



2nd Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives

August 30 - 31, 2013 • Mangilao, Guam

Japanese Era of History of the Mariana Islands Three of Three



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Islands Too Beautiful for Their Names

Northern Mariana Indigenous Islander Memories and National Histories

By Jessica Jordan

Graduate Student of Japanese History

University of California San Diego

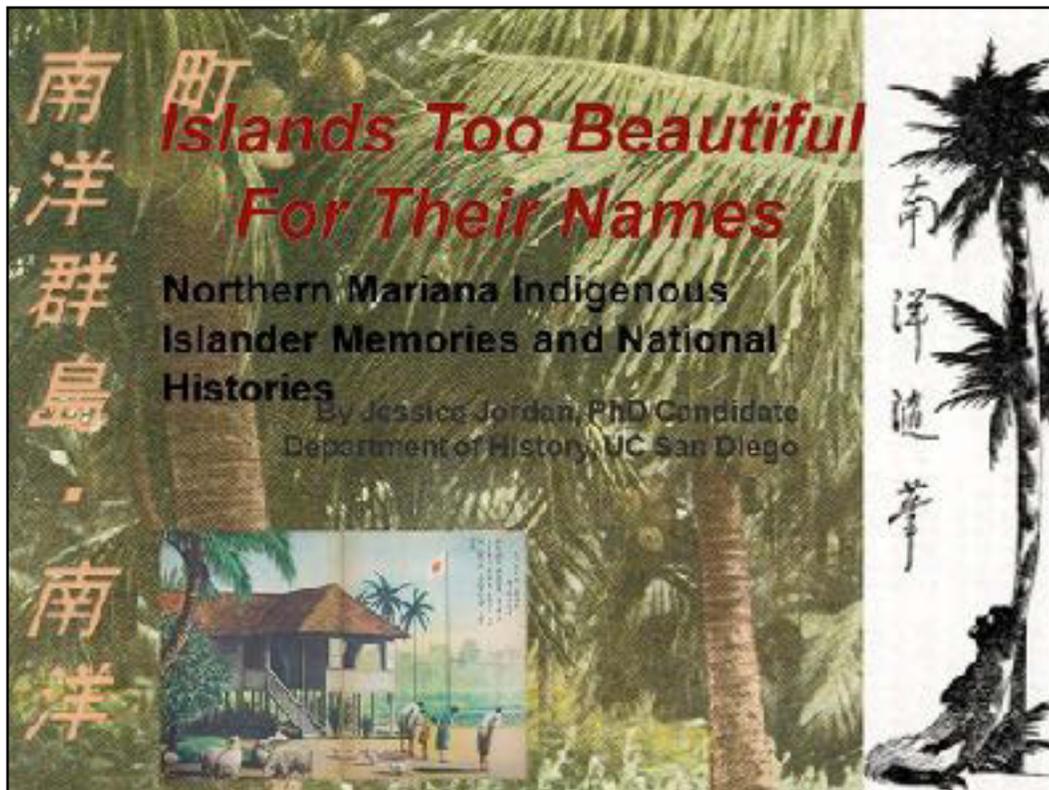
jejordan@ucsd.edu

Abstract: *Different stories about “Tiempon Japones” [the Japanese time] circulate in the Northern Mariana Islands. These memories of the Japanese colonial days (1914-1944) have tended to be either marginalized or incorporated by dominant stories of US liberation of the islands during WWII. This paper reflects upon how indigenous Northern Mariana man’amko [senior citizen] memories give rise to theories guiding the author’s research. Quoted from an interview, the first part of this presentation’s title hints at the complexities and excesses of everyday life versus the ways in which historical moments have been named by sequentially changing colonial powers. This paper concludes by suggesting an initial interpretation of common threads emerging in memories voiced by twenty-three indigenous Mariana Island man’amko. Their memories reveal perspectives based in experiences spanning multiple colonial eras, although commonly accepted ways of researching and writing history have yet to deal adequately with these existing forms of knowledge.*

Editor’s Note: Since the 2nd Marianas History conference, the author has reorganized this presentation into the first and second chapters of her dissertation and declined our publication offer at this time.

Presentation slides begin on following page.

Presentation Slides



NMI Historical Periods

Spain	1521—1899
Germany	1899—1914
Japan	1914—1944
United States	1944—present
League of Nations (Japan's Mandate)	1919-1933
United Nations (US Trust Territory of the Pacific Isl.)	1947-1990
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI)	1978-present

History & Colonialism

Imperialism as: lateral integration of markets;
discrete concept/s emerging from metropole

“While imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept... colonialism needs to be analyzed primarily as a practice” (Robert Young 2001: 16-17).

