’s copying of the German constitution that allowed the military to be accountable only to

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22 Hoyt, 36.
23 Ibid. 29,37,47.
24 Boyle, 175-177.
the emperor rather than to the civilian government. In this way, Japanese fascism was
born in the 1930's. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident six years later near Beijing led to an
all out war between Japan and China. On July 7, 1937, Japanese troops were conducting
maneuvers outside the walled city of Wanjing near Beijing. Shots heard near the wall
provoked a Japanese officer to ask the Chinese commander to permit him to search the
city for one of his missing men from roll call. The officer was refused permission, so the
Japanese bombed the town in retaliation. A cease-fire was arranged but the two
countries’ relations had already deteriorated beyond repair. Soon the war escalated, and
by August fighting spread to Shanghai. After the Manchurian Incident, Japan’s military
faction claimed top leadership positions within their government, therefore making their
expansionist ambitions easier to fulfill. Their motto was the “Greater East Asia Co-
Prosperity Sphere.” The militarists proved their efficacy by dragging Japan out of its
depressed economic state. This fact made their actions easier for the public and the
conservatives within the government to withhold judgment or complaints. Japan
expanded into Asia for economic and security reasons under the guise of liberating them
from the West. In the beginning, this was more than just a pretense, but as the war
continued, the Japanese turned out to be new oppressors rather than liberators.

The 1930’s was said to be “decade of pure gekokujou, or the overthrow of seniors by
juniors”, a phenomenon familiar in Japanese history, as the government was wracked by
assassinations and strife. This internal conflict within the leadership created confusion
and the outcome saw the militarists usurping power from the civilian government in

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26 Boyle, 181-182.
27 The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a plan “that called for a Japanese-controlled bloc to
exploit Southeast Asia’s raw materials and markets. The ideal stated “an ambition” to persuade Asians that
“Japan’s control of their resources would work to their mutual benefit” However it was “an illusion” and
instead exploited the Southeast Asian resources and eventually the people. LaFeber, 191. Hoyt goes further
than LaFeber and links hakkou ichiu together with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere claiming
they are an extension of each other. See Hoyt, 217.
28 Ienaga, 144.
Tokyo.

By the late 1930's, Japan was deeply involved in conflict and on its way to a full-scale war in Asia. The public in Japan knew of the war in China. Those who did not support the militaristic stance in Asia did not dare speak out against the military-dominated government. Noted historian, Ienaga Saburo, writes that from feudal times to the Meiji period the populace was “gagged and blindfolded” by the political system. Like the division in the United States between isolationists and interventionists, Japan was divided into two camps. Despite this division, Japan continued to force its way into China and was on its way to conquering other territories.

**American Foreign Policy**

Like Japanese in Japan, most Americans in the United States supported their country and their political leaders. Robert A Divine contends that in the 1930’s most Americans “simply ignored the world.” Surely, many Americans after World War I and throughout the depression preferred to see their country stay out of foreign wars. John Chalberg’s view realistically sums up the attitude among the civilians and the government in the 1930’s, that “most Americans fell somewhere between pure isolationism and interventionism.”

President Franklin D. Roosevelt sworn into office in 1933 presided over a tempestuous dozen years of depression and was juggling the problems at home and the increasing tension of foreign affairs. The complexities of foreign policy demanded ever-increasing attention. According to Walter Lippmann, an outspoken interventionist, American foreign policy was emasculated in the 1930’s. Concerning foreign affairs,

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29 Ibid. 15.
30 "The Leader" in Japan being the Emperor and in the United States the President.
many Americans adhered to an attitude of isolationism after World War I. President Woodrow Wilson’s attempt to persuade his countrymen that the First World War was a crusade for democracy failed to convince most Americans that American security at home was directly related to interests worldwide. This failure alone manifested in the Senate’s rejection of the League of Nations was in part a reason for the isolationist attitude. Another key factor was the depressed economy. Yet, despite the Depression the commitments in the Pacific needed preserving beginning in the middle 1930’s. Walter Lippmann writing in 1943, described President Roosevelt’s position from 1937-1940, in these words “[he] moved anxiously and hesitantly between his knowledge of what ought to be done and his estimate of how much the people would understand what ought to be done.” Lippmann even admits that perhaps “only the awful experience of total war” could dispel the illusion that the United States’ commitments needed effective action. Therefore, President Roosevelt went about his business of preparing the country for war the best he could and made some key decisions beginning in his third term in office.

President Roosevelt, campaigning for an unprecedented third term, promised in a speech in Boston in October 30, 1940, “I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.” He seemed to be espousing neutrality, yet in the very next sentence he asserted, “They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. The purpose of our defense is defense.” In reality, however, whatever his words Roosevelt was building up the defenses in the United States for an inevitable war.

34 Ibid. 44.
36 Ibid. 31.
Perhaps an impetus for the speech was the highly publicized Axis Alliance announced just one-month prior on September 27, 1940. The Axis Alliance, also known as the Tripartite Alliance, confirmed to the world the pact made among Germany, Italy and Japan. These countries announced the “New Order” they intended to create in Europe and Asia. Japan, assigned a position of hegemony over Asia, was given undefined boundaries and made the “final arbiter” of what the “open door” in China meant. The Powers’ key promise was military aid in case of attack, regardless of the nation.  

According to Iriye Akira, the pact came a few months too late and not only was a failure, but a “complete fiasco.” Japan, lead by Foreign Minister Matsuoka, hoped “that an explicit alliance between Tokyo and Berlin would deter American belligerence in Asia.” Prime Minister Konoe, acquiescing to Matsuoka’s plan to enter into a partnership with Germany and Japan, hoped this partnership would “scare Americans from a confrontation with Japan.” Instead, as Iriye indicates, the Alliance had an opposite effect and gave Anglo-American powers “added resolve to stand firm” against the Japanese and Germans. If war was imminent, Japan hoped for assistance from its allies in its struggle against the United States. However, Konoe and Matsuoka’s bargain backfired and eventually led them into a dreadful war. As Iriye points out, by September 1940 Roosevelt had already pledged full support to Great Britain. By now the United States was loaning ships to Britain for military use. Thomas R.H. Havens nicely sums up the mood after the Axis Alliance by stating, “[in] increments Japan and the United States were moving toward conflict.”

Even the neutral United States could not ignore the situation in Europe and Asia.

37 LaFeber, 193-194.
39 Ibid. 115.
40 LaFeber, 194.
Roosevelt's administration took a number of vital steps that represented definite signs of war preparation. First, in a speech dated May 27, 1941 Roosevelt called for the “placing” of “armed forces in strategic military position. We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.” Second, there was a declaration of a state of “unlimited national emergency.” Lastly, Roosevelt repealed the Neutrality Act instituted in 1935, revised in 1937 and again in 1939, with the so-called “cash-and-carry” program. Then in the early months of 1941, Roosevelt revised his policies again and instituted the Lend-Lease Program to aid Britain. Lend-Lease was the final act that erased the status the United States had espoused toward belligerent nations under the original Neutrality Act of 1935.

Another prominent factor that contributed to the warlike atmosphere in the United States was the Atlantic Conference between Great Britain and the United States, attended by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin Roosevelt. During their August 9-14, 1941 meeting off Newfoundland, Churchill and Roosevelt cemented strategic ties, discussed the situation worldwide, and signed the Atlantic Charter. Churchill requested that the United States declare war on Germany and Japan, instead President Roosevelt reaffirmed his support and aid to the Allies.

Unlike Japan, the United States did not commit bellicose acts to start a war. Instead, it readied itself for an impending war with the Axis Powers. As early as October 8, 1940, President Roosevelt admitted to Admiral J.O. Richardson, Commander in Chief of the Fleet in the Pacific, “that Japan would make a mistake and that the United States would

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44 Dudley, World War II, Opposing Viewpoints, 27.
45 Essentially this program loaned Great Britain American warships in exchange for bases abroad. See Robert A. Divine, The Reluctant Belligerent, 147.
46 Divine, 27.
enter a war in the Pacific." Patiently, President Roosevelt was waiting for the precise moment when he would retaliate in response to a Japanese belligerent act.

A compromise between the United States and Japan could not be reached despite months of negotiations between the ambassadors to each country and top governmental officials. A solution to resolve the nagging issues that were separating the two nations was not found. Japan's race toward colonialism turned into a rapidly moving enterprise that went out of control. The militarists' inculcation of its military policies took over the country, eventually leading it into an all-out war. To fuel its war effort, Japan needed resources and supplies from the United States. Under pressure from its European connections, the United States finally placed a freeze on all resources sent to Japan.

Two countries, both seeking territories in order to grow economically, came head to head in a terrible clash. The belief in manifest destiny underlay the policies of both Japan and the United States, but in different ways. Japan's resort to war seemed to its leader at the time the only way to pursue its national salvation in the face of its enemies. The results were Pearl Harbor and the beginning of World War II. In the United States, as well as in Japan, millions of children who knew little or nothing of this tangled history, found their lives profoundly disrupted by the clash. Children remembered the historical events surrounding them and other events within their own lives. How and why these memories remained intact after so many years deserves a complete examination.
Memorializing the Past

I can forgive, but I cannot forget.

Henry Ward Beecher

Social history is the foundation of this paper, centering on the study of people and their lives. In recent times, the history of wars has captured the minds of many young and old, teacher and student. World War II has been of particular interest to large numbers of Americans, and social and oral historians have taken a leading role in producing new works on the war, even more perhaps, than have military historians. Since the early 1990’s oral history has recovered the lives of workers, women, ethnic minorities, slaves and other groups. There has also been a focus on family life during the war. Still, few historians have dealt with the daily lives of children during WWII, children who did not fight in the Pacific War, but lived through the war years in their homes, at school, and in the activities they performed. This study illuminates the memorializing of the Pacific War by children in Japan and the United States. It does so primarily, by using oral evidence from children who lived during World War II.

The oral evidence gathered for this project consists of the memories of Japanese and American children during the Pacific War. These memories enrich this project, with stories that have not been heard before, yet which corroborate other published, recorded oral histories. This thesis addresses two questions, “How does oral evidence from children living during the Pacific War provide insight into their daily lives?” and “Are these stories reliable sources of historical information?” In order to answer these questions, memory and historical narratives need to be examined.

Historians, anthropologists, and folklorists all have different notions of what constitute oral history narratives, what they are useful for, and what are the appropriate
practicing procedures for oral history. This essay combines insights and approaches from history as well as folklore, psychology and anthropology and addresses the questions of the reliability of oral history, the selectivity of memory, and the releasing of memories from the Pacific War. Finally the communication that occurs between the interviewee and myself reveals the cathartic processes in this project.

Oral History

Personal Historical narratives are subjective, anecdotal, selective, and partial and incorporate individual memories of the past. Thus, they are often considered unconventional and problematic resources among most academic historians. However, among folklorists the way people remember or describe something tells us what is important to them. As Dr. Mark Livengood, Director of the Leelanau Historical Museum contends, “what they believe is true.” It is not what they say as much as how it affects them as a person and why they believe it is true. The stories shared in this project, whether from my own meetings with individuals or from other sources, complements and illuminates other sources and modes of research.

A commonality among anthropologists, folklorists and social historians is their quest for meaning in the lives of individuals they encounter. Even though they may have differing views on how oral narratives should be utilized, and the procedures for acquiring a personal account of an individual’s life, they share the common bond of “discovering” more about that person often through the “spoken word.” In addition, historians, anthropologists and folklorists all use various ways of referring to an account of a person’s life. The emphasis of anthropologists is on ‘life history,’ also called

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50 These three fields are only mentioned for the reason being these specialists perform the most fieldwork on oral history. However, sociologists, psychologists and others also utilize oral histories.

51 Kishenblatt-Gimblett, 126-127

52 Meeting with Dr. Mark Livengood, Director; Leelanau Historical Museum, Leland, Mich., 22 April 2002.
‘personal history,’ which reflects their interest in culture. After meeting with their subjects, the anthropologist often takes the “raw material” and rearranges it chronologically or for his/her own cultural needs. The folklorists’ ‘life story’ intends to provide the audience with insight into the individual, making the storyteller’s voice the dominant persona. Folklore keeps the listener in the background, so a unique, unedited account of the past can be transmitted. The historian’s ‘oral history’ is mainly concerned with “events, processes, causes and effects” from a person’s life and they may rearrange the contents to suit their scholarly needs. This thesis leans toward history as its primary discipline so the term “oral history” is the preferred expression, yet there is a combination of folklore, anthropology, history and psychology for the purpose of augmenting the diversity of experiences between Japanese and American children of the Pacific War.

An eclectic disciplinary approach best meets the needs of this thesis. At various times, one may glean that a child’s culture is the focus, thereby viewing this paper through anthropological lenses. At other times, one’s viewpoint may exist in the psychological realm, such as a child living in fear during the Pacific War. Whatever the area of study, the methodology relies on a pool of disciplines.

Historically, the ‘events, processes, causes and effects’ taken into consideration here are those of the childhood during the Pacific War. Whereas a folklorist allows the storyteller to talk with only gentle prodding and general queries, the oral historian usually has a set of questions in order to ascertain the information relevant to his/her research. In like manner, a set of interview questions was provided (See Appendix A). The interviews I conducted in Japan and the United States are transmitted throughout this thesis, as their relevancy exists. In the manner of folklorists, personal quotes are added in support of theory and events. History as a rule is based upon objectivity, and in this thesis I lean towards a historical view for the extrapolation of information from the

interviewees.

In addition, the phenomenological approach is followed in this study. A phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon. In this case the phenomenon is the change in children’s daily lives encountered during the Pacific War years of 1941-1945.

Oral testimonies are an invaluable resource in providing insight into what a child’s life was like from the viewpoint of children during the Pacific War. As Jay Mechling contends, “children remain the last underclass to have their history written from their point of view” because of “the historian’s reluctance to use oral evidence as a way of getting at children’s views of their own history.” “Historians of childhood almost exclusively use as their evidence written documents of material artifacts selected, preserved, and legitimated by adults. In part, this bias is built naturally into a historian’s notion of what constitutes history.” In other words, the history of children is lacking in oral evidence. The evidence that I present may be regarded as “useful, living history”, in Carl Becker’s words, and he adds, “it is good history that does work in the world.”

David Paul Nord concurs, “Increasingly, historians seek to understand how people have constructed pasts that are useful to them in their own present.” Children’s history is very important in dealing with events such as the Pacific War, but in the absence of interviews conducted at the time of the Pacific War (1941-1945), it is inevitable that adult recollections of their childhood will be the most valuable resource.

Oral history is also significant in helping to present people’s self perceptions of what happened to them at a certain time in their lives. The intent is to obtain knowledge about a subject area, through an individual, that one does not personally have access to. This

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54 Creswell, 51-52.
methodology regards the storyteller the much-deserved honor and placement as the voice of the recalled experiences. If the researcher is successful “through first-person accounts, whether verbatim or fictionalized,” the readers enter into the “inner-experiences of men they would otherwise never know.”58 Also, a good researcher arranges the storyteller’s quotes as if the reader is hearing “one voice through another.”59 For the purpose of this paper, the stories of my interviewees are arranged according to their relationship with each subject heading.

Oral history is problematic in that it may not always “be a truthful, factual account of the storyteller’s life.”60 Therefore, in some instances these accounts can be labeled as fiction instead of as oral histories.61 For example, Oe Kenzaburo’s first literary work titled “The Catch” is a short story that occurs near the end of the Pacific War. This account reiterates a tale Oe heard as a child about a black airman who falls by parachute in the mountains of Kyushu. This story, based solely on rumor since there were not any black, American airmen in the Pacific War, was real to Oe. It was so real to him that he wrote “The Catch” after this narrative folklore.62 Distinguishing between these types of stories and factual occurrences is next to impossible; therefore, I record information that I deem relevant. The efficacy of each informant’s data is confirmed through scholarly works, unless used for emphasis to describe their experience. The evidence here may be indirect and filtered through a lifetime of adult experiences, but I ensure it corroborates with factual data. Historian Richard C. Carrier assesses, “A historian needs to know reality in order to deal with reality.”63 He concludes by stating that our understanding of the past is only beneficial if it is not divorced from facts and objectively fostering

59 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 130-132.
61 Titon, 290.
methods, but this does not mean that esoteric subjects are useless to society. After careful consideration, the stories told are a benefit to the research on children’s lifestyles in Japan and the United States during the Pacific War.

The Selectivity of Memory

Memory as defined by the American Heritage Dictionary is “the mental faculty of retaining or recalling past experience” or “the fact of being remembered.” These definitions illustrate that a memory: (1) requires the necessary cognitive faculty in order to recall a past experience and (2) it is a fact of the one who remembers. During the Pacific War in Japan and the United States, cognitive processes among children allowed for the development of “episodic memory.” With episodic memory, as new situations occur, events build upon one another creating a layer of past experiences. These experiences help to “refine generalizations” and give adults an opportunity to look into their past as children by learning how to process and handle their memories. The uniqueness of episodically relating “specific events in the past” are building blocks that ultimately enhance the cognitive process of finding solutions or simply just processing past events. Keiko Matsuki has found in her research with Showa hitoketa informants that the informants’ voice quality, facial expressions, and the nature of interaction with the interviewer transforms when episodically remembering the war years. The informants do not merely “talk” but enact “certain actions, thoughts and feelings of past

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64 Ibid. 524-525
67 Showa hitoketa are those born in the single-digit years of the Showa years. The first year of Showa began in 1926.
selves.” They enacted certain “voices” that developed as they built upon past
remembrances. Some “voices” are imitating sounds they heard as a child or repeating
what they were told in the exact tenor from the past. These outward signs are indicative
of a process for certain adults in order to deal with past memories.

Solutions frequently materialize when one deals with their memories. In Japan,
solutions are seen in adamant cries for pacifism. Paintings, drawings and stories dealing
with the Pacific War also express a strong desire for peace, since the war’s end and
especially the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such works
are continually being published. In the United States, stories also solve the suffering
from war. Secondly, there is hope for an end to soldiers being sent off to fight,
particularly for those who have lost loved ones in the Pacific War.

Stories are experiences retold and are often utilized through immediate or short-term
memory, or memories that are foremost in one’s mind. The experiences one encounters
in daily life continually push primary events further back into one’s memory. The Pacific
War leaves a considerable amount of time that has elapsed, over 60 years; therefore,
those I interviewed utilized episodic, long-term memory. According to Development
Psychologist Howard Gardner long-term memory propagates as “the lasting, unshakable
recollections of important events, dates, persons, and feelings.” These factors play out
in the interviews I recorded. For many, the war years reminded them of hardship,
cooperation, and a kind of patriotic fervor. For some, even though remembering is

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69 Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* C. Emerson and M. Holquist, eds. and trans., (Austin:
Narrative Accounts of Wartime Experiences,” 541.
70 For works published on this topic see *My Hiroshima* by Morimoto Junko, Illustrated by Photos by
Chugoku Shinbun, Yoshida Masayuki, and Morimoto Isao. *Hiroshima no Pika* by Maruki Toshi.
*Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* translated by Gaynor Sekimori. *Unforgettable Fire,
Flash, Black Rain, Women of Japan Relive the Bomb* edited and translated by Lequita Vance-Williams and
Aranami Mariko.
Company, 1982), 433.
“fundamental to all humans,” the receptacle, called the mind, does not always recall information accurately. However, with “suitable stimulation, these memories can be brought back into conscious awareness.” As David Thelen points out, “memory begins when something in the present stimulates an association” and in this fashion a story is recalled.

**Prompting**

Stimulation is an important part of recalling past events. The reliability of this statement is seen in interviews with adults who were children during the war. Many of them had forgotten “long-neglected memories”, yet with prompting their memories were stimulated. For example, among my own interviewees, Mrs. Pat Kirt Gardner and Mr. Fred Plamondon recalled planting victory gardens only after asked if they participated in these activities. I also utilized “prompting” in Japan. For example, some adults remembered the making of *sennin bari* or thousand stitch belts that soldiers wore around their waists for good luck, and helping out with wartime activities after prompting occurred. Moreover, environmental cues cause one to recollect events that occurred in the past. Studies indicate certain signs are able to trigger recollection of past events. “For example, a sheaf of papers collected at a conference may evoke memories of a recent trip, or the sight of a particular pen may cause us to remember the party at which it was received as a gift.” The source of stimulation here is the concrete objects such as the sheaf of papers or the pen. Cues such as these engage retrospective memory processes.

