

Editor's Note

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We begin with two at once divergent and yet similar examples of how the analysis of a historical event or period mirrors at once genuine scholarly efforts to find that quintessence of truth that all scholars seek but at the same time, revealing the challenges that can make truth elusive. This is perhaps also reflective of the challenges of historical interpretations (and possibly even of paradigms) throughout the Pacific that have shifted over time as some interpretative standards, perspective, or simply approaches are made suspect while the quality of history and the quality of scholarship sharpen by necessity.

David Atienza's "A Story in the Mariana Islands History: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in the Mariana Islands Historiography" is an excellent case in point. Atienza challenges a historical standard of violent suppression in the early stages of a centuries-long Spanish presence that decimated the Chamorro population in the Marianas during a fanatical quest to Christianize them. He places that decimation largely in imported diseases while reaching back into political rivalries through which Spain's enemies propagated this idea and the consequences of Spanish Catholic fanaticism. Although missionaries stressed the benevolence of their enterprise, considering that the Marianas had no resources to plunder and thus legitimizing their goal of offering salvation to Satanically misguided Chamorros, Franco-Britannic claims of the opposite were based not only upon European empire rivalries that extended far beyond the Marianas, but also symbolized the Marianas as a "failure of medieval fanaticism set against the modern enlightened spirit" (17).

Even Voltaire, who believed Chamorros had no prior knowledge of fire before European contact, given the paradisiacal nature of their existence, used this symbolism to challenge this medievalist obsession with salvation as civilization's core which ran counter to the ideals of empiricism and reason. Voltaire believed in the natural, non-religious context of the native that supported this challenge and advanced the intellectual path to enlightenment. As Atienza demonstrates, belief in a Christian fanaticism in worlds afar that bred Spanish-led violence heedless of consequence – as if other European conquests and imperialisms had less than comparable consequences – provided the means not only for centuries-ago political declarations but has subsequently impacted contemporary scholarship. Atienza concludes by examining interpretative factors supporting this continuum of colonial Spanish violence for the sake of saving souls from hell, its historical consequences, and the benefits to Pacific scholarship from its ultimate disintegration.

The second paper, Stephen C. Murray's "The Palauan *Kirikomi-tai* Suicide Bombs of World War II and the Siege of Babeldaob: A Reconsideration," continues this criticism of historical standards as he examines a relatively minor event in the Pacific war – the Japanese training of 80 Palauans to undertake suicide bombing missions against U.S. ships stationed around Palau following the American invasion of Palau at Peleliu and Angaur. The *Kirikomi-tai* program offers a large platform of historical contestation however, placing the actual intent of the *Kirikomai-tai* into issues of historiography, particularly the role and substance of oral 'data,' both indigenous and other, and the means by which native sufferings under the U.S. isolation of "bypassed" islands during the American sweep through Micronesia can be found. Murray gives a detailed analysis of why contradicting Palauan versions of their expectations of the *Kirikomai-tai* training – versions of Japanese officers were probably based on a desire to exonerate themselves

– “must be treated with understanding on their terms, which includes having an ear for the distinctions the people make among different types of stories” (34).

Japanese officers declared that the *Kirikomai-tai* program was meant to control “civilian unrest.” It was never actually meant to be used. As Murray points out, a mere 80 young men drafted into the program out of the estimated 5,500 Palauans stranded on Babeldaob by relentless U.S. air patrols, bombings and strafing, hardly seems to have been an effective quantitative means for doing so. Palauans were in fact considered to be relatively non-dangerous by the Japanese. The five thousand Korean forced laborers on Babeldaob had the greatest reason for revenge against the Japanese – which they pursued at the war’s end. Murray demonstrates that historical standards of a time can be improved by opening a place – or evolving a place - for oral history, acknowledging the context of the transmission and the context of those words, making indigenous words central to critical historical interpretation and to the telling of lived stories.