Histories as government/ corporate productions

Memory of everyday life as site of knowledge

Research Overview

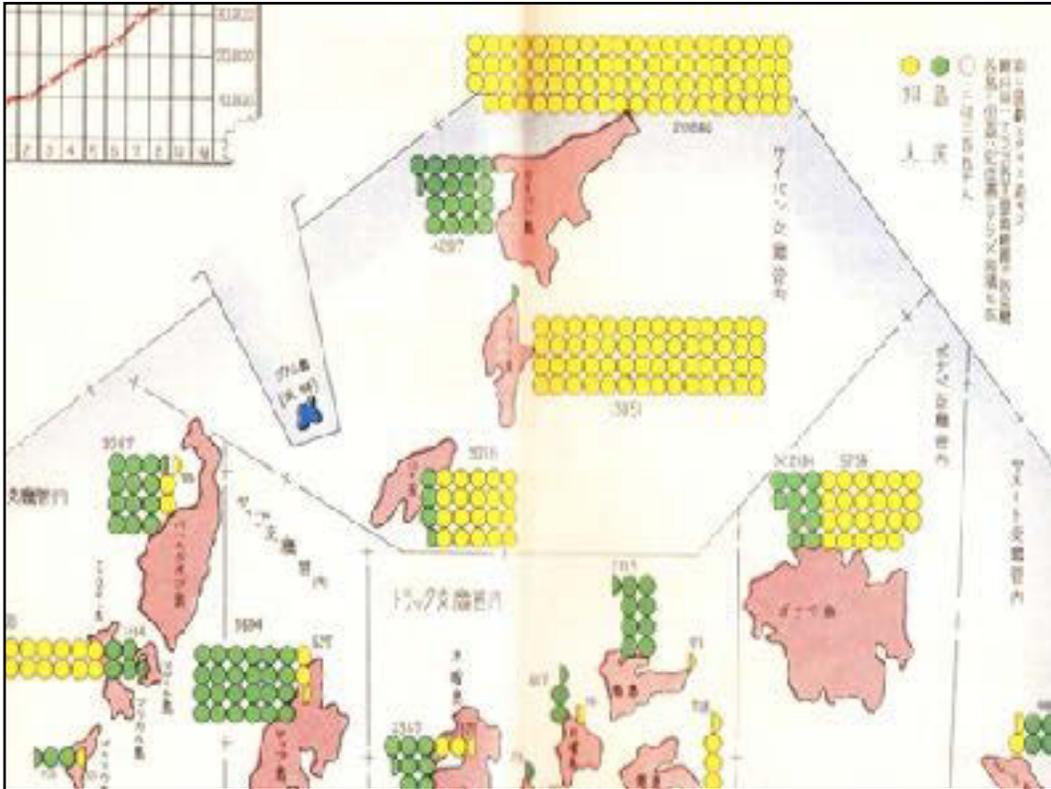
- Archival Research in CNMI, Guam, Japan, US
- Translating/Reading Memoirs
- Interviews in the Marianas
- Two Groups of Interviewees:
 1. Industry Professionals
 2. People with Memories of Lived Experience of the Japanese era (>20)

Research Questions

- **Guiding Question:** How do members of the eldest generation of senior citizens in the NMI talk about the Japanese colonial era? (1914-1944)
- **Larger Question:** How do some stories about the Japanese colonial period in the NMI become dominant, while others remain less-well known?

Legacies of the Japanese Empire Constrained

- Memories and histories of Japan constrained by historical narratives focused on “Liberation” (Diaz in Fujitani, et al. 2001) and “Commemoration” (Camacho 2011)
- *Perilous Memories* – both risky in terms of content and at risk of disappearing with aging generation (Fujitani, et al. 2001)
- Importance of Japanese Settlements in NMI within former Nan’yô Guntô [S. Sea Islands]



Japanese Tourism 1920s~40s



Sister Antoinetta Ada

"Islas de la, ladrones. Ladrones very bad [laughs]. Isn't it? It's too, too... the island is too beautiful for that name [laughs]."



西川・きみ

Formerly Nishikawa Kimiko

Tan Escolastica Tudela Cabrera



Memories: Content & Form

- Content: *What do people remember?*
Japanese colonial (prewar) time was in some ways better than today, some ways worse.
Japanese people are NMI relatives, friends, selves (Sr. Ada).
- Form: *How do people remember?*
Memories emerge as comparative stories demonstrating incorporation of multiple (national) knowledge sources, and agency of islanders caught between competing powers.

Indigenous Agents of History

"Santô Kokumin" [Third-class Imperial subject]

Intimate Knowledge of Local Names, Uses
Multiple Origins, Migrations, Languages

Orphaned, Relocated, Displaced, Adopted

Patriarchs/ Matriarchs, Related to Many

Self-educating, Self-disciplining

Translators/ Ambassadors between Japanese
and older & younger generations



After completing degrees in Japanese studies and Religious Studies at Arizona State University (2002) and Japanese language training at the Inter-University Center in Yokohama (2003), Jessica returned to Saipan where she grew up. There she worked as the Event Coordinator for the WWII 60th Anniversary Commemoration (2004). Afterward she managed the museum store at the American Memorial Park Visitor Center and assisted as a Japanese-speaking docent. At the park she met some of Saipan's eldest indigenous residents who shared their memories of the old days of Japanese rule. With these stories in mind she left for the UC San Diego graduate program in modern Japanese history (2007-present).

Unspeakable Survival

Sexual Violence Against Women During the Japanese Occupation of Guam

By Leiana S.A. Naholowa 'a

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Abstract: *Women endured wartime sexual violence as “comfort women” and victims of rape during the Japanese occupation of Guam, and these personal and communal memories are buried deep within and hidden from public consciousness. Historical accounts, oral interviews, and literary representations detail the horror of this time period in what is essentially still a severe dearth of scholarship. Increased visibility of these experiences can be repositioned to the forefront of war reparations appeals, which are stalled and hold little hope of being realized. More awareness of these wartime atrocities by our local women and men in the armed forces may help them to become agents of change in a military system today where sexual violence is notoriously unreported and chronically unprosecuted. Lastly, an expanded discourse around the sexual transgressions against women in history can contribute to strategies for decolonization and the prevention of domestic violence.*

Hafa Adai. Si Yu'us Ma'ase to the sponsors and coordinators of the 2nd Marianas History Conference for hosting me today. On July 16, 2011, at the recommendation of my Chamorro language instructor, Sinora Rufina Mendiola, I had attended an event called “Gi i Fino'-ñiha Siha” (In Their Own Words), which was a series of vignettes performed on the stage of the CLASS Lecture Hall at UOG by members of the storytelling group known as Ginen i Hila' i Maga'taotao Siha Association. Long before my master's thesis became fully formulated, I watched in awe as World War II stories were shared with the audience, many of whom had war memories of their own. Beverly Ann Borja Acfalle's portrayal of a comfort woman in the story “Kako' Girl” remains ingrained in my mind. It was the first time I had seen a story of the Guam comfort women experience performed anywhere. It was only just a few months later that I would read the novel *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam* by Chris Perez Howard for the first time.

Today, I hope to take you through a quick overview of my thesis project as a whole so that my entry point into this delicate subject matter makes a bit more sense. I'll integrate some of the primary source material that exists around atrocities of sexual violence in Guam during the Japanese World War II occupation period in relation to key elements of Howard's text as well as share how other writers and artists have captured these experiences in their own narrative forms. I also hope to contextualize Guam's experience of sexual violence by the Japanese in a larger geopolitical picture and offer possible ways of moving forward in terms of scholarship.