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72 Ibid. 433.
75 Nord, 409-410.
76 Tsuruda Sachiko and Akahoshi Sumiko, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 5 November 2000 and 18 October 2000, respectively.
for experiences that were recorded in the past.\textsuperscript{77}

Trauma and excitement also play an integral role in remembering. A significant instance or event that occurs in one’s life usually creates a memory. For example, one does not usually forget a traumatic event, but he or she may block it out or not discuss it because it is painful. Perhaps over time the memory may surface and one may be able to recall it in words, but some remain buried.

Happy or joyful moments are also significant enough to become embedded in our minds. One’s environments, such as living conditions and family structures greatly influence one’s memory. All of my interviewees in Japan and the United States recalled their childhood housing situations, rationing, absent family members and other environmental factors during WWII. All of my participants also eagerly recalled events that became fixed in their culture and their country’s history. In the United States, Americans recalled Pearl Harbor, V-J Day, and the war’s end. In Japan, significant events that were remembered included the attack of Pearl Harbor, the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Emperor Hirohito’s voice on the radio declaring that Japan had surrendered to the Allies.\textsuperscript{78} The significant, selective memories of the war that my interviewees possessed were directly related to trauma, excitement and their environment.

Lucian Pye affirms the importance of memories when he maintains that memories of war are particularly important in reinforcing “myths of legitimacy” since they possess “an emotional substance and a higher level of truth than just the objective accounts of


\textsuperscript{78} Some children did not hear the original radio address by the emperor because their family or a nearby neighbor did not own a radio. However, after the surrender the address was replayed so all could hear the authenticity of the surrender.
As noted above, memory is subjective, and observers share variegated remembrances of any incident. In his article, “The Bombed” John Dower emphasizes “historical memory is almost always contested often as the blood-soaked ground of a major battle.”

For example, two people I interviewed in Japan claimed to witness the mushroom cloud from Nagasaki after the dropping of the second atomic bomb on Japan on August 9th, 1945 while they were on a mountain in Kumamoto. Others may dispute these claims, believing that in Kumamoto, 50 miles or 80.65 kilometers from Nagasaki, it was not possible to view the mushroom cloud from Nagasaki. In accordance with the methodology of folklore, it is important that they retell what they saw from the mountain. The significance lies in the fact that they reiterated this story to me for a reason. These stories prove there is a memory implanted in the storyteller’s mind and this memory wants to be expressed in words. Mr. Nakamura and Mr. Kitamura shared the story of seeing the bomb from the mountaintops of Kumamoto, because this was a significant memory for them that had a large impact on their wartime experience. All stories and oral testimonies are spoken for a reason that is important to the storyteller.

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81 Nakagawa Masaya and Kitamura Takayuki, interviews with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 20 September 2000 and 25 February 2001, respectively.
Mobilizing the Children

Hotondo douin, zutto douin datta

During the war years, the people of Japan and the United States displayed enormous patriotism and support of their country’s war aims. The allegiance of children to their nation’s war effort was likewise remarkable. Children believed in their country, and did many things to aid in victory. Between 1941-1945, as a result of mass mobilization, children in Japan and the United States engaged in many war-related activities. The term “mobilization” covers a vast array of activities during the war years ranging from war work to the government’s influence upon the media. As Thomas Havens states, “Mobilization is most crucial in a total war” and “requires participation by all members of the national community.”

Wartime mobilization, usually carried out by the government, involved efforts to unify the masses and call on them to perform war-related actions. These actions included various kinds of war work, abiding by the wartime rationing system, buying war bonds, collecting resources, and engaging in volunteer work. Mobilization employs ideology, invokes morality, and makes use of propaganda to stimulate people to rally round the war cause.

Certain factors underlay successful mobilization in both Japan and the United States. First, the governments devised policies whose sole purpose was to mobilize children. Schools were the main instrument for implementing these policies, which incorporated the nation’s ideology and mobilized students for war-related work and volunteer activities. Second, government propaganda influenced children to believe in their respective countries’ war goals. Third, racist ideology inculcated by the government taught students to view the enemy, based on their culture and form of government, as an

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82 Akahoshi Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000. Translated as “Almost always mobilization, all the time there was mobilization.”
83 Havens, 7.
84 Ibid. 8.
evil entity. The first section of this chapter focuses on government policies, official ideology, education and the mobilization of children for war-related activities. The following section discusses the themes of propaganda and racism.

In both the United States and Japan similar mobilization practices targeted American and Japanese children during World War II. United States and Japanese wartime policies enforced rationing, encouraged the saving of goods, and promoted work and other wartime activities. Among Japanese students, one widespread school-time activity was military drill such as *takeyari* (bamboo spear training). Although most American students did not practice military drills, they still believed in the need to prepare themselves for the sake of the country. Such preparation consisted of air raid drills and physical fitness exercises. Training and other activities encouraged students to believe that their readiness contributed to their nation’s victory. The discussion that follows examines government policies, and explains how education played a major role in mobilizing children as well as their families. First, I will look at the Japanese experience, then the American experience, and conclude by comparing the two with respect to points of similarity and difference.

**Japan’s Mass Mobilization**

By the time of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese government had already instituted numerous policies designed to mobilize the masses. These policies also inculcated a nationalist attitude among children. For millions of Japanese schoolchildren wartime socialization meant military drills, student labor service, and educational broadcasts. By 1941, the government also introduced a “showy curricular and educational reform.”85 The inculcation of nationalist attitudes in Japan began with stories about the mythical

85 Ibid. 25.
first emperor, Jimmu. As recorded in the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki, Japan’s first written records, Emperor Jimmu was regarded as the solitary, sacred authority who united the country under the central tenet that the Emperor’s subjects were everyone of Japanese ethnicity, and that all Japanese were required to submit themselves to the Emperor. Beginning in 1868, the first year of the Meiji period, the emperor’s status as a god was reaffirmed and one year after the promulgation of the first Japanese written constitution in 1889, an Imperial Rescript on Education was publicized. About the same time, emperor-centered patriotic ceremonies were initiated on the opening day of school each year. Thereafter, “children were required to venerate the imperial photograph” and listen to a solemn ceremonial reading of the rescript on education.

Just five years later, during the first Sino-Japanese War, the slogan of chuukan aikoku or “loyalty to the emperor and love of the country,” was introduced. The Meiji authorities’ aim was to “turn out citizens who spontaneously and enthusiastically supported national policies.” In order to achieve this goal schools began a practice that continued right up to Japan’s defeat in 1945. Teachers began to report on and show pictures of battles. Ten years later during the Russo-Japanese War, “war and patriotism were stressed in every subject.” Even though Japan’s modern wars began in 1894, and by 1931 Japan entered upon a protracted war with China, most schoolchildren were still not very conscious of the war or even understood just what a war was at this time. After Pearl Harbor, however, children in Japan and the United States became well aware of the conflict between their countries. The news of Pearl Harbor shocked most school children in Japan; accordingly, the government swiftly resorted to rhetoric such as chuukan aikoku

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87 The Kojiki (712) and Nihon shoki (720) are early histories of Japan that may be considered historical myths. See Edward O. Reischauer, The Japanese Today (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), 47.
88 Ienaga, 21.
89 Ibid. 22-23.
90 Havens, 11.
to engage children in the war.

The term *hakkou ichiu* (all eight corners of the earth under one roof) dominated the thoughts of the Japanese populace during the war years. This way of thinking became fixed in every child’s mind, namely, that all eight corners of the earth would be under one [Japan’s] roof. This ideological expression of Japan’s traditional, monarchical government, probably swayed the masses even more than the mobilization policies. In Japan, the adage used to liberate Asia from the West was *hakkou ichiu* and the emperor was the deity who could make anything possible. During wartime, Mizuguchi Kiyozumi, one of my respondents, recalls *hakkou ichiu* inculcated in society, both at home and at school. He insists, “we were taught the spirit of *hakkou ichiu*” and “everyone in Japan fully supported our position in the war” because of it. The militaristic spirit of *hakkou ichiu* also embodied the Meiji Emperor’s Imperial Rescript on Education.

Mobilizing children for the war in Japan became a top priority. With many men away fighting in the war, women and children were expected to support the fight at home. Children lent themselves well to this cause since it was relatively easy to organize them at school, and they listened well, especially in times of crisis. Policies implemented in the schools and neighborhoods contributed substantially to effective wartime mobilization in Japan during the war emergency.

**Policies and Ideology**

The Japanese government’s practice of mobilizing the emperor’s subjects commenced years before written directives to this effect. From the beginning of the Meiji Era, Japan’s leaders continuously promoted spiritual indoctrination and inculcated certain religious and state rituals in order to create a unified society. This was done not

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primarily through the enforcement of written laws but by cultivating social norms and practices. Most were in the form of morals (shuushin) taught at school.

The Meiji Constitution of 1889 implored the citizens to be “loyal subjects” and to “serve the Emperor,” but it provided virtually no guarantees of civilian rights. The government placed tight controls on publishing and severely restricted freedom of speech. Top leaders of the government ensured that these restrictions were enforced in every sphere of social interaction, including businesses, schools, and organizations. All forms of subversive activity, broadly defined, were prohibited. 92 The Ministry of Education played an important role in enforcing the government’s dogma by deeming other races “filthy and impure” a term used to describe the first Europeans that landed on Kyushu in the middle 1500’s. 93 For Japan, one governmental objective was to enforce the supposed purity of the Japanese lineage in order to catalyze support for its war campaign against the “impure” West. 94

Schools were the venue where most of the mobilization policies for children were implemented. As already noted, the first major policy pronouncement reemphasized during the war was the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. This sacred document was found in schools throughout Japan. It called upon the Emperor’s subjects to “advance the public good and promote common interests” and to “respect the Constitution and observe laws.” 95 That much was innocuous. The next few lines, however, state, “Should any emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne, coeval with Heaven and earth.” 96 These words were taken literally, and in a few extreme cases school principals committed ritual suicide

92 Jenaga, 13.
93 LaFeber, 218.
94 See John Hunter Boyle, Modern Japan: The American Nexus, 47-52 and 306. These accounts include descriptions of Japanese first meetings with Saint Francis Xavier and the impressions that followed that meeting.
95 See Walter LaFeber, The Clash, 218. This racism created a euphemism that Americans were inhumane.
97 Ibid. 38.
after accidentally dropping the Imperial Rescript. Another respondent, Tokiwa Kenji, distinctly remembers “chokugo” (The Imperial Rescript) as the centerpiece of their wartime education. “We wanted to do everything for the Emperor.” states Tokiwa. Although, Tokiwa’s family was Christian, this did not diminish their faith in their country nor the emperor. Kobayashi Fumiko, too, firmly believed in Japan and the “sacred war.” As she reflected back on her past, she felt she had been stripped of her childhood, and “cannot recall any fond memories” from her youth, but at the time she fervently supported the war effort and was “burning with patriotism.”

The state became the primary focus and the war enlisted the state religion, Shinto for the effort. As Herbert Passin points out, “Shinto doctrines were taught, and pupils were required to participate in its rituals and to visit shrines on ceremonial and national occasions. Schools organized pilgrimages and outings designed to strengthen the pupil’s loyalty and devotion to the national cult.” Tokiwa Kenji concurs that as a ten-year-old student, he was required on a regular basis to offer patriotic veneration at Shinto shrines in the Tokyo area.

Mori Arinori, Japan’s Education Minister credited with centralizing education, pressed for morals and ethics to be an essential aspect of the school’s curriculum. Nationalism, control and training became the focal points of Mori’s educational agenda. His celebrated statement, “…what is to be done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country.” is indicative of this nationalist imperative. Government controls became so rigorous that even the youth were mobilized for a protracted war.

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98 Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Modern Japan (Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University and East Asia Institute, 1965), 155.
101 Passin, 149-150.
103 Passin, 149-150.
104 Ibid. 150.
1924, compulsory military training courses (gunji kyouren) were introduced in middle
and higher schools and by 1926, under the direction of the army, the Greater Japan
Youth Association (Dainihon Seiendan) established a nationwide system of youth
training centers (seinen kunrenjo). In 1932, with help from the media, the Japanese
government used the battle of Shanghai as an opportunity to spread the ideology of the
Yamato damashi (Yamato spirit). School principals introduced Yamato damashi into
school slogans and policies decided by the leadership. “Patriotic morning speeches” by
 principals and teachers was another stimulus for proper patriotic cadet behavior. The
example of patriotic Japanese soldiers fighting in Shanghai reverberated in schools as the
embodiment of the true fighting spirit. To commemorate this battle, every school child
was obliged to “remember and emulate the divine Japanese spirit of the ‘three Japanese
torpedoes.’”

By the late 1930’s, with the war in China assuming a protracted character,
government controls became even stricter as did the growing power of the Kempetai
(Military Police in Japan) to threaten the civilian population, employ physical coercion,
and curtail civil rights at their discretion. Japan’s war in China provoked token
resistance, but overall the public supported the regime’s military action. Historian Ben-
Ami Shillony believes “one reason for the relatively small amount of direct oppression in
Japan was that many people including professors supported the war as a campaign for
liberating Asia from white colonialism.”Japan in the 1920’s was still catching up to

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107 Yamato damashi translates as the “spirit of Yamato” that was a fertile plain area around 400 A.D. where the early emperors of Japan ruled from a central locale. See John Hunter Boyle, 211, 269.
108 Japan Times, February 1932. The three Japanese torpedoes were three Japanese men from Kyushu who strapped explosives to their bodies and charged valiantly into a Chinese position in Shanghai, China in 1932.
109 Ienaga, 113.
110 Shillony, “Universities and Students in Wartime Japan,” 773.
the western powers in terms of industrialization and colonization. In the 1930's, following the lead of the west, Japan planned some of its own regional activities, such as expanding its territory from Manchuria southward into China. Japanese leaders wanted to detach themselves from the western-dominated world order; therefore, they chose to create their own order and deal with society at home and abroad with austerity.

**Education**

The Meiji authorities initially strived to build a modern school system according to western standards. This new system combined intellectual openness and inquisitiveness with a strong unitary, nationalist approach. A system of universal education was extended to the most remote areas of Japan. However, restrictions soon appeared in the 1870s in parallel with the growth of the People's Rights movement that most of the Meiji oligarchs viewed as a threat to their own authority. By the 1880's, in the government's first move toward official intervention in education, books by commercial publishers were restricted and many books on democracy were prohibited in schools, including Fukuzawa Yukichi's writings. Next, a certification system introduced in 1886 mandated that only government-approved texts could be used in school. By 1907, the government compiled all elementary school texts.

What made these standardized educational reforms so successful was the increase in compulsory education. Before, the mandatory number of years for schooling was three years, but now it increased to six years. By 1900, 90 percent of the children in Japan received a uniform education that impressed upon their *tabula rasa* anti-democratic,

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112 Ienaga, 47.
statist values consistent with an imposed emperor-centered absolutist state. Before the 20th century, consciousness of the emperor and the nation was limited among students who had completed only three years of school. The additional years of schooling changed that.

Education was serious business in Japan in the late 1930’s and nearly eighteen million students were enrolled in all levels of the educational system. As a sign of the importance ascribed to education, compulsory education was again increased statutorily from six to eight years in April 1941. Education was extremely important for Japan, but with most men fighting and the need for workers in factories and fields, the government simultaneously incorporated work into school time. This began with the promulgation of the first general mobilization law in 1938. It documented that:

The special characteristic of modern wars is that they are wars of national strength. To achieve the objectives of the war, we must perfect the national general mobilization if we are to expect the army and navy to struggle to the utmost. ...we must mobilize our entire resources, both physical and spiritual; it is not enough merely to provide sufficient munitions. An essential requirement for achieving the goal of victory is for the country to do its utmost to make people’s livelihoods secure and harmonize the various aspects of national life necessary for prosecuting the war.

The leaders of Japan instructed the populace that “physically and spiritually” it is an “essential requirement” to give of themselves to achieve the “goal of victory.” This suggested that because the war might only be in its initial stages, it was essential that civilians supply whatever services were required by their country and their emperor.

Other edicts followed in the ensuing years that influenced Japanese schoolchildren’s thinking as well as the daily routines of their lives. In October 1941, General Tojo Hideki concurrently held the office of Prime Minister and Army Minister of Japan. This

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114 Ienaga, 19-21.
115 Havens, 138.
116 Ibid. 11-12.
combination gave him considerable power, although he was never a dictator.\textsuperscript{117} Despite the lack of dictatorial rule, “there was little freedom in Japan by the end of 1941” and even less after the Pacific War broke out. The Peace Preservation Law (Chian Ijihou) of 1925 that applied to citizens in Japan, even children, according to General Tojo maintained “internal unity” and kept speech and action under control.\textsuperscript{118} The year 1939 marked the beginnings of student mobilization for work (gakuto douin), and by 1941, in preparation for war with the United States, full-scale student mobilization was implemented. At first, children worked after school, performing simple tasks such as helping with the rationing system, writing letters to soldiers and so on. By the fall of 1943, as Japan’s military situation became bleaker, Japan passed the student mobilization (gakuto shutsujin) ordinance. In addition, in 1943, young men below the age of nineteen could volunteer for ancillary military service as “young soldiers” (shounenhei).\textsuperscript{119} By 1945, as the war approached Japan’s home islands, schools became vestigial institutions that only taught the lower elementary grades. All other students were mobilized for the “decisive battle for the home islands,” or hondo kessen.\textsuperscript{120}

Oe Kenzaburou, an elementary schoolboy during the war, took note of the decisive battle on the home ground.\textsuperscript{121} He writes, “the notion that all Japanese, including children, would fight to the death with bamboo spears (takeyari) was an ideology set in stone in our classroom and in every classroom throughout the land.”\textsuperscript{122} This ultranationalist attitude permeated the minds of almost all Japanese children. Beginning in 1943, students over ten relinquished their school vacations and holidays to war work and after April 1944, students were mobilized for labor in the fields or factories, almost on a

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. 10-11.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid. 144.
\textsuperscript{120} Ben-Ami Shillony, “Universities and Students in Wartime Japan,” 780.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid. 21-22.
fulltime basis. Of course, there was the never-ending task of collecting and saving all kinds of potentially useful materials which students did during any free time they had. Still, as the military losses grew, so did the ardor for the nation to mobilize and defend their eugenic race.

The precepts of the ultranationalist Japanese government targeted all students in the “national schools.” Children were inevitably influenced by these teachings and believed in the ideals presented to them. Hayashi Satoshi, one of my interviewees, was vehement in describing his experience as a child during the war. His terrifying experiences in a bomb shelter do not compare in intensity to the anger he feels now at being brainwashed by government propaganda. According to Hayashi, teachers were the agents responsible for spreading most of these sentiments that made him believe his country was infallible. The prominent historian, Ienaga Saburo, who was a middle school student during the war, even admits, “I soaked jingoistic ideas and never questioned them.” He also accepted what he heard as “gospel truth.” Most children are similar to sponges, uncritically soaking up what they hear. Depending on their age and family background, they may also have the acumen to understand many situations around them. In Japanese culture, being a teacher is considered an honorable profession, even replacing parents in certain roles. Therefore, it is quite understandable that students clung to their teachers’ words and examples.

**Nationalism in the Curriculum**

Throughout the war years, the curriculum in the Japanese classroom focused on nationalism, which often manifested itself in militarism. Every subject used the war for teaching material. In the end, the government controlled the curriculum in such a manner

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123 Havens, 138-139.
125 Ienaga, 31.
as to militarize it entirely. For example, students studied “general information about
searchlights, wireless communication, land mines and torpedoes, and submarines in their
science classes.” Music classes resounded with war songs and physical education
included character training and war games.\textsuperscript{126} The success of this goal was apparent in
this third-grade student’s composition: “I will become a soldier and kill Russians and
take them prisoner. I will kill more Russians, cut off their heads and bring them back to
the emperor. I will charge into battle again, cut off more Russian heads, kill them all. I
will be a great man.”\textsuperscript{127}

School textbooks capitalized on the war and used it to teach morals and ethics. These
values often emphasized fighting the enemy and not being afraid to die.\textsuperscript{128} The texts also
presented a “sinister image” of the United States and posters were hung in schools
proclaiming, “KILL THE AMERICAN DEVILS.”\textsuperscript{129} One of my informants, Akahoshi
Kenichi, did not agree with the racist views taught but appreciated the sense of equality
he received from the ethics courses. He felt that schools provided Japanese students an
egalitarian microcosm, because they were all the same working for the good of their
nation, under one ethos.\textsuperscript{130}

As noted above, \textit{shuushin} (morals) became an integral part of the curriculum in the
late 1880’s during Mori’s tenure as Education Minister. Gradually, as the military
became increasingly aggressive, the teaching of morals in schools intensified. For
example, in the late 1920’s, a first-year language text read:

\begin{quote}
Flower (page 1) 
Dove, bean, scale (page 2) 
Here is a crow, and here also is a sparrow (page 4)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid. 23-24. 
\textsuperscript{127} Ebihara Haruyoshi, \textit{Gendai Nihon kyouiku seisaku-shi} (Educational Policy in Modern Japan). 
\textsuperscript{128} Ienaga, 25. 
\textsuperscript{129} Ben-Ami Shillony, \textit{Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan}, 145. 
\textsuperscript{130} Akahoshi Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000.
In the 1930’s, the opening lines of the same text read:

It has blossomed, it has blossomed, the cherry
Has blossomed.\textsuperscript{131}

Then:

Advance, advance, soldier, advance.

