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Pearl Harbor and 9/11

A Comparison

A Thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of History

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Masters of Art in History

by

Chad L Nielsen

May 2008

Dr. Stephen Fritz, Chair

Dr. Henry Antkiewicz

Dr. Tom Lee

Keywords: Pearl Harbor, September 11, 9/11, 911, World War II

ABSTRACT

Pearl Harbor and 9/11

A Comparison

by

Chad L Nielsen

Pearl Harbor and 9/11 have been compared together since the 9/11 attacks. This thesis analyzes the two from the viewpoints of the politicians, the media, and finally the effects on culture. Sources were gathered from newspapers, books, journal articles, government resources, and internet web sites. Pearl Harbor and 9/11 are similar on the surface, but upon looking into further circumstances, dissimilarities are found between the two events. With sixty years between the two events the outcome and delayed reactions are different, but the initial response is similar

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DEDICATION

To my wife Alisa and my son Emery

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In modern military history two events have become iconic in their status in the American society. These events are the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the attacks against America on September 11, 2001 (9/11). On December 7, 1941, the American naval base Pearl Harbor was attacked by forces of the Empire of Japan. On 9/11 the World Trade Center was attacked by militant Islamic men. These men hijacked two planes and crashed the planes into the World Trade Center in New York. A third plane was hijacked and crashed into the Pentagon in Washington DC. A fourth plane crashed into a field southeast of Pittsburgh due to resistance from the crew and passengers.

The American presidents at the time of the attacks both gave speeches shortly after the attacks. The speeches were designed to inform and to reassure the American people. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, gave a speech to Congress which was recorded so the American people knew what had occurred.¹ George W. Bush, the American president during the September, 11th 2001, event, addressed the nation later on September 11th. In the speech President Bush informed the public of an attack occurring on America soil. He spent much of his address explaining the things the government knew regarding the attack, and the government's reaction, and finally delivering comfort to the American people.²

1. Our Heritage in Documents, "FDR's "Day of Infamy Speech: Crafting a Call to Arms," *Prologue Magazine* 33 no. 4 (Winter 2001), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html> (accessed October 9, 2007).

2. CNN, "Text of Bush's Address," CNN.com./U.S, <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/index.html> (accessed February 4, 2008).

The public underwent many emotions in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor.³ There was fear of a believed imminent attack. Americans felt anger, and some wanted revenge on the Japanese. There was a prevalent fear of an imminent invasion of the United States. Disbelief was demonstrated as American citizens wondered how this attack on Pearl Harbor had succeeded. The actions inspired by the emotions were varied. Some Americans expressed their emotions by music. Patriotism and Nationalism were seen by increased recruitment into the armed forces. The Japanese-Americans were anxious of how the Pearl Harbor attack affected their portrayal in society.

Pearl Harbor

The attack on Pearl Harbor and the resulting United States entrance into World War II had its beginning before the actual assault. Prior to American entry into World War II, the U.S had frozen Japanese assets in America on July 26, 1941, and August 1, 1941, and then placed an embargo on the export of oil to Japan. These actions were done in response to Japanese actions in French Indo-China. The Japanese had invaded Indo-China and had driven the French from their colony. These dealings resulted in Japanese and American negotiations concerning the resumption of trade in exchange for Japan to stop its militaristic advances. Eventually these negotiations stalemated and Japan decided something needed to be done. So a military action was decided upon by the Japanese in lieu of diplomacy.

Admiral Yamato had been planning a sneak attack on the American base at Pearl Harbor located on the island of Oahu in Hawaii. The plan was to attack the American Pacific fleet and

3. American Folklife Center, "After the Day of Infamy: "Man on the Street" Interviews Following the Attack on Pearl Harbor," The Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/afcphtml/afcphtml.html> (accessed October 2007).

give the Japanese Empire time to consolidate its victories in the Pacific. Its targets were the American carriers.

The Japanese launched their first wave of aircraft in the early morning at about 7:00 a.m. A radar operator saw planes on his radar unit then passed the report to his superior who was a junior officer. The officer disregarded the radar operator's notice claiming that the planes were a flight of American bombers that were expected to arrive that day.⁴ An American destroyer, the U.S.S *Ward*, was informed by an American minesweeper about a submarine off Pearl Harbor. The destroyer found the sub and sank it. The sub was a Japanese midget sub.⁵ When the message was sent about the submarine to Pearl Harbor, the leaders there sat on the report awaiting confirmation instead of feeling threatened by the close range of the Japanese submarine. An attack was expected but sabotage was thought more likely. To protect against sabotage American planes were parked wingtip to wingtip so they were easier to guard.

The United State's carriers were away on assignments. Many of the Navy personnel had spent a leisurely time on shore the night before and were not prepared when they were attacked. The first wave of Japanese aircraft roared over Pearl Harbor at 7:53 a.m. on Sunday Morning. One hundred-eighty three Japanese planes, primarily dive bombers and torpedo bombers, attacked Pearl Harbor. The first wave hit the area known as Battleship Row in which the American Battleship force was docked. The American planes parked along the airfield were easy targets. The U.S.S *Arizona*, a battleship, was hit with a bomb that penetrated the forward magazine and exploded. The ship broke in two and sunk in nine minutes along with most of its crew. The Americans fought back with antiaircraft weapons from the ships and on the ground.

4. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 221.

5. Ibid.

Shotguns and service rifles were also used to fire on the planes. American soldiers had to use axes to open the ammunition containers. Amazingly, some of the Japanese planes were shot down, and others were damaged mainly by small arms fire. As soon as the Japanese dropped the first bombs, a telegraph was sent to Washington DC informing the leaders of the attack.

The second wave of one hundred seventy-two planes attacked Pearl Harbor within an hour of the end of the first attack. This wave was met by a ready American defense. In the second wave the Japanese attacked more ships and assaulted the base repair facilities. The USS *Nevada* attempted to leave the harbor. The Japanese aircraft tried to sink the *Nevada* in order to prevent any vessel from escaping. In the end the commander of the *Nevada* purposefully ran the ship aground near Hospital Point to avoid blocking the harbor entrance for other ships to escape.⁶

The Japanese pilots urged a third strike on Pearl Harbor to finish off the ships and to hit the fuel tanks, but the Japanese commanders declared the attack successful and decided not to risk a third wave. This decision was influenced by the fact the Japanese did not know where the American carriers were located. Another factor that was considered by the commanders was that the second wave had faced stiffer resistance. It was feared a third wave may take heavier casualties.⁷

In Washington DC the Japanese ambassador delivered a message declaring their intention to cut off diplomatic ties with the United States within an hour of the first attack on Pearl Harbor. This was conveyed to Cordell Hull who was the Secretary of State. Hull already

6. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941*, (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 281.

7. *Ibid.*, 412.

knew about the attack when the Japanese diplomats handed him the notice of severed diplomatic ties. He responded by loudly and angrily ordering the Japanese out of his office.

The total Japanese losses were twenty-nine aircraft and five midget submarines.⁸ Every vessel that served in the Japanese attack force was later sunk by the Americans during the war. Admiral Yamato was shot down on a tour of Japanese positions when the Americans deciphered the route he was flying.⁹ He was targeted for planning the Pearl Harbor attack. The Japanese bought themselves only six months with the raid on Pearl Harbor, then the tide slowly turned against them. For those six months the Japanese were the rulers in the Pacific. No one was able to stop them. Vice Admiral Nagumo, the commander of the Japanese Task Force, commented concerning the attack on Pearl Harbor he “believed all his men accomplished were ‘to waken a sleeping giant, and to fill her with a terrible resolve.’”¹⁰

The American death toll was around 2,400 people with 18 ships either sunk or damaged.¹¹ Eight of the sunken ships were battleships. Unfortunately for the Japanese the age of the battleship was at an end and by extension the battleships were obsolete. So the loss of the battleships hurt but was not a critical loss. The new naval powers were the carriers. Of all the ships sunk or damaged only three American ships in the harbor never fought again. The Americans suffered 300 aircraft destroyed or badly damaged. The majority of the destroyed planes never made it off the ground.

8. Richard Holmes, *Battlefield: Decisive Conflicts in History*, ed. Martin Marix Evans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 250.

9. Max Boot, *War Made New: Technology, Warfare, and the Course of History 1500 to Today* (New York: Gotham books, 2006), 266.

10. Richard Holmes, *Battlefield: Decisive Conflicts in History*, ed. Martin Marix Evans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 250.

11. Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 9.

Vice Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Lieutenant General Walter C. Short were the commanding officers at Pearl Harbor. Both of these men were later forced to resign in disgrace following charges of dereliction of duty. For the rest of their lives they spent their time trying to obtain a new trial or have their ranks reinstated. Neither was successful in either attempt.¹²

9/11

On Tuesday September 11, 2001, America was once again attacked. This time America was attacked not by a nation, but by fundamental Islamic terrorists. At first the American government did not know who had attacked the United States. Around eight o'clock am United Airlines Flight 175 and American Airlines Flight 11 departed from Boston both heading for Los Angeles. The planes were hijacked shortly after takeoff and diverted towards New York City. At 8:01am United Airline Flight 93 left Newark, New Jersey, for San Francisco. Then at 8:10am American Airlines Flight 77 departs Washington's Dulles airport for Los Angeles. These planes were also hijacked after takeoff.¹³

American Airlines Flight 11 crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center at 8:46am.¹⁴ Shortly after, around nine o'clock, United Airlines Flight 175 sped into the South Tower of the World Trade Center. Meanwhile the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) shut down every New York airport in an attempt to prevent any more planes from being hijacked.¹⁵ The first plane that flew into the towers was viewed as an accident. When the second plane

12. Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 127.

13. A.D. Williams, "September 2001Timeline," September 11 News, [http:// www.september11news.com/DailyTimeline.htm](http://www.september11news.com/DailyTimeline.htm) (accessed October 9,2007).

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

struck, it was then considered a coordinated attack and not an accident. The assault continued at 9:45 a.m. when American Flight 77 flew into the Pentagon. At 10:10 the last hijacked plane United Flight 93 crashed into a wooded area near Shanksville, PA.¹⁶ This plane crashed due to resistance from the passengers on the plane. Other than this instance of confrontation there were no other known attempts to stop the hijackers.

By 9:30 a.m. all accessible traveling routes into New York City on the ground or in the air were closed and the FAA stopped all domestic flights in the United States as a precaution. The South Tower of the World Trade Center collapsed at 10:05 am, and the White House was then evacuated. Meanwhile at 10:10 a.m. a section of the Pentagon collapsed from the impact of the explosion. Finally at 10:28 the North Tower collapsed.¹⁷

The action of the Islamic terrorists was a shock. Unlike the Japanese at Pearl Harbor there were no diplomatic ties or association with the terrorists to give indications of a threat. About 3,000 people including the terrorists were killed by the actions on September 11, 2001, most being killed in the towers in New York City.¹⁸

16. A.D. Williams, "September 2001Timeline," September 11 News, [http:// www.september11news.com/DailyTimeline.htm](http://www.september11news.com/DailyTimeline.htm) (accessed October 9,2007).

17. Ibid

18. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS

A nation relies on its government in many ways. When natural disasters hit and an area is devastated, people call on emergency aid. When a country is attacked, a nation will rally behind its leaders to prevent what occurred from happening again.

After having lunch in the Oval Office on Sunday December 7, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt received a phone call from the Secretary of State. In this phone call Roosevelt was informed of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. On September 11, 2001, while President George W. Bush was observing a class at Emma E. Booker Elementary School he was informed by an aide of the first and second terrorist attacks by plane. Within a day of both attacks on America each president addressed the nation.

A nation's leaders can only prevent the tragedies that may be inflicted on their country by the information given to them. Due to the quantity of data gathered by the nation's intelligence agency decisions have to be made if the information given truly constitutes a threat to be concerned about or not. In the cases of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 there may have been intelligence that was not listed as a high priority concerning the possible attacks.