These insights into the *Kirikomai-tai* story also unveil the deprivation and starvation among 50,000 individuals stranded on Babeldaob from early 1944 to August 1945 out of which as many as 5,100 military men, possibly 4,750 Japanese and other Asian civilians, and 200 Palauans (over 10,000 individuals on Babeldaob alone) would perish because of Lieutenant General Sadae Inoue’s refusal to surrender. Palauans, like other native peoples throughout Micronesia, became invisible presences on their islands, oblivious to the military focus on the Japanese enemy and thus forced to endure hardships meant for an enemy. Murray’s criticism of the testimony from two central officers, one of whom still retains a legendary oral historical presence in Palau, relies upon documentary evidence supported by a more open awareness of Palauan oral history and its social context that supports an alternative version.

The suffering on Babeldaob was exacerbated by the few *Kirikomi-tai* attacks actually carried out, causing “the United States [to] maintain aerial operations against Babeldaob far in excess of what was required to secure its position in Palau” (48). This created a “cauldron of suffering” (34) characterized to a large extent by starvation. Murray subsequently rejects standard accounts that have described this period in Palau as “one of persistent but not life-threatening hunger” (34).

Holger Droessler’s “Whose Pacific? U.S. Security Interests in American Samoa from the Age of Empire to the Pacific Pivot” essentially takes to task the same kind of historical basis for interpretation – one that is most often evident when observing the very broad and long landscape of Pacific history as it reveals colonial and imperial intent. Beginning with President Obama’s vision of the United States as a “Pacific nation” during a speech to the Australian Parliament in November 2012, Droessler argues that Samoa “deserves our special attention because it represents a microcosm for the long history of U.S. imperialism in the Pacific, its various afterlives in the present, and, quite possibly, also the shape of things to come” (58). Droessler discusses the evolution of Samoa in the consciousnesses of U.S. officials, from the “Old Samoa” – a “space for commercial and heroic enterprises for U.S. businessmen, explorers, and missionaries” who, though seeing the exotic and rarely the indigenous as human equals nevertheless “respected the integrity of their cultures and economies” (59) - to the “New Pacific” with the rise of navalism in the 1880s. Economics, particularly in light of the Great Depression that began in 1873 as well as relentless competition from European powers, revealed the Pacific to these officials as essentially nativeless spaces beholdng to the needs of imperial and economic expansionism in the context of a global Social Darwinism. Samoa’s geographic importance quickly gained steam, beginning with the creation of a coaling station in Pago Pago in 1898. Entanglements beforehand among colonial powers were only unraveled when Samoa was split

into two parts – Germany taking the western portion of Samoa, the U.S. the eastern, and Great Britain withdrawing with other colonial areas as compensation.

Droessler emphasizes the historically reverberating nature of Obama’s vision of the United States as a Pacific nation: colonial instinct and intent unyielding. The author calls the contemporary American pivot to the Pacific a “putative necessity” of the U.S. military today “within the longer history of U.S. perceptions of the Pacific as a space for the projection of power irrespective of the people living in the region” (61). Droessler summarizes the U.S. military build-up in Samoa since the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 until the end of World War Two after which the U.S. naval station in Pago Pago was closed. He addresses the impact of the *Mau* (Samoan for holding fast) movement that began in the early 1920s, threatening the U.S. naval administration’s economy through a copra production strike and there afterwards functioning as a kind of “watchdog” of the U.S. Navy. The *Mau* movement failed however to realize any resolution to Amerika Sāmoa’s political status. Although Samoan efforts to fight “against the reductive perspectives of the imperial center which, ever since annexation, was more interested in the islands’ strategic location than in the lives and livelihoods of their inhabitants” – reflecting similar colonial contestations across the Pacific - Amerika Sāmoa’s “continued economic dependency on the imperial center [remains] inextricably linked to the longer history of U.S. power projection in the Pacific” (63).