Following wartime after 1941, the text began:

The rising sun (Japan’s national flag), red, red.

Other references in texts to military matters included: “Navy, task force.”\textsuperscript{132} Karasawa Tomitarou classified approximately 76.4 per cent of the content of the language textbooks as nationalistic during the war period.\textsuperscript{133} After the war, General MacArthur and the occupation taskforce ended all emperor worshipping activities and sayings. They also rid militarism from the textbooks by blacking out any mention of war, conquest, and the emperor.\textsuperscript{134}

Other paradigms progressively encompassed the change in language and content in the texts from the 1920’s until wartime. In the 1920’s and even into the 1930’s language was viewed rather innocuously as a method to build moral character in pupils. The rhetoric began with being “good Japanese” by strengthening ourselves physically and mentally so that Japan will be prosperous.\textsuperscript{135} Gradually, a shift occurred in the Educational reforms and the word “Empire” began to surface in the language of Imperial Ordinances and then “reverence for deities and ancestors,” “superiority,” and “the Imperial Way” are other expressions that appeared with increasing frequency.\textsuperscript{136} One

\textsuperscript{131} Herbert Passin’s explanation follows: The cherry blossom, which blooms for only a brief moment of glory then dies, is the symbol of the warrior’s spirit. See Passin, \textit{Education and Society in Modern Japan} (Columbia University, 1965), 156.

\textsuperscript{132} Karasawa Tomitarou, \textit{Kyoukasho no Rekishi (History of Textbooks)} (Tokyo: 1956), 381.

\textsuperscript{133} Passin, 262.

\textsuperscript{134} See Appendix B for an example of the Occupation blacking out Japanese texts after the war ended. The goal was to erase all mention of the emperor and nationalism for the curriculum.

\textsuperscript{135} Passin, 157.

\textsuperscript{136} Passin, 153-155 and 257.
such text called Basic Principles of the National Essence (Kokutai no hongi), published in 1937, emphasized Japan’s cultural distinctiveness among elementary pupils.137 Next, in January 1938, the education ministry issued a pamphlet for teachers showing them how to work the China crisis into each subject area.138 Finally, students had their own manual by August 1941 titled, The Way of Subjects (Shinmin no michi). This document attacked “individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism” in one breath and offered an elaborate rationale for Japan’s overseas activities.139

Japanese students never thought they would lose the war with their powerful allies, Germany and Italy. Projects in school included making wartime paraphernalia displaying pride in their country. Some students chose to make a paper Nazi fish devouring General Maurice Gamelin, the commander of France’s defeated Army.140 Students’ creativity displayed their patriotic spirit, but as class time dwindled so did their creative work. Life became mundane for many, and a struggle to survive.

Working for the War Effort

Essential to Japan’s mobilization was a very specialized work force, namely, children. Children constituted a large labor force, especially the last two years of the Pacific War. In both the United States and Japan, children were mobilized to collect “scrap,” gather materials for the war effort, and volunteer. Yet, in Japan more intense labor for children involved working in factories and fields. These children usually performed these tasks without complaining; it was for the sake of the country. As previously mentioned, in Japan, military drills also constituted mobilization policies. Even if children had time for play, it was frowned upon because they could be spending their time more efficiently by

137 Havens, 25.
138 Ibid. 25-26.
139 Ibid. 29.
doing something for the war effort.

Akahoshi Kenichi admits to growing up quickly in the face of war. Akahoshi’s response to a question about playing during the war reveals that there was not much playtime for him at all. Akahoshi, ten years old in 1941, remembers his first mobilization assignment which was farm work, but he also performed factory work. Another informant, Kinoshita Fusako, also worked in the fields near Kikuchi, Kyushu, a small, rural area in Japan. During the war, Kinoshita did not attend school at all because she was busy farming. Slogans prominent in her mind as a child were, “Don’t want anything” and “Keep fighting, until we win!” These sayings kept her spirits up and made her want to work harder so that she could help Japan win the war.

The autobiographical novel, Shonen H (The Boy Called H) provides informative data from a child’s point of view during wartime Japan. Certain parts of this tale capture the intensity of militia behavior in school that coincides with patriotic Emperor worship. Senoh Hajime is a portrait of a curious, observant, boy living in Kobe who is critical of the war leaders in Japan. His keen memories of the war situation vividly describe work details, drills, and newspaper headlines. With the first air raid on Kobe in 1943, the reality of war seemed to sink in to all the citizens in Kobe, remarks the author Kappa Senoh. Before this, there was the war in China, making America and Britain feel a little more distant, imparts Senoh, then the actual bombing raids on Japan, gave everyone a sense of urgency which caused them to work harder and give more to the war effort.

Senoh also reminisces about the drill instructors in school. At one such encounter, the reservist instructor called out, “Each one of you is already a soldier in the forces commanded by His Majesty the Emperor. From now on there must be none of this

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141 Akahoshi Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000.
142 Kinoshita Fusako, questionnaire to author, Kumamoto, Japan, 13 March 2001.
spineless stuff about being ‘only middle school students!’" The military instructors at Senoh’s school provided tough, logical military training while reminding the students that their allegiance lay with the Emperor. Since the author resided in the city, he rarely worked on farms, although on the school ground students grew and tended a garden. He did not have to work in the factories like the older middle school students since he attended only one year before the war’s end. Most of his energy at middle school was directed in “military training” and spiritual drills. He does recall the Ministry of Education sending this notice to schools that was printed in the newspaper the summer of 1943:

We must not allow ourselves to be affected by the heat of summer at such a time of national emergency. Strictly, disciplined group training must be carried out to raise the students’ fighting spirit. Middle school students in particular should be trained just as though they were in the forces, and the summer holidays devoted to thoroughgoing seasoning as “tomorrow soldiers.” In addition, all students should be given aggressive instruction in swimming so as to enhance the effectiveness of the “Nation of Swimmers” campaign.

Military drills while monotonous, mentally and physically prepared children to fight the ubiquitous enemy – the Americans. In wartime Japan, children did not speak pusillanimously about the war situation. Some kept their bitterness hidden. Such a person was Itoru Tooru, that is, until he filled out my questionnaire. “I hated being forced to participate in all sorts of martial arts such as judo and kendo. I also disliked the military training, but never would have said so at the time,” said Itoru. Children accepted their daily sacrifices for their country, but years later many realized the toll it placed on their childhood years.

144 Ibid. 275.
145 Ibid. 279.
146 Ibid. 247, 256.
147 Ibid. 253.
Family Life

Families in the United States and Japan played major roles in mobilizing their children. After Pearl Harbor, families quickly adapted to the realities of war and functioned as unified groups of patriotic volunteers so they could contribute to the war effort. Within their own neighborhoods, families joined vigilance committees and volunteer organizations. The government offered suggestions on how to manage these programs, but most communities worked together and made their own decisions. Community spirit came to the fore, and family units came together in self-motivated neighborhood associations. Parental leadership percolated down to their children, and helping with the war effort became a family affair.

Of course, the difficulty in generalizing about families is their distinctiveness. Like individuals, nuclear families are unique and possess their own core traditions. At the same time, by virtue of their culture, economic background, and environment, they also share similar characteristic with other families. Therefore, by examining conditions at the time of the Pacific War valid comparisons are possible. From 1941-1945, even though the social dynamics within each individual family may not have changed very much, politically and economically society as a whole experienced drastic adjustments.

In Japan, prefeudal traditions surfaced during the war years. The family ethics that were taught in schools and implemented at home were Confucian tenets for the upper classes including in the first place loyalty to one's supreme master, the emperor, followed by filial piety to one's parents. One's character depended on your service to his Majesty.¹⁴⁹ The Confucian ideals reinforced a hierarchical standard at home in which the Emperor was the nominal head of each of his subjects’ households.¹⁵⁰

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¹⁴⁹ Passin, 153.
The war between Japan and the United States contributed to the formation of a sense of unified national purpose that was perhaps unprecedented. Each family united on the home-front battlefield, sacrificing energy and material goods for the war. Neighborhood associations (tonarigumi) in Japan flourished under the ideology of the military state. The war in China became the catalyst in Japan for neighboring families to work together in groups. Community councils and neighborhood associations created under the Home Ministry used the national spiritual mobilization movement as the motivator for these groups. After Pearl Harbor the cohesiveness of these groups became stronger. As early as 1930, the Home Ministry made every effort to create bonds by instituting various programs. In August of 1939 the ministry clarified the hitherto vague rhetoric by announcing seven principles for daily living: rising early, gratitude and thanks, cooperation for Japan, public labor service, strict punctuality, thrift, and physical and spiritual discipline. These principles helped motivate the masses, but it was not until December 1941 that people fully realized the seriousness of the war. A conflict with the United States was something very different from a war with China.

Families came to rely more on their neighbors, especially with the increase in air raids and the macabre conditions of life in wartime. The war disrupted Miyazaki’s family life and the bombings in Kobe forced them to rely on neighbors to satisfy their basic needs. Eventually, Miyazaki, evacuated to the countryside (gakudousokai) under the government aegis, living without her family for two years. Some Japanese enjoyed the comforts of neighborly care and others received poor treatment if they were from outside the neighborhood.

Tsuruda Sachiko tearfully shared her story with me. Tsuruda and her family were forced to move four times during the war, because of the deficient economy. Each time it

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152 Havens, 36-37.
was difficult for her father to find sufficient work to earn enough money to provide for her family. After returning to Kumamoto at the end of the war, the local people rejected her family as outsiders. There was an acute shortage of food, and black markets were set up for only selected customers. Tsuruda remembers being hungry every day for seven years after the war ended. For the most part, friends, relatives and countrymen helped those in need the best they could during the war years.

The Confucian ethics endorsed by the government blared on the radio daily and were also written in the newspapers and taught at school. All of my interviewees’ families, including Tokiwa Kenji and Tsuruda Sachiko’s whose families were Christian, honored these precepts as well as the state religion, Shinto. Tokiwa confided that his family never spoke poorly of the United States at home. He asserts unequivocally that everyone in his family wanted Japan to win, but at home, it was an unspoken rule never to denigrate the enemy. In Tsuruda’s case, she attended a mission school in Kyushu after her family finally made it to Kyushu in 1942. There she was taught not to hate, and she says she never hated the United States until one day she was walking along the road and a B-29 strafed her. After this, she said she hated war. When the war was over, she breathed a sigh of relief and thought, “I can’t believe I am still living.” Like most Japanese children, Tsuruda was a loyal servant of the state.

Nakagawa Masaya’s parents revered the emperor as a god, yet espoused pacifism. They also were faithful subjects. At eleven years of age, Nakagawa grew up as a zealot for the war cause, since his parents viewed the state as ruler over their own personal beliefs. At the time of the Emperor’s radio address announcing Japan’s surrender on August 15, 1945, his parents listened and both cried for Japan’s loss. Nakagawa could not believe the depth of the commitment his parents had to the emperor.

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154 Tsuruda Sachiko, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 5 November 2000.
156 Tsuruda Sachiko, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 5 November 2000.
Japan's first total war required a high degree of common effort, mobilization and willingness to make sacrifices. In numerous ways Japan succeeded in mobilizing one of its most valuable resources, namely, children. The Japanese authorities mass-produced little patriots. Their aim was not a malicious attempt at producing unoriginal conformists. Rather, government leaders intended to establish an integrated front to combat what it perceived as the evils of the west. They sought to restore pride in their cultural heritage and that of Asia by teaching the youngsters of Japan about the unique qualities of their homeland. In their formative years, children clung to the precepts taught them at home and school, therefore, they espoused their nation's ideology and followed the commands of their parents and teachers.

**Voices**

Akahoshi Sumiko grew up in Taiwan during the war years, but went to a Japanese school and had Japanese teachers. The annexation of Taiwan by Japan in 1895 brought the administrative and educational system under the control of the Japanese military government. As a child, Akahoshi remembers the adage "kyouiku chokugo" (The Imperial Rescript of Education). Tokiwa Kenji, who lived in Tokyo and then Sapporo for two years, also recalls the incantation of "chokugo" everyday. Akahoshi says that this rescript meant we were to "pay homage to the Emperor." Akahoshi recalls the homage to the emperor increasing concomitantly with the dire war situation. "All Japanese made time for this activity from the beginning of the war until the end" and "of course at the end of the war *kyouiku chokugo* disappeared from school." Tokiwa also recollects

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158 Ben-Ami Shillony, “Universities and Students in Wartime Japan,” 769.
159 Akahoshi Sumiko and Tokiwa Kenji, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000 and 20 October 2000, respectively. Tokiwa Kenji moved in with relatives living in Sapporo after the Tokyo fire bombing in March 1943.
160 Akahoshi Sumiko, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000
161 Ibid.
paying respects to injured soldiers that returned home. If these soldiers were seen on the
day, a passerby must stop and allow them to pass first.162

Other accounts of emperor worship at school include Mori Kyoko’s remembrance of
her mother’s wartime stories. While Mori’s mother expressed her deep devotion to her
country, it is evident that the educational system was an important mechanism in
mentally mobilizing the children of Japan. Her account follows:

At my mother’s middle school, the principal unveiled the emperor’s picture
after his morning lecture. The students had to close their eyes as soon as the veil
was lifted. Seeing the emperor’s likeness, they were told it would blind them.
My mother kept her eyes open and found out that she did not become blind.

Though my mother was able to discover the lies about the emperor’s picture,
she believed in many things that later turned out not to be true. When she and her
classmates went to factories to sew the soldier’s uniforms, she believed that the
Japanese soldiers were like pure white cherry blossoms falling for their country.
She felt great pride in helping them carry on a war that she was taught was
necessary.163

Sato Hideo in his Playing at War account describes his devotion to the Emperor and
his hope to be one of the Emperor’s soldiers.164 Most schoolboys fervently wished to be a
soldier for his country.

Young elementary students enjoy drawing pictures and in class, teachers often asked
the students to draw a picture of some special topic. Oe Kenzaburou’s experience in
elementary school of drawing pictures involves an outcome that the teacher did not
appreciate. A new teacher165 had arrived from the city at his national school and asked
the class to draw a “picture of the world.” Despite the obvious prompting from a sample
picture on the board, young Oe drew his own picture of the valley he lived in and the
surrounding forest. Above the forest, he etched Oshikome and Meisuke166 instead of the

164 Cook and Cook., 238-240.
165 It was common during the war to lose many teachers to the military; therefore, new teachers, often from
the city, would replace the old teachers.
166 Oshikome and Meisuke were two mythical beings from Oe’s region in Shikoku, Japan. See Oe
Emperor and Empress sitting on a cloud like the teacher's sample picture. Ultimately, he was hit and ridiculed in front of the other students, many of which were new evacuees from cities. At the time, no one living in Japan was allowed to deviate from the government's stipulations. School children were told they were the Emperor and Empress's offspring and should act accordingly.

In most schools, English classes were cut from the curriculum and English words such as basketball, soccer, and volleyball were no longer spoken with the katakana pronunciation, but reverted back to the original Japanese words. In some schools, English lessons continued, usually in reading or writing only. Miyazaki says that by 1944 in Kobe, English lessons stopped first; then school completely ceased. Instead, she spent each day caring for her family and working in the fields. However, others vividly recall English classes, but there was a reduction in teaching time for them.

Itora Tooru grew up in Uto, a small village outside Kumamoto. One of his recollections was a motto chanted at school, "CRUSH THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS." Taji Yoshiharu felt the spirit of the times and participated in learning the soldiers' ways, yet confesses that he did not like the enforced participation. Kitamura Takayuki, a noted author on student evacuation in the Kumamoto area during the Pacific War, shares many of Hayashi's same sentiments. Kitamura, eight years old at the time of Pearl Harbor, fervently believed in his government and the war. He was taught it was a "war for justice," and calmly accepted separation from his family in 1944 when he was sent to a countryside temple to study with evacuated children from Okinawa. Kitamura recalls that schooling lasted only a short while until "we all were

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167 Ibid. 19-20.
168 Miyazaki Kimiko, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000.
170 Itora, Tooru, questionnaire to author, Kumamoto, Japan, 11 March 2001.
171 Taji Yoshiharu, questionnaire to author, Kumamoto, Japan, 23 March 2001.
mobilized to serve as farmhands.” Kitamura, who admits this was a very impressionable time in his life, feels “betrayed” by the Japanese government. To this end, today he does not listen to any rhetoric from the government.172

As the war progressed, students steadily became an essential part of the workforce. In the same account about her mother, Mori Kyoko recounts a tale about her uncle Tsuyoshi. When he was living in Hiroshima, classes were usually cancelled and the students were taken to the factories to make guns, bullets, and soldier’s uniforms.173 Like his sister, Uncle Tsuyoshi believed in his country and possessed a great sense of pride working for the war effort. Particularly after 1943, the boundaries between school and wartime mobilization were erased and the two became one. By late 1944, almost all students in Japan went to school to work. Nakamoto Hiroko led a very normal school life until 1943. Every day she went to Junior High School and studied hard. After 1943, when the economic situation steadily worsened, Nakamoto and her classmates were mobilized to work nearly full-time. The radio addresses explicitly told children to “work hard” for their country and “prepare for the future.”174 The school building became the organizational staging ground for children’s departure to factories and fields.

173 Mori, 48.
United States’ Mass Mobilization

“One front and one battle where everyone in the United States – everyman, woman, and child – is in action. That front is right here at home in our daily lives.”

At the time military programs were taking root in the schools of Japan in the 1930’s, the United States was beginning to view Japan’s international activities as serious violations of international law and of human rights. Scholars became concerned about Japan’s proclivity toward expansion and offered interesting commentaries on this phenomenon to the American public. Their writings, largely based on conjecture, described the Japanese as “a prickly and difficult people” and alleged that the “Japanese character is full of paradox... Many Japanese lack grace; many seem to lack poise, charm, tolerance, and a sense of humor...” Americans who lacked contact with Japanese tended to accept these stereotypes as true. The American public possessed only limited knowledge about Asia and information about Japan trickled slowly into America society prior to Pearl Harbor. Then, an overwhelming amount of information, most of it biased, swamped the American public. Overnight Americans turned from focusing on Europe to concentrating on the “atrocious act” by the Japanese in the Pacific.

Even Americans who had hoped to stay out of the war fully pledged support to President Roosevelt’s decision to retaliate. Upon hearing about the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, a young lad named Carl Hager from Appalachia gibed, “Good, now we can whip their ass.” Japan had ignited the ire in Americans and instantly everyone was ready to fight. A tidal wave of excitement swept over the United States and the entire society eagerly joined forces on the home front. Americans quickly developed an

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175 Quote from United States’ President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in address to the nation April 1942.
178 Ibid. 1-2.
unprecedented degree of community spirit. Nancy Telgard was 12 years old at the start of the war and recalls that daily life was dominated by the war. Her brother was in the Army Air Corps and her father was a lieutenant in the Civil Air Patrol. Acknowledging the strong collective spirit, Telgard commented, “There was such a sense of pride in people who participated in the war effort. Neighbors became closer – there was a camaraderie that had not been so noticeable before that.”  

The turn of events necessitated full-scale mobilization.

The fluid transition into wartime made it appear as if everyone had been waiting for the war to begin. Americans eagerly volunteered for war-related activities and schools constantly promoted the sale of war bonds, conducted food drives, and established collection areas for scrap material and the like. Nevertheless, there were some serious concerns on the home front about entering a war.

Civil unification for the war effort was not an issue during the war; rather many leaders were concerned about students’ ignorance of world affairs. Naturally, World War II enabled the United States to rebound from the Great Depression, but during this time of inward, domestic concern Americans had become virtually oblivious of foreign affairs. As early as October 1937, President Roosevelt had been subtly trying to warn Americans about “the sweep of Japanese control over other nations” as a danger to the free world.