There is little to no representation of mothers in the early myths and legends of Guam that have survived in the Chamorro literary canon. It is not until the arrival of Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores and impending conversion of the indigenous people that the first prominent "woman as mother" story becomes encapsulated into a legend of Guam. What emerges from the San Vitores death narrative is a nameless and voiceless female figure who I refer to as the "Blood Mother" or Nanan Håga' and track across the Chamorro literary tradition. Nanan Håga' references hagan håga' (blood daughter), which is coined by Laura Marie Torres Souder, in her book, *Daughters of the Island*. At the center of my project, stands my thesis that the Blood Mother, Nanan Håga', is a phenomenon of colonization. My analysis continues from the San Vitores legend into a focus on the "Bio Mother" and the "Godmother/Othermother" in the legend of Sirena and then into the Chamorro feminist indigeneity that emerges in Howard's *Mariquita*.

Although I am interested in *Mariquita* as a text that demonstrates how the community constructs the blood mother, there were still two major elements that were difficult for me to simply put aside. It was in my final thesis chapter on Howard's *Mariquita* novel that I found myself at an impasse.

An Exploration of Silence

The heart of this project for me is an exploration of silence. Last week, at the premier of Jillette Leon Guerrero's informative and heartfelt film called "Across the Water in Time," there was a panel afterward that discussed the issue of Ethics and Genealogy. I was struck by something that Toni Malia Ramirez had said that really encapsulates one of the large core values of what it means to be Chamorro.

Malia was talking about his experiences of being entrusted by elders with their stories, [and I hope I'm quoting the Chamorro correctly] where the elders would say to him,

“Guaha kuentos para i gima, there is history only for the house, yan para historia para i ni lahyan, there is history for the others, yan ti sina enao un comprende, if that’s not understood, that’s their problem, alright? It’s not yours. And always keep it that way.”

As I’ve spoken to individuals on their knowledge of this topic, I have encountered my own ethical questions that surround the accessing of this oral history material. Stories of the comfort women experience and other instances of sexual violence and assault have permeated the landscape since the war. These stories have been passed down from parents to children and always along the way, the accounts have never been complete – modified, not fully detailed – passed on from the mouths of survivors and again by those who knew of these stories to their children and trusted family members, the history that is only for the house. It became clear to me early on that in learning more about these survivors’ experiences, I would not be approaching anyone I knew to be a survivor based on information shared by close family members, and I would not be asking anyone to break confidences and trust given to them in being direct recipients of these stories.

Courting the Past

The first element of *Mariquita* that’s been hard for me to *not* think about while doing my thesis project is the bizarre dynamic between *Mariquita* and the Japanese officer, the Taicho, in the text. Howard writes, “There were many things the taicho would do, but he would not physically force a girl to have sex with him as some of the other soldiers did,” because he was “from a distinguished family, reared with a strict sense of honor” (116). “He wanted *Mariquita* to submit willingly to his superiority, and sex would be the ultimate proof of this submission” (116). Even before *Mariquita* drew the attention of the taicho, Howard writes that she would serve other men doing housework and quote “often volunteered to bathe and massage an officer to spare a young girl from being humiliated” (113).

The kind of courtship narrative in *Mariquita* which for me has been grotesque and problematic in many ways demonstrates the intersection of two main things – the legacy of exoticization of the Pacific Island female and the atmosphere of inculpability that surrounds the time when *Mariquita* was first published in 1986.

I didn’t know what to make of these lines in the text, knowing what little I knew of the comfort women’s experiences and the threats that every woman must face during wartime. Survivor stories are filled with women who were quickly raped or perhaps

given gifts and then raped but not the kind of bizarre courtship that Howard's text seems to imagine. In regards to the taicho's gallantry and wanting to "win over" Mariquita, I've yet to see the likes of that in any of the primary and secondary sources that I've managed to go through so far.

I don't mean to be disrespectful to Mariquita, the late Maria Perez Howard, or anyone in her family with my suspicions of what's really going on in the text. I ask for forgiveness for any pain that I may cause in my analysis of Howard's novel. If she did experience sexual violence of some kind, I feel compelled to explore the unspeakability within the novel and the reasons why she perhaps withheld truth from her family, who she did manage to see in between working for the taicho, or alternatively, the family's reasons for withholding truth from Chris Perez Howard when he returned to Guam after growing up in the states with his father.

The T. Stell Newman Visitor Center holds the only exhibit in Guam where individuals can watch interactive media of Japanese comfort women, or ianfu as they were called, and hear them speak openly about their experiences. Suharti and Tasmina are two women from Indonesia who were interviewed by Northern Lights Productions, a film crew from Boston, Massachusetts. Their inclusion in the center's WWII exhibit is perhaps the only installation of comfort women representation of its kind in the National Park Service universe. Tasmina tells the camera, "Our agreement was that nobody would admit what kind of work we had done. If they ask, just say cooking or cleaning.' Then your parents won't be so sad. Let's bear the sorrow ourselves."

Her testimony opens the possibility of collusion or an agreement amongst the women of Mariquita's camp, the story they might have told one another to tell the world. In a way that experience of being a comfort woman for Tasmina and hypothetically for Mariquita, created an insular community of its own, a "house" of its own, the way in our family, in my family, and in your family, there are things that you say within your family that don't go outside it. The women perhaps might have created a family of their own through their unique time together and contained certain experiences within that unit.

Peter Onedera's *Ai Hagã-hu!* published in 1996, explores other issues of the comfort women experience. With a daughter kidnapped and forced into sexual enslavement and neighbors who ostracize her family, the character Nan Lãna' in the play states, "There's nothing much we can do for her except pray hard and wish that she will also come out of this alive. At this point, I'm not sure who are our real enemies the

Japanese or our own people.” (33) At the same time, Nan Låna’ is forced to accept food from the Japanese at the “expense” of her daughter and feels shame that she eats while those around her starve. Nan Låna’ also tells her daughter, a character also named Marikita, that “[y]our sister may be doing something terribly wrong but she is not evil. The matter of surviving and the manner in which it is done contributes to the evil that does happen” (33).