Politically, for six years after Pearl Harbor the American people had united behind its leaders, and World War II had ended both in Europe and the Pacific. The United States was well thought of due to its joining the war and subsequent rebuilding of Europe after the war. Six years after 9/11, America is still engaged in the War on Terrorism. Politically support for the war has eroded both inside the country and by those countries who once lent their assistance. The United States is not well thought of due to others' views of its international policy.

President

President Roosevelt received the news of a military act on the nation in the Oval Office by a phone call from Secretary of State Frank Knox.¹⁹ Knox notified him there had been an air raid against Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt was meeting with several advisors and government officials at the time of the call. His reaction to the news that Pearl Harbor had been attacked was to say, “It was just the kind of unexpected thing the Japanese would do. At the time they were discussing peace in the Pacific they were plotting to overthrow it.”²⁰ The President had been engaged in negotiations with Japan prior to the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. The talks had stalemated and Roosevelt found out why when America was attacked. The Japanese had been buying time, engaging in diplomatic maneuvering while they prepared to deliver a surprise attack hoping to destroy the American Pacific fleet. Roosevelt had sent a message to the Japanese informing them of America’s final position. His message had been purposefully delayed for ten hours by members of the Japanese government in order to make sure there was no last minute halt to the Pearl Harbor operations. President Roosevelt knew the distance from Japan to Pearl Harbor and discerned it was too far for this to have been a quick decision and then immediately executed from Japan.

President George W Bush was at Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Sarasota Florida for a photo op when two planes purposely flew into the World Trade Center. The president was told of the first attack and believed it was a tragic accident. He continued with his

19. Our Heritage in Documents, “FDR’s “Day of Infamy Speech: Crafting a Call to Arms,” *Prologue Magazine* 33 no. 4 (Winter 2001), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html> (accessed October 9, 2007).

20. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 247.

previous plans at the elementary school not believing there was any threat. Then, while observing a second grade class he was with, he was informed by his chief-of-staff, Andy Card, of the second attack. He then went to another classroom to find out more of what was going on.

From there the President was able to contact people in Washington. From this phone conversation, President Bush was informed more about the situation. He was then quickly taken to Air Force One and then to Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana. He placed the American military on alert and allowed the government's emergency plans to go into effect.²¹

President Roosevelt did not seem completely shocked by the attack on Pearl Harbor. The world was at war and he knew there was a chance the nation was going to somehow be brought into the conflict. President George W Bush had no preconception that a possible attack was imminent.

Both Presidents gave speeches to the nation informing them what had occurred and the information that was currently known regarding their respective situations. President Bush addressed the nation at 8:30 pm EST on September 11, 2001 for five minutes. In his speech Bush acknowledged the attacks and informed the country the American government was still trying to find out who was behind the assault and reassured the American citizens of its safety. Roosevelt went before Congress on December 8, 1941. In his six minute speech Roosevelt requested a declaration of war against the Empire of Japan. By the end of the day Roosevelt had received the desired declaration of war. America was now at war with Japan.

One common item that was covered by both speeches is the claim both attacks were deliberate. Both Presidents discussed the damages incurred by America. President Roosevelt

21. A.D. Williams, "President Bush 9/11/2001," September 11 News, <http://www.september11news.com/PresidentBush.htm> (accessed October 2007).

only said there had been casualties to American military forces.²² Besides the small reference admitting harm had been done to the United States President Roosevelt did not dwell on causalities. President Bush spent time in his speech describing the destruction. He mentioned the pictures of the planes impacting the towers and the imagery of the collapsing towers weakened by the impact.²³

The two speeches both mentioned God. Roosevelt claimed Americans were righteous in fighting against the Axis and were going to prevail against the Japanese Empire. Righteous is a term that connotes religion. He said in his speech “With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God.”²⁴ Bush called for prayers from the American people for the victims of 9/11. President George W. Bush cited the 23rd Psalm, and ended his speech by saying, “God Bless America.”²⁵

Roosevelt assumed the American people were united in the face of the infamous attack. He mentioned the American people did know how to interpret the Japanese attack. The idea of

22. Our Heritage in Documents, “FDR’s “Day of Infamy Speech: Crafting a Call to Arms,” *Prologue Magazine* 33 no. 4 (Winter 2001), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html> (accessed October 9, 2007).

23. CNN, “Text of Bush’s Address,” CNN.com./U.S, <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/index.html> (accessed February 4, 2008).

24. Michael E. Eidenmuller, “Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Pearl Harbor Address to the Nation,” American Rhetoric Top 100 Speeches, <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrpearlharbor.htm> (accessed February 3, 2008).

25. CNN, “Text of Bush’s Address,” CNN.com./U.S, <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/index.html> (accessed February 4, 2008).

this consensus was the closest mention of unity by Roosevelt.²⁶ Bush specifically talked about unity as America meets the threat it is faced with.²⁷

Due to the difference in technology, Bush knew more of what happened compared to Roosevelt. Roosevelt only knew Japanese military forces had attacked Pearl Harbor. These foreign military forces had inflicted damage on the American Pacific fleet. Roosevelt gathered information throughout the next day until he stood before Congress a little over twenty-four hours after the attack. Bush knew much more about the circumstances regarding 9/11. He gave his speech the same day as the attack and had more information as to what had happened than Roosevelt did when he gave his speech. The disparity in intelligence for Bush was due to television and the internet which broadcast pictures of the attack. President Bush described a few of the victims deaths by referring to where they were at the time the planes crashed and their professions. President Roosevelt was still receiving information on casualties and damages inflicted on Americans when he gave his address. Thus, President Roosevelt did not know the casualty count at Pearl Harbor when he gave his speech to Congress.

When Roosevelt gave his speech he knew one piece of vital information regarding Pearl Harbor that President George W. Bush didn't have when he gave his speech to the American people after 9/11. Roosevelt knew who had committed the attack on Pearl Harbor. The knowledge of who had attacked the United States was not known to President George W. Bush. President George W. Bush told the nation his administration was looking for the perpetrators. This knowledge of who had attacked allowed Roosevelt to ask for a declaration of war against

26. Michael E. Eidenmuller, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Pearl Harbor Address to the Nation," American Rhetoric Top 100 Speeches, <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrpearlharbor.htm> (accessed February 3, 2008).

27. CNN, "Text of Bush's Address," CNN.com./U.S, <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/index.html> (accessed February 4, 2008).

the Japanese empire a day after the attack. With this declaration of war Roosevelt was able to focus American anger concerning the attack on the Japanese. President Bush was at a disadvantage because first he had to find the enemy, and only then could he order American forces to strike back. The terrorists who committed the 9/11 attacks were not as easily found as the Japanese Empire was in 1941.

When Roosevelt requested a declaration of war against Japan there was only one nonconforming vote. Jeanette Rankin, a republican representative from Montana, was the sole dissenting vote. World War II was the last official declaration of war by the United States. America has been leaning since World War II towards an authorization of military force instead of a declaration of war. The authorization of military force permits the military to defend America. There was no declaration of war relating to the War on Terrorism.

World Leaders

The world and its leaders reacted to the two events in varying ways. In 1941 Germany and Italy waited a few days before declaring war on the United States after the declaration on Japan was official. In response to the declarations of war by Germany and Italy the United States declared war on Germany and Italy. After Pearl Harbor England was glad America was finally fully committed to World War II. With the entrance of America into the war, England and Russia were no longer the main countries standing against Nazism.

After 9/11 many nations expressed their condolences and sympathies towards the American people. The leader of Cuba expressed its sympathy for the attack. Cuba has previously been a destination for hijackers who have taken over American planes because Cuba is known as a safe zone for them. This made Cuba's expression of sympathy for America

unusual. Another abnormal leader who commented on the attack was the Libyan leader Muammar al-Gaddafi. Qaddafi had at times been accused of supporting terrorism and was viewed as a leader of a rogue state by American officials. Muammar al-Gaddafi's comments were uncharacteristic because he advocated Muslim aid groups to give to the United States in light of the 9/11 events. For him to suggest aid be given to the United States was unique. There were some countries who expressed sympathy and condolences who have continued to support America through its war on terrorism. England is a prime example of this.

Some countries spoke about retaliation. This was the stance of Vladimir Putin in Russia.²⁸ Other countries such as Malaysia urged the United States to not seek revenge. This was done in the fear of causing more harm by inviting additional attacks and causing collateral damage to those the United States strikes out at.²⁹

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), upon hearing about the 9/11 attacks, instituted Article 5 of the NATO charter which declares an attack against one member nation is an attack against us all. This was the first time this clause has been used.³⁰ Some members of the European Union declared the tragedy was directed at democracy itself. There was more reaction to 9/11 than after Pearl Harbor in the international community. England supported American actions after Pearl Harbor and 9/11. The United States did enter into wars after Pearl Harbor and 9/11. After Pearl Harbor there was World War II that America entered, and after 9/11 the United States entered War on Terrorism.

28. A.D. Williams, "International Reaction," September 11 News, <http://www.september11news.com/InternationalReaction.htm> (accessed October 7, 2007).

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

Pearl Harbor was different from 9/11 because there were more comments from World leaders regarding the events of 9/11. The reason for more reactions may be due to more countries available to give statements. Many countries had been occupied by the Axis powers prior to Pearl Harbor and were not able to comment on America's entry. Although there were more responses from world leaders after 9/11, many of those leaders who commented sympathetically on the terrible nature of 9/11 were not willing to assist with the War on Terrorism.

An additional difference between the world reactions after Pearl Harbor and the reactions subsequent to 9/11 were the declarations of war. Following Pearl Harbor the U.S. declared war on Japan and in turn Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S. America had joined England and Russia with the intention of defeating the Axis states. The Allied powers, although suffering from its own difficulties that resulted from the conflict between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin were able to last until Nazi Germany was defeated.

After 9/11 the United States organized a coalition to fight Terrorism. This coalition is not united.³¹ Following 9/11 America did not officially declare war. Despite this, the United States still went to war against Terrorism. The U.S. invaded Afghanistan trying to capture Al-Qaeda and deprive them of a base of operations. Additional differences include that in 1941 America was gearing up for war. Pearl Harbor accelerated the military growth significantly. In 2001 America was not on a war footing. In fact America was more concerned with the economy.³² The objectives of the attacks were different. For Pearl Harbor the overall Japanese objective was

31. Randolph Hennes, "December 7 and September 11," *Columns Magazine* (December 2001), http://www.washington.edu/alumni/columns/dec01/911_pearlharbor.html (accessed March, 2008).

32. *Ibid.*

to gain territory. The terrorist's objectives were not to seize and control territory. Their objective was to cause fear.³³

Intelligence

A prominent outcome from the attack on Pearl Harbor was the need for better intelligence. Many people accused the attack of being an intelligence failure. American citizens have asked since Pearl Harbor how we missed information that may have warned us about the impending attack.

As December 7th drew closer, foreign radio traffic, inquiring about Pearl Harbor increased. Various questions dealing with the conditions at Pearl Harbor including the number of ships present, and their positions in the harbor were requested by code.³⁴ The inquiries concerning Pearl Harbor were in the military and diplomatic Purple codes of Japan. The Japanese leaders wanted to know if there were torpedo nets or other preventive measures to protect against an air attack. It became clear to American code breakers something was going to happen or the United States was supposed to believe something would happen.³⁵ So much information was coming in, intelligence analysts were unable to process all the data. Some of the intelligence was from phony sources and was designed as red herrings. Other signals coming

33. Randolph Hennes, "December 7 and September 11," *Columns Magazine* (December 2001), http://www.washington.edu/alumni/columns/dec01/911_pearlharbor.html (accessed March, 2008).

34. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991) 77.