My own papers – “The Unsuspected Library: Pacific Epistemology and the Unquestioned Acceptance of an American Institution” and “The Instrument of the Book, the Instrument of the Internet: “Thinking” “Information” in Micronesia” – assume similar issues and standards of historical interpretation – one, perhaps simply by default, on thought processes indelible to colonial intentions, and the second derived from colonialism but strangely missed in the realm of historical analyses in the Pacific. I find myself sometimes looking at the nearly untouched realm of Pacific indigenous epistemologies against the importation of the physical word text through long established European sources (in my case, American librarianship) as I look at the surprising lack of concern in “library science” scholarship with the very large literature on the theories of reading. After all, that’s what people do or at least are envisioned that they should do in a library – read, just as in indigenous social worlds of history and presences, people speak and understand this nebulous concept of “information” on the basis of the very social structures that support them. Epistemologies surface through history and through the growth of human beings. And yet despite a large and growing literature on the multifarious consequences of past and present colonial policies, “the library,” even granted its minor status among foreign institutions established in the Pacific, remains unaddressed in any significant respect related to its intrusion or its challenge or its passive alliance to or with Pacific epistemologies. And I suspect that the ubiquitous presence of “the library” on Main Street down which might also have rolled the bands of holidays in the backgrounds of historians and other scholars, may have something to do with this.

“The Instrument of the Book, the Instrument of the Internet” takes a look at the assumption that the introduction of “reading” and printed texts in Micronesia by missionaries in the 1850s serves as the basis for the evolution of Western education in Micronesia as it exists today. Questions surrounding socially and culturally derived and cultivated epistemologies and the need to try to understand each distinctive, Micronesian “social infrastructure of reading” that are so essentially to moving beyond superficial notions or assumptions of how Micronesians, historically and contemporaneously adapted and adapt to these texts, are central to this discussion. I use “instruments” other than the book – the map and the clock and now the Internet

– to explore the basic “intellectual ethics” that each of these instruments embodies, how the mind responds to them, and what this might tell us not only about the brokenness of this historical line between the introduction of texts and contemporary education but also about the impact that the social world of Micronesian readers have upon their use of texts, including perhaps the existence of a kind of self-determination of reading.

(For obvious reasons, former Pacific Asia Inquiry Editor, Dr. Ann Ames, coordinated the reviews of these papers by anonymous reviewers whose comments were much appreciated and for whose work I express my gratitude.)

Sharleen J.Q. Santos-Bamba’s “The Language of Three Generations of Chamorro Women” concentrates on the intergenerational perspectives of the indigenous Chamorro language, related “literacy trajectories,” and the language practices of three generations of Chamorro women. The social and cultural conflicts in English and Chamorro language usage are deemed distinctive for each generation – distinctions that begin with Guam’s colonial history. The first (there would be many others) appointed naval governor of Guam, Richard P. Leary, surmised that not only would learning English led to economic success for Chamorros, it would also help to improve the “mental condition” of Chamorro children in public schools. Eventually fines for speaking Chamorro in a government workplace along with corporal punishment in schools would be used to try to hasten such mental improvement while aiding a colonial agenda.

Of the three generations of Chamorro women that Santos-Bamba samples in her research, Generation Two, born between 1945 and 1965, used the Chamorro language less based to a large extent upon the belief by their mothers of Generation One that English was an important means to academic and professional success. Generation Two subsequently grew to think of Chamorro as secondary – an attitude also precipitated by an economic transition largely from subsistence to a cash economy after World War II.

What becomes interesting is the means by which the children of this Second, English preferring generation grew to nevertheless understand the Chamorro language as being an essential element for Chamorro identity. The influence of their Chamorro speaking grandmothers from Generation One and a experiential swath across an extended family system, diminished the impact of the colonial quest to suppress if not entirely eliminate the Chamorro language. Colonialism’s impact is perhaps evident in the overall limitation of their language skills but not in their efforts to seek out the social and educational means by which their children can better learn the language of their ancestors.