The Woman in the Light Blue Dress, or Not-Mariquita

Toward the end of the book, Howard includes a memorandum dated May 5, 1947, from William P. Katsirubas, an Investigator, and addressed to the Officer-in-Charge of the Claims Division that summarizes the interviews that were conducted and facts gathered in regards to Mariquita’s death. It seemed to be a somewhat thorough investigation, perhaps in consideration of Mariquita’s husband, Edward Howard, who as a fellow Navy man, was one of their own. There’s a part of the memo that seemed a bit problematic to me that talks about how “they found a dead body of a woman, at the place where the Jap Agricultural Camp had been located. Body was decomposed and the face was unrecognizable. The woman had been wearing a light blue dress. This was the only body they found at this place which was located in Price District.” It’s deeply disconcerting to me how the woman in the light blue dress is left alone in history, and I’m curious and deeply interested in exploring her experience as well. The woman in the light blue dress is ultimately why I’m here today.

In 1937, the Japanese military flexed its muscle in a major way and invaded China. They had marched through Beijing, through Shanghai, and made it to Nanjing, which at that time has been described as a beautiful cosmopolitan city that was the actual capitol of China at that time, and today, the capitol of China is Beijing. In six weeks, the Japanese killed an estimated 300,000 people. In six weeks, they raped an estimated 20,000 women. These numbers are comparable to something like the Fena Massacre happening over 8,000 times nonstop within 45 days. There are so many stories of women being mutilated, or raped and then mutilated, and then killed. They were always murdered, never left alive, and if they were alive, just barely. If they managed to make it to a Safety Zone to tell their stories, they did. Because some Westerners in Nanjing chose not to leave and instead stay and help the situation and open these safety zones, they documented the carnage with cameras and wrote journal entries and reported to the Western media what was really going on in Nanjing. Because of international pressure from the world against Japan for the atrocities it was committing, it was from this Nanjing Massacre as it became known that the comfort

women system was born. As they marched into China and Nanjing, Emperor Hirohito of Japan mandated his soldiers to kill, rape, and destroy. Six weeks later with half the population murdered, the leaders of the Japanese military felt that if they were to take back that mandate, they would need to appease the brutal sexually violent appetite they in fact created and fostered. And so when you hear the comfort women system in Guam being talked about and justified that without it, the Japanese would just randomly rape and assault women on the streets whenever they wanted, it's framed as the lesser of two evils because of what happened in Nanjing. Well, as you may know, the Japanese were raping and assaulting women in Guam anyway while the comfort women system was in place, and this can be found in testimony in the Guam War Claims Review Commission Report as well as the *kuentos para i gima*, the stories of the house.

There are many books published on the comfort women experience, and perhaps it's okay that survivors from other countries sort of speak for the women of Guam? As they do at the Newman Center? You walk in to that exhibit, and it's filled with actual artifacts from the war, tons of pictures, tons of information and stories of Guam, and then in the area that's been dedicated to the comfort woman experience, there are the two Indonesian woman talking on camera about their experiences, and so in my mind, it could be okay that they speak on behalf of the Chamorro women's experience. How different can their stories be? But at the same time, I think that there is something unique about what the women of Guam went through, how they coped, what decisions they made, how they survived. I think all of that and more is important and needs to be captured. The Guam comfort woman experience is definitely underrepresented in the scholarship, and I hope something will emerge one day in print, for the public, *para y li nahyan*.

So much of my knowledge of World War II history in Guam before my thesis and this project was very limited, and I feel like I have expanded a bit through understanding personal narratives, which is built upon hearing war stories from my grandparents and other elders in my family growing up. I am reminded of the late Howard Zinn and his *People's History of the United States*, which is written from the standpoint of the marginalized rather than from the people in power. We are fortunate to have an archive of personal narratives and oral historians doing the work of interviewing and documenting stories of violence and injustice of all kinds, against all people, men and women. It is my hope that a kind of people's history of World War II Guam can one day be written.

Creating Space

I may not have the access or training to do this kind work, to interview comfort women and move stories from the house to the public, but I would like to help create safe spaces so that this kind of work can emerge. One of the things I am currently interested in is creating a map of some kind and tracking where these comfort stations were located. I often feel very uncomfortable about asking people what they know about the comfort women experience or people they may know who were victims of sexual violence during that time period. It's very difficult for me to broach that subject with others unless they volunteer but then there's a sense of, is this really your story to tell, and is it okay with that person that you're telling that story to me? There are all kinds of ethical issues. But for some reason, what I feel okay about asking anyone who might know is, can you tell me if anyone has ever told you where the soldiers were bussed in, or where women were taken? What homes or structures were converted into comfort women stations? Where were these places located in Guam?

Another thing I would like to advocate for is a peace monument of some kind much like what was built in South Korea. It may not seem so peaceful because it was strategically placed across the Japanese embassy in Seoul, and every Wednesday since January 8, 1992, not long after Kim Hak Sun became the first comfort woman to publicly tell her story, survivors and their allies held rallies in front of that embassy demanding an apology and war reparations. Korean women make up 80% of the entire Japanese comfort women system during World War II, and women's groups in Korea and Japan have been at the forefront of generating awareness on this issue. The 1000th Wednesday rally took place on December 14, 2011, and by that time only 63 of 234 government-registered victims had survived. Their average age was 86-years old. Recently, this past July, in Glendale, California, they created a replica of that exact comfort women peace monument in Korea, and of course all the hate mail came through from the Japanese community in protest. There's a lot of denial not just in the Japanese government but also in the Japanese public consciousness because so little has been taught in schools and textbooks for a very long time. Here are some examples of some other monuments for women we have around the island [and earlier, I showed some images of the San Vitores monument and Sirena statue], and it would be great thing one day to see a peace monument not just for the comfort women but for all victims of sexual violence during the war since we have so many other war monuments in general in Guam.