It quickly became evident that educating American students about world affairs was a national priority.

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Policies and Ideology

America’s entrance into the war was the occasion for the initiation of new programs and the formation of various associations, although President Roosevelt exhibited a degree of reluctance in this regard. He feared repeating President Wilson’s mistakes in World War I by stirring up fear and hatred as weapons in the arsenal of war. Therefore, he hesitated to enact additional laws or commence new programs. Before Pearl Harbor, he approved the organization of the Office of Facts and Figures in October 1941 and allowed the Treasury Department to issue war bonds to support Lend-Lease and the European cause. The OFF’s role was “to disseminate...factual information on the defense effort and to facilitate a widespread understanding of the status and progress of the effort.” In short, he wanted the public informed and ready for possible war, but initially did not want to take the necessary steps for establishing war-related programs.

Selling the war to the public was an easy task after December 7, 1941. On the other hand, the cumbersome government bureaucracy caused headaches for the President and many of the top government leaders. After President Roosevelt decided to create offices dedicated to war-related programs, red tape and inter-departmental friction created many problems. The preliminary focus was to educate the public about the facts of the war, and their need to become involved in programs associated with the war effort. The Wartime Commission and the US Office of Education bypassed President Roosevelt and convened on December 23, 1941 with representation from Parent Teacher Associations, the American Federation of Teachers, and The Association for Childhood Education, the Progressive Education Association and associations from elementary through university-level districts and institutions. At first, recommendations sought to “stimulate

183. Ibid. 31-32.
volunteer out-of-school services by children."

Then, the next statement in January 28, 1942 called upon schools to make victory their first priority. Teachers were told to make changes, "promptly and cheerfully," so that every student understands the principles of war and that "service comes first." Roosevelt adopted the awareness only method while the Wartime Commission and educators sought to encourage programs and volunteer groups. This example of a disjointed effort is only one of many that occurred during the war years. Fortunately, the public’s enthusiasm for mobilizing overcame the troubles in Washington.

Most independent programs such as those of the Red Cross, Girls and Boys Club, Salvation Army and the Boy Scouts were successful. These organizations did not need the government support to run war-related programs. They did, however, need instruction from the government regarding what were the national priorities and what the soldiers, sailors, and airmen needed most. In response to this growing need for direction, President Roosevelt began by establishing the Office of War Information in June 1942. Unlike the mandate of the Office of Facts and Figures, the OWI’s definition included "coordinating the dissemination of war information by all federal agencies and to formulate and carry out, by means of press, radio and motion pictures...." In short the media were now working within guidelines provided by OWI to "provide a clear and accurate picture of the war." They enjoyed complete success as Americans everywhere believed official reports to be accurate and not government propaganda. David Hershey, nine years old in 1941, "didn’t look at movies, newspaper articles, etc. as propaganda, it was true in our eyes,” he remarks.

Gradually, President Roosevelt allowed these

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187 Blum, 31.
188 Ibid. 31-32.
Offices the freedom to report the war in tandem with the media.

The executive order of June 1942 disseminated information and the Office of Civilian Defense organized tangible activities such as scrap drives, food rationing, and volunteers to lead air raid drills. Eleanor Roosevelt, the first director of the Voluntary Participation Committee, supervised physical fitness clinics. The hope was to mobilize the children into a unified force that was fighting mentally and spiritually against fascism in Europe and Japan.

The National Education Association (NEA) and the American Association of School Administration (AASA) contributed ceaselessly to the war effort. They shouldered the duty of recommending overall policy on voluntary activities for schools during the war. In 1942 these association connected to the Education Policies Commission of the U.S. Office of Education and emphatically urged the nation’s schools to give “absolute and immediate priority in time, attention, personnel, and funds over any and all activities” to “appropriate war duties.” The Commission’s goals included: teaching children to conserve materials, protecting them from enemy attack, promoting pupils’ health, sustaining their morale, and encouraging children to help “to raise funds to finance the war.”

Teachers worked after school and on weekends and took on extra-curricular activities connected to the war effort. In some cases, educators spent time selling war bonds, facilitated scrap drives, took care of students after school, organized scrapbook making and letter writing by students to be sent off to soldiers. Even though teachers took on extra work for the war effort, their primary role was to teach about democracy and the American way of life. Included in these democratic ideals were Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms, his reasons for fighting the war. The President’s definitions of the war aims

190 Blum, 224-225.
191 Kirk, 85.
192 Kandel, 17-18.
193 Kirk, 86-87.
were: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Political and educational leaders wanted the American public to understand that the United States was not fighting for “booty or for more territory or for imperialism” but to “destroy the idea of Fascism.”

President Roosevelt especially wanted to impress upon the youth the idea of the democratic way of life.

Education

American schools in the 1930’s still modeled themselves to some extent on the European (i.e. British) system of education. Schools ranged in size from one room school houses to entire school districts that accommodated large numbers of students classified according to grade level.

The decade of the 1930’s was a time of internal struggles for Americans. The Great Depression gave rise to numerous domestic problems that hindered the education of many children. This period was not conducive for a healthy learning environment. In addition, the depression severely restricted the availability of tax monies to support schools in many cities and towns. To cite one example, for a time teachers in the Chicago Public School did not receive regular paychecks. Across the United States, by the beginning of 1934, twenty-six hundred rural schools closed their doors or shortened their terms affecting nearly 10 million children. Some teachers even left the profession because of “insufficient salary.”

As schools were trying to teach the values of a democratic “American” way of life, unemployment, poverty, and despair still engulfed them. The proclamation of the New

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195 Rog, 22.
196 Ibid. 22.
197 Tuttle, 121.
198 Rog, 25.
Deal, followed some years later by the economic buildup toward war helped invigorate the weak economy, but did not immediately produce a full recovery. The continuing economic woes posed a challenge to educators who were trying to impart hope and instill faith in American principles in their students. The public schools in Chicago stressed ideals of good citizenship and democracy long before the war. It was not until after Pearl Harbor that schools across the nation diminished their concerns about the economy and prepared instead for the fight to secure a democratic world. Now millions of children across the country could actively implement the tenets taught in the 1930’s.

As in Japan, some, but not all, American students recalled hearing war news in school. Carol Waters and Pat Gardner who were both in first grade at the start of the war do not remember their teachers discussing the war, although they do recall buying war bonds at school. Both attended Catholic schools, and Waters remembers praying for peace in school and church. Waters and Kirt Gardner may have been too young to remember if war news was discussed in school. Other interviewees do remember that war bonds were sold in schools and that students were encouraged to participate in the war effort. For example, Pat Gardner recalls assemblies and parades, particularly the V-E and V-J day parades. A program launched by the Treasury Department and the Office of Education called the “Schools at War” program served as an incentive for children to buy war saving stamps and bonds. The children’s motto became: “SAVE, SERVE, CONSERVE”. Children quickly adapted and became effective salespersons for the federal government.

Children engaged in a variety of activities and became involved in the war effort, but these were not the only services that schools performed during the war. Active

199 Ibid. 31, 38-39.
203 Tuttle, 121.
participation was desirable and viewed as a mark of patriotism and wartime enthusiasm. The primary objective of the government and educators was to develop patriotic children who felt unequivocal devotion to their country.

**Nationalism in the Curriculum**

Morals and nationalism went hand in hand. Patriotic or nationalist sentiment resulted from teaching morality. Educators and government officials wanted students to practice diligence, enhance patriotism, and develop a sense of purpose. By so doing, they could reach a common goal, prevent delinquency, lessen children's fears and insecurities and improve their character by involving them in every possible part of the war effort. In 1940, the White House, anticipating an imminent war, convened a “Conference on Children in a Democracy.” This conference asked educators to motivate their students to increase their patriotism by active participation in community service. The Wartime Policies Commission also requested schools to “emphasize the ideals of freedom and equality for which we are fighting” and “to provide many opportunities for community service....” By inculcating the principles of democracy, the government and teachers hoped to develop patriotic youngsters.

Many schools assigned military rank to their pupils and some teachers drilled students in Physical Education classes as if they were at boot camp. One girl from Ohio remembers the first and second grade reading groups divided into private, corporals, and sergeants instead of the normal redbirds, bluebirds, and blackbirds. Their advancement in reading utilized chevrons displaying their ranks. Other students recall daily inspections for hygiene, instructions in digging trenches, air raid drills, and “presenting arms, rushing the enemy and falling to the ground in fighting position.”

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204 Kirk, 60
206 Ibid. 120.
Schools enjoyed an extraordinary amount of influence during the war. Their impassioned approach to the war introduced impressionable children to patriotism and democratic ideology. The newfound responsibilities of the schools also encouraged them to teach good citizenship. A pamphlet written by women educators distributed to all schools in the nation called for adequate protection, intelligent participation and balanced perspective for all children. The four precepts of the pamphlet, *Education for Victory* required:

1. Sensing what America is fighting for by developing an understanding of democratic ideals through daily practice in living them.
2. Seeing that America's fight for democratic principles is but one part of mankind's long struggle for freedom.
3. Knowing the real values that war cannot destroy.
4. Understanding and appreciating others by stressing likenesses as opposed to superficial differences among citizens of a democracy.

The ideal sought by national leaders and educators was to mold America's children into exemplary patriotic students. Children also had moral codes to follow along with "The Laws of Right Living," and "the Good American" brochures distributed by the NEA.

Educators skillfully utilized the war as a teaching tool. English classes used speeches from President Wilson's presidential era, the Red Cross and Liberty Loan. For Civics classes, the majority of schools used Lesson Sheets sent by the U.S. Bureau of Education on "Community and National Life." Physical Education classes introduced into the curriculum for the first time during World War I became even more militaristic and intense during World War II. Of course, history classes emphasized many war-related topics during the lesson. Maps, documents, newspapers, and other materials were used to

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207 Howard Tolley Jr., *Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict* (New York: Random House, 1984), 11-12
208 "Educational Policy Concerning Young Children and the War," *Education for Victory* I (April 15, 1942), 8-9. Also see Timothy DeWitt Connelly, "Education for Victory: Federal Efforts to Promote War-Related Instructional Activities by Public School Systems, 1940-1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 74-117.
209 Tuttle, 118.
teach, “love of country and loyalty to American ideals.” Some students constructed model airplanes, which the Navy used to teach aircraft identification to recruits. Math formulas dealt with computations involving tanks, airplanes, and ships. Science classes looked at the role fire played in the creation of incendiary bombs and the conservation of fuel. Some schools stopped teaching certain foreign languages, predominantly German and Italian, but other schools continued teaching these languages as an indispensable tool for the war effort. Irene Chemosky, thirteen years old at the time of the war, recalls making covers for a Thanksgiving menu sent overseas to servicemen. In English class, they wrote letters to a list of serviceman from the county, and the more letters you wrote the more class credit you received. In Geography class, Irene remembers learning new names of countries because they studied where the Allied forces were stationed. The most memorable occasion for Irene happened when she won an award for selling the most war bonds. Irene comments, “after school, I went door to door advertising that you could buy a $25 bond for $18.75.”

In some cases, students tended victory gardens at school under a “club” organization, but most students cultivated gardens at home using whatever space they had, sometimes including flowerbeds. Students reported on the harvests of their gardens and prizes were awarded to students and families who grew the most vegetables. The garden movement involved every able-bodied student in the United States. For Dolores Hershey, their “big victory garden” was carefully cultivated and produced a sense of pride for their whole family.

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211 Ibid. 40.
212 Ibid. 101.
213 Ibid. 93.
Working for the War Effort

“Millions of young Americans, turning their energies to collecting all sorts of scrap metals, rubber and rags can help turn the tide in our ever-increasing war effort,” exhorted President Roosevelt. These services were seen less as work than as character-building exercises that developed patriotism in children. Although their services were voluntary, most children did not wanted to be taunted as “unpatriotic,” thereby cheerfully volunteering their time and energy to the task of collecting scrap, conserving materials, and participating in the war effort in a variety of ways.

Until the 1920’s, labor laws in the United States were weak. Child labor was essential to sustaining many families, but gradually federal legislation and a changing economy diminished the importance of child labor. Children began to attend school more regularly and enjoyed more free time, at least until the Great Depression. The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection promised children good health education, and safety. Unfortunately, the economy did not cooperate with government hopes. In the late 1930’s most children were still working part-time, but only in so-called “non-exploitative” jobs such as delivering newspapers. With the tide turning towards war, collecting scrap was added to the list.

After Pearl Harbor, a labor shortage drew more children into the work force. As millions of men went off to war, many women went to work. Many high school students left school for jobs in the wartime economy. Not infrequently part-time after school jobs turned into full time positions. Most jobs, however, were after school or weekend employment in such areas as war bond drives, food rationing, and scrap collection. This “work” was seen as a form of democratic volunteerism that required cooperative efforts.

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217 Kirk, 57-60.
218 Ibid. 58-59.
A woman from Massachusetts comments on the feelings of unity and purpose that her participation in the war effort inspired:

...a happier time...that I would not have missed if I could pick and choose when I would move through the world. The kids today will, in all probability never know the closeness of people, their kindness and love brought forth by the need to be unified.\textsuperscript{219}

Collecting scrap, club activities and the team effort for the war built a strong sense of community among student workers. Work was enjoyable when done in the company of others who shared the same purpose.

A University of California at Berkeley study of children born in the years 1928-29 examined these students throughout the war years. The researchers collected the unfiltered testimony of many of these youth who were twelve- and thirteen-year olds at the time of Pearl Harbor, and who worked during the war years. Many went to work to help the nation at war. They earned money to spend on themselves; girls usually spent it immediately, whereas boys saved it first to buy a larger item such as a car or bike. Nonetheless, the majority bought war bonds and stamps for patriotic reasons. Some students who preferred working over going to school took advantage of the opportunities the war offered to get full-time jobs.\textsuperscript{220} In rural areas, students helped on farms and often missed school due to harvesting or planting. Keith Parker was one of these students. Since his brothers were serving in the war, he quit school in 1944 at age fourteen and managed his family’s fruit farm. He felt it was his duty to work hard on the farm to facilitate the supply of food for the war effort.\textsuperscript{221} Dolores Hershey remembers the emphasis put in her home on sacrifice. Hershey grew up on a farm and had plenty of food, but her parents still practiced frugality and stressed “saving and conserving” for the

\textsuperscript{219} Virginia Cyr, letter to author, Robert Wm Kirk, 22 June 1990. \textit{Earning Their Stripes}, 110.
\textsuperscript{220} Aruga Natsuki, “Continuity During Change in World War II Berkeley, California as Seen Through the Eyes of Children Guidance Study, Young Author’s Club” (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 1996), 237-266.
\textsuperscript{221} Keith Parker, interview at Leelanau Historical Society, Leland, Mich., 11 April 1994.
war. Her family donated beef to the Swift and Armour Company, which shipped it to Europe. “Meals were simple,” reminisces Hershey and “we were told not to be extravagant.”

Guidance experts approved of work as a way to involve children in the war effort. “The war demands work from civilians...and gives the older children a chance to take over responsibility for worth-while work,” commented child expert Angelo Patri. Patri believed “collecting” is a “child’s instinct;” therefore, while filling their niche they can build their character and help in the war effort. Patri also felt it was important to encourage children to persevere as a way of building character. Dorothy Baruch, Professor of Education and Director of Pre-School at Whittier College in 1942, concurs with Patri’s beliefs, “Even the littlest ones can help” reads the caption under a picture of a mother and small child feeding chickens. Baruch asserted that children needed to be involved in the war effort. Her book offers a multitude of suggestions for students, such as joining the “work armies” for the Forest Service, helping out in farms and ranches, and looking after younger children. When asked what she did for the war, one girl remarked, “Everyday, I button up pants on a whole bunch of children whose mothers are making bullets to shoot the Japs!”

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224 Ibid. 45.
226 Ibid. 151.
Family Life

The war caused a major disruption in family life in the United States. The war was an impetus for men to join the service or be drafted, women to enter the workforce, and for some families to move for economic reasons. Ernest W. Burgess states, “War, like any other crisis, has its obvious, although more superficial, and its subtler, but more profound effects on the family.” Burgess also expressed anxiety about the disintegration of the family unit because of the stress of the war. Burgess identifies participation in the war effort as a counteracting factor favorable to family stability. He suggested that because of the sacrifices involved, family members would forget their own personal woes and refocus on the unifying force entailed in contributing to the war effort.

For the most part, families pulled together and supported each other during the war. According to Dorothy Dickens, the family, is the basic unit of [American] society and is the most important factor in the rearing of the children and shaping of the personalities and attitudes that will later be applied to everyday life. My interviewees, as children during the war, claimed their personalities were significantly “shaped” by the “attitudes” of wartime. Nine out of twelve American participants still express strong patriotic desires and support for the American government to fight if necessary to protect the security of the United States. Many also continue to conserve as much as possible admitting that growing up during the war years affected these actions.

For economic reasons, many families were forced to move during the war. One area where hundreds of thousands of people moved was Willow Run, near Detroit, Michigan. Ford sponsored the world’s largest airplane production plant inundating the Willow Run

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228 Ibid. 33-37.
229 Dorothy Dickens, “What War is doing to the Farm Family.” (June, 1942), Journal of Home Economics, xxxiv 358-61.
area with 200,000 people from 1940-1944. Many families stayed in the makeshift trailer park, while their children attended schools of similar fashion. One teacher had 58 students in her 2nd grade class.\textsuperscript{231} Overcrowded classrooms and small living spaces caused superfluous tension to the American family. One mother tired of her son flying his model airplanes and dropping bombs on his targets comments, that this is “no place for a child.”\textsuperscript{232} Insufficient living space caused many families to live with relatives or sometimes, even strangers. Understanding neighbors often helped each other out with childcare or comforting them if they lost a loved one.\textsuperscript{233}

Once more, guidance experts offered copious amounts of advice to parents on how to deal with their children and keep their family unit strong. Tips for parents included: “explain the war simply to your child” and give them concrete reasons why they should participate in war activities,” states Anna W.M. Wolf.\textsuperscript{234} Generally, Wolf felt parents should be honest with their children about the war and they should make them feel their contribution to the war was important. Wolf also used children from Great Britain as archetypes for children in wartime. Since British children were experiencing bombing and war-related events sooner than Americans were, these prototypes were useful examples for American children.\textsuperscript{235} Similarly to their Allied partner, American families began collecting scrap, writing letters to soldiers, putting on benefits and performances and selling war bonds. In the United States, like Japan, neighborhoods worked together for the common war effort.

The American family survived the war. “(M)illions of people simply did what was necessary to cope with wartime changes,” remarks Paul Casdorph.\textsuperscript{236} Sacrificing and coping enabled the American family to overcome wartime obstacles. The Depression

\textsuperscript{231} Tuttle, 49-50.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid. 50-51.
\textsuperscript{233} Chaplick, 8.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid. 64-65, 71-72.
\textsuperscript{236} Casdorph, 7.
years before the war toughened the persona of Americans. With the arrival of the war the economy improved. Rationing was introduced, conserving and saving were emphasized, yet the cash flow increased with the growth of the economy.

Voices

David Hershey’s initial memory of the war is the upheaval it created in his family. Hershey’s mother had brothers in the war causing her much anxiety often leading to seizures. “I would have to help my mother get up and then she would lay in bed, sometimes for days.” recollects Hershey. In their family, they did not discuss the war regularly; because of the strain it caused his mother. Conversely, Dolores Hershey remembers the discourse of war at every family gathering. Her recollections evoke the excitement war talk brought, but also the fear that her uncles may die. Perhaps with three uncles in the war that is the reason emphasis in her home was on sacrifice. They shared a victory garden with their neighbors and worked side by side for their country.

Some children longed for the chance to be American soldiers. Mary Louise Koehnen, who wrote letters to General Dwight D. Eisenhower while he was stationed in the European Theater, expressed the boredom that came with being on the home front and her desire to fight in the war. Craig Smith, eleven at the start of the war could not wait to grow up and join the military. With three brothers in the military, two in Europe and one in the Philippines, conversation at Smith’s house revolved around the war. He adamantly agreed with his parents about democracy and fighting the enemy. He confides that it was easy to agree with them because they talked “logically and rationally” about the reasons for America’s involvement in the war.