35. *Ibid.*, 102.

in were from real ships such as fishing ships which were not military vessels.³⁶ The amount of incoming data resulted in additional sorting of the incoming sources.

American military personnel believed they had found the key to knowing when Japan was planning to attack when they discovered the “Winds Execute” message. This message in code was designed by the Japanese to describe diplomatic relations. It gave a direction and a weather condition to indicate where Japan was to encounter trouble diplomatically. The message was attached to Japanese news broadcasts. The directions were East Wind rain, North Wind cloudy, West Wind clear.³⁷ This code was only used in the possibility of a loss of diplomatic relations with various nations. In addition there was a means to identify the opponent whose relations were suffering by adding an additional word. The word was added to the beginning and end of the broadcast. This was identified by the addition of one of the following Japanese words. Higashi meant Japan-US relations, Kita meant Japanese-Russia relations, and finally Nishi meant Japan-British dealings.³⁸ There are few people who believe the final “Winds Execute” message was ever sent about the relationship with the United States and Japan.

Another issue with intelligence was the Americans did not know where the Japanese were going to strike. The entire Pacific Ocean offered potential targets for the Japanese. Most Americans believed the Philippines were the Japanese target and not Pearl Harbor. There were some Americans who believed Pearl Harbor was a viable objective for the Japanese. Rear Admiral Patrick N.L Bellinger, commander of Patrol Wing Two, which were PBV Catalina

36. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991) 102.

37. Pearl Harbor History Association, Inc, “The ‘Winds Code,’” Blogs@ibiblio, <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/pha/congress/app-e.html#469> (accessed October 7, 2007).

38. Ibid.

reconnaissance aircraft, and Major General Fredrick Martin, who was the Commander of the Hawaiian Air Force, “predicted a carrier air attack from the North 200 miles out, and that the attack would come at dawn on a Saturday or Sunday.”³⁹

In the last days of November 1941 a warning went to the German ambassador to Japan announcing there might be trouble with the United States. This message was intercepted by American Intelligence. Unfortunately because the United States military had dispatched a war warning to all American military bases just three days earlier, it was viewed as being redundant to issue another warning. The intercepted message was never forwarded to Pearl Harbor.

American codebreakers decrypted messages, and sometimes military leadership watered down warnings concerning the trouble with Japan prior to sending the message. The watering down was accomplished by omitting Pearl Harbor as a possible target. This was viewed as necessary because Pearl Harbor was so far away from the Japanese home islands and to be viewed as a likely target. Pearl Harbor wasn’t viewed as a target even though the British had succeeded in a similar attack against the Italian Navy at Taranto earlier in the war using. This attack had demonstrated ships in harbors were vulnerable to attack.⁴⁰ Another big clue something was going on in Japan was the intercepted messages that ordered the Japanese consulate staff to burn their secret documents.⁴¹

No federal agency prior to Pearl Harbor had been assigned to watch the Japanese consulate in Honolulu. This was a mistake because Takeo Yoshikawa, one of the personnel, was spying on Pearl Harbor. Due to the geography of Oahu Island and the location of Pearl Harbor

39. Dale O Smith, “Pearl Harbor: A Lesson in Air Power,” *Air Power History* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1997), 51.

40. *Ibid.* 46

41. Editorial, *The New York Times* December 1951.

being surrounded by higher ground, his task was simple. He sent messages detailing which ships were located where and alerted the Japanese to the lack of preventive measures.⁴² These messages kept the Japanese military leaders up to date on defensive preparations and which vessels were in the harbor until right before the attack on Pearl Harbor. On Saturday December 6th there was a heightened interest in Pearl Harbor.⁴³ This attention was noticed by American personnel due to above normal average of radio messages being intercepted. Several messages were intercepted asking for updates on the status of Pearl Harbor.

One such message was to the German ambassador. This message continued a discussion dealing with Japan attacking the Soviet Union while it was involved in fighting Germany. Japan's response was to declare it was instead going to capture American shipping with supplies meant for the Soviet Union.⁴⁴ Germany wanted the Japanese to prevent the Soviet Union freeing up the forces it was holding in reserve for a Japanese invasion instead of attacking the United States. With this failure of intelligence and the resultant attack on Pearl Harbor, and to assure it would never happen again, the United States created the Central Intelligence Agency after World War II.

On December 6th Admiral Kimmel held a meeting to discuss the fears of the Philippines being attacked and the current tension with Japan. Admiral Kimmel asked what precautions might be useful in implementing in Pearl Harbor given the distance from Japan to the Pearl

42. Ron Laytner, "The Last Samurai," Edit International, <http://www.editinternational.com/index.php?page=stories.php?cat=3f5121f82466f> (accessed October 8, 2007).

43. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 77.

44. Ibid.

Harbor base. After a discussion over possible safeguards, the group finally decided not to take any additional preventive measures at Pearl Harbor.⁴⁵

This discussion regarding the Philippines as the most likely target was a topic that had been discussed over and over among the upper echelons of the staff at Pearl Harbor. Contingency plans had been drawn up by the leaders in case it became necessary to defend Pearl Harbor, but resources were lacking to adequately defend Pearl Harbor from an aerial attack. The two main inadequate assets were antiaircraft weapons and aircraft. All the other defensive plans were believed to have adequate material needed for their successful fulfillment.⁴⁶

Involvement

Due to the mounting tension between Japan and the United States, there was anxiety among some Japanese American citizens. After Pearl Harbor the fear of any individual who was of Japanese descent became prevalent. Many believed they were spies and saboteurs for Japan.

People with Japanese ancestors were uneasy. There was a large population of Japanese-Americans living in the United States. This population consisted mainly of first and second generation Japanese. The first generation was called the Isei. The second generation was called the Nisei. Many of these people were American citizens.⁴⁷ The United States feared sabotage or assistance to invading soldiers. There was widespread concern on the West Coast because it was believed the West Coast was vulnerable to attack or invasion by the Japanese and there were

45. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 84-85.

46. *Ibid.*, 77.

47. *Ibid.*, 238.

many Japanese living on the West Coast. There had been reports of American shipping being torpedoed off the West Coast.

Japan attacked and conquered several locations during the six months it had gained from Pearl Harbor. These included British and American territory. Places from Hong Kong to the Philippines were invaded and taken by Japanese forces. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. All people of Japanese Ancestry were barred from the Pacific Coast. This Executive Order was designed to prevent acts of sabotage. Due to this order 120,000 Japanese-Americans were sent to ten so called relocation centers for internment away from areas deemed sensitive. The centers were in places such as Utah and Colorado. “Across the United States, for little reason but vague fear, Japanese were being taken into custody. Except in the West, most were treated with courtesy.”⁴⁸

The largest group of Japanese Americans was in Hawaii. “Secretary Knox was the most vigorous proponent of Hawaii evacuation.”⁴⁹ Interesting enough, Hawaii did not intern its native Japanese population. This can be explained by the lack of any action on the part of any Japanese-American acting against the United States either during Pearl Harbor or in the immediate aftermath. It is possible the military leaders had not seen anything untoward and thus saw no need for relocation in Hawaii.

A Part of Order 9066 the US government required loyalty oaths from the Japanese-Americans. The government passed a questionnaire around to the men who had been interned. This survey was both confusing and controversial. Two of the contentious questions were

48. Stanley Weintraub, *Long Days Journey into War: December 7, 1941* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1991), 635.

49. Michael Slackman, *Target: Pearl Harbor* Honolulu (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 250.

numbers twenty-seven and twenty-eight. Question twenty-seven asked “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered.”⁵⁰ The men were then asked question number twenty-eight which stated, “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization.”⁵¹ Those who answered no to both of these questions and refused to take a loyalty oath to the United States were taken to prison. This group of men was called the no-no boys.⁵² A small number of Germans and Italians were interned like the Japanese-Americans. The lesser number compared to the Japanese Americans was due to the idea America was not being immediately threatened by German or Italy.

Many Nisei or second generation Japanese-Americans had never lived in Japan during their lives. Some viewed the United States as their home and wanted the opportunity to prove their loyalty to the United States. This chance finally arrived with the formation of military units consisting of Japanese Americans only. Two combat units were formed. First was the 100th Infantry Battalion. The next unit formed was the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT). Between the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd RCT a total of 18,143 individual decorations were awarded to these units. Included in these awards were 9,486 Purple Hearts.⁵³ The 442nd RCT was the most decorated American unit in World War II.

50. We Be Us Group, “Japanese Internment,” Thinkquest, <http://library.thinkquest.org/trio/TTQ04160/Complete%20Site/loyalty/question.htm> (February 14, 2008).

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Michael Slackman, *Target: Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 257.

After 9/11 and the subsequent connections drawn to Pearl Harbor there were many Arabs and Muslims who wondered if internment of those with Middle Eastern origin was going to occur. No one in the United States in a position of authority even mentioned anything remotely resembling internment. There were instances of Muslims or Arabs having themselves or their property attacked.⁵⁴ There are examples of people who looked Muslim or Arabic, such as the Sikhs, being attacked. After a short time the government intervened on the side of the Muslims and Arabs. The FBI labeled any attacks against Muslims or Arabs as hate crimes. The label of hate crimes increased the seriousness of the attacks and increased the punishment for the crime.

“In the first weeks after September 11, the leaders of the United States and Britain were at pains to confirm aloud that theirs was a war not against Islam, nor even just Islamic terror, but against terrorism.”⁵⁵ The United States government and the media have made efforts not to incite reprisals against immigrants by stressing the differences between the peaceful Muslims and a small group of fanatics who twist Islam to their advantage.

Both the Japanese and Muslim populations in the U.S. received hostile treatment at the hands of other citizens due to their race or religion as revenge for attacks against America. For the Japanese this was internment imposed by the government on the whole community. In some cases those who were viewed as Arabs or Muslims whether rightly or wrongly were threatened by individual actions from other citizens.

54. Jeffrey Kaplan, “Islamophobia in America?: September 11 and Islamophobic Hate Crime,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18 (2006): 2.

55. M. Mamdani, “Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism,” *American Anthropologist* 104 no. 3 (September 2002): 766-775.

The government did step in to resolve both situations. The internment of Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor was ended in 1944 when Roosevelt repealed Executive Order 9066.⁵⁶ However, the camps were not completely closed until 1945. Compensation was ordered in 1968 by the United States Government. The first of these payments were awarded by legislation in 1988. Ronald Regan signed House Resolution 442, known as the Civil Liberties act on August 10, 1988, which apologized and announced the Government had been wrong and allowed for \$20,000- 25,000 paid to each survivor of the camps.⁵⁷ At the time the award was allotted there were 60,000 former internees still alive. The first payments were distributed during the 1990s. This relocation to internment camps of the Japanese citizens was viewed as evil chapter in American history.

Although similar circumstances occurred, there were differences in the reactions against the Japanese and Muslims. After Pearl Harbor the US government was responsible for the internment of people with Japanese ancestry. The government was not responsible for the retaliation against the Muslim community in the aftermath of 9/11. Individuals at the grassroots level were responsible for the reprisals. The United States stepped up and declared the attacks against Muslims as illegal and said these offenses will be prosecuted. The United States has not offered compensation for any damages done to Muslim property or from attacks by American citizens. Damages were given to the survivors of the Japanese internment camps during the 1990s. Another difference between the Japanese-Americans and the Muslim victims is the Muslims have not yet demanded a chance to prove they are loyal American citizens.

56. Audrey Kobayashi, "The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians and Japanese Americans during the 1940s: Security of Whom?," *Canadian Issues* (Fall 2005): 28.

57. Ibid.

Politically six years after the events at Pearl Harbor the United States citizens had rallied behind their government and achieved victory in World War II in 1945. Because the end of the war America was rebuilding Germany and Europe the United States was looked upon favorably. After the war The United States was considered favorably by most nations. World War II has been called Americas last unified conflict.