I wasn't prepared for how difficult this project would be. It was as if reading stories and watching video interviews and footage would anesthetize me in some way than if I actually conducted oral interviews with survivors and their families. I was wrong. I lost it many times, and I've been an emotional "basket case" doing this kind of research. I'd like end with this image of Iris Chang, who published a book called *The Rape of Nanking*. Nanking is like the Westernized way of saying Nanjing. Her book became an international bestseller and really blew wide open the issue of Japanese atrocities, and today, the Japanese government continues to deny its crimes and to not take responsibility. I heard her speak in San Diego in 1999, and I feel like I've come full circle in some way. She did so much work around the underrepresentation of war stories, but she ultimately shot a bullet through her brain in 2004. Many think it was related to mental illness that was emerging within her or deteriorating health from overworking on these issues. Iris Chang was such a fierce advocate for the truth and accountability and the healing of others. I wish anyone doing this work to please take care and to stay strong because it is important and needs to be done.

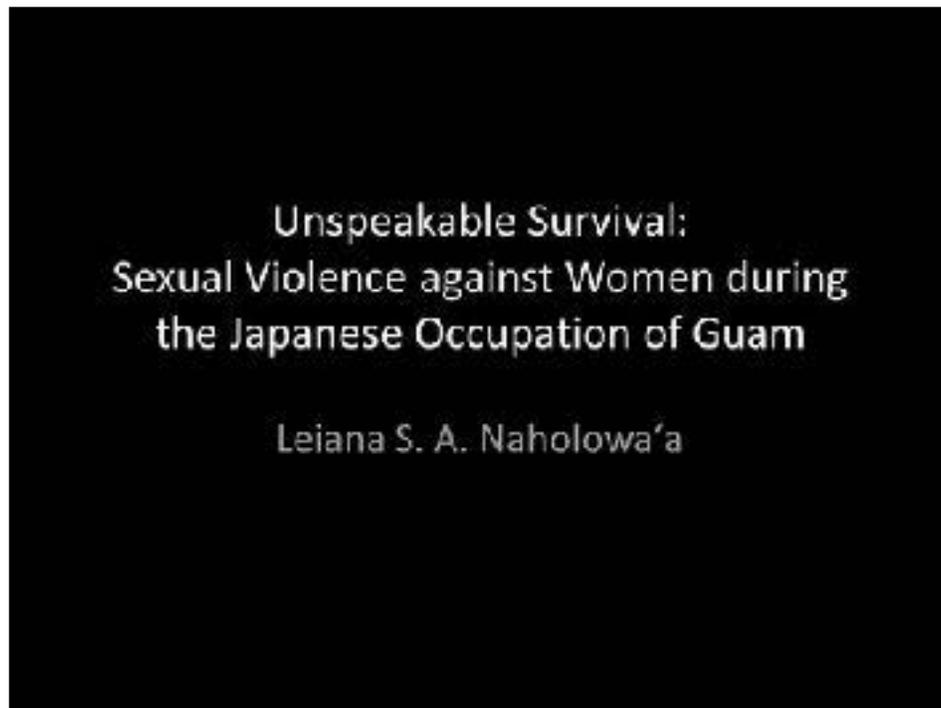
Thank you.

Additional Information

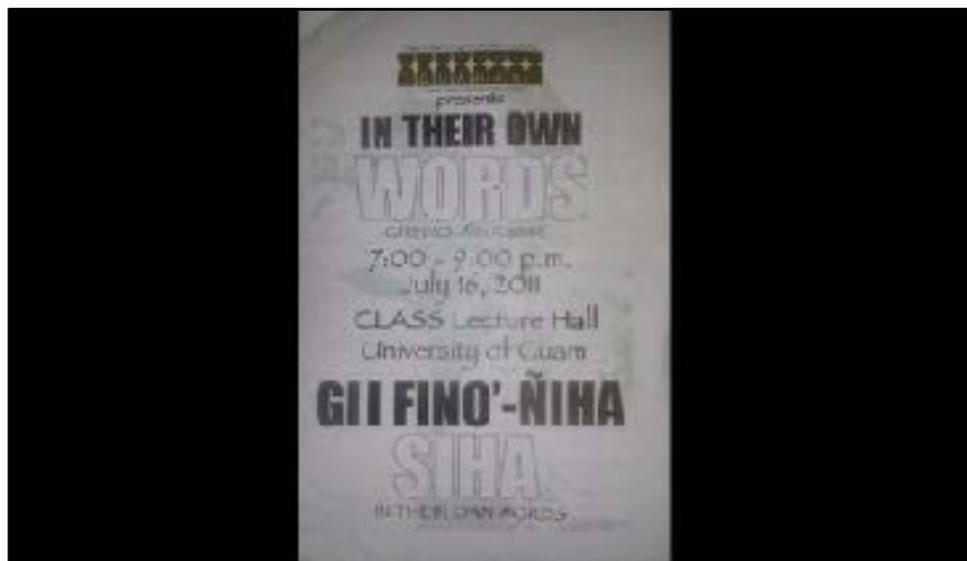
Due to time constraints, I was not able to include so much material in the presentation I gave at the conference. I'd like to give special mention here to a performance by Inetnon Gefpã'go. The talented organization created an interpretive dance of the Chamorro comfort women experience during the Japanese occupation of Guam during WWII. A video of that performance can be viewed online here:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffEuwIOTvxI>