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Many families were very patriotic, such as Irene Chemosky’s family. Her brother was in the European theater and everyday after dinner her family would discuss the war news. In her 6th grade class, they discussed the war everyday, so Chemosky wanted to keep abreast with the happenings. With Chemosky’s encouragement, her two sons joined the military and from this experience, they “realize what the United States of America stands for.” Chemosky also agrees with Rosie Schramski’s view of real community spirit. Schramski is proud that during the war, “everybody was out to win the war and working together for the war effort.” Pat Gardner is still amazed at the “loyalty that existed” and everyone’s collaboration with the government and for the war. Many interviewees remember rolling bandages for the Red Cross, helping with collecting scrap, and rationing for the country. Generally speaking families cooperated within their communities for the war.

In addition to buying and selling of war bonds and other activities, many children during the war wrote letters to uncles or unknown soldiers. This was stressed in school in order to alleviate homesick soldiers and to boost children’s morale and war spirit. Carol Waters still has a letter sent dated March 24, 1943 to her uncle in Europe that she wrote when she was six years old. The letter reads:

Dear Chucky:
When are you going to win the war for us. We don’t have anyone to play with so hurry and come home.
We pray for you every night. Be a good boy.

Carol

Waters also acknowledged her parents “reverence for President Roosevelt.” When he died the somber mood in our house lasted for days, admits Waters. Contrapositively,
Gil Upton, aged eleven on Pearl Harbor, concedes that his father was a staunch Republican and believed President Roosevelt surreptitiously wanted America in the war. Lend-Lease confirmed his father’s beliefs about Roosevelt until the shock of Pearl Harbor, then Upton’s father ceased to criticize FDR and we all put our minds on winning the war.  

The war provided a type of equality that was unprecedented before the Pacific War. Almost instantaneously, an egalitarian society formed among patriotic Americans. A mother, Bessie Watson, comments on the first few years after the war, “We didn’t know we was poor until they told us we were poor, but we weren’t any poorer than the next person. Because everybody was the same thing and your community all held together. If you needed any help, all you had to do was pick up your telephone and it was there.”  

Pat Michaelis working for the Kansas State Historical Society sees the “bond drives” as “one of the things that brought people together more that everybody was made to feel a part of supporting the war effort.” After the isolated, fearful Depression era, wartime activities offered teamwork and a sense of belonging to the American public.

249 Ibid.
250 Stephen E. Ambrose, Americans at War (New York: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 188.
Rationing for our Country

In Japan and the United States, rationing was an extension of mobilizing the masses. Rationing, like mobilization, rallied the people in Japan and the United States to conserve, preserve, and serve their country in an alternative way than fighting. American and Japanese children were recruited for these jobs as a form of keeping them busy and involved actively in the war. As children proved adept at rationing and collecting of scrap materials, patriotism was infused in their minds.

Zeitaku wa teki da!251

“Extravagance is the Enemy” rang the sonorous slogan, after Japan’s defeat at Midway in June 1942.252 Conserving became the priority for those living in Japan because of dwindling imports of foodstuffs as Japan’s maritime shipping was husbanded for the war effort. The lack of basic food necessities precipitated the government’s decision to exercise exclusive control over rations of rice, salt, sugars and other key foodstuffs.253 Government control over the economy had been going on for some time. As early as 1933, controls had been imposed on steel consumption, which was essential in the production of armaments. With war looming in Europe in the mid 1930’s, Japan slashed its imports, and restrictions were imposed on civilian oil consumption which dropped from 10 million barrels to 4 million annually from 1937 to 1940.254 This was just the start of Japan’s rationing program.

The “Materials Mobilization Program” adopted in the summer of 1938 instituted rationing of foreign and domestic raw materials essential for Japan’s armaments program, and an increasing group of manufactured products, especially machinery. From this time

251 Translated as, “Extravagance is the Enemy” See Thomas R.H. Havens, The Valley of the Darkness 10-11 and Japanese History: An Introductory Text, 134 in Appendix C.
252 Appendix C, Japanese History: An Introductory Text, 134.
253 Ibid. 134-135.
until the end of the war, civilian consumption was sharply curtailed and the focus turned to rationing household food and clothing. Matches and sugar were the first targets in June 1940 with charcoal joining the list in December. Fuel was a major problem almost throughout the entire war; during the last few years of the war the situation grew so desperate that people resorted to burning furniture, books and anything combustible. Chikano Kaoru, recounted stories of trolley cars not having enough coal or other sources of fuel. The trolleys managed fine going downhill, but going uphill volunteers had to hop off of the trolley and push while running alongside until the trolley reached the summit. At the time it was a sign of the hard times and hardly comical, but in retrospect Chikano laughed about it.

Other pre-Pearl Harbor restrictions covered shoe leather and clothes. Bark and wool pulp woven together with small amounts of wool and cotton, was sold as staple fiber. The limit on gasoline was thirty liters a month for private cars; taxis were rarely seen after midnight. Many Japanese grew dispirited by rationing and talk of sacrificing since the protracted war in China did not seem very pressing. Still, the government urged the citizens on and established more controls on basic foods, clothing and other essentials in early 1941. After Pearl Harbor, the newfound gravity of the war impressed upon all Japanese citizens the need to be conscientious in their efforts to be faithful servants of the state. For the next four years, regardless of how they might have felt “sacrifice and endurance for the country” were on everybody’s lips.

Neighborhood units officially instituted rationing in October 1942. The neighborhood captain asked his group for a consensus on what vegetables they desired and then, he instructed the grocer as to what to provide. This system worked well while

255 Ibid. 247.
256 Havens, 50, 122.
258 Havens, 50.
259 Havens, 115 and Bloch, 244.
there was a supply to choose from. Usually a runner assigned by the neighborhood associations would run about yelling that the “rations were in” and someone in the household would go to the captain’s house for supplies. Rice, miso and other non-perishable commodities were distributed at “rice stations.” The first controls on rice were imposed on December 25, 1940, and by next April the six largest cities in Japan all had restrictions on rice.\(^{260}\) The apportioned amount was always doled out according to the size of family, sex, age and occupation. Overall, the system proved fair but supplies were inadequate to feed the entire Japanese population.

As the war situation grew more dire, the ration lines lengthened and the lack of provisions worsened. One woman at the “peak” of her “young womanhood” was ashamed that her “most elegant” clothing was a pair of baggy work pants made from her mother’s old kimono. Although she “detested the war and all the accompanying hardships” she acquiesced and recited the words “for the sake of our country” and endured such things as standing in long lines for rations.\(^{261}\) Catchy slogans to help individuals endure living in an austere society were, “No desires until victory is ours” and “Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Friday” meaning there were no holidays.\(^{262}\)

Except for prison or physical terror, feeling hungry probably demoralizes people faster than any other temporary privation...\(^{263}\), declares historian Thomas R.H. Havens. No one in Japan starved to death during the Pacific War, although many experienced acute hunger. Psychological impacts from hunger pains and restrictions that came with the war were great. Some considered suicide, stole food or enraged with the macabre environment in which they were forced to live, had fits of petulance.\(^{264}\)

\(^{260}\) Havens, 116-117.
\(^{261}\) Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace, *Speaking of Peace, Something We Want You to Know* (Nagasaki: Showado Printing Co., 1999), 25.
\(^{262}\) Ibid. 25.
\(^{263}\) Havens, 115.
\(^{264}\) Senoh, 491-516.
hunger, and shortage of goods aggregated wartime life for Japanese people. By 1943, people were “thinking from morning to night only of food.” As the material austerities grew worse, the government told people to get along by “making do” with substitutes.\textsuperscript{265} “Deliver, deliver” was another cry from the government, as families turned over pots, pans, glass, dishes and even valuables like diamonds.\textsuperscript{266} By now, all women were dressed in \textit{monpe}, plain women’s work pants gathered at the ankles, and men in national civilian uniforms. Parents tried to make do with the meagre “points” the government allocated for material used but some children still went shoeless. The fortunate ones wore \textit{geta}, wooden clogs, since the rubber normally used for sneakers was set aside for military use.\textsuperscript{267}

Children were instructed to dress simply sometimes even going without a winter coat as a disciplinary lesson for enduring cold weather.\textsuperscript{268} Children also were invaluable helpers in helping to make the rationing system work well. They both collected and distributed food. For some time, Yamaguchi, Tsutomu would not eat sweet potatoes after the war, because every day as a schoolboy in Kagoshima, he was mobilized to collect the potatoes from the fields besides eating them every day in the latter years of the war. To this day, one of Yamaguchi’s childhood friends will not eat sweet potatoes, because of this same experience.\textsuperscript{269}

The dearth of goods in Japan called for drastic measures including \textit{kaidashi}, buying goods at wholesale, but in this case, it meant going to the country to obtain food.\textsuperscript{270} The black market was prevalent in outlying areas and bartering clothes or valuables for food was a common practice. At times, especially near the end of the war, the trains would be

\textsuperscript{265} Ibid. 118.
\textsuperscript{266} Havens, 50. Besides families, municipalities were donating lampposts, statues, bridge railings and park benches. Buddhist monks benevolently contributed large temple bells to be melted down for war purposes. See Arthur Zich, ed., \textit{The Rising Sun}, 200-201.
\textsuperscript{267} Havens, 119-120, 134.
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid. 10, 133.
\textsuperscript{269} Yamaguchi Tsutomu, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 13 March 2000.
\textsuperscript{270} Appendix C, \textit{Japanese History: An Introductory Text}, 137.
packed with people en route for the countryside for kaidashi.271

According to some of my interviewees, desperate situations were not uncommon. Akahoshi Kenichi still eats in small portions because the war caused him to eat less than adequate amounts. He chuckled when he retold stories of stealing food because he was so hungry. He would gather with his friends and decide from which field they would steal vegetables. Stealing became not only a means of survival but also a kind of game at a time when normal children's play all but disappeared. "It was the only play we had the last few years of the war," he reports.272 Children stealing food during the austere war years was an extremely pervasive activity prompting a noted director in Japan, Isao Takahata, to create an animation film about this theme. The popularity of Hotaru no Haka (Grave of the Fireflies) reminds people of the bleak war years. Miyazaki Kimiko is glad those days are over and that she no longer experiences the pangs of hunger, reminiscent of the war.273

Those days were filled with austerity and rationing asserts," Miyazaki Kenichi.274 Tokiwa Kenji remembers rationing many items such as shoes by lottery.275 Kinoshita Fusako's most memorable event during the war was rationing clothes and food. She particularly remembers the lack of textiles; therefore, people rarely wore kimonos. She also remembers a short supply of clothes, and underwear and everyone wore tabi, traditional Japanese sturdy socks.276 Nakano Tamae said the shortage of goods was so great that everyone was poor. Although, we were given point cards and tickets to buy goods, usually it was not enough, she explains.277 Life was not easy and children were taught that the shortage of goods was the fault of the western powers for Japan's paucity

271 Ibid. 137.
272 Akahoshi Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000.
274 Miyazaki Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 19 October 2000.
276 Kinoshita Fusako, questionnaire to author, Kumamoto, Japan, 13 March 2001.
277 Nakano Tamae, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 10 October 2000
of goods.

Chikano Kaoru, 14 years old at the time of Pearl Harbor and Miyazaki Kenichi 10 years old at the same time but living in Taiwan, both were taught in “school about the ABCD Line” (A represented America, B for Britain, C for China and D for the Dutch, or the Netherlands). They learned that these countries encircled Japan and cut off her resources forcing her to ration and attack the enemy. For this reason, these two students understood Japan’s predicament and cheerfully accepted rationing as a necessity for their country.  

Rationing is Good Democracy

Wartime America embodied the model of an egalitarian rationing effort. For the most part, family status, did not determine the amount of food served in an American household during the war years. The government’s goal of equitable rationing was successfully accomplished with the help of millions of Americans that felt it was their duty to be fair. The scarcity of food promoted rationing; however, those living on farms did not experience the stringent regulations of those living in more urban areas. Dolores Hershey grew up on a farm and had plenty of food, but her parents still practiced frugality and stressed “saving and conserving” for the war. Her family donated beef to the Swift and Armour Company, which shipped it to Europe for the soldiers. “Meals were simple,” reminisces Hershey and “we were told not to be extravagant.”

Just days after Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Government enacted the first control measures on the country’s resources, although actual rationing of foodstuffs and consumer goods

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279 This statement was quoted by an American housewife from an Office of Price Administration Pamphlet. See Amy Bentley, Eating for Victory (Urbana and Chicago, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 14.  
began slightly later in early 1942. The first items rationed were: tires, followed by sugar, coffee, shoes, gasoline, butter and other fats, canned goods and red meat, with "ration books" that were handed out in early March 1942 at public schools. Schools, already divided into districts, were favorable locations for passing out the ration books and keeping families organized according to this system. The government's work was simpler using this method, because the teachers, recruited to do many war-related jobs, monitored each family receiving a ration book.

As in Japan, as the war dragged on rationing became stricter as all sorts of commodities became increasingly scarce. The New Year in 1943 brought Americans stricter food rationing. The troops required more food; accordingly, the public gave more through the increased rigidity in the point system. New foods were introduced to the American diet for convenience and as a governmental alternative to the insufficient food source. For instance, frozen and processed foods, and can goods were now available at stores, although homemakers were encouraged to can fruits and vegetables at home. For the most part the rationing system was perceived as equitable, but a relatively few people felt that the tighter controls greatly limited their standard of living.

The rationing process was simple in outline, but in reality the periodic reassignment of point values for various products, according to changes in crop output and consumer consumption, made the plan complicated. Consumers needed to be careful not to use too many coupons in a month or they would run out. If this happened, which it often did, one found creative solutions. Bartering was one such method. Families often swapped coupons for items that they needed most. The black market was another way around rationing.

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281 Casdorph, 12.
282 Bentley, 15.
283 Casdorph, 77.
284 Ibid. 79-82.
285 Casdorph, 13 and Bentley, 16.
Many families bought meat from the black market after 1943, when the supply grew inadequate for most families. Irene Chemosky’s family had to buy meat on the black market although they raised chickens, wheat, corn and other vegetables. Rationing only allowed for a limited amount of red meat per family and they used the black market since the allotment was not sufficient. Pat Gardner’s father obtained red meat on the black market, but he also raised a pig in their garage. Their neighbors in suburban Detroit did not complain as long as they received a share of some of the meat. One of Pat Gardner’s after school chores was to feed the pig. Although, America’s rationing process was not foolproof, generally speaking, citizens followed the rules.

The government’s reasons for rationing accompanied by price control were to combat high inflation and ensure equitable distribution of scarce resources. The President also wanted residents to remain calm in the face of war; therefore, he guaranteed individuals a “fair share of goods made scarce by war” as written in the War Ration Book Number 2. Rationing proved a useful tool for enhancing communal sentiment, equity and patriotic behavior. President Roosevelt was well aware that the country needed to pledge full support for rationing. Cooperation was imperative and by means of messages, organizations and the media everyone became involved in the rationing. Some messages used racial slurs like Leon Henderson’s February 1942 speech, “More Dollars Do Not Mean More Goods.” Supposedly, it was the “JAPS” fault for the rubber shortage. In addition, he claimed “Hoarding Helps Hitler” and that “No patriotic American will hoard anything in this emergency.” Finally, Henderson appealed to all Americans to think of the soldier’s sacrifices exhorting the public to sacrifice a little by rationing for the country.

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288 Bentley, 19.
289 Ibid. 1.
Teachers, clubs and organizations encouraged the young to abide by the rationing system by offering rewards and resorting to patriotic exhortations. Some authors took advantage of the important position that schools occupied in the wartime and wrote specific wartime texts to be used in classes. One typical article titled, “What one can do to Help,” explained the need for conserving and rationing. The author also encouraged students to become involved in the “salvage for victory” program. Teachers implored their students to listen to the President and the experts making their pleas. The Red Cross, Lions Club and the Camp Fire Girls were just a few associations that engaged children in the rationing system. For example, the 1943 Camp Fire Girls’ birthday project in Missoula, Montana featured a “Serve by Saving” campaign. This was a “battle” against waste on the home front encouraging salvage and the purchase of war bonds according to the director.

American society wholly participated in rationing and children gave extensively to the cause. Children generously volunteered their time and energy by tending victory gardens, collecting scrap, buying war bonds, and going without toys and candy. They felt it was their patriotic duty to conserve for the American nation, and by so doing the children of the United States served their country well.

Nancy Telgard’s first memory after Pearl Harbor concerned rationing. Other American children distinctly remember rationing because it was an essential part of their daily lives. Keith Parker specifically recalls rubber and gas rationing since it affected work on the farm and Pat Kirt Gardner’s very first memory was gas rationing. She was four years old at the time of Pearl Harbor, so she does not recall this event. Other rationed items recalled by my interviewees included sugar, coffee, tires, shoes, meat and

291 Charles Judd, 305-308.
292 The Missoulian 17 March 1943.
clothes. Irene Chemosky’s house was the recycling center for the rural neighborhood where they collected everything from tin cans, wax paper, metals, and aluminum. Schools were also hubs for recycling and students would come in day after day with goods from home to be recycled.

Kirt Gardner and Fred Plamondon both remember picking milkweed pods and putting them in onion sacks. At the time, they did not know the importance of collecting the pods, only that the military needed them for the war effort. Years later, they discovered they were used in making parachutes. Kirt Gardner also remembers her mother sending winter coats to Germany for the refugees. Her family, strong advocates of the war, participated in many wartime activities.

Children were severely affected by the war years in numerous ways. Their adult memories help us understand the lives of children during the Pacific War. Unequivocally, Japanese children suffered much more physical pain, including hunger than American children did. American children did not go hungry; they did not go without shoes or coats. The war was more intense in Japan, yet children in both countries made sacrifices including playtime, food, and clothing. Despite these austerities the cooperative effort was unprecedented by children in Japan and the United States. Much of this success and other war-related activities was made possible by the effect of the media on the minds of children.

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Shaping the Child’s Conscience

*I haven’t heard from you for some time,
but I guess you are pretty busy
trying to mow all those old Japs down.*

The wartime media, under the aegis of the governments in Japan and the United States during the Pacific War, manipulated the masses to espouse orthodox precepts chosen by the government. The fight in Japan was liberation from western domination seen as a colonization of nations, while the United States’ mission was to spread democracy, which the West viewed as the polar opposite of fascism and believed to be Japan’s suppression of other countries. Two different cultures proclaiming disparate political philosophies instigated a fight that lasted four years. The bellicosity and enmity on both sides profoundly used the media to fuel their agenda. Censorship and government control of the media produced propaganda materials full of half-truths and racism about the other. Commentaries during the war capitalized on subhuman characteristics of the enemy, inculcating fear into children. The media shaped the child’s conscience during the Pacific War, as a result, children emoted fear, hatred and racist attitudes toward the enemy.

The distortions of the enemy produced an extraordinary patriotic drive among children to fight the feral enemy portrayed by the media. Children touted a visceral superiority toward the enemy while malicious press in Japan and the United States charged the populace with arrogance over the other. “The war was a race war that exposed raw prejudices fueled by racial pride, arrogance, and rage on many sides,” conveys John Dower. This chapter portrays some of the prejudices and cognitive processes incorporated into children’s minds from 1941 to 1945.

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Mass media comprised a wide genre during the Pacific War and transmitted propaganda by means of radio, newspapers, magazines, newsreels, movies, posters and comics. Essentially each instrument the media utilized promoted similar concepts about the enemy in Japan and the United States - the enemy was evil. I will examine a few of these stereotypes that encouraged the Japanese and Americans to promote nationalism, deemed ethical for the sake of the country. One of the greatest wartime similarities between Japan and the United States is the parallel relationship with the racist ideals endorsed by the media during the Pacific War.

**Racism Begins**

Japan and the United States embarked on a “total war” which Max Lerner defines as, “a war in which every energy in the nation is directed to the single purpose of military power and no notions of liberty or decency are allowed to interfere with it.” Much of this energy was spent on elucidating views among the masses that were in line with the governments’ principles; Commodore Matthew Perry’s visit to Japan in 1853 immediately determined the course of the Japanese-American relationship, a somewhat dubious association from the start. Perry declared he would return to Japan in 1854 forcing a trade agreement between the two countries. Initially, a trade policy was not established, but the first provision promised eternal peace between Japan and America, which was abrogated on December 7, 1941.

From the beginning, America’s aggressive behavior made the Japanese wary who had complete knowledge of the exploitation in China by western powers. However, Japan and America became friends and had many commonalities such as industrial and imperialistic attitudes, and both were fond of baseball. Nevertheless, mistrust always

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301 Lerner, 45.
302 LaFeber, 14-15.
existed among them, perhaps, because of cultural differences and unequal treaties always favoring the West. In 1896, Lafcadio Hearn observed the disparate cultures by a study of American and Japanese pictures. He concludes, “Japanese art reflects natural law in change, and the sense of life made harmonious by social order and by self-expression,” but Western art “reflects the thirst of pleasure” and “the unamiable qualities which are indispensable to success in the competitive struggle.” The dichotomy that existed in their cultures began to become more evident.