Six years after 9/11 America is still involved in a war. Instead of World War II the current altercation is the War on Terrorism. America formed a coalition of countries including longtime allies such as Britain and other nations, who were willing to assist in attacking international terrorism. Al Qaeda is still in existence despite the attempts by U.S. and other countries. Domestic support for President Bush's policy has been receding. Although united for a short time after the 9/11, attacks the American public is no longer united.

The opinion of the world is slowly turning against the United States. This trend can be readily seen in Europe as several countries are now disapproving of American policy. The new Prime Minister of England, Gordon Brown, is not as supportive as Prime Minister Tony Blair was. European leaders are critical of the Bush administration's approach to diplomatic relation with other countries.

Both President Roosevelt and President George W. Bush handled attacks on the United States during their Presidency. For Roosevelt it was Pearl Harbor. President George W. Bush dealt with 9/11. In addition to the reactions by the American presidents, was the response of the world to the assaults on America. Few world leaders commented on the Pearl Harbor attack. This was because the world was engaged in a World War at the time. There were many comments in the aftermath of 9/11 from world leaders. These comments came from many

different heads of countries. One of the more surprising comments was from Cuba. Most nations that commented condemned the terrorist act. Pearl Harbor and 9/11 were viewed as intelligence failures. The perceived failures have been used as criticisms of the respective President. There has been blame leveled declaring how known information was not acted on.

After Pearl Harbor there was organized opposition to those with Japanese ancestry. The government was the antagonist against the Japanese. The American population of Japanese ancestry was viewed as threats. Due to Executive Order 9066 those with Japanese Ancestry were placed in internment centers otherwise known as relocation centers. In the aftermath of 9/11 American citizens struck out at some Muslims. This time the government was tasked with the responsibility of protecting an ethnic group. This is different from when the government was the one acting against those with Japanese Ancestry.

Six years after Pearl Harbor World War II had ended. The United States was rebuilding Europe. Politically the United States was viewed favorably by most nations with the exception of the Soviet Union. Six years after 9/11 America is still engrossed in the war on terrorism. This war has no end in sight for the foreseeable future. The world opinion is turning against America due to its dealings with other countries.

CHAPTER 3

THE MEDIA

The American public's reaction to Pearl Harbor was not surprising. "Most Americans initial reactions were shock, horror, and anger. These feelings were soon joined by the desire to get even, fear over more invasions, dismay that young men would have to go to war again, and above all hatred for Hirohito and the Japanese Empire, Hitler and Nazi German and, to a lesser degree, Mussolini and Fascist Italy."⁵⁸ The media reacted to the attack on Pearl Harbor in its own way. As soon as the information was available, the news of the event was on all the radio stations and plastered in big print headlines of the newspapers. Within a short period of time music dealing with the attack was created. A movie in production quickly added references to Pearl Harbor to the film. This Movie was entitled *A Yank on the Burma Road*. In addition after the war movies were produced for entertainment purposes instead of propaganda. The government used newsreels to help keep the people informed and morale up. The media assisted the government by creating training manuals and producing propaganda. One of the biggest names to help with propaganda was the Walt Disney Studios. There have been many books written of the events and aftermath of Pearl Harbor and still to this day books are written and movies produced concerning Pearl Harbor.

The events of 9/11 inspired a variety of reactions. The media brought out the attitudes of the American public. The radio had been overtaken as an information medium by television and the internet. Newspapers and magazines carried news of the attack with bold headlines. Artists began producing music to express themselves and in many cases to help cope with their feelings. The music was varied and covered several genres. There was music with patriotic themes.

58. John Bush Jones, *The Songs that Fought The War: Popular Music and the Home Front, 1939-1945* (Lebanon: Brandeis University Press, 2006) 116.

Other music had militant themes. Many songs called for revenge or framed the tragedy in violent rhetoric. Other songs were dedications to the armed forces. The events of 9/11 have inspired songs on other topics. These topics have included the Civil War and World War II. There have been songs created for the War on Terrorism.

In the short time since 9/11 there have even been movies produced focusing on this event. Several television programs have used the subject of terrorism as plot devices. These television shows include the show “24” which because 9/11 has had a plot line where terrorists initiate a nuclear attack on LA.

Radio

The radio was one of the main ways of getting information after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Almost all American households had a radio. The majority of people found out what had happened at Pearl Harbor by way of the radio. As soon as the reports of the attack on Pearl Harbor were available, the radio stations stopped everything to let those listening know what was happening.

Roosevelt held fireside chats with the American people throughout World War Two. These chats were little speeches explaining what was going on, helping the people understand about the war and who the country was fighting against, and as morale boosters. Music was played through the radio and some of the songs about Pearl Harbor were heard over the radio.

Prior to 9/11 radio had been overtaken by television as an information medium. The incident on 9/11 was seen on TV as it happened. This was different from Pearl Harbor as many Americans found out about the attacks from the radio broadcasts. The radio is still used as a means of listening to music and news. Much of the popular music for 9/11 was heard on the

radio. This was the same for Pearl Harbor when many songs relating to Pearl Harbor were heard over the radio.

Newspaper

Newspapers carried news of World War II. After Pearl Harbor large newspaper headlines ran with various pictures of burning ships and other pictures of the destruction. During the war newspapers had correspondents on assignment with the soldiers to get stories concerning the events. These correspondents then needed to telegraph their offices to give them the stories so the office could print the stories. With the narrative coming from the front lines the events were made known faster than before. The United States Government put restrictions on the information that was printed about the war in fear that an enemy might obtain information that was detrimental to the United States. Usually the newspapers information was supplemented by the newsreels to provide a clearer picture of the events. The need for two sources to give information was necessary because of governmental restrictions on the printing of information.

The newspapers and magazines announced 9/11 on their covers. Major American newspapers ran headlines in special editions for 9/11, 2001.⁵⁹ Newspapers, in addition to the headlines, used large color pictures that were seen on the front pages. Magazines covers showed a variety of images of the attack and images relating to the attack. The magazines did not react as fast as the newspapers did. Some of the earliest magazine articles dealing with the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington D.C were dated September 12, for *People* magazine, and *Time* Magazine came out with articles on September 14th. Not as fast as the newspapers special same day editions but still very fast. However most of the magazines came out with editions

59. A.D. Williams, "USA Newspaper Headlines," September 11 News, <http://www.september11news.com/USANewspapers.htm> (accessed February 14, 2007).

speaking of the attacks around the 17th of September. The magazines began showing a variety of images related to the attacks. Pictures of the buildings after the airplane impact were seen. Other images such as the pictures of the New York firemen raising the American flag in the rubble were used. Pictures of President George W Bush were prevalent. Not only magazines such as *People* and *Time* and news magazines such as *US News and World Report*, but business and finance magazines began running covers dealing with the 9/11 events in the first two weeks after the attack. Two weeks after the attacks the attentions shifted away from the attacks and the inflicted damage. The new focus was Bin Laden. His face became common on magazine covers.⁶⁰

Newspaper headlines showed the news of the attacks at Pearl Harbor and 9/11. Pictures of the attacks were printed in the newspapers. These newspapers were one of the ways Americans were notified of the attacks. There were magazines of various types that showed pictures of the attacks on their covers and in their stories. The images on these newspapers and magazines of burning ships and the burning towers have become iconic. The newspapers along with the television and internet seemed to create the conceptual framework for understanding the events of and after 9/11.

Conspiracy Theories

The media has exerted its influence in other ways. This has been by the spreading of conspiracy theories. Pearl Harbor and 9/11 has been the target of many contrary purposed explanations concerning the attacks. These ideas usually have some common components. It is common for conspiracy theories relating to Pearl Harbor and 9/11 to claim the government had

60. A.D. Williams, "USA Newspaper Headlines," September 11 News, <http://www.september11news.com/USANewspapers.htm> (accessed February 14, 2007).

forewarning of the attack but maliciously withheld information to insure the attack succeeds. The development of conspiracy theories was fast and became widespread in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor and 9/11.

The major conspiracy theories for Pearl Harbor are based on one main topic with variations. The common topic was President Roosevelt pursued policies that were designed to create an excuse for America to enter World War II. These policies, which have been purposed, of refusal to sell scrap metal to the Japanese and a freezing of Japanese assets in America forced the Japanese to strike back. Another frequent theme for Pearl Harbor conspiracy theories is America had broken the Japanese naval code by December 1941. With the naval code broken, it is claimed America knew everything the Japanese were planning but took no actions.

Those who produce the conspiracy theories for Pearl Harbor are called revisionists.⁶¹ There are two different schools of revisionism for Pearl Harbor. The Functionalists believed President Franklin D. Roosevelt followed policies designed to bring the United States into direct conflict with Japan, but he was not aware of the plan to attack Pearl Harbor. The other school is entitled the Intentionalists believe President Franklin D. Roosevelt purposefully set up America for the attack and then knew when the attack was going to occur.⁶²

There are any more conspiracy theories concerning 9/11. The dissemination of conspiracy theories in the aftermath of 9/11 was assisted by the internet. The plots relating to

61. David Silbergeld, "Pearl Harbor: It Was More Than a Movie," *National Defense Magazine* (August 2001) http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/issues/2001/Aug/Pearl_Harbor.htm (accessed March 13, 2008).

62. Ibid.

9/11 have taken on many forms. Some people claim explosives were used to collapse the World Trade Center. Other claims say a missile hit the Pentagon and not a plane.⁶³

There have been so many conspiracy theories it is hard to pinpoint a single common theory or even a few dominant theories. In an internet search through Google.com using “World Trade Center conspiracy” as the search phrase over 628,000 Web sites were listed. More than 3,000 books on 9/11 have been published; many of them reject the official consensus that hijackers associated with Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda flew passenger planes into U.S. landmarks.⁶⁴ Like Pearl Harbor there are accusations President George W Bush was aware of the attack and let it happen so he was able to involve America in a war.

Conspiracy theories are attractive and as such have been very prevalent. In the cases of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 many theories have been created as people have come up with alternate views of what actually happened. Conspiracy theories relating to 9/11 and Pearl Harbor usually claim there was prior knowledge by the President.

Music

Popular musicians reacted by quickly producing songs concerning the attack on Pearl Harbor and World War II. These songs covered many genres. “Their songs about America at war were of three distinct and different kinds--patriotic, militant, and Axis bashing.”⁶⁵ Hillbilly music, which later will be referred to as country music, had more hits than any other category. The reason Hillbilly songs did so well was due to the patriotism that was felt through the music

63. The Editors, “Debunking the 9/11 Myths: Special Report,” *Popular Mechanics* (March 2005) http://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/military_law/1227842.html (accessed February 16, 2008).

64. Ibid.

65. John Bush Jones, *Songs that Fought The War: Popular Music and the Home Front 1939-1945* (Lebanon: Brandeis University Press, 2006), 117.

and lyrics. These songs usually spoke of daily life and what was happening to the people at home.

One of the first and the most classic World War II patriotic songs was written by Don Reid, in collaboration with Sammy Kaye, who wrote the music. This song was called *Remember Pearl Harbor*.⁶⁶ The song was played often on every radio station in America. Kaye and Reid's song was not so much about the actual attack on Pearl Harbor but was more of a battle cry. Reminiscent of The Alamo battle cry which rallied American soldiers to remember the stand at the Alamo this song was meant to do the same. The song even mentions the famous "Remember the Alamo" slogan. This was an obvious attempt to use popular history memory to incite contemporary emotions.

Another popular song was *Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition*. This song was about a Chaplain who took up a ship's gun after the gunner was no longer able to fight and who started firing at the Japanese aircraft during the attack on Pearl Harbor. However, the real story was of a Chaplain on the U.S.S. *New Orleans* who walked down the line of men who were firing, telling them to "*Praise the Lord and pass the Ammunition*"⁶⁷ This song was produced to cheer up the men as they fought the Japanese and seemed to offer a religious blessing to the war.