Presentation Slides and Comments



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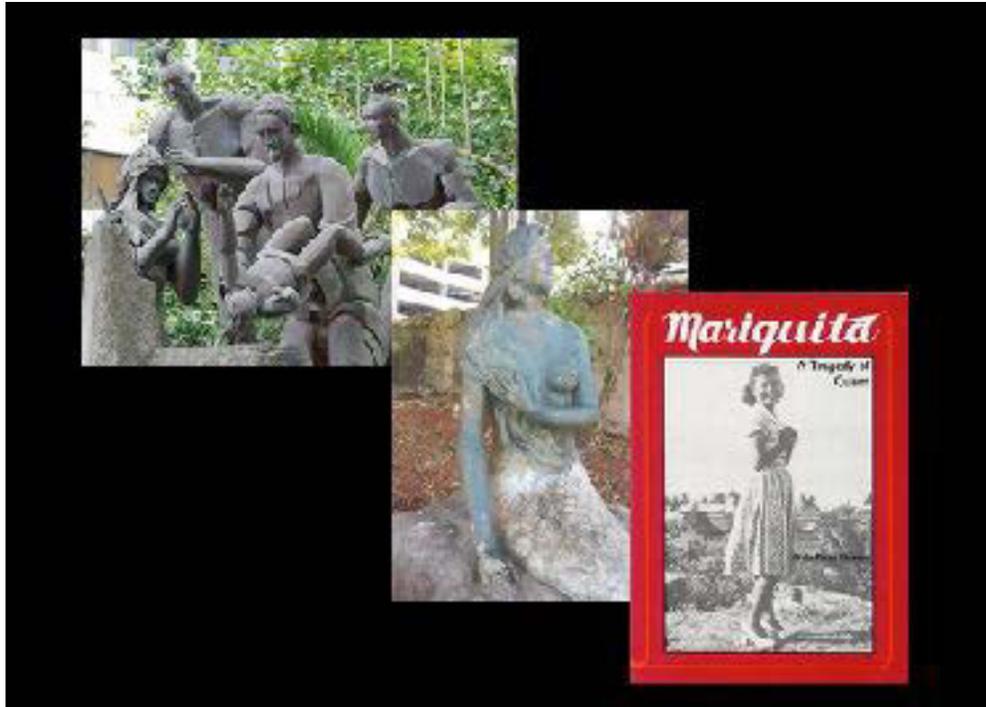
Nanan Håga'

Blood Mother

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My analysis continues from the San Vitores legend into a focus on the “Bio Mother” and the “Godmother/Othermother” in the legend of Sirena and then into the Chamorro feminist indigeneity that emerges in Howard’s *Mariquita*.

AN EXPLORATION OF SILENCE

***“There is history only for the house,
and there is history for the others.”***

“Guaha kuentos para i gima, there is history only for the house, yan para historia para i ni lahyan, there is history for the others, yan ti sina enao un comprende, if that’s not understood, that’s their problem, alright? It’s not yours. And always keep it that way.”

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The T. Stell Newman Visitor Center holds the only exhibit in Guam where individuals can watch interactive media of Japanese comfort women, or ianfu as they were called, and hear them speak openly about their experiences.



Suharti and Tasmina are two women from Indonesia who were interviewed by Northern Lights Productions, a film crew from Boston, Massachusetts. Their inclusion in the center's WWII exhibit is perhaps the only installation of comfort women representation of its kind in the National Park Service universe. [View video clip.](#)