Americans began to speak out against the Japanese as early as 1901 when the Industrial Commission reported that the Japanese “are more servile than the Chinese, but less obedient and far less desirable. They have most of the vices of the Chinese, with none of the virtues. They underbid the Chinese in everything, and are as a class tricky, unreliable and dishonest.” Such racist attitudes continued up to the time of Pearl Harbor attack. Then, Time Magazine came out with an issue to distinguish “Your Friends from the Japs,” your friends, in this case being Chinese. The Chinese were portrayed as “relaxed,” and their expressions were said to be “kindly” and “open.” The Japanese were depicted “nervous in conversation, laugh loudly at the wrong time” and “arrogant.” These stereotypes convinced Americans that the Japanese were exactly as the press was characterizing them. Noted historian, John W. Dower, in his book, War Without Mercy, concurs with these observations and thoroughly explores the stereotypes and racist propaganda that existed between Japan and the United States during the Pacific War. Dower claims, “the dominant perceptions of the enemy on both the Allied and Japanese sides, existed independently” and prior to the war in Asia. The stereotypes and the “explanations used to justify them...were archetypical images associated with

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301Ibid. 42.
inequitable human relations in general,” adds Dower. Basically, in Western eyes, the Japanese were subhuman, tapping into Yellow Peril sentiments that dated back before the turn of the century, toward the Chinese. In Japanese eyes, Westerners were “strangers, outsiders, and ambiguous gods or demons whose powers could be either beneficent or destructive.” The Shinto notions of “purity” and cleanliness, the Confucian classics idea of “proper place” and the influence of folk beliefs influenced the Japanese perceptions of Westerners. John W. Dower fully reveals that the Pacific War was a “race war.” He exposes “the racial prejudices fueled by racial pride, arrogance, and rage on many sides,” in his book War Without Mercy. As Sheila Johnson indicates, Oriental characteristics often blended into a generalization about all peoples from Asia. The capricious American attitudes toward Asia also revealed an oscillating perception of the different ethnic groups depending on economic or social situations.

Inequitable relations are identifiable with the imbalance in trade that began in the late 19th century. Early on, Japan actualized the West’s imperialistic attitude as a danger to their livelihood and its Asian neighbors. Japan did not denigrate the Western powers to the extent that they were depicted in Western eyes; instead they capitalized on their own pure, supreme race or “Yamato race.” Yet, the hairy, large barbarians were depicted as demons and fiends in Japanese eyes and promptly believed by impressionable children. On both sides, the epidemic racism became ingrained in the minds of children.

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308 Ibid. 9-10.
309 Ibid. 10.
310 Johnson, 7-10.
311 Dower, 6.
Media’s Instruments

An exhaustive list of sources on war provides a wide range of insights about the influential media during the Pacific War. The efficiency of radio, press, films, and magazines circulated propaganda out to children shaping their consciences toward the trend of war thought. Everything was written in favor of one’s own country. Military losses were downplayed, and each nation’s goals were expounded upon to the public. A war craze introduced all types of propaganda, which I highlight a few, focused on programming children.

One of the principal sources of information during the war years was the newspaper. Japan and the United States both adhered to censorship restrictions, but “voluntarily” in the United States. At the beginning of the war, the U.S. Office of Censorship issued constraints on categories of war information, unless otherwise released by appropriate authorities. In January 1934, Army Minister Araki Sadao’s recommendations about “controls on journalism an publication” were heeded as the Japanese government tightened controls on the already existing antisubversion laws. Similarly, in Japan and the United States, newspapers and other publications could freely produce mass amounts of nationalist works, inclusive of racial epithets. Unlike totalitarian governments, Japan’s privately owned newspapers could, within limits, print criticism against the government. The penalty for misconduct was more severe in Japan, but journalists in the United States feared being labeled “unpatriotic.”

A vast amount of publications inundated these two countries with patriotic messages. The resonating theme justified the fight. Newsreels featured the cruelty of the enemy,

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313 Ibid. 205.
315 For more information regarding the extensive network in Japan for “Reporting the War” see Ben–Ami Shillony, Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan, 91-109.
316 Ibid. 102.
radios blared euphemisms announcing victimization by the enemy, and songs
euphoniously echoed epiteths against the enemy. In Japan from 1939, movies, under
strict regulations, indoctrinated the term “holy war” (seisen) in featured films along with
the coined ABCD siege. From 1941-1945, pro-Japanese war films did not convey to
the public the disastrous defeats to Allied Powers. Eventually, the losses became
obvious, but until the end, the propaganda continued producing one-sided films. The
underlying theme in Japanese war films portrayed the Allied Powers as capitulating weak
enemies, and beneath superior, Japanese war tactics. However, other films duly honored
the Emperor, students that left for the warfront, and the sacredness of the war and
Japan.

In the United States, the War Department employed Hollywood for handling film
propaganda. Disney Studios created anti-Nazi films, and John Ford, who served time
as a Navy commander, directed the Battle of Midway that expressed the moral strength of
the American soldiers as a caveat for victory. Comparable to Japan, the United States
released films to promote nationalism by illustrating the divide between democracy and
fascism. Filmmakers also focused on the enemy. Frank Capra produced the Why We
Fight series, one titled Know Your Enemy: Japan. These films often used in training
American soldiers still had images that seeped out to the general public. Japanese were
graphically portrayed on film as “inhuman,” and leering, buck-toothed soldiers
possessing no code of justice.

Japan/American Film Wars, World War II Propaganda and its Cultural Contexts (Chur, Switzerland:
318 Ibid. 38.
319 Ibid. 44-49.
320 W.T. Murphy, “US Government and the Use of Motion Pictures during WWII.” Abe, Mark Nornes and
Fukushima Yukio, eds., The Japan/American Film Wars, World War II Propaganda and its Cultural
Film Wars, World War II Propaganda and its Cultural Contexts (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic
A famous comic strip in Japan that captured young readers’ attention was Norakuro, the dog that goes to war. He lives in barracks, learns how to shoot a gun, and appears happy with his militaristic life. Norakuro wears a pack, carries a gun and wears boots like a soldier. This popular series convinced the young, avid reader that going to war was a fun activity. In the United States, a popular animation by Warner Brothers, Tokio Jokio, reiterated negative typecasting of the Japanese by representing them as beings with tiny skulls and widely protruding ears wearing thick horn-rimmed glasses. Dr. Seuss even joined the wartime jingoes by drawing disparaging images of the Japanese in his comic strips. In Japan, official radio, Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, NHK (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation), reminded citizens to sacrifice for your Emperor, while commenting on the brutal acts of the Americans.

Expressing Fear, Hatred and Racist Attitudes

The mass organization of the media by the government infiltrated society to the extent that it inspired children to emulate the archetypes presented in the media. Slogans and songs proved successful jingles for motivating children. These slogans often were used as propaganda to mobilize students. Author Senoh Kappa to this day can reverberate the famous saying, SMASH THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN FIENDS. Other slogans promoted by the government were, UNTIRING PERSEVERANCE, RESPECT IMPERIAL RESCRPTS AND LIBERATE ASIA FROM WESTERN IMPERIALISM and the infamous hakkou ichiu, “the eight corners of the world under

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323 Kirk, 45. For more information on cartoons and children’s programs related to the war, see Kirk, Robert, Earning Their Stripes. 33-52.
325 Senoh, 175.
326 Havens, 12-13, 15.
327 Ben-Ami Shillony, “Universities and Students in Wartime Japan.” 769.
328 Jeanette Tawney’s best friend was Japanese, in Hawaii, so she was not fearful of the Japanese.
one roof.” These maxims blared in the ears of every citizen in Japan. Catchphrases in America were also popular and one could here children crooning, LOOSE LIPS SINK SHIPS, and WE’RE GONNA HAVE TO SLAP THE DIRTY LITTLE JAP. Allied children also learned negative jingles about Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo and Hirohito. Children, being impressionable, repeated these slogans in school at home and even on patriotic marches.

In the United States, outrageous tales circulated as truth. One tale had a mother receiving a letter from her soldier son held in a Japanese POW camp. The letter said that he was well and not to worry, but he also adds that she might want to give the stamp to a friend, who is a collector. After she soaks off the stamp, she finds a message under the stamp: “They have cut out my tongue.” This popular rumor not only gave credibility to Japanese cruelty but was actually believed by many. This story was impossible for the fact that post stamps are not affixed to letters from captured soldiers.

Demeaning caricatures of the enemy portrayed Japanese as rodents, bats, apes, and various animals. While the Japanese capitalized on the “white supremacy” the Americans espoused as a negative diatribe, they also depicted Americans as hairy devils, overweight, birdlike creatures and half-man half-animal. One Japanese cartoonist considered the English language so dirty that he portrayed Americans speaking into garbage cans. Although the Japanese focused on liberating themselves from the “tyranny of the West,” they also viewed their own leading race (shidou minzoku) as a purely homogenous superior culture. Visual images condoned by the government and spread by media propaganda led children to hate the enemy.

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330 Dower, 192-199.
331 LaFeber, 218.
332 Dower, 203-204.
The psychological impact of the racism instilled during the war may never be realized. At the time of the Pacific War, a school supervisor asked northern California fourth-through-sixth-graders “Which enemy do you dislike and why?” Most named the Japanese. Their explanation was that the “Japs are uncivilized,” “they torture men,” “they kill women and children,” “they cheat,” “because of Pearl Harbor,” and “because the Japs are the cruelest and most vicious.” The bestial characteristics were just as pervasive in Japan. Higa, Tomiko and Marks, Toshi both remember being frightened when they realized the war was over and that the Allies would be coming. The devil-like attributes they heard about were a fallacy, yet at first it was incomprehensible for them. In Japan, Americans were called kichiku or devil and in the United States, children called Japanese Japs. These derogatory terms supplemented children’s perception that the enemy was evil and inhuman aiding in the hatred that transpired from propaganda. The media in Japan and the United States had successfully transformed the minds of children to hate and fear the enemy.

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Playing War

I want green woods, pretty birds,
And hills and mountains
Full of peace and justice.
I want Japan and Germany to be friends with America

Children around the world share like or similar behaviors. This chapter describes the similarities I have found in war play behaviors among children in Japan and the United States during the Pacific War years. Japanese children first began to hear about Japan’s military expansion in the early 1930’s at the onset of the Manchurian Incident. Most children’s impressions of war began later in the United States with Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor. Around this time, children in both countries began to become aware that Japan and the United States were at war. Usually ethnic or other differences that are important in the adult world are invisible to children until such time as these differences are forcefully brought to their attention. Even if children notice physical differences between themselves and others, this is not important when forming relationships.

Lloyd Hornbostel portrays the insignificance of ethnic differences in his book, War Kids 1941-1945, WWII Through the Eyes of Children. Mr. Hornbostel devotes one complete chapter and parts of other chapters referring to a Japanese-American named Jimmey. Jimmey and the main character of the book attend the same high school and become friends. The main character invites Jimmey to play baseball on his team, which are short players. Jimmey is an excellent pitcher that turns a losing team into a winning one. When Jimmey is teased by opposing teams and fans, the racial epithets confuse the main character. He needs his mother to explain why the taunts are directed at Jimmey, even though he is in an American high school during the period of war with Japan. Perhaps, the fact that the story takes place in a small, midwestern town has something to

do with the obviousness of racial differences. In the end, the teenage boy is happy that Jimmey and his family remain in town and are not shipped off to a relocation center. Even though, the main character of War Kids did not initially comprehend racial differences, he did after Jimmey Osida and the team was jeered with comments like “a bunch of dirty Japs.” Children’s cognizance of national differences quickened with the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. During the Pacific War ideas were implanted in the minds of children that produced behaviors including war play that accurately reflected formal and informal teaching by adults such as teachers, parents, grandparents and others.

Children from varying ethnic and cultural backgrounds often play very similar games. Across cultures universal games such as tag, hide and seek, kick ball, dodge ball, and the “good” guy against the “bad” guys are all played. In different countries distinct languages are spoken and the objects used in play vary. Nonetheless, similar or the same games can be played. Even among my interviewees in Japan and the United States the exact same games were played such as the Allies vs. the Axis powers.

This chapter will first examine four factors that are important when considering war play among children. These are a child’s environment, gender, fear, and anger. Next, it provides examples of children’s play and discusses the similarities of war play in Japan and the United States. Finally it concludes with the differences that existed and a summary of my findings.

**Environment**

The years 1941-1945 marked a dramatic change in lifestyle for Japanese and American children. The experiences were not the same for Japanese and American children; however, many experiences were similar if not identical. The environment

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337 Hornbostel, 71-85.
338 Ibid. 76.
between 1941-1945 was marked by war and instinctively the masses followed the leaders of their nations. The wartime environment consisted of various elements that often overlapped, but this chapter focuses on 1) one's locale, 2) living conditions, and 3) influences from society.

One's geographical locale during the war years affected their life significantly. For example the experience of an American child living on the West Coast was different from that of a child living in the Midwest. Initially after Pearl Harbor, children living all over the United States were afraid of attacks and raids by the Japanese. As time passed the war appeared to be centered only in the Pacific and tensions about attacks and raids eased. This was not true, however, for all children and even children in the Midwest expressed fear about bombing. As a general rule the geographical location of a child affected their thinking which in turn often influenced the kind of war play they engaged in. In Japan, the living environment for children saw a giant pendulum shift between 1941 and 1945. For obvious reasons, Japanese children were affected by the war more dramatically than children living in the United States. As the war approached Japan's shores, cities were subjected to intense American bombing raids, children stood directly in harm's way. Therefore, children living in cities were often uprooted and evacuated to the countryside. Approximately "450,000 children enrolled in the 3rd grade and up were sent to the countryside in group evacuations from 20 cities by April 1945."

By this time almost all of Japan's major cities had come under sustained attack by American strategic bombing. Nevertheless, the experience of living in diverse geographic locations such as urban versus rural produced a variety of different experiences in the United States and Japan.

For most Americans, the Pacific War began with Pearl Harbor. For Japanese, who

340 Cook and Cook, 231.
had already been at war against China for more than four years. Pearl Harbor was nonetheless the beginning of an important new stage in the war because it entailed a direct Japanese attack on American territory. The atmosphere in both countries changed drastically on that day in December 1941 for children as well as adults. For example, Jeanette Tawney, a seven-year-old girl living in Hawaii at the outset of the Pacific War, had a best friend who was Japanese. Jeanette recalls soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor her "best friend not showing up for school." She could not understand "why she was not in school" even after lengthy explanations from her parents. Even at her tender age, Jeanette knew that her best friend had nothing to do with the attack on Hawaii, so the explanation of all Japanese being a potential threat to the United States seemed incomplete.\footnote{Jeanette Tawney, interview with author, Missoula, Mont., 23 August 1999.} Jeanette’s account reveals that prior to Pearl Harbor she had not been taught to be conscious of ethnic differences. Jeanette had not received any messages or clues that led her to believe her Japanese friend was different in any way that mattered to her. It was not until after Pearl Harbor that Jeanette was made to realize that her girlfriend was different because of her ethnicity. In this era of the Pacific War, a child learned there was a difference in ethnicity and easily absorbed racist ideas. Transcending these differences was neither common nor frequent. The environment of discourse during the Pacific War created a profound impression in the minds of children that there were important differences among different ethnic groups and this newly acquired consciousness contributed to racist war play.

Some children escaped the scars of war, although rarely, and some vaguely remember the war.\footnote{See Aruga Natsuki, "Continuity During Change in World War II Berkeley, California as Seen Through the Eyes of Children", 61. Here is a discussion of a man who barely remembers there was a war going on when he was growing up. He does not recall significant events such as rationing, victory gardens, etc., even though he was in his early teens during the war years living in Berkeley, CA.} Normally, most American youngsters felt the effects of the Pacific War in varying degrees. Joanne R. Anderson grew up in Wyoming as a young child and
distinctly recalls visiting the nearby Japanese-American relocation camp. Her uncle delivered goods to the internees and on occasion she and her father would join her uncle on the trip there. She readily recalls the effects this had on her behavior, along with “discussions about the war and singing of patriotic songs in school.” She vividly remembers her brother and her “climbing trees to get away from the Japs and shooting them dead.”

Location also played a significant role in Malcolm Swenson’s younger years. At the time of Pearl Harbor he was 5 years old living in the summertime near Portsmouth Naval Base in New Hampshire. Parts of the coast were cordoned off and used for “defence and coastal guns.” Army surveillance was assigned to the entire area around Mr. Swenson’s house with defensive positions dug in the sand all the way out to the ocean perimeter. Mr. Swenson and the other neighborhood children in the summer “would have a good time playing army games with the soldiers.” The soldiers would give us “instructions in Army tactics” such as attack positioning and when to fire on the “enemy.” “We dutifully memorized all the aircraft types” recalls Mr. Swenson and “I felt we needed all the help we could get” so he watched for enemy airplanes flying overhead.

Satou Hideo from Tokyo, Japan had just finished his fourth grade year in 1943 when he was forced to evacuate to Ibaragi, a rural town, for schooling. Hideo remembers being “total strangers with no connections” and the “bullying we evacuated children faced. I was persecuted thoroughly.” Hideo continues describing his entire fifth year of school as a dreadful race to flee from the class bullies usually locals from Ibaragi. His treatment of being bullied only slackened when more evacuees from Tokyo arrived. Hideo quickly realized how his evacuation to a new location affected his daily life. While reading

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344 Ibid. 195-196.
345 Perkins, 94.
346 Cook and Cook, 233-235.
Hideo’s touching account of his childhood in Ibaragi, it is easy to envision how this
experience is forever implanted in his mind.

Fred Plamondon and Yamaguchi Tsutomu describe their playtime during the war
years of 1941-1945 as an ongoing series of war games. They were both born and raised
in the countryside. The games they played usually consisted of pretending that one group
of children were the enemies and the other their own side. In Plamondon’s case, the
every was the Germans and Japanese and in Yamaguchi’s the British and the United
States. Usually “the weakest and the smallest” of the bunch were forced to be the losers
or the enemy,” recalls Plamondon. By contemplating children’s play at the time of
WWII it is easy to see that children’s actions recreated and mimicked the racial and
national divisions that existed in the adult universe that intruded upon their children’s
world. Location played a monumental role in the amount of war exposure children
received. From rural to urban, children’s exposure to the war varied. There wasn’t a
formula on who received more or less of an impact. Suffice it to say that in some way all
children in Japan and the United States were affected by the war, regardless of where
they lived.

A child’s living conditions also directly affected their psyches. We may assume that
in almost all families the war was an important topic of discussion, but it is impossible to
generalize about how just important a topic it was in all cases. For example more
educated families may have read more about the course of the war. Others may have had
more of an interest in the war either because they were directly involved in the military or
war work of some sort, or because they had a family member serving in the armed forces.
A doctoral dissertation by Aruga Natsuki reveals that Ken Pettitt from Berkeley, CA does
not remember talking much about the war with his family or friends because there were
no males of “fighting age” in his family. For many American children, unless there was a

347 Fred Plamondon, interview with author, Lake Leelanau, Mich., 24 April 2001 and Yamaguchi Tsutomu,
interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 13 March 2000.
family member fighting in the war, the war itself was remote and something that belonged to the world of adults, not children. Some families may have been unable to afford a radio or to buy a daily newspaper. Such families relied on secondary sources for information, and rarely had direct access to the news. These are just a few conjectures that offer a glimpse of a child’s living conditions from 1941-45. Whatever the living conditions at the time, the general populace was greatly influenced by the war.

Influences from society were very strong during the war and the media played an enormous role in shaping the thinking of the populace in both Japan and the United States. At this time newspapers, radio, magazines, and newsreels were the major types of media that “inform[ed] a society” and transmitted “the norms and values of a culture.” The importance of the role of the media in wartime Japan and the United States discussed in the previous chapter continues to reveal the pervasive form it took in each country. Japan and the United States were inundated with blurbs of right and wrong and good and bad by the media. Suffice it to say here that what children saw in the newspapers, heard on the radio, and listened to at school and at home had an enormous impact on their thinking and play.