The music of the times topics were varied. Some portrayed putting the enemy back in their place, such as the song *Let's put the Axe to the Axis*.⁶⁸ Others boasted of quick victory and getting ready to go to places such as Yokohama or Tokyo, as in *Good-Bye Mama (I'm off to*

66. "Remember Pearl Harbor," Pearl Harbor Remembered, <http://my.execpc.com/~dschaaf/songnew.html> (accessed October 27, 2007).

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

Yokohama).⁶⁹ Many songs called for revenge. Some songs demonized the Japanese. The song *We're Gonna Have to Slap the Dirty Little Jap. (And Uncle Sam's The Guy Who Can Do It)*⁷⁰ spoke of how the Japanese needed to be stopped and Uncle Sam was going to do just that. Music has a strong effect on people and how they feel. This genre played a major role in the war effort throughout the entire war not just directly after Pearl Harbor. Songs helped shape popular understanding of the war and what it was about.

Similar to Pearl Harbor, musicians reacted to 9/11 by creating songs. The songs that were created fell into three categories. There was patriotic music, militant music, and finally there were other songs. The other category includes music that is dedicated to those serving or who has served in our military forces or to those who have died serving in the U.S. armed forces. It includes other songs that have been inspired by 9/11 and discuss other American wars including the Civil War, World War II, and the Iraq War.

The music created as a reaction, to 9/11 covers many genres. Country music was prolific in its production of songs dealing with 9/11. “Though its writers weren't even in New York on Sept. 11, country music, more than any other genre, has wrestled successfully with the emotions arising from that day.”⁷¹ The first category, which is patriotic music, can be seen in Aaron Tippin's *Where the Stars and Stripes & the Eagle Fly*.⁷² In this song the artist claims only patriotic people are wanted in the United States. Another example of patriotic music is Alan

69. “Remember Pearl Harbor,” Pearl Harbor Remembered, <http://my.execpc.com/~dschaaf/songnew.html> (accessed October 27, 2007).

70. Ibid.

71. Brian Mansfield, “Country Music, in 9/11 Time,” *USA Today* (September 8, 2002) http://www.usatoday.com/life/music/2002-09-05-sept11-country_x.htm (accessed February, 1, 2008).

72. Aaron Tippin, *Where the Stars and Stripes & the Eagle Fly*, Lyric Street, CD, September 10, 2002.

Jackson's song *Where Were You (When the World Stopped Turning)*.⁷³ In this song Alan Jackson talks about reactions Americans had to the 9/11 attacks. He covers the entire gambit of emotions that were felt by Americans. The emotions ranged from denial the attacks happened, gathering with loved ones for comfort. Paul McCartney wrote a song entitled *Freedom* as a means to honor the dead. This song was written after he witnessed the September 11th attack in person.⁷⁴ Bruce Springsteen created a 9/11 inspired album entitled *Rising*.⁷⁵

The militant songs included *Lets Roll* by Neil Young. The "importance of 'Let's Roll' lies in the fact that it is one of the first original songs with popular radio support that directly addressed 9/11."⁷⁶ Other militant songs included Toby Keith's *Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue (The Angry American)*. This song demonstrated the Americans desire for revenge for 9/11.⁷⁷ Another militant song was Country artist Darryl Worley's song "*Have you Forgotten*." This song declared America was looking for a war after the events of 9/11. Worley asks in the lyrics, have you forgotten the images of 9/11 and the suffering those in the tower went through during the attack. The artist asks these questions before wanting to hear about us not going to war.⁷⁸ The song is meant as a pro war song by justifying what happened to America as a reason to strike back.

73. Alan Jackson, *Where Were You (When the World Stopped Turning)*, Arista, CD, March 23, 2004.

74. Paul McCartney, *Freedom*, Capitol, CD, November 13, 2001.

75. Thom Jurek, "The Rising Review," Yahoo Music, <http://music.yahoo.com/read/review/14253263> (accessed February 21, 2008).

76. George Sanchez, "Popular Music after 9/11: Putting Politics Into Verse," *Friction Magazine* (October 16, 2002), http://www.frictionmagazine.com/song/news/911music_print.html (accessed February 14, 2008).

77. Toby Keith, *Courtesy of The Red White and Blue(the Angry American)*, Dreamworks Nashville, CD, November 9, 2004.

78. Darryl Worley, *Have you Forgotten*, Dreamworks Nashville, CD, April 15, 2003.

There has been an outpouring of music from musicians outside the professional circuit. These songs range from using artists songs as scores for remembrance to amateur musicians composing songs. On the internet several popular songs that were written prior to the attacks on 9/11 have been used to create remembrances of the attacks. This was done to songs such as *In the Arms of an Angel* by Sara McLachlan, and *Hero* by Enrique Iglesias. Others songs remixed include Enya with *Only Time* and Styx's *Show Me the Way*.⁷⁹ In addition, artists such as Lee Greenwood are seeing a surge in interest in songs written previously. Lee Greenwood's song *God Bless the USA* is one of these songs that are experiencing a revival again.

Many have felt cathartic release in putting their feelings down into musical form. In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor and 9/11, attacks Americans have created a variety of music. This music covered all genres. Several different categories exist. There are patriotic music, militant music, and other music. A similarity between 9/11 and Pearl Harbor is both had patriotic and militant music. The difference was Pearl Harbor's song had a third category, Axis bashing. For 9/11 there was no Axis bashing music. This was due to no Axis powers. The enemy was an amorphous group instead of nations.

Film

During World War II movies were important to the war effort. Movies produced in Hollywood were used as propaganda and as training manuals. An example of a company that produced for the government was the Disney Company.⁸⁰ The newsreel presented before the

79. Bradley Johtzen, "9/11 2001... Never Forget what happened to the innocent thousands." 9/11 Tributes, Setember 11 Tributes and Memorials to the Victims, Families, and many Heroes of September 11, 2001, <http://www.jontzen.com/tribute.htm> (accessed February 14 2008).

80. Disney, Roy, E, Maltin, Leonard, *Walt Disney On The Front Lines The War Years*, DVD. (Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Treasures).

movie started became an important information source during World War II. A newsreel was a depiction of what was going on in the news. As the war progressed the violence and realism of the war was shown in the newsreels. The federal government became concerned with the realism and violence portrayed in the newsreels, for "...as government condoned the graphic depiction of political war-related violence for propaganda purposes in newsreels, filmgoers were exposed to increasingly stark documentary images onscreen by mid-1943."⁸¹

Franklin D Roosevelt's speech to Congress on December 8, 1941, requesting a declaration of war on Japan, was filmed for newsreels and also broadcasted on the radio so the people of the United States had the opportunity to see and hear what he said. This had a significant effect on the populace in the feelings of support towards what the president was saying; because an image was there not just a voice. Once the United States was involved in the war, the government set restrictions on what and how the war was to be portrayed.

The first mention of Pearl Harbor in a movie produced in America was *A Yank on the Burma Road*. This movie was already in production when Pearl Harbor was attacked. The movie script was changed so Pearl Harbor was mentioned by the characters even though the plot had nothing to do with Pearl Harbor. There is a theme in several post Pearl Harbor movies of American military personnel who somehow find out about the imminent attack on Pearl Harbor. Despite their efforts they are unable to warn authorities in the United States about the impending attack. This is the theme for the films *Submarine Raider* (1942) and the serial *Adventures of Smilin' Jack* (1943).⁸² The American movie studios eventually did create a film regarding

81. Chinen Sheri Biesen, *Blackout: World War II and the origins of Film Noir* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005) 71.

82. McLaughlin and Parry, *We'll Always Have the Movies*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 73.

Pearl Harbor which showed both the American view and the Japanese view of. It took Hollywood thirty years after Pearl Harbor to make the movie. This movie was *Tora, Tora, Tora*.

The majority of films available after the first six months after Pearl Harbor were morale boosting films. The cinemas not only showed newsreels for information, but movies for propaganda. The films themselves gave some news by helping to serve “two purposes: first, to fill in the narrative gaps in the news reports and turn them into complete, coherent narratives; and second, to invest the places in the Pacific theater with value.”⁸³

Interestingly prior to Pearl Harbor the Japanese were not depicted as enemies in any movies. “Once the United States entered the war, far more Hollywood films focused on historical events-actual places, battles, and campaigns in the pacific theater than in the European theater.”⁸⁴ The first movie produced for propaganda purposes after Pearl Harbor was the *Why We Fight* series. This series was produced by Frank Capra. The first part of *Why We Fight* is entitled *The Prelude To War*. The *Why We Fight* series was originally designed because the typical American serviceman did not know why America was fighting or very much about the Japanese. “*Prelude to War* had originally been intended for military personnel, not for civilian audiences; than after a White House screening, President Roosevelt had declared, ‘Every man, woman, and child must see this film’”⁸⁵ This film was then released commercially in the cinemas. Usually there were several movie choices to see, but when *Prelude to War* was released to the public it was the only movie choice in the cinemas.

83. McLaughlin and Parry, *We'll Always Have the Movies*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 71.

84. Ibid.

85. Dick F. Bernard, *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985), 2.

Another movie released for propaganda purposes was John Ford's film *December 7* which was proposed by Colonel William B. ("Wild Bill") Donovan, who was the head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The first draft of the film was viewed as not having a clear message and the project was shelved. In 1943 the film was cut to thirty-three minutes and distributed for public showing. For this film Ford won an Academy Award for Best Short Subject. In this shortened version there were "three distinct sections: the bombing of the U.S. fleet, a memorialization of the dead (emphasizing America's class and ethnic diversity,) and a promise of military victory."⁸⁶ In The memorialization part in *December 7* various ethnic groups Americans rise up as ghosts to talk to the viewer showing this was a war for all people on America.

Movies that mention Pearl Harbor in a plot set after the end of World War II have common themes. They portrayed the anxiety in American serviceman about being able to leave the war behind them and the ability to fit back into civilian life. The movies mention picking up the pieces in Germany after World War II was over, but here is no mention of picking up the pieces in Japan after the war. Americans believed Japan deserved less than the others Axis powers because of the cowardly sneak attack by the Japanese Empire.

After the end of World War II American censorship was lifted. The government began to allow the film studios to write movies about the war for entertainment instead of for propaganda. There were dramatizations of certain events throughout the war that were made into movies. On the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor a movie titled *Pearl Harbor* was produced by Paramount. Although it received great hype before it was released, most reviews after its release were not

86. Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 19.

very positive. Normally the critics said the only good part of the movie was the depiction of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Because 9/11 a few movies have been created regarding the events of 9/11. These films included *World Trade Center*. This movie discusses the story of a port authority policeman who responded to the emergency of 9/11. The film entitled *Flight 93* is about the passengers of Flight 93, which crashed into the fields near Shanksville, PA. This plane crashed due to resistance from passengers. These films have largely been dramatic recollections of the day's events. Another movie was *Fahrenheit 9/11* written by Michael Moore. This movie was intended as a critical examination of America after 9/11.

Films have done their part in keeping alive the memory. There have been movies written as propaganda, mainly produced during World War II. After the war the government allowed studios to make films for entertainment instead of political need. Films such as *Tora, Tora, Tora* have told the Japanese perspective and American perspective on Pearl Harbor. Although not an official remembrance of the 60th anniversary of Pearl Harbor the film *Pearl Harbor* was released. The film was heavily anticipated, but upon its release did not fulfill all the hype.

Unlike at the time of Pearl Harbor there are no newsreels that play before the movies in the cinema. The role of the newsreels has been replaced by the internet and the major news networks television broadcasts. For Pearl Harbor and 9/11 there has been many movies produced. The movies handling of the 9/11 and Pearl Harbor attacks have differed depending on the purpose of the film. Some movies such as *Fahrenheit 9/11* have been critical of the events and the authorities.