While issues of colonialism, tradition, and their influences on historical interpretation are prominent in these papers, Todd Ames’ “Maritime Culture in the Western Pacific: A Touch of Tradition” brings us to an observant documentation of practical, contemporary traditions that are given their distinctive qualities through the indelible nature of Micronesian cultures and societies. While colonialism and the growing influence of a global economy may have brought conflicts between needs, the availability of products from that economy, and native traditions, it is those traditions bound to every day values that mark them for preservation and continued practice. This is evident in the detailed fishing methods and protocols of communal distributions that Ames documents, particularly on Fais and Ulithi. In this practiced context of values, Ames also stresses the identity-bound renaissance of traditional proas, navigation and voyaging that in themselves can surmount the erroneous belief that a prerequisite of their use across entire societies are necessary before they can be given legitimacy. Ames discusses social rules of ocean access based upon chiefly structures, the importance of reciprocity, and the reality of rising sea levels that are already threatening traditional food and water sources.

Completing the papers concerned with the Western Pacific island region is Joanna Caasi Macaraeg and Seyda Türk Smith's "Psychological Distress and Help-Seeking Attitudes of Cancer Caregivers on Guam" which finds that with cancer now the second highest cause of death on Guam, the numbers of informal cancer caregivers increase as do the burdens placed upon them. The authors focus on the "subjective" burdens of these caregivers as encompassed in the feelings and perceptions of their experiences. The traditional extended family systems on Guam offer a particularly interesting environment within which to examine the psychological factors, particularly distress, that these caregivers face along with the extent to which they are or are not willing to seek out supportive psychological help.

Using several assessment instruments, Macaraeg and Türk Smith compare variables explored in the relevant literature with how well those variables explain the psychological distress experienced by these individuals. The authors found that caregivers are generally satisfied with the social support they received – perhaps indicative of the impact of social systems on Guam – albeit this was not without active, ongoing stress factors including limitations in finances and personal time and a basic feeling of being overwhelmed with their care giving duties, particularly among spouses of cancer patients. They also found that in accordance with previous studies concerned with non-caregiver populations (a dearth of research on caregivers seeking psychological help still exists), women – and possibly as a result of "female socialization" that encourages women to seek such help as opposed to a more stigma laced socialization for men – were significantly more likely to seek out psychological services. This may also be rooted in their having a larger social network than caregivers in other U.S. based studies – a finding that was significant in this study. Additional research, particularly in the form of open-ended interviews could reveal more details of the dimensions of this social support and the cultural and spiritual factors that impact the stress for cancer caregivers on Guam and its assuagement.

Two of the three "Asia" focused papers in this issue spread themselves across a thematic line of human rights - Megumi Chibana's "Striving for Land, Sea, and Life: The Okinawan Demilitarization Movement" and Debito Arudou's "'Embedded Racism' in Japanese Law: Towards a Japanese Critical Race Theory." Chibana's paper crosses from the American militarization of Okinawa into human rights, particularly indigenous rights and its complimentary juxtaposition with these concerns on Guam. Chibana gives an unflinching activist view of the history of U.S. military bases on Okinawa in terms of how social resistance to them has been influenced by Okinawan (and Chamorro) indigeneity and through a feminist perspective. While the gang rape of a 15 year old girl by three Marines in 1995 gave public prominence to a feminist approach to resistance, violations of human rights and the unprotected nature of life for women and children constitute a larger consequence of a "paternalistic society and global hegemony by way of armed force" (142). Chibana also observes an awareness gap that exists between people in Okinawa and Japan ("the majority of people in Japan do not share the negative impacts that Okinawan women have incurred") (143), citing the personification of Okinawa by one feminist writer as "the prostituted daughter of Japan" (142). Chibana extends this discussion to demilitarization efforts by women's groups outside of Okinawa and Japan, particularly the U.S. mainland, participation by Okinawan women's organizations at the United Nations to claim human rights violations under international law ("Japanese domestic laws offer no redress against discrimination toward Okinawans") (144-145), and considers the negative environmental and cultural impacts of a proposed relocation of facilities to Henoko Bay in accordance with a plan to relocate forces and indeed the impact of this relocation upon Guam

with specific reference to the Chamorro people. This brings Chibana's paper back to the theme of indigenous rights which, in the cases of Okinawa and Guam, underline the challenge of the peripheral position faced by "minority groups" within the state.