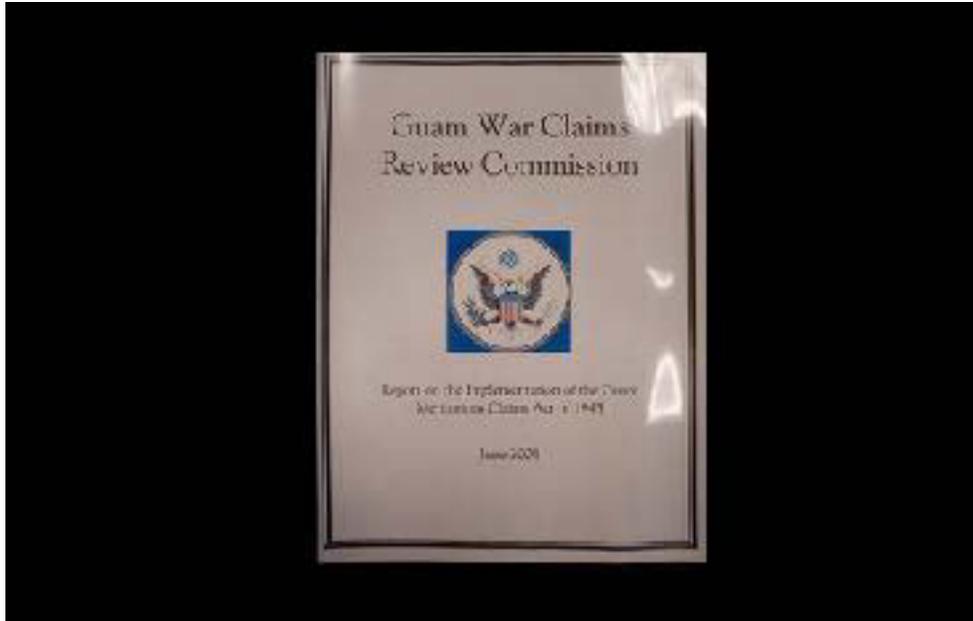


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The Woman in the **Light Blue** Dress,
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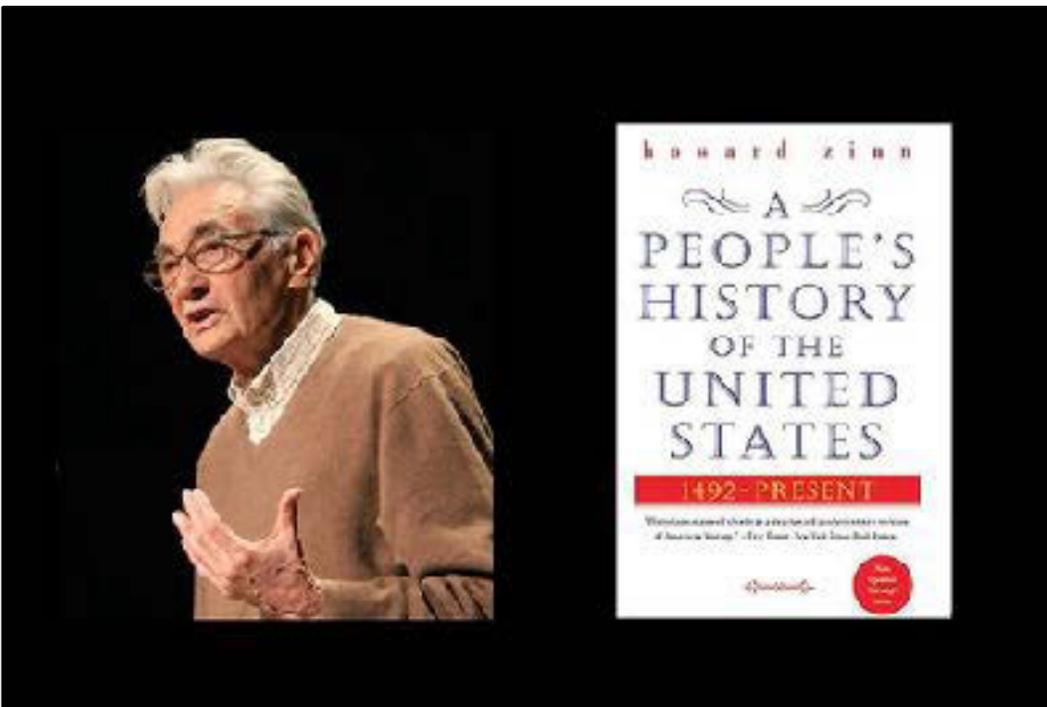
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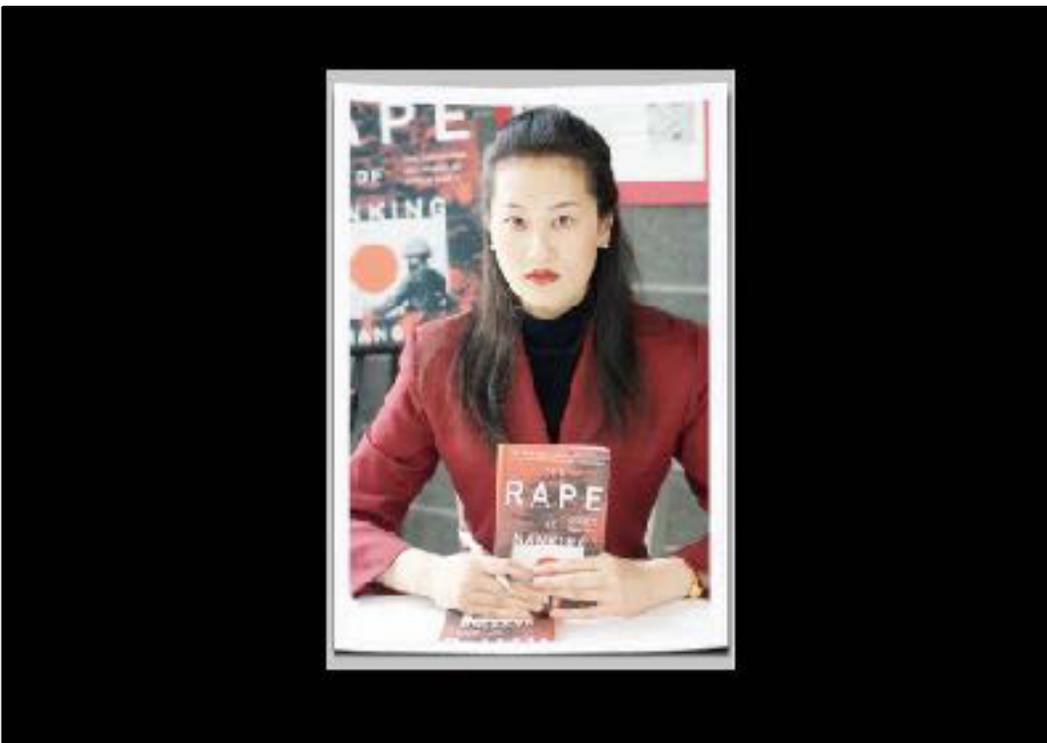
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Additional Info

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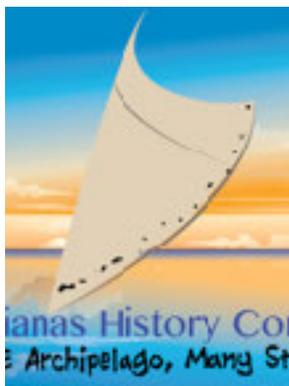
Inetnon Gefpå'go

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Leiana San Agustin Naholowa'a is completing her Master's in English at the University of Guam. She received her bachelor's degree in Literature and Writing Studies with a minor in Women's Studies at California State University, San Marcos, and a certificate in Interactive Media from the San Diego Community College District. She has taught at Cal State San Marcos, the Université Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallee in France, Guam Community College, and the University of Guam. She is also a co-editor of Storyboard Journal, published by the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Guam.

Subversive Women

Excavating Chamorro Women's Acts of Resistance During WWII

By Evelyn Flores

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Abstract: *The false divide between public and private, domestic and political that often pervades official stories has unrealistically suppressed the vital agency of women in subversive acts of civilians during war and political struggle. This suppression is not innocent but is part of a politics of colonial representation not just of women but also of the cultures out of which women come. Through the exploration of obviously masculine stories of heroics from WWII Guam, the central roles that women have played in the stories from this foundational era for modern Guam will be reclaimed from the archives of invisibility and silence to which they have often been relegated by formidable narrative binaries. During this reclamation, the significance of oral histories as a route to fracturing binaries will be examined to reveal indispensable types of female involvement in subversive acts as: 1) Radical Initiant, 2) Trickster Assistant, and 3) Elusive Deviant.*

Editor's Note: This paper, presented at the Marianas History Conference, was not made available for publication.



Evelyn Flores is an associate professor of English and of Chamorro Studies at the University of Guam. She is the author of three children's picture books and of poems published both locally and internationally. Her research and scholarly activities are dedicated to preserving and publishing the stories of the indigenous people of Guam particularly but also of the broader geographic area of Micronesia.

Forgotten People

Memories of Koreans in the Marianas During Japanese Rule

By Sung Youn Cho

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Abstract: *In the early 20th century, Japan dominated the Northern Mariana Islands, an area we called Nanyogundo. Research on this period has been carried out mainly by Japanese scholars, including recently the work of Imaizumi. During this era, many Japanese people moved to the Northern Mariana Islands, wanting to develop these Islands in order to make them their permanent territory. The Japanese brought Koreans to the Islands as a labor source, and, especially in the last stage of the Pacific War, tens of thousands of Koreans were pulled here by compulsion. Most of their stories have been forgotten. This presentation explains how Koreans made their own lives in the Northern Mariana Islands during the period of Japanese rule, including connecting with Japanese and native Chamorros. I will approach this topic through an analysis of a biographical manuscript written by Matsumoto (Chun Kyung Un).*

This study is about the Korean people who lived in the Mariana Islands during the Japanese occupation of Micronesia. While conducting the research, I asked the same questions repeatedly; “Since when and how many Korean people have migrated to the Mariana Islanders? Why did they leave their home and come here? How many people survived during the Pacific War and how many died? Where did they go after the war and how’s their reputation with local residents?”