Television

There were many productions created for television concerning 9/11, most were documentaries. One documentary simply titled *9/11* originally broadcasted on CBS was not at first going to be about the attacks on the World Trade Center. This production was initially the story of a rookie firefighter who worked seven blocks from the World Trade Center. During the actual filming the attack on the towers occurred. The brothers who produced the film were then able to take film of the rescue effort inside of the twin towers to retain the original focus of the movie about what firefighters do.⁸⁷ Another television movie was *In Memoriam: New York City, 9/11/01*, created for HBO. This film, while lasting only sixty minutes, is a combination of audio, video, and finally photography. This film shows images of attacks on the World Trade Center. It has the then New York's mayor, Rudy Giuliani's description of his arrival at Ground Zero.⁸⁸ Ground Zero was the name given to the site of the World Trade Center after the attacks. CNN created a documentary regarding 9/11; the documentary is titled *America Remembers-The Events of 9/11*. Depicted is the CNN coverage of the attack and then goes into a timeline of the events.⁸⁹ There is another documentary film created by a photographer who works with the New York Fire Department entitled *WTC 9-11-01: Day of Disaster*. This film differs from others because it was taken a short time after the collapse of the World Trade Center.⁹⁰

87. Brian Henke, "Plot Summary for 9/11 (2002) (TV)," The Internet Movie Database, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0312318/plotsummary> (accessed February 16, 2008).

88. "In Memoriam: New York City, 9/11/01." HBO. http://www.hbo.com/docs/programs/9_11/ (accessed February, 16 2008).

89. Anonymous, "Plot summary for WTC 9-11-01 Day of Disaster (2006) (V)" The Internet Movie Database <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0795501/plotsummary> (accessed February 16, 2008).

90. Andrea LeVasseur, "CNN Tribute: America Remembers - The Events of 9/11 (2002) Review Summary," The New York Times, <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/265208/CNN-Tribute-America-Remembers-The-Events-of-September-11th/overview> (accessed February 16, 2008).

Television has become an influential medium. Most Americans learned of the 9/11 attacks by watching them live on television. The images of the devastation wrought by the terrorist attacks were shown numerous times in the days following the attacks. Many psychologists were worried about the images effecting people. Television shows reflect American culture. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11 many shows were canceled or substituted for other programs due to content. The USA show *The Siege* was canceled because the plot dealing with Arab terrorists who want to destroy New York actually happened.⁹¹ Even movies were affected as the Time Warner movie *Collateral Damage* was pulled from release.⁹² TBS temporarily replaced violent movies with family friendly movies.⁹³ Video retailers showed an increase demand for terror films by consumers.⁹⁴

Media has had an effect on the availability of information on Pearl Harbor and 9/11. Radio brought all the information quickly and to a large audience in 1941 especially Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech on Dec 8th to Congress. Newspapers were another way the people got information. The newspapers provide a more visual nature than the radio. Most Americans subscribed to at least one newspaper at this time. Television was the way most people received news concerning the attack on 9/11.

Music, books, and film have kept the memory of Pearl Harbor very much alive from the time of the actual event to the present day. There is a large library of books written about Pearl Harbor. Some are just overviews, others are very detailed. The music immediately after Pearl

91. Lyn Spigel, "Entertainment Wars: Television Culture after 9/11." *American Quarterly* 56 no. 2 (2004), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/american_quarterly/v056/56.2spigel.htm (accessed October, 2007).

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

Harbor spoke of the need to fight Japan. The music talks of revenge against Japan. There is even the use of racial stereotypes in the music. As we get farther away from Pearl Harbor, the music becomes less aggressive towards the Japanese. The outpouring of music immediately after Pearl Harbor served another purpose. To many Americans it was cathartic to get their feelings out in music. This was a good release mechanism even if there song didn't get published or if it received poor airtime. This also became very true after the attacks on 9/11.

The extensive media network combination of newspapers, radios, movies, and finally newsreels created a more comprehensive picture of Pearl Harbor. These different genres of media were able to respond to the attack on Pearl Harbor by reflecting the views of society.

The media along with encouraging and providing news to the American public can have a negative effect on the people whom they influence. The American public had very little to cheer about during the first six months of 1942. The ability to get the news fast did not help during the early Japanese victories in the Pacific given that all they were reporting was Japanese success whenever they attacked. There were common themes in society after Pearl Harbor. These themes were a sense of horror and outrage against the Japanese for the attack. There was a need for revenge against the Japanese for their dastardly surprise attack. Some Americans had the feeling of being betrayed by America because we were not ready for the attack. Many Americans claimed the Japanese started this fight but we will finish it. The talk and attitude was extended to the entire Axis powers not just Japan. The Japanese attack united the nation and brought all public opinion to agree on abandoning isolationism and joining the Allies in working towards the defeat of the Axis powers consisting of German, Italy, and finally Japan.

On 9/11 Americans watched as terrorists using planes attacked the United States. Through pictures on television, internet, newspapers, and finally magazines Americans saw for themselves the results of the attack. The images of burning buildings ingrained themselves on the American consciousness. These images sparked reactions. Americans and the world spoke out in anger and to console. As it has done in the past, music became a form of expression. Music was created that dealt with the attacks. The topics were diverse. Some of the music was patriotic. There was some music that advocated militancy. There is music that was dedicated to American troops either currently serving, or who have sacrificed for their country.

Films have been produced relating to 9/11. The films have covered everything from a chronological account of 9/11 to controversial films such as *Fahrenheit 9/11*. There were many television movies that were made about 9/11. Some movies focused on one group such as the rescue personnel. Although radio was not as vital in disseminating information like it was in 1941 it still played a role. This role was to play some of the music about 9/11. Newspapers and magazines included pictures of 9/11. The newspapers issued special editions on 9/11. Magazines put on their covers images of 9/11. Many of these pictures that were placed in the newspapers and in magazines have become iconic representations of 9/11. After a few weeks the pictures switched from pictures of the attacks and the resultant devastation to pictures of Osama Bin Laden.

CHAPTER 4

CULTURE

The Pearl Harbor attack was viewed through many different lenses and profoundly affected Americans and citizens of other nations, including the people of the Empire of Japan. In the case of Japan, the attacks changed the Japanese citizen's perspective, especially after losing World War II. The attitudes of Americans were varied. The Japanese Americans also were changed by the attack on Pearl Harbor. They became anxious and fearful of retributions against them from angry non-Japanese descendent American citizens. They were scared of being deported or being relocated to one of the internment centers. Other Americans were shocked and angry because of the attack on Pearl Harbor, wanting to go to war.

Cultural memory is important to nations as it assists in organizing the memories of a nation's past. This cultural memory is instilled primarily by memorials. In 1967 a memorial was constructed to Pearl Harbor. The monument was put up over the sunken battleship *Arizona*. 9/11 has its own memorials being created. There are currently three memorials being constructed. One memorial is for the victims of the World Trade Center. The second monument is for the victims of the Pentagon attack. Finally the third monument is being created at the Shanksville, Pennsylvania crash site for the Flight 93 crew and passengers. These monuments are designed to create a lasting cultural impression.

The unity of a population is needed for any undertaking in society. This is especially necessary in wartime. An issue American culture has dealt with in relationship to Pearl Harbor and 9/11 is censorship. Censorship in the newspapers and in letters was prevalent after Pearl Harbor. In the aftermath of 9/11 there was control and restrictions on Americans. This was done

in the Patriot Act and in the allowing of wiretaps. Occurring in reaction to the use of airplanes as missiles, American airports have increased their security.

Reaction

The American government in an attempt to preserve the history of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 took recordings of average Americans out on the streets. The reaction from the Pearl Harbor collection, which is entitled “After the Day of Infamy: Man on the Street interviews,” includes audio recordings of interviews done in the streets of various American cities. Included in the collection are written transcripts of the interviews. The interviewers literally walked or stood on the street and talked to people who passed by. In the case of the “After the Day of Infamy: Man on the Street” interviews the topics, that were mentioned by those being interviewed included Civil Rights, various history topics such as the Monroe Doctrine and World War I, minorities, the economy, censorship, children, military preparedness and readiness, recruitment to the armed forces, and finally public opinion.⁹⁵

The 9/11 attacks are recorded in a collection known as “September 11, 2001 Documentary Project.” The 9/11 Documentary project not only includes these audio interviews it includes some videos and pictures. Both documentary collections demonstrate the wide variety of concerns and opinions society as a whole demonstrated in the wake of the attacks.

The “9/11 Documentary Project” covers topics such as Afghanistan, Osama Bin Laden, George W. Bush, children, Christianity, civil liberties, Disaster relief for New York, the District of Columbia, Memorials, Patriotism, Press Coverage, Rescue workers, and finally the

95. American Folklife Center, “After the Day of Infamy: “Man on the Street” Interviews Following the Attack on Pearl Harbor,” The Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/afcphtml/afcphtml.html> (accessed October 2007).

economy.⁹⁶ There are some similarities in the concerns and topics that American citizens discussed after 9/11 and Pearl Harbor.

The effort the United States used in keeping alive the memory of the attack was astounding. To Americans, Pearl Harbor was viewed as an event that was important to remember, and vital to keep in mind the lessons that were learned on December 7, 1941. “The phrase “Remember Pearl Harbor!” strikes an impressive array of responses in the minds of Americans. Patriotism, pride, loyalty to country, sensitivity to the lessons of history, aspirations for no more war, and sincere hopes for a peaceful world”⁹⁷ are all included.

There were a few attacks against Muslim Americans after 9/11. These attacks were initiated from the grassroots level instead of from the federal government. There were reports of individual Americans striking out at Muslim Americans and those who were perceived as being Muslims or Arabs. People were attacked regardless of whether they were Muslim or not. Even looking like the stereotypical image of a Muslim was enough to possibly be assaulted. On a positive light there was no attempt to forcibly relocate Muslim Americans like the Japanese Americans had been after Pearl Harbor. Some Muslims feared it would happen again and they will be the ones in internment camps.⁹⁸ No one suggested such an action towards Muslims after 9/11.

The outcomes of war affect the reaction of one country to other countries response. “By any measure, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was one of the decisive events of the 20th Century. For Americans it was the greatest military disaster in memory-one which set them on

96. American Folklife Center, “9/11 Documentary Project,” Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/911_archive/subjectA.html (accessed October 7, 2007).

97. Toru Watanabe, “American Perceptions of the Pearl Harbor Attack,” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 3 no. 3 (Fall 1994), 276.

98. Rick Hampson, “Fear ‘as bad as after 9/11,” *USA Today* (December, 12 2008), http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-12-12-arab-americanscover_x.htm (accessed February 21, 2008).

the road to becoming the world's greatest military power. For Japanese, the attack was a momentary triumph that marked the beginning of the nations' painful and protracted transition from empire to economic colossus."⁹⁹ The United States desires to keep the memory of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Japanese prefer the memory to be forgotten.

In Japan after the end of World War II the American remembrance of Pearl Harbor was viewed as an evil thing. "Pearl Harbor for many Japanese is often seen as a "mistake" and a reminder of the tragedies of war and the devastations that followed the use of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."¹⁰⁰ The Japanese are puzzled at the effort that is spent by the Americans in remembrance and the loud proclamations of the cowardly nature of the sneak attack.

Even six years following Pearl Harbor with the war finished, most citizens of Japan still believed the Americans despised the Japanese. The Japanese Emperor Hirohito felt the American concept of remembering Pearl Harbor translated to harboring the feelings of revenge against the Japanese people. The atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima became the instrument of revenge for Pearl Harbor according to the Japanese.

Hirohito promised the people of Japan after World War II "to work to contribute to world peace."¹⁰¹ On December 7, 1941, Hirohito's goal was to promote peace in the Pacific Ocean and throughout the world.¹⁰² The policy Hirohito declared after World War II was the same. This was to promote peace. Despite the same goal the means were different. The cost of peace in the

99. Toru Watanabe, "American Perceptions of the Pearl Harbor Attack," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 3 no. 3 (Fall 1994), 278.