Debito Arudou is also concerned with a disenfranchised minority group – the 'Non-Wajin' – as opposed to Japan's dominant *Wajin* social group. Under Japan's Nationality Law, "biologically-based conceits" give major legal and citizenship advantages over Non-*Wajin* people. Arudou focuses on the making and consequence of legally sanctioned discrimination within which there are no legal consequences for hate speech or for any other kind of "racialized abuse" against these minorities. Through an analysis of Japan's Nationality Law, Arudou argues that these "minorities and non-citizen residents are not merely disenfranchised in Japanese society, they have been rendered officially in visible" in these laws and in accordance with various demographic instruments and practices (162).

Referring to a 2008 Supreme Court case which demonstrated that obtaining Japanese nationality and citizenship is a prerequisite toward being guaranteed basic human rights in Japan, Arudou interprets this case as reflecting the fact that "human rights in Japan are not linked to being human; they are linked to holding Japanese citizenship." And as such, the process of granting or denying citizenship based on a system of embedded racism requiring "racialized *Wajin* blood ties in order to be a citizen" also supports a "systematized process of differentiation" or "othering" and a social mindset about how someone who is 'Japanese' must look, reflecting a "hegemony of homogeneity" (161-162). Arudou maintains that this is in stark contrast to the official position that racism in Japan is nonexistent. The author precedes this analysis with an interesting overview of the origins of Critical Race Theory (it began in the United States in the 1970s as a reaction to languishing civil rights progress in the representation of minorities in public discourse and academia), its applications across the globe, and its fundamental precepts beginning with the idea that race is primarily a social construct, hegemonic, and embedded into daily societal consciousness. It is fundamental to the "scaffolding of human interaction" and thus influencing the formation and enforcement of a society's laws and policies. It is also fundamentally the milieu of this existence that blinds even the most well intentioned elite to the needs and viewpoints of these others.

Finally, Kieran Robert Maynard in his "Lost Chapters in *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle: A Translation and Commentary*" contribution treats us to an examination of what, from his perspective, the deletion of approximately 61 pages from Murakami Haruki's original Japanese language text in Jay Rubin's English language translation (including tables of helpful emphases of the most significant deletions and changes) mean for interpretations of the novel's plot, themes, the dynamics of time lapses, and dreams as well as what these decisions suggest about issues in literary translation. Maynard makes a concerted effort to express what Haruki's original intentions were in the affected places and Rubin justifications while reflecting upon how senses of textual authenticity might be impinged upon through the choices translators make.

Six book reviews complete Issue 4 of *The Pacific Asia Inquiry* – several of which are indicative of the continuous, concentrated growth of academic studies on the histories, societies, and cultures of Guam and Micronesia found in the lives of the peoples of the North Pacific as opposed to the misinformed "South Pacific" label that the rest of the world all too frequently places upon Oceania.

And so these papers and reviews in Issue 4 offer up a complex experience of Pacific and Asia issues that while perhaps being representative of selected places and problems are also panoramic viewpoints of regional and historical issues that demand our attention. Whether or not

one perhaps sighs over elements of “post-modernism” or “activism” contained periodically herein or finds some solace and guidance in their demonstrative presence, they are, for all their all their worth, the blood and guts of the contemporaneous nature of considered historical and scholarly progress and as such deserve our devoted contemplation.