**Gender and Ethnicity**

The wartime play of boys and girls differed considerably as one might expect. According to a survey taken in the United States in 1944 by the Institute of Child Welfare, on a scale from one to thirty the subject of “the war” was rated number four on the boy’s list and number fifteen on the girl’s list of most talked about topics during that era. This may indicate that boys in the United States were more interested in war events than girls. However according to another survey, “on a whole girls, were almost

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348 Aruga, 61.
349 Gardner, 332.
350 Aruga, 59-60.
as interested in crime and mystery shows as boys” were during the war years. In Japan, surveys such as these were not taken, but according to interviews I conducted some males recalled wartime “pretend play” as a major activity. Japanese girls remember using takeyari (bamboo spears) as a part of war drills, but not as often as boys did they participate in war games. Okuno Imaki Keiko in an autobiographical essay quotes, “girls mostly played with our dolls.” Her brother and her male cousins loved playing with the toy guns, swords, and other war-like articles and “one of their favorite activities was to don celluloid helmets and, with sticks in hand, pretend they were swordsmen, fighting.” “The winner of this game was always Japanese,” then the victor would parade around waving the Japanese flag. It is not easy to get reliable information on whether boys or girls played war games more or less often or which of the two was more interested in the war. Yet overall, it seems that, male children in the United States and Japan tended to engage in war play more frequently than females.

Ethnicity also influenced children’s behavior during the war. Given the inability of many Americans to distinguish among different Asian nationalities, Chinese or Koreans might easily be mistaken for Japanese. Therefore, to cite just one example, Duane Yee, a Chinese-American living in Hawaii at the time of the Pacific War, remembers at an early age of six going out of his way to let other children know he was not Japanese. His response to the enemy was “we all equally hated ‘the Japs’” and acted “the same way as other American children...” In Japan, Koreans and Chinese including other minorities were discriminated against, enforcing Japanese superiority in the minds of children.

352 Miyazaki Kimiko and Tsuruda Sachiko, interviews with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000 and 5 November 2000, respectively.
353 Anderson, Anderson, and Ohkura, 187.
354 Perkins, 24.
By 1943 the tide of battle turned against the Imperial Forces, causing a widespread fear in Japan that the American soldiers were going to land on the mainland and attack. Therefore, children were among the Japanese civilians trained and equipped with bamboo spears to repel the arriving forces. Higa Tomiko in the book *The Girl with the White Flag* describes the fear of American soldiers by Japanese. Rampant tales spread by the government and military, told of American forces wantonly killing Japanese civilians. For Higa, who lived in Okinawa, this fear was ever-present when the first wave of American troops arrived on her homeland. Higa believed she would die at the hands of the Americans, even though she bravely confronted the soldiers by carrying a white flag. In the end, the tales were false and Higa lived to become the famous child from Okinawa carrying the white flag. Across the Pacific, Louise Bratton, an adult from Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, remembers how she “was so afraid of the policemen’s searchlights at night in her driveway.” She also recalls “acting out with my brothers what we would do if the Japs came ashore and where we would go.” It is impossible to quantify fear in children. In both countries, “play was a necessary release from the fear of conflict.” Even though Japan was subjected to the direct experience of war in a way that the United States was not, it is still difficult to hypothesize who experienced more or less fear—Japanese or American children. In both countries, fear was a catalyst enabling children to release their anxiety by playing war games.

On the American front, immediately following Pearl Harbor, professors and authors became busy writing manuals and articles directed toward teachers and parents. Such periodicals advised parents and teachers how to deal with children in wartime. Some

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355 Havens, 188-191.
358 Hornbostel, ix.
focused on developing morale\textsuperscript{359}, some dealt with war participation\textsuperscript{360} and some delved into psychological affects on children during war.\textsuperscript{361} All of these guides were concerned with protecting the American child from the inevitable fear and aggressive acts that are exhibited during war.

In the United States, parents were turning to these manuals as guides for parenting. The aggressive behavior normally seen in child’s play became worrisome to mothers. They became overly concerned and cautious that their children were turning into violent beings. Dorothy W. Baruch, Professor of Education and Director of Pre-School at Broadoaks School of Education, Whittier College reports one mother’s claim that her 5-year old son Ben screamed at her, “I’ll get those Japs after you. I’ll have them put a stink-bomb under you and blow you up.”\textsuperscript{362} Perhaps out of fear of the Japanese, Ben yelled these comments at his mother. Aggressive behavior and fear stymied parents and caused them difficulties regarding how to properly deal with their children.

Psychologists comforted parents by reassuring them that war play was not something new that began with World War II. However, it did vocalize the new terminology produced by the war and these new words permeated the play of children during the war. The former enemy possibly a parent, sibling or friend now became the new enemy namely the “Japs” and the Germans.

Baruch’s book is an informative work for parents and teachers. Her tangible suggestions for dealing with aggressive behaviors and fears offer helpful and contemporary advice. She suggests techniques that psychologists and counselors recommend today, such as discussing your own fears with your children. She recommends managing these fears so children do not become afraid as a result of your behavior. Open communication comforts children by letting them know they can talk

\textsuperscript{359} Baruch, 145-177.
\textsuperscript{360} Patri, 89-106.
\textsuperscript{361} Wolf, 1-35 and 91-125.
\textsuperscript{362} Baruch, 79.
about their fears anytime. If children are able to talk about their fears and play freely, they can begin to comprehend the origin of their fear. Fear of the "new" enemy, the "Japs" and the Germans, was rarely the motivating fear for children during WWII. According to Baruch there is an underlying fear in their lives; someone more concrete in their daily life, such as a parent or teacher. Children often use the enemy, the "Japs" and the Germans, as a representation of an enemy in their own life.\(^\text{363}\) Baruch sums up the best way for children to deal with fear:

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Getting Fear off their Chests
Can Help our Children Live
More Courageously
Through the War.\(^\text{364}\)
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**Anger And Racial Epiteths**

In Japan, fear also was rampant. As Higa Tomiko and Toshi Marks point out the enemy was always depicted as a cruel and inhumane barbarian. Fear was purposely inculcated into society as a means of brainwashing children into believing their fight was against a merciless foe. In Japan, aggressive behavior and killing the enemy was as natural as in the United States. According to the Japanese adults I interviewed they were not scolded for playing fighting games or for calling the Allies names. In fact, just as in the United States, thinking poorly of the enemy was encouraged. It is adequate to say that killing, name calling and racial connotations were common among children in Japan and the United States.

The American psychologist, Baruch, wisely devotes a whole chapter in her manual to addressing parents' concern about children's talk of killing. Children often engaged in symbolic killing and aggressive behavior when playing during war and peace. Baruch reassures parents this should not be an alarming issue. Children vent their anger often

\(^\text{363}\) Ibid. 30-35.  
\(^\text{364}\) Ibid. 40.
shouting at a playmate or family member "I will crush [you] dead." Since a small child cannot fully grasp the meaning of life and death, this rhetoric is merely copied words heard from another source. Vehement statements such as this were copied from radio programs or from other adults. Children detected the anger in these assertions and released their own pent-up frustrations and emotions in the same way they observed adults doing so. The war produced many of these expressions, however the meaning of the aggressive behavior in Japan and the United States goes deeper than blaming the war as the cause.

Everyone needs an outlet for their hostilities, whether they are an adult or a child. Children regularly vocalize their thoughts and feelings. Baruch comforts parents that it is common behavior among children. "Talk of killing" usually is "disguised talk of hostility toward family members." An example of hostility given by Baruch in her 1942 book, You, Your Children and War, is 3-year old Bobbie declaring himself as the enemy shouting:

"I'm a Jap, and I'm fighting you!
I'm a horrid one!
I'm a sneaker.
I'm an old horrid one,
An old horrid Jap.
I'm a Jap.
I am."^367

Other violent expressions of play were young boys shooting up at the sky yelling, "We're airplane men. We're shooting you dead." Permitting children to express their thoughts and feelings provides them with an outlet. After the "talk of killing" is vented, then parents need to guide these hostile emotions and learn why they are angry with a family member.^368

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^365 Ibid. 42-47.
^366 Ibid. 59.
^367 Ibid. 86.
^368 Ibid. 32-33.and 78-79.
According to two contemporary educational specialists, Nancy Carlsson-Paige and Diane E. Levin, children’s war play is a “fundamental aspect of healthy development—children need to be in control of what they play.” They assert that war play is “a form of play that is well-suited to help them work through their thoughts and feelings about the amounts of violence they see.”\(^\text{369}\) War play can be dramatic, pretend and imitation play. Like all play it also can be very healthy and positive in a child’s development. Since war is a realistic part of society, Carlsson-Paige and Levin recommend that within certain boundaries such play should not be suppressed or denied to children at any time.\(^\text{370}\)

During World War II, the circumstances of one’s household readily determined a child’s outlet in play. Volatile anger became a commonplace emotion displayed by parents and others. Societal influences also affected the living conditions of children as well as their behavior. Young children “heard their parents rage against the yellow-bellied-Japs who bombed Pearl Harbor” and frequently encountered the use of racist stereotypes. Children in America eagerly copied “epithet for epithet” saying “I’d like to take a machine gun to those bastards” or pointing to the enemy screaming out those “yellow-bellied sons of bitches.”\(^\text{371}\) Children also heard their fathers portraying “the Japanese as duplicitous plotters, hiding behind steel-rimmed glasses and toothy grins”\(^\text{372}\) Racial stereotyping through name-calling became a way for society to display prejudice against the enemy. Mizuguchi Kiyozumi from Kumamoto, Japan recalls that name-calling was always an integral part of the war games that Japanese children played. Americans and Britons were called “fiends” and ridiculed during play and conversation.\(^\text{373}\)


\(^{370}\) Ibid. 31.

\(^{371}\) Wright, 55.

\(^{372}\) Tuttle, 5.

\(^{373}\) Mizuguchi Kiyozumi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 11 March 2001.
Children first observed and then imitated adult behavior while playing war games. Hearsay for Toshi Marks, born Toshiko Shimura in 1936, recalls adults talking about the bizarre characteristics of the wartime enemy, and says these overheard conversations played a major role in her life. During the war she was told that Americans had horns on their heads and their faces were like monsters. To her amazement the American soldiers she saw after the war all smiled and had human faces. For a while, Toshi lost faith in what people told her and “stopped believing anything.”374

The stereotypes about Japanese and Americans that parents transmitted to their children were often what they themselves had read in the newspaper or heard on the radio. Many authors thoroughly explore the stereotypes and racist propaganda that existed between the United States and Japan during the Pacific War.375

In New York, for example, eight-year-old Alan Laurie Greener believed the vicious tales about the Japanese that were often created by the media and spread by children’s parents. Along with the neighborhood kids, Greener would raid the neighbor’s garden. Here a Japanese gardener, labeled “Sammy” worked there. Greener said, “we knew that all Japanese were bad” and that “Sammy was a spy.” “We knew he had a radio, and we saw him put messages in his lunch box,” reveals Greener.376

Childhood, in some readings, is a time of innocence. Young children are naïve and tend to believe what adults, particularly their parents, tell them. Calling names and describing the enemy as subhuman or as monsters reinforced in children’s minds the idea that the enemy was something to be frightened of. Fear caused quite a few children “to be on alert.”377 Sheril Cinning lived along the Pacific Ocean in southern California during the war. She notes:

374 Trish Marx, 91.
376 Perkins, 85.
377 Ibid. 94.
We were always playing war games. My sister and I had a plan. If the Japanese ever came through the front door, we had a back bedroom with a closet. My mother had huge garment bags, rubber, cold and sort of slimy-feeling. We figured we could run in this closet and nobody would find us behind the big gray rubber garment bags. But just in case they did, we would sprinkle ketchup on ourselves and play dead and then they wouldn’t bother us.378

Ms. Cunning also remembers, “somebody telling us that the Japanese would put bamboo splints under your fingernails and light them on fire.”379 In this way, horrendous tales about the enemy were quickly concocted and spread.

During World War II, in both Japan and the United States war games figured prominently in the activities of children. The four criteria outlined: environment, gender and ethnicity, fear, and anger all played its parts in influencing children’s play in the form of war games during the Pacific War. However, other games were played besides just war play. Children in Japan and the United States still continued to play games like house380, marbles, hide and seek and top spinning.381 But, this play did not take precedence over war games. Children were duly expressing what they heard, saw and felt during wartime. Adults and society transformed the foe into a gruesome, subhuman character, and this image of the enemy was vividly reflected in the war games that both boys and girls played in Japan and the United States.

379 Ibid. 237.
381 Nakagawa, Masaya, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 20 September 2000.
Healing

Peace of mind can come to those who share thoughts and memories that haunt them.  

Children of the Pacific War experienced tragedy and trauma. As Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham point out, “war has an all-embracing impact on a child’s development, attitudes, experience of human relations, moral norms and outlook on life.”

Wartime children demonstrate fears, a will to survive, and a strong sense of patriotism often influenced from their country’s leaders and role models. The influences pushed them to be courageous and were embedded in their psyche subsequently affecting who they became. Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham after extended observation on children in war torn England, deduced that mental maladjustment always coincides with the lack of ordinary home life in the first five years of a child’s life, the formative years. The poignant times affected the children in Japan and the United States in similar, unique ways. The affects of war on children are so severe that expressing past war miseries and memories help heal scars and wounds.

The war years probably had more of an impact on children in Japan than in the United States. While both Japan and the United States practiced rationing, children in Japan literally went hungry. In like manner, Japanese and American children feared being bombed and were bombed, while Americans on the mainland did not experience direct bombing raids. Children in both countries were patriotic, willing to fight and even die for their respective countries. The media was fed “correct” or censored information to be presented to the masses which heavily influenced patriotism and racism in both countries.

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382 Debra Whiting Alexander, Ph.D., Children Changed by Trauma (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications, 1999), 42.
383 Cole P Dodge, ed., War, Violence and Children in Uganda (Oxford University Press 1987), x. [Foreword by James P. Grant, Children as Bridges of Peace].
384 Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, War and Children (Medical War Books: 1943), 189.
These children experienced traumatic lifestyle changes including friends becoming war enemies, and families being torn apart and separated. For the most part, games played from 1941-1945 consisted of warlike activities and “killing the enemy.” Adult responsibilities were also forced upon children. A paucity of labor in both countries required children to work more and attend school less, if at all. Wartime situations were similar, but unique. Emotions and activities may have been the same, but the intensity was more pervasive in Japan.

How did these children deal with these abrupt reforms in their lives? Many lived in fear, some behaved poorly, and others demonstrated amazing flexibility to the changes in their lives. How children dealt with the war years was relative to their living conditions, the impact of the war in their home and school life, their age, and their temperament. Data from my interviews exposes their conformity with the views of the government and families. Some children of the WWII generation have shared their stories and others have not. For those that have shared, they experience a catharsis. They also feel the need to inform others of their World War II experiences. The turmoil and bellicosity that was so prominent in the formative years of these children’s lives needs to be resolved.

**Gratitude**

Many participants I interviewed expressed gratitude for the opportunity to share their stories. All the adults that shared their wartime childhood stories with me relived moments that were especially trying and thanked me for listening to their wartime accounts. Hayashi Satoshi, a part-time businessman, fervently shared his WWII story with me and declared his wish for “No More War.” Carol Waters concurs with Mr. Hayashi’s sentiments. She now lives a quiet life in Maple City, Michigan where she is an advocate of peace. As a child, Ms. Waters was not aware of the seriousness of war. For

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example, during air raid drills she was not scared. For many children, at first it was a form of new entertainment. As the Pacific war progressed and family members went off to fight, children became aware of the gravity of war. Ms. Waters claims to be more frightened today, “because I have more information and facts.” In reflection she comments, “It startles me that such a thing could happen.”

At the time of war, children do not always grasp the concept of war. For example, in Japan Mitsui Mamoru recalls the war as “a very abstract affair.” He never felt the presence of the enemy until one day on a retreat to the countryside an American B-29 bomber shot at him, his sister and mother. As they were running from the bomber, Mitsui looked back and saw the face of the American pilot. After this, Mitsui realized they were human beings fighting in the war and this “made the war as personal as it ever became.” In the United States, the situation was similar. Some adult recollections reveal that as children during the war they were not cognizant of the United States’ role until after Pearl Harbor. Then war became very serious on home fronts in Japan and the United States. Children quickly understood that their environment was changing daily, for some it was drastic and others gradual. Children in Japan learned the enemy was the British and the Americans and children in the United States learned the enemy was the Japanese and perhaps to a lesser extent the Germans. These enemy notions remained with these influenced children sometimes even into adulthood. For Carol Waters who grew up in Grosse Pointe Park, Mich., the influence of racial images of Japanese during the war stuck with her. She said, “It took years before she overcame her fear of Asian people.” Likewise, many Japanese children pictured Americans as monstrous and

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387 William M. Tuttle, Jr., Daddy’s Gone to War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 47.
subhuman. Upon seeing American soldiers for the first time, Toshi Marks remembers being amazed when she "realized [they] didn't have horns." These images and information fed to children take years to overcome.

"Reopening" these memories, allows one to "embrace their past" and "free" them from it. During certain interviews, some needed moments to cry or just reflect on the past. Haruko and Theodore Cook sum up my sentiments exactly in the introduction of their book *Japan at War: An Oral History*. After interviewing Japanese who had memories of the Pacific War the Cooks report:

Almost every interview involved incredible outbursts of emotion. Tears were a commonplace—of sorrow, of bitterness or grief, of loving memory, of chagrin or even horror over acts committed. Voices choked. ... Laughter was rare, although sometimes ironic chuckles and self-deprecating smiles broke moments of great tension. ...When we shared their emotions, even cried with them on occasion, they took that as confirmation that they had communicated their own feelings, and sometimes even expressed gratitude for finally having been able to reveal themselves to another.

Miyazaki Kimiko, one of my interviewees, had emotionally trying moments during our meeting. Several pauses in the course of an hour and a half were necessary in order for her to finish her story. Mrs. Miyazaki began crying when she discussed such difficult times as fires breaking out everywhere in the city of Kobe after the Allies bombed the city. Another emotional time included Mrs. Miyazaki calling to mind her childhood and her unquestioning devotion to her country and the emperor. Since she was a child and followed the ways of the adults around her, she wholeheartedly gave herself to the war effort. Times were extremely tough physically and mentally. Mrs. Miyazaki cries as she recalls that the sorrows of war will never be forgotten. Across the Pacific Ocean in

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392 Nord, 409-410.
393 Cook and Cook, 13.
395 Ibid.
Hawaii, Jeanette Tawney resided for the major part of the war. While explaining the story of her best friend, who was Japanese, being removed from her school her eyes filled with tears. These emotionally-charged times released tears that brought about healing for their souls. Often these memories are buried deep and not often “reopened.” One woman who shared her remembrance of the bombing of Nagasaki waited 30 years before writing or talking about this tragic time of her life. Others never speak of their experiences, and some have waited close to 60 years before revealing their experiences to the public.

Two American interviewees, Nancy Telgard and Pat Kirt Gardner, were grateful that I inquired about their wartime childhood experiences. They commented that “not many people are interested, so we never talk about the war.” Mrs. Kirt Gardner also expressed gratitude that the hate that existed during the war years is gone for her. “There was just hate all the time for the Japs,” she explains. For her, the memories were very plausible. Soon after the war ended her mother’s brother returned home with his newly married Japanese wife. The family viewed this disparagement with anger and racism. Mrs. Kirt Gardner confesses it took years for the family to overcome their prejudice and accept them as a married couple.

The individuals I interviewed gave of themselves in order for others to hear and learn about their childhood experiences during World War II. Particularly in Japan, interviewees showed a deep desire for peace and wished others to hear their stories in order to share the ideal of peace with them. Healing is a necessary step for recovery from a traumatic situation.

Footnotes:

397 Cook, and Cook, 240.
Moving Forward

To this end, “oral history is invaluable to add human emotions, feelings, and thoughts to the historical record.” An oral history project by Kanda Mikio transcribes the autobiographical experiences of nineteen peasant women who lived outside of Hiroshima and lost their husbands during the atomic bombing. Many of these widowed women still had young children at home and their care and upbringing caused them to work day and night. Thirty-seven years after the bombing these ladies consented to these interviews. Many are grateful to talk and to live on “by encouraging one another.” In the village of Nukui the farmers’ wives “met the same fate at the same time. We’ve lived on by comforting one another.” These experiences and thoughts retold by these peasant wives not only help them heal, but it is invaluable information to historians and society. These women wish to pass on the message of peace and the end of atom bombs.