100. East West Center, "Pearl Harbor: History, Memory, Memorial." East-West Center, <http://education.eastwestcenter.org/asiapacificed/ph2007/2007index.htm> (accessed March 12, 2008).

101. *New York Times*, December 8, 1947.

102. *Ibid*

Pacific in the intervening six years was tremendous. The military establishment and its attempt to create world peace resulted in “the deaths of many thousands of men by land and by sea and in the air, the fire bombs rained down on Tokyo, the final horror of Hiroshima.”¹⁰³ His second attempt on peace in the word was not done through military means, but by diplomatic means.

Unity and Disunity

After the attack on Pearl Harbor the majority of the American people were united in the effort to fight in World War II. There was an increase in the military recruitment after Pearl Harbor. The citizens who stayed at home and did not or were unable to join the military did many things to help the war effort. American citizens bought war bonds, and planted victory gardens. Many women, who normally were at home, entered the workforce in the factories; Americans accepted the rationing on gas and gathered scrap metal, nylons, and rubber for donation. The strong unity of the people lasted until the war was over in 1945.

To this day there is a sense of this belonging amongst those Americans who experienced World War II. The logic of unity is not only left to those who were direct survivors of Pearl Harbor, but it has become a part of American culture and myth. This bond can be seen in the terms used to describe World War II. Those who were alive during the World War II years, especially those who fought in World War II, have been called the greatest generation.¹⁰⁴ This phrase was coined by NBC news anchor Tom Brokaw. The reason Brokaw made this claim was because the members “came of age during the Great Depression, won World War II without expecting any special thanks, and then built modern America.”¹⁰⁵

103. *New York Times*, December 8, 1947.

104. Emily Rosenberg, *A Date which will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Duke University Press: Durham, 2003), 120.

105. *Ibid.*

After the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon the Americans became united. This unity lasted for a very short time. It was only a few weeks after the attack when the American television stations went back to their regularly scheduled lineups. The lack of unity has continued to spread throughout President George W Bush's tenure as president. There was much bickering and name calling after the War on Terrorism began as Americans asked why we were caught unprepared and hurt so badly.

The initiation of censorship is a common American reaction to events. There have been several instances throughout U.S. history when censorship and restriction of personal rights have been put in place in a said attempt to protect citizens. Abraham Lincoln did exactly this in 1860 with the outbreak of the Civil War. Lincoln ordered the right of free speech lifted and allowed people to be held indefinitely without being charged with a crime. He also suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus.

One of the greatest changes to affect the America culture was the increase of security after the attacks. There was the propaganda during World War II designed to increase the security of America, and after 9/11 there was the increase of security in American airports. This increase of security has an effect on modern culture. In addition the ever increasing number of prohibited items on flights has caused the need to be careful of items carried onto planes. Because the hijacking of the plane on 9/11 were done by a specific group of people, stereotypes have emerged and forms of profiling of passengers for additional security measures and unease by passengers have increased disuniting the people.

The unification of the American people proceeding Pearl Harbor made the nation stronger and assisted in the victory of World War II. The lack of unity after the attacks of 9/11 has confused the people. The increase of security and censorship have been regarded in a

negative way because 9/11 and even though the internment of the Japanese Americans was later seen as an embarrassment to the United States, at the time the majority of Americans believed it was needed to be done along with the increase in censorship for protection.

Monuments

A way for people to remember the past is in the production of monuments to significant events. These monuments become part of the culture. Pearl Harbor is considered one of America's important military actions. With its significance, a monument has been built to remember what happened.

When designing the monument at Pearl Harbor the designers wanted the USS *Arizona* which was sunk in the attack with most of its crew as the focal point. So the building was constructed over the USS *Arizona* without ever touching it. This memorial was built in 1962. The *Arizona* is the "nation's only major naval memorial vessel associated with disaster."¹⁰⁶ It was designed to dip in the middle to symbolize the nadir of America's fortunes during World War II. The ends of the monument rise to signify the outcome of the World War II. To reach the memorial a ferry transports viewers to the site. Inside on the walls of the memorial is inscribed the names of all those who lost their lives at Pearl Harbor. Prior to boarding the ferry there is a short film designed to help those continuing on to the memorial to remember the crew was unable to be taken out of the ship and the *Arizona* is a tomb. Although the *Arizona* lies at the bottom of Pearl Harbor, its dead were listed as being buried at sea.¹⁰⁷

The purpose of the *Arizona* war memorial, as defined by the architect Alfred Preis, is "in honor and commemoration of the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who gave

106. James Delgado, "Memorials, Myths, and Symbols: The Significance of the Arizona Memorial," *The Valley Forge Journal*, 318.

107. *Ibid.*, 320.

their lives to the country during the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941.”¹⁰⁸

The *Arizona* is a naval memorial in addition to being a shrine for those who died fighting for the United States and its ideals. A ritual at Pearl Harbor is throwing flowers into the water above the vessel.

The *Arizona* has been viewed with many different perceptions by the American public. It has been perceived as a memorial to the perception of war. Other Americans view the memorial as the need for military preparedness and alertness. The memorial has been viewed as a symbol for the Cold War era because the memorial was built during the Cold War. To those who protested Vietnam the memorial demonstrates the futile nature of war.¹⁰⁹

The Americans tend to see the *Arizona* memorial as one viewed from the angle of war,¹¹⁰ many Japanese visitors to Pearl Harbor view the monument as one for peace. The idea of a war memorial with a theme for peace for the Japanese is because all their World War II memorials have a theme of spreading peace.¹¹¹ Some Japanese tourists see the *Arizona* Memorial in the context of the prelude to the rest of the war in the Pacific and, finally, the dropping of the atomic bombs against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Pearl Harbor memorial was purposely designed to avoid discussion of the atomic bomb. This was done in an attempt to avoid controversy and also keep the memorial focused on its objective of remembering the event of Pearl Harbor.

108. James Delgado, “Memorials, Myths, and Symbols: The Significance of the Arizona Memorial,” *The Valley Forge Journal*, 320.

109. *Ibid.*, 325.

110. Yaguichi Yujin, “War Memories Across the Pacific,” *Comparative American Studies* Vol 3 no. 3 (September 2005): 350.

111. *Ibid.*, 351.

Furthering the Japanese perspective of the Pearl Harbor site is the view among the Japanese they are responsible for the existence of this memorial. The Japanese believe because their ancestors were the ones who attacked Pearl Harbor, the Japanese people in a sense created the memorial.¹¹² Some Japanese who visit the memorial feel a need to apologize to the United States for the attack.¹¹³

In the case of 9/11 there are three memorials currently being built. These memorials are one for each of the crash sites on 9/11. The memorial for the World Trade Center had designs submitted and families of those who died were given a vote on the designs. The Ground Zero memorial, which is the World Trade Center site, is entitled Reflecting Absence. The design consists of two reflecting pools below street level with waterfalls cascading down their sides. This memorial is designed to encompass both those who died in the Pennsylvania field and the Pentagon attack. Another group of victims included in this memorial were those killed in the bombing at the World Trade Center in 1993. This is being done even though the other sites are creating their own memorials.¹¹⁴ The names of the victims will be inscribed around the two pools. There is an eight acre Memorial park that includes 300 oak trees. Additionally there will be a Memorial Museum at the site.¹¹⁵

The Pentagon monument is called Memorial Park. This will consist of 184 benches called Memorial Units. Each of the benches will represent one victim of the attack. The benches will have the name of the victims engraved on them and will be arranged in age order from

112. Yaguichi Yujin, "War Memories Across the Pacific," *Comparative American Studies* Vol 3 no. 3 (September 2005): 353.

113. Ibid.

114. National September 11 Memorial & Museum, "Building a National Tribute," National September 11 Memorial & Museum at the World Trade Center, http://www.national911memorial.org/site/PageServer?pagename=building_home (accessed February, 2008).

115. Ibid.

youngest to oldest. The way the benches face and the illumination of the pools underneath the benches will represent if the victim was in the airplane or in the Pentagon building when the person died.¹¹⁶

Finally there will be Paperback maple trees planted at the Pentagon memorial. This maple was chosen because it is one of the last maples to lose its leaves. It was chosen in an effort to attempt to present the suspension of time.¹¹⁷ In addition there will be an age wall along the western side of the memorial that will increase in height one inch for every year in the victim's ages from three inches to seventy inches.¹¹⁸ This wall starts at the marker for the youngest victim and continues throughout the memorial.

The memorial project in Shanksville, Pennsylvania where Flight 93 crashed is called 40 Memorial Groves. The memorial will have a wall with the names of the victims engraved on it. At the center of the memorial will be a bowl shaped area.¹¹⁹ This bowl was a natural landmark prior to the crash. The forty memorial groves made up of Red and Sugar maple trees are for the passengers and crew who died in the crash. The focal point of the Flight 93 monument is the area called Sacred Ground; this is where the plane actually crashed. There is a plaza along the side of Sacred Ground where the public can view the crash site. There is an overlook called the Western Overlook where the families of the victims first saw the crash site. The entrance to the monument is called the Entry Portal. The Entry Portal marks the location where Flight 93

116. Kaseman Beckman Amsterdam Studio, "Pentagon Memorial Design Description," Pentagon Memorial Project, <http://memorial.pentagon.mil/description.htm> (accessed February 25, 2008).

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. US Department of the Interior, "The Design," National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/flni/parkmgmt/the-memorial-design.htm> (accessed February 25, 2008).

entered the Bowl.¹²⁰ Prior to getting to the Sacred Ground there is an area called the Wetlands. This offers a counterpoint to the crash site by showing an area full of life.

These three monuments together are designed to create a lasting impression on people, and provide a tribute to those who died on 9/11 by telling the victims stories. The different designs present their material using a variety of methods. Some of the schemes are similar to each other, but each one has its own individuality. All of the memorials use trees in their designs. In George L Mosse's book *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memories of Both World Wars* he remarks on the symbolic use of nature in memorials because the use of nature shows the much longer lifespan of nature and rebirth cycles.¹²¹ The World Trade Center memorial uses oak trees while the Pentagon Memorial and the Flight 93 monument use maple trees. All three of the memorials engrave the names of the victims.

The World Trade Center memorial is different from the other 9/11 monuments because it is designed to be all-inclusive of the 9/11 events. As such it has a museum unlike the Pentagon and Flight 93 memorials. The Pentagon memorial uses benches and flight 93 monument uses groves of trees as markers to distinguish each victim. With the use of markers differentiating each victim the Pentagon memorial and the flight 93 memorial differ from the World Trade Center which does not distinguish each individual. The 9/11 World Trade Center memorial includes a list of names, but it doesn't separate the words into individual markers. The use of inscriptions of victim's names is common among memorial sites. Especially common is the carving of names on walls. There are many European monuments to World War I and World

120. US Department of the Interior, "The Design," National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/flni/parkmgmt/the-memorial-design.htm> (accessed February 25, 2008).

121. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 44.

War II that list all of the people from a certain location, such as a city, who died. The names are inscribed on a wall.¹²² There are even common war memorials in the United States that have names inscribed on walls. A common example is the Vietnam Wall in Washington DC.

The Pearl Harbor monument is a cultural icon of America. Numerous visitors come to Pearl Harbor yearly. Some visitors explore in the museum, others sit and watch the short film that prepares visitors for the trip to the memorial itself and those who take the ferry out to the memorial are able to view the *Arizona* and see the names of all those who died at Pearl Harbor, and finally see the oil stained water.¹²³ The Pearl Harbor monument differs from the 9/11 monuments because they do not include any ruins from the attacks as a major part of the memorial. The monuments also differ in the people which they honor. The World Trade Center and Pentagon memorials honor those who died due to terrorism, the flight 93 memorial honors the brave passengers who fought back, and the Pearl Harbor monument honors those who fought in war. Both Pearl Harbor and the 9/11 memorials include the names of the victims.

Rituals

There are no current rituals for the three memorials to 9/11 because they are still being built. However there have been rituals that have been associated with 9/11. The government has done certain rituals in observance of the 9/11 attacks. These rituals included reading the names of the victims every year on the anniversary of the attack. Servicemen, such as fire departments and police departments, read the names of those firemen and policemen who died on 9/11. In addition, the government has the family and friends of the victims walk to Ground Zero and visit

122. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 86.

123. *New York Times*, December 7, 1980.

the two reflecting pools that symbolize the foundations of the World Trade Center. The government holds a moment of silence on 9/11. Every year on the anniversary President George W. Bush has laid a wreath at each of the three 9/11 sites and has addressed the nation. Usually this communication is a mix of tribute to those who passed away due to the events of 9/11 and a status report on how the country is doing on the War on Terrorism. A new addition to the rituals started in 2006 with the announcement of 9/11 as Patriotic Day.

The government is not alone in ritualizing the remembrance of 9/11. When the families are allowed into Ground Zero and taken to the reflecting pools, the families of the victims have placed flowers in the reflecting pools as a practice of remembrance. These pools often are left overflowing with flowers. Many of the families of the fallen participate in sponsored events by various groups. The families have given interviews to share their stories. Additional rituals and memorials have been created by those who were not directly affected by 9/11. This work has been done usually by individuals or small groups such as charities. The candlelight vigil and prayer services that were initially done by the government are occasionally revived by these individuals and groups.

Ritually when taking the tour and travelling to the *Arizona* Memorial many people will leave flowers in the water above the USS *Arizona* in remembrance of those who died. Previously on the anniversary of the attack people gather to remember the events and raise the American flag on the superstructure of the *Arizona* which was above the water, but these rituals have stopped and only on significant anniversaries ceremonies are held.

Memory

Another large aspect of culture is how people remember the past. Because Pearl Harbor many books have been written and personal accounts have been recorded and archived. There are pictures and even some recordings of the events. These memories have either been kept by the individuals or are in place at museums or with the government in some form. With the advances in technology websites have been written to keep the memories of Pearl Harbor through the collections of pictures and such.

Due to the more recent attack and the technology when 9/11 came about, the way in which its memory of this event is being kept is similar and very different to Pearl Harbor. Shortly after 9/11 the people of New York responded with spontaneous pictures and other memorabilia placed on walls or any available space. Collections have been amassed of these memories. Many of the spontaneous placing of pictures, flowers, and stuffed animals in New York were lost when after a time these items began to be taken down and were not saved but thrown out in an attempt to clean up. Many times there was no record kept of these items before they were removed. There is a 9/11 quilt,¹²⁴ which is based on the idea of the AIDS Quilt where people have been encouraged to create a quilt square of their memory of 9/11 and send it in. The 9/11 quilt creators want it placed in a museum preferably at Ground Zero but definitely at least in New York, and other memorial items still need to find homes.

The internet has been an important and widely used resource of recording the memory of 9/11. There were many websites created by groups or individuals to remember the events of 9/11. These websites preserve memories through collections of pictures and stories. Some sites

124. United In Memory™, Inc, "United In Memory 9-11 Victims Memorial Quilt™: A Legacy of Love," United in Memory, <http://www.unitedinmemory.net/history.html> (accessed October 29, 2007).

have places where dedications of varying sorts and varying media can be recorded. The Legacy website¹²⁵ has allowed people to create video postcards as dedications or as remembrances. Another form of tribute is website guest books in which people are encouraged, even if they don't know anyone personally who was victimized on 9/11, to sign or write something. A digital archive was created called The 9/11 Digital Archive which boasts over 12,500 personal testimonies relating to 9/11 and its aftermath.¹²⁶ There are sites that feature a victim of the day and tell a short story about the person. There are even larger collections of digital items on the variety of remembrance websites which have not been included in other compilations. Due to the sheer amount of recorded memories, it has become difficult to officially document all of them.

There are many collections of pictures, paintings, children's drawings, and audio files concerning 9/11. Most of the more unique forms of memory have been collected by the federal government either through the Library of Congress or through other government departments. For every item accepted into the Library of Congress there are many others that are not accepted. The memories that have been accepted into the Library of Congress are varied. These items include pictures, thoughts, and finally reactions in a variety of mediums. There are recorded audio accounts, digital collections of pictures and videos, and many physical items such as pictures and drawings which have been sent into the Library of Congress and collected and put into their 9/11 images collection.

On December 8, 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt said December 7th will live in Infamy. The attack on Pearl Harbor has been kept alive and remembered in several different ways. One

125. Legacy. "Remember September 11, 2001." Legacy. <http://legacy.com/Sept 11/Home.aspx> (accessed October 29, 2007).

126. Center for History and New Media and American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning, "Saving the Histories of September 11, 2001," The September 11 Digital Archive, <http://911digitalarchive.org/> (October 29, 2007).

of the ways it is viewed is from the Japanese perspective. The Japanese have learned from Pearl Harbor and World War II how to leave empire building and became powerful by economic means. The American people have diverse outlooks on Pearl Harbor. Some Americans view Pearl Harbor as a call for eternal vigilance to prevent another disaster. Other Americans see Pearl Harbor as a call to arms that united the nation. Even others see Pearl Harbor as something that needs to never be forgotten. Japanese Americans were nervous due to Pearl Harbor. Retaliation came in the creation of ten relocation centers called internment camps. This creation of the relocation camps was accomplished by Executive Order 9066.

September 11, 2001, was a day of shock and terror for Americans. With attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, then finally the plane that crashed in Shanksville, PA Americans was taken aback. There have been calls from Americans asking why we were caught unawares on 9/11. Muslims living in America experienced tension after the attacks. This time there was no government attempts to relocate or punish any ethnic groups. Instead a few individual actions were undertaken against Muslims. Some Muslims or those who looked Muslim were attacked. These attacks were few in number. The government was able to take the moral high ground and step in and stop the attacks.

There have been monuments created for Pearl Harbor and 9/11. The Pearl Harbor monument was created over the USS *Arizona* in 1962. The monument is a popular site for visitors to Hawaii. Inside the monuments on its walls is inscribed the names of those who died at Pearl Harbor. The Pearl Harbor memorial is just not for Americans. A large segment of the visitors are international visitors.

There are three 9/11 memorials currently being constructed. Each of the monuments has very unique and interesting designs. The first memorial is the 9/11 memorial. This memorial is being constructed at Ground Zero in New York City. The memorial will include the names of all those killed in the 9/11 attacks and those who died in the 1998 attack on the World Trade Center. The names will be inscribed along the edges of two pools. The next 9/11 monument is the Pentagon monument called the Memorial Park. This memorial will have a bench for every one of the 184 victims with their name etched into it. Underneath the benches will be an illuminated pool. The pool indicates whether the victim was in the Pentagon or in the aircraft. The final 9/11 memorial is for Flight 93. Flight 93 crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. This monument is set in a natural bowl where Flight 93 crashed. The victims will be marked with 40 groves of trees. Each grove of trees represents a victim that was on the plane when it crashed.

In addition to the official memorials there are many other attempts to memorialize the events of 9/11 and Pearl Harbor. These include rituals both by the Government and by the victims' families. A large amount of various dedication audio files, images, and other items have been created. Many individual websites have been created that have forms of remembrance such as personal testimonies or dedications to the victims exist. There was a spontaneous creation of pictures and items being left in various places in New York City to remember the events of September 11, 2001.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Though the two attacks in America of 9/11 and Pearl Harbor are similar events the attack on Pearl Harbor and the attacks on 9/11 are far more different than they are similar. The politics after Pearl Harbor shows after America was viewed mostly in a positive way. This viewpoint was shared by American citizens and by foreign nations. Partly, this was due to American assistance to the Allies during World War II. To a degree responsible for this support of America was the United States policy of rebuilding Europe. Even though part of the reason for rebuilding Europe was to keep the Soviet Union contained, there was still support for Americas rebuilding efforts. After Pearl Harbor the American people were united all the way through World War II. After the war America was the most powerful nation in the world. This is different in the case of 9/11. The American public has slowly disapproved of President Bush's policies regarding the War on Terrorism after a short period of unity in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. Now the popular opinion of America throughout the world is slipping even among those America considered allies.

The media's reaction to Pearl Harbor and 9/11 allowed the news of Pearl Harbor to be spread quickly through American society. The media acted as a representation of the feelings of many people and as an influencer by selecting topics and presentations through the various mediums including books, film, newsreels, and finally music. Music was important in the remembering of Pearl Harbor and 9/11. One of the additional consequences of music was allowing people to express themselves and come to terms with the events. Another reason why music is so important after Pearl Harbor and 9/11 is it demonstrated the gambit of emotions

dealing with the attack on Pearl Harbor and 9/11. These emotions went from patriotic to denial, and even desiring revenge.

There are many images in regards to 9/11 and Pearl Harbor that are well known and are able to provoke emotions. For example, one of the most famous pictures of Pearl Harbor is the picture of the *Arizona* superstructure burning in Pearl Harbor. A well known picture of 9/11 is firemen raising the American flag in the rubble of Ground Zero. A difference in the media of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 is after a few weeks the images that had been shown of the 9/11 attacks vanished off television and other media outlets. The images relating to Pearl Harbor and by extension the entire Pacific theater became more able to be seen and graphic especially in the newsreels.¹²⁷

The cultural response to Pearl Harbor was multifaceted. Opinions are different on the lessons learned from Pearl Harbor. Some Americans claim eternal vigilance is the most important thing to remember. Others view a call to arms as the necessary response.¹²⁸ The fallout from Pearl Harbor affected the Japanese and Japanese Americans. The Japanese Americans become nervous of a backlash against them due to Pearl Harbor. Through the experiences of the Japanese after Pearl Harbor and the rest of World War II and the occupation of Japan after World War II the Japanese have given up military force and have dedicated themselves too gaining power by economic strength instead.

127. Chinen Sheri Biesen, *Blackout: World War II and the origins of Film Noir* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005) 71.

128. American Folklife Center, "After the Day of Infamy: "Man on the Street" Interviews Following the Attack on Pearl Harbor," The Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/afcphtml/afcphtml.html> (accessed October 2007).

The culture of the American people has undergone various changes. Questions have been raised asking why America was unprepared for attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the aborted attack by Flight 93. There was no talk of relocating the Muslim-Americans to camps. After the 9/11 attacks it was not the Federal government that acted against the Muslims but instead it was a few individual American citizens who struck against a few Muslims.

Like most nations the United States creates monuments. The United States created memorials for Pearl Harbor and for the 9/11 attacks. These memorials were each different in their designs. One thing common among these monuments was the different memorials were used as remembrances of the victims of the attacks. Each memorial used different means to memorialize the victims. There were benches in the Pentagon Memorial Park, while the victims were represented by groves of trees in the Shanksville, Pennsylvania memorial. The 9/11 memorial itself served up the plainest representation of the victims of 9/11 like the Pearl Harbor memorial wall the simple inscription of the names of each casualty. Pearl Harbor and 9/11 although defeats show the best of the human spirit. The heroic efforts by the soldiers at Pearl Harbor fighting with various small arms against aircraft are comparable to the efforts of the resisters in Flight 93 and the rescue personnel and emergency services who rushed into the World Trade Center to save lives.

The assaults on America on September 11, 2001 and at Pearl Harbor in 1941 both were unexpected and cowardly. They were covered by many different forms of media from the movies to music and both have been remembered in many ways. It is the reactions of the people both in the United States and in the world and the actions after which make these events dissimilar.

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