In addition to autobiographical accounts, universities are embarking upon oral history projects about WWII. Within the realm of my university at The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center in Missoula, Montana is the sponsorship of countless seminars and forums deliberating oral history and war. Another project that began July 1, 1994 at the Department of History at Rutgers-the State University of New Jersey established the Rutgers Oral History Archives of WWII. The project gives public access to conferences and individual exhibits about the war. In addition, articles have been published, the History Channel has aired their progressing program, lectures have been given and radio programs have been produced using materials and information from the archives. Programs such as this one gives life to facts, figures and battles from history books and provides an opportunity for voices to be heard.

Ibid. 140.
The experts at Rutgers Department of History contend that in spite of the literature, surprisingly large gaps “remain about the Second World War.” One of these gaps is children’s lifestyles during WWII. For the most part, oral history is a major resource for discovering how children lived during this period. Not only is oral history helpful for the historical record, but also oral testimony cleanses and heals the soul. Regardless of the methodology one chooses, personal stories aid in healing and add to historical evidence.

Conclusion

*Peaceful*

_is morning in the shrine garden;_  
_world conditions it is hoped_  
_will also be_  
_Peaceful*\(^{406}\)

The difference in cultural ideology during the Pacific War divided Japan and the United States. In a child's microcosm, the professed ideology of each country markedly permeated the psyche to the point of being conditioned as followers of a faction. The war was a cultural war as much as a political and military conflict. Children, unable to participate in the political and military war, were drafted as soldiers in the cultural clash. This cultural war was a war against the other's evil. In Japan, it was a war against imperialist democracy and in the United States it was against a subjugating fascism. Deep-seated fear and hatred arose in children, which often took years to overcome. Carol Waters confessed to being ensconced in fear of Japanese for years after the war ended.\(^{407}\) Akahoshi Kenichi was startled at the kindness American soldiers displayed upon entering Kumamoto after the war. Their humaneness was a direct contradiction of everything he had been taught for four formative years of his life.\(^{408}\)

Propaganda was not the only similarity between Japan and the United States during the Pacific War. Likenesses were seen in child's play, rationing, and the mobilization of children through educational, political and social avenues. Children in Japan and the United States equally emoted fear and hatred toward the enemy. Astonishingly, children's experiences shared similarities in two countries with contrary histories and cultures. Japan and the United States had families disrupted, students called upon to perform war work and military exercises, and war-related materials utilized for classroom activities. Schools became a central locale for meetings, and the distribution of war

\(^{406}\) A poem written by the Showa Emperor in 1938. See John Gunther, _Inside Asia_, 14.


\(^{408}\) Akahoshi Kenichi, interview with author, Kumamoto, Japan, 18 October 2000.
bonds and rationing coupons. Perhaps, more importantly schools dispersed information about the war unto students who soaked up these precepts like sponges.

Other than the success of propaganda, the years from 1941 to 1945 emanated a mass unification unprecedented in Japan and the United States. The “total war” mobilized children to the extent that they were willing to die for their country. However, undeniably the war situation was extreme in Japan. After the war, Japanese children had to come to terms not only with the destruction of their homeland, but also with the total defeat of the myths, ideologies, and values predominant in their societies. Children in victorious United States were spared that experience. They were able to believe the American ideals of “justice” and democracy.  

In the United States, children did not go hungry, go without shoes, or become orphans due to bombing raids killing family members. Nevertheless, children in Japan and the United States suffered from the terrible destruction war causes mentally, physically, and emotionally. Fortunately, children are adaptable. As child psychologist Angelo Patri exclaims, “Children have great powers of endurance, great resiliency, of spirit. They tend always to be good, to follow fine leadership, and they have the ability to rise above difficulties that stagger grown-up people.” This does not imply war is acceptable because children can adjust. These children lost their childhood experience at the expense of war.

Children collectively shared this tragedy and the function of the memory and cognition. A difference in culture does not omit core emotions from a person. The ravages of war affected Japanese and American children alike, and actualized their feelings toward war. At the time of war, all my interviewees experienced hatred and fear of the enemy. They also emphatically supported the government by performing a variety of patriotic works. During the Pacific War, children rarely questioned why they needed

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409 Werner, 224.
410 Patri, vii.
to perform war-related activities. Before 1941 and the start of the war, the governments in Japan and the United States inculcated fear and justification for the outbreak of war. In the United States, the enemy was despicable for attacking Pearl Harbor, so much so that Japanese people were depicted with simian-type characteristics. In Japan, the United States was trying to suppress Asia by its imperialism. These beliefs were circulated to the masses, thereby making it easy for children to believe in these views.

This type of mass trust in government was unprecedented before and this type of mobilization may never occur again. War is not a popular solution to war problems, however it will happen again. As citizens of the world, educating oneself about war and other’s cultures can bridge many gaps that occur in our world society. Critical thinking can help children understand a difference in ideology, simultaneously accepting disparity among humans. These differences, if accepted, enrich our society as a safe place for childhood experiences without the affects of war.
Appendices
Appendix A

*Questionnaires*
(Translation from Japanese into English)

Name

Date of Birth

From 1937 to 1945 where did you live?

1. What was your first memory of the Pacific War?
2. Today, what do you think about the war years?
3. During the war, what types of things were you taught at school and home?
4. How much did life at home, at school and play with your friends change from before the war to the war years?
5. Has your ideals about the war changed from the time you were a child until now?
6. During the Pacific War, what did you think about the United States? What did you hear about the Americans?
7. During the war, what type of activities did you participate in at school and in your neighborhood for the war effort? For example, did you make care packages or send a farewell for soldiers going to war?
8. At school, did you experience a change from 1941-1945 in your classes or curriculum from your teachers?
9. Are there any other memories you would like to share?

Comments:
アンケート

名前：

生年月日： 年 月 日

昭和12年から昭和20年までにどこに住んでいましたか。

1. 太平洋戦争について聞かれた時まずは何に思い出すことは何ですか。

2. 戦争について、現在何を覚えていますか。

3. その時学校や家で戦争についてどのように教えられましたか。

4. 戦争前と戦争中とを比べると学校生活や家庭生活や友達との遊びなどどこか変わりましたか。

5. 子供の時と今とでは戦争についての考え方は変わりましたか。

6. 当時アメリカに対してどういう風に思っていましたか。どんなことを聞いていましたか。

7. 戦争中、学校や町内で軍隊（軍人）に対してどんなことをしましたか。例えば慰問袋、出征兵士を送るなど。

8. 特に学校で先生達とか授業の内容など昭和16年から20年の間にどんな変化がありましたか。

9. 他に何か思い出がありますか。

コメント:
Questionnaire

Name_______________________
Date of Birth_________________
Residence from 1941-1945___________
School you attended_____________
What grades were you in from 1941-1945______

1. Thinking back to World War II, what are your initial (first) memories of the war?

2. When you think of World War II today what thoughts enter your mind and have they changed over the years?

3. Did you ration, buy war bonds, or participate in activities associated with the war?

4. How did teachers approach the subject of the war in the classroom?

5. Did your parents or other family members discuss the war at home? Did you agree with their opinions or feelings toward the war?

6. Who was talked about most? (For example the Germans or Japanese?) What enemy was discussed most negatively?

7. Describe any propaganda against the enemy you remember. (Movies, songs, news etc.)

8. What was your biggest fear during the war? Were you ever hungry?

9. What is your single biggest memory from the war?

Comments:
Appendix B

Blacking out Militarism and Nationalism in Textbooks after Japan’s Surrender
无法识别的文本内容。
Appendix C

*Ryuugakusei no tame no Rekishi (Japanese History: An Introductory Text)*
果、藩閥に関係のない原敬が内閣をつくることになりました。軍部大臣をのぞき、ほかの大臣は、みな政友会員など政党人でした。この原内閣は、日本で初めての本格的な政党内閣といわれています。

このように政党政治が発展してきた結果、1925年（大正14）に普通選挙法ができ、25歳以上のすべての男子が選挙権をもつようになりました。女子はまだ選挙権がありませんでしたが、有権者はいまでの4倍になったのです。このとき、おなじ議会で、治安維持法（Peace Preservation Law）がきりました。政府は、普通選挙によって無産政党が進出するのをおそれていたのです。この治安維持法は、のちに人びとの言論や思想を統制す
るようになりました。
第1次世界大戦のあと、世界だけでなく、日本の景気もわずかになりました。ときに、1929年10月には、ニューヨークで大恐慌がおこり、日本もその影響をうけました。いわゆる昭和恐慌です。日本の貿易は急にへり、失業者もふえました。生糸貿易がへって、農民もこの大恐慌の影響をうけました。しかし、いっぽうでは、財閥がますます大きくなくなっていったのです。
このようなおきた、日本の軍人たちは軍国主義のかんがえ方をおっすすめ、中国大陸に侵略しはじめました。日本軍は、1931年（昭和6）9月18日に、中国の東北部で戦争のきっかけをつくり、「満州事変」をおこしました。これが、このあと、15年もつづく、ながい戦争の
時代のはじまりでした。
軍部のなかには、国内の政治にたいして不満をもつ者もあらわれました。かれらは、直接行動で政党政治をたおし、軍部の政権をつくろうとしたのです。1932年5月には、ついに政党内閣の首相を暗殺しました。このようにして、政党内閣の時代はおわり、軍部が政治の実権をにぎるようになったといえます。
さらに1937年7月7日、日本軍は北京の郊外で中国軍との武力争いをひきおこしました。この戦火は、中国の中部にもひろがっていきました。日中戦争が本格的なのはじまったのです。いっぽう、戦火がふかまるにつれて、軍事産業がきかんになりはじめました。とくに重化学工業が発展し、日本の工業生産高にし�める割合は半分をこえました（1935年）。日本商品の輸出も、ふたびふえ、もとのことになりはじめました。しかし、戦争のために、人びとの生活は統制をうけ、しまいにくるしかなりました。政府は、戦争のための物資を優先したのです。
このころ、ヨーロッパでは、ファシズムという、あたらしい政治体制があらわれました。イタリアのファシスト党と、ドイツのナチス党（Nazi Party）によるもので
時代のはじまりでした。

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このころ、ヨーロッパでは、ファシズムという、あたりらしい政治体制があらわれました。イタリアのファシスト党と、ドイツのナチス党（Nazi Party）によるもので
太平洋戦争はじまる（真珠湾攻撃）（1941年12月）

す。ドイツが1939年9月、ポーランドに侵入したことから、イギリス、フランスなどの連合国とのあいだで戦争がおこりました。第2次世界大戦です。イタリアは、やがて、ドイツと手をむすび、参戦しました。

いっぽう、1940年には、日本は、アメリカやイギリスに対抗するために、ドイツ、イタリアと日独伊三国同盟（Tripartite Alliance）をむすびました。

そのころ、日本軍は、さらに東南アジアの地域にまで侵略しあがっていました。このような事態を解決するために、日本とアメリカは交渉をつづけました。しかし、日本は、1941年（昭和16年）12月8日、ついにアメリカ、イギリスと戦争をおこしました。太平洋戦争のはじまりです。1939年にヨーロッパでおこった第2次世界大
戦は、このようにして、アジア、太平洋地域にまでひろがったのです。

日本軍は、東南アジアからオーストラリアの北部諸島にいたる地域に、勢力をひろげていきました。マレー半島、ホンコン、フィリピン、シンガポール、ビルマ、オランダ領東インド、ニューギニアなどをつぎつぎと占領したのです。しかし、1942年6月のミッドウェー海戦で、アメリカを中心とする連合国軍にやぶれてから、力を使わないと、日本軍の占領地域では抗日運動がはげしくなりました。

いっぽう、日本国内では軍事費がふえつづけ、人びとがそれを負担したのです。「せいたくは敵だ」というスローガンのもとで、米や塩も統制をうけ、日常の食料

戦時下の生活（1943年、学徒出陣）
がたいへん不足しました。政府が、軍需品の生産を優先
していたからです。生活だけでなく、人びとの言論や思
想も、国家の統制をうけて、自由な発言や文化活動がで
きませんでした。戦争は「聖戦」であるといわれて、人
びとは戦争に協力しなければならない体制ができてい
たのです。戦争が、いま、どうなっているのか、政府は、
ほとんどこのことを、知らせませんでした。
1945年2月、アメリカ（米）、イギリス（英）、ソ連
の首脳はクリミア半島のヤルタにあつまり、ドイツと日
本の戦後処理について、はなしにいました。ヤルタ会談
(Yalta Conference) です。会談では、戦後世界の体制と
して、英・米・ソを中心とする国際連合をつくることを
きめ、ソ連の対日戦への参加もきめました。日本の敗戦
は、もう時間の問題となっていたのです。
1945年（昭和20）7月、ドイツの敗戦のあと、アメリカ、イギリス、ソ連の首脳は、ふたたび、ドイツのポツダムで会合しました。中国の意見もきいてから、米・英・中の名で、日本に無条件で戦争をやめるように呼びかけました。これをポツダム宣言（Potsdam Proclamation）といいます。

しかし、日本は、この宣言をうけ入れませんでした。そこで、アメリカは、8月、広島と長崎に原子爆弾をおとしました。ひどい被害を受けた日本は、戦争をつづけることができなくなり、連合国（アメリカ、イギリス、ソ連、中国など）に戦争をやめることをつたえました。日本の敗戦がきまったのです。無条件降伏でした。8月15日、人びとはこのことを知られました。

このようにして、第2次世界大戦はおわり、日本のがい戦争の時代も、おわりをつげました。これからあとの時代を、ふたつ、戦後といいます。敗戦前の時代を戦前、とくに、戦争をしていた15年のあいだ（1931~45年）を、戦中ということもあります。

also 1937 <= 45
原子爆弾の被害（広島市）

食料の買出しにでかける人びと（1945年、千葉県）
敗戦は、現代日本の出発となりました。当時、日本は、国土も、経済も、国民生活も、すべて大きい被害をうけていたので、あたらしく出発しなければなりませんでした。

1945年8月末から、連合国軍（占領軍）は、日本を支配はじめました。占領のはまりです。連合国軍は、連合国軍総司令部（GHQ、General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers）をき、マッカーサー（Douglas MacArthur, 1880〜1964年）が最高司令官（SCAP）になりました。

沖縄をのぞき、直接の軍政は、おこないませんでした。いわゆる間接統治の目的は、日本から軍国主義をなくし、
戦後は、平和な国家をつくりあげることでした。これを戦後
改革といいます。しかし、政策をきめる実権は、アメリ
カが握っていたのです。

占領軍は、まず日本の非軍事化をおこないました。軍
隊や軍事産業をなくし、戦争の指導者を、戦争犯罪をお
かした者としてとらえました。

つぎに、政治の民主化をはかりました。20歳以上の
すべての男女に参政権をあたえました。日本では、はじ
て婦人が参政権をもつようになり、完全な普通選挙がお
こなわれることになったのです。政党や政治活動の自由
化もおこないました。GHQは、いわゆる人権指令をだ
し、治安維持法や特高警察をなくし、政治犯を自由に
しました。それまで非合法であった日本共産党も、は

戦後はじめての総選挙
(1946年)
しめて合法化しました。さらに、マッカーサーは、日本政府にたいして、つきのような「五大改革指令」をだしたのです。

(1) 婦人の解放
(2) 労働組合の助長
(3) 教育の自由化
(4) 弾圧機構の廃止
(5) 経済の民主化

このようにして、敗戦から、そのすぐあとの1947年4月にかけて、つきつきと、GHQの戦後改革がおこなわれました。

1946年（昭和21）には、天皇が「人間宣言」をおこな

戦争をさばく（極東国際軍事裁判）
新しい憲法を祝う（東京皇居前広場）

いい、神格（divinity）を否定しました。そして、戦後改革のなかで、いちばん大きな課題であった、あたらしい憲法がつくられました。これが日本国憲法です（1947年5月3日、施行）。GHQは、明治憲法が軍部の独走と侵略戦争の、おもな原因になったとかがえ、あたらしい憲法を必要としましたのです。

天皇は、大権がなくなり、象徴となりました。人びと中心の憲法ができ、国民主権になったのです。議会（国会）は、国権の最高機関となり、議院内閣制がはしりました。地方自治もつよくなりました。基本的人権の保障、男女平等もみとめられました。家族を中心とする家制度もくずれ、夫婦は平等になったのです。このようなことは、明治憲法と大きくちがうところです。
Appendix D

Examples of Similar Propaganda used in Japan and the United States
A. The United States and Japan promoted the idea of conserving through advertisements. The Japanese poster at the bottom of the page translates to: “The activity of not wasting any food items.” The advertisement also states that housewives may think certain items are garbage, but they can be innovative by thinking of the many practical uses of these items.

B. This postcard asked the spiritual citizens of Japanese to be grateful and protect the home front by sacrificing.

C. A picture of a Imonbukuro, Care Package

D. A photograph of senninbari, thousand-stitch belt.

E. A poster pleading with citizens to invest money in post office accounts to help the war effort.

F. Examples of middle and high school students gardening. The Japanese caption calls the students “volunteer laborers.”

G. Note the army type clothing even children wore and the military stances they assumed.

H. Examples of waiting in line for rations and food.

I. Comics supporting the war were found in Japan and the United States.

J. The top pictures the results of American bombing in Kumamoto, Japan. The bottom two pictures display a rationing card in the United States and a clothing ticket in Japan.

K. Destruction of the entire city of Kumamoto, Japan by B-29 bombers. July 1945. The home front in Japan faced the tragedy of war bombing, unlike the United States.
LEFT | OWI officials felt that the most urgent problem on the home front was the careless leaking of sensitive information that could be picked up by spies and saboteurs.
These Scouts are packing boxes for shipment to soldiers and civilians overseas.
Food for Victory

Victory Gardens

ABC

Food for Victory!

Garden for Victory

Students at High School

Dry work in the Victory Garden for physical culture credit, 1943–1945.
THE AXIS CAN'T GET OUR GOAT
BYY MORE STAMPS
An Earnest Salute: Ill-clothed schoolboys greet a tattered reservist before military drill at Koga National School, Ibaraki prefecture. Most wear wooden clogs because rubber for sneakers was scarce.
Line at a rationing board in New Orleans, La., March 1943. LC-USW3-22899-E
死者 不明数人 中心街に焼夷彈の雨

B29約60機、熊本を大空襲

1945年8月10日午後11時、第3飛行群が熊本空襲を開始した。この空襲は、熊本の市民に大きな被害を与えた。


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**Interviews in Japan**

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
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<td>Akahoshi, Kenichi</td>
<td>18 October 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>1929</td>
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<td>Akahoshi, Sumiko</td>
<td>18 October 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>1933</td>
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<td>Hayashi, Satoshi</td>
<td>22 September 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>28 March 1936</td>
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<td>Miyazaki, Kenichi</td>
<td>19 October 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>17 January 1927</td>
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<td>Miyazaki, Kimiko</td>
<td>18 October 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>16 April 1932</td>
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<td>Nakagawa, Masaya</td>
<td>20 September 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>July 1928</td>
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<td>Nakano, Tamae</td>
<td>10 October, 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>1927</td>
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<td>Tokiwa, Kenji</td>
<td>20 October 2000.</td>
<td>Kumamoto, Japan</td>
<td>1926</td>
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<tr>
<th>Interviews in United States</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gardner, Pat. 24 April 2001. Lake Leelanau, MI</td>
<td>27 December 1936</td>
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<td>Gardner Kirt, Pat. 24 April 2001. Lake Leelanau, MI</td>
<td>6 September 1937</td>
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<td>Hershey, David. 4 June 2001. Suttons Bay, MI</td>
<td>7 April 1932</td>
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<td>Hershey, Dolores. 4 June 2001. Suttons Bay, MI</td>
<td>27 January 1937</td>
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<td>Plamondon, Fred. 24 April 2001. Lake Leelanau, MI</td>
<td>20 April 1937</td>
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<td>Smith, Craig. 10 May, 2001. Leland, MI</td>
<td>26 June 1930</td>
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<td>Tawney, George. 23 August 1999. Missoula, MT</td>
<td>1927</td>
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<td>Tawney, Jeanette. 23 August 1999. Missoula, MT</td>
<td>1933</td>
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<td>Telgard, Nancy. 6 November 2001. Leland, MI</td>
<td>13 June 1929</td>
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<td>Waters, Carol. 12 December 2001. Maple City, MI</td>
<td>24 September 1937</td>
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<td>Chemosky, Irene. 21 January 1994. Leelanau Historical Museum.</td>
<td>1928</td>
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<td>Parker, Keith. 11 April 1994. Leelanau Historical Museum.</td>
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<td>Schramski, Rosie. 16 April 1994. Leelanau Historical Museum.</td>
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