Today, most Korean people recognize Guam, Saipan and Tinian as popular destinations for vacation whilst not many of them know that thousands of Korean people were forced to work in the Marianas and died due to the aftermath of the war. Even the Mariana Islanders do not remember that. Most of them have an image of Korean immigrants who moved to the Marianas in the late 1970s to work in the tourism industry. In other words, Koreans in the Marianas during the Japanese occupation are forgotten people.

Studies on this subject started in 2000s for the first time. Japanese scholar Imaizumi Yumiko (今泉裕美子) was one of the first to study this topic. Hye Gyeong Jeong

(鄭惠瓊) and Myeong Hwan Kim (全慶運) from Korea also have conducted studies and elucidated many facts regarding these forgotten people. Based on their studies, I have restructured the forgotten people's lives in the Mariana Islands under the Japanese occupation. But there are some confines to this study. Jeong and Kim explained Korean people's migration to the Pacific Islands by looking at deportation records rather than as voluntary immigrants. They also stated that all of male immigrants were construction workers and females were comfort women. However, I believe the Korean's migration to the Pacific Islands should be explained by more diverse types as according to different time periods. This presentation is spadework for that study.

This January, I visited Saipan and Tinian for the first time. I mostly stayed in Tinian and was searching for a trace of Korean laborers. I was able to meet some 2nd and 3rd generation Korean immigrants but the 1st generation already passed away and only a small number of 2nd generation Koreans were left. Therefore, I was not able to acquire oral history from the 1st generation. Instead, I found memoirs of Gyeongwoon Jeon (全慶運) (My Life in Nanyo, Unpublished Manuscript, 1981) and KNN Busan Broadcast's special TV documentary called 'Forgotten Last Name, King (August 19, 2005).' The documentary had compendious interviews of the 2nd generation. Hence, I utilized those as important resources for my research along with oral statements.

Furthermore, I had a meeting with Don Farrell who studies the history of the Mariana Islanders. He showed me two pictures. The two pictures showed me Korean people who worked at Nanyo Kohatsu (南洋興發) Company's Tinian farms in 1930s.

Don A. Farrell explained what he knew about a photo titled "Some Korean Farming Families arrived on Tinian" (Don A. Farrell, 2012: 23). This is a picture of Korean workers in Tinian. These farming families are consisted of three males, 10 females and one child; total three families.

Another photo that I had of Tinian was not included in his book. However, this picture can be found in the historical picture book of Okinawa Prefecture. In the picture book, some pictures show survivors of Tinian battle in July 1944 living in an internment camp. A total of 10 pictures are related to Korean people. Most of them show Korean prisoners in the camp. Among those, three pictures show a wedding of Korean prisoners in the camp. All of them were taken from August 1944 to early 1946 showing scenes in the internment camp. Two pictures on page 497 and 498 were taken in 1940s.

Migration of Korean (Chosen) Population

The Japan Empire settled an even larger number of Japanese people than natives in the South Sea Islands to perpetuate a higher occupancy. In the 1910s, the number of natives was about 48,000. In the early occupied period, the number of Japanese was less than 1,000. Through 1920s and 1930s, however, Japanese population rapidly grew; the number reached 10,000 in 1928 and 90,000 in 1940s which was about two times larger than the native population. The immigrants mostly consisted of Okinawa residents and Korean people.

The history of Korean population in the South Sea Islands can be classified into four periods.

Table 1: Population of Nanyogundo (following page)

- Period I: 1919 ~ 1920. Nishimura Chuksik(西村拓殖) and Namyang Company (南洋殖産会社) recruited and emigrated about 200 Korean people. Some of them settled down in Kusai and others came back to Korea (Chosen) whilst rest of them stayed and found another jobs.
- Period II: 1921 ~ 1938. Voluntarily recruited workers. About 200 ~ maximum 700.
- Period III: 1939 ~ 1942. Korean (Chosen) population was mobilized to compensate weakened Japanese labor force due to the war preparation. The number reached up to 6,000, mostly deployed to Tinian and Palau. The compulsory mobilization was started after the Pacific War.
- Period IV: 1943 ~ 1945. After the Pacific War, the Korean population was deployed to all of Pacific islands instead of the South Sea Islands. Approximately 30,000 ~ 40,000 Korean males were compelled to work for airfield constructions and about 10,000 females were taken away and forced to work as comfort women. They were tumbled into battles and killed in New Guinea, Makin, Tarawa and many other places. Especially in Saipan and Tinian, a large number of Korean people were killed because of the forced mobilization.

Table 1: Population of Nanyogundo

	Total	Native	Japanese	Korean	Period
1914					
1915	43,519	43,120	220		
1916	48,136	47,513	461		
1917	49,393	48,555	697		
1918	49,363	47,478	1,763		
1919	49,627	47,143	2,447	254	I
1920	51,659	48,787	2,836	278	
1921	51,663	48,756	2,841	190	II
1922	51,086	47,713	3,310	149	
1923	54,358	49,090	5,203	82	
1924	55,186	49,576	5,550	93	
1925	56,294	48,798	7,430	98	
1926	57,466	48,994	8,395	95	
1927	58,816	48,761	9,979	147	
1928	61,086	48,545	12,460	176	
1929	64,921	48,617	16,202	179	
1930	69,626	49,695	19,835	198	
1931	73,027	50,038	22,889	225	
1932	78,457	50,069	28,291	278	
1933	82,252	49,935	32,214	313	
1934	90,651	50,336	40,215	318	
1935	102,537	50,573	51,861	546	
1936	107,137	50,524	56,496	545	
1937	113,277	50,847	62,305	579	
1938	122,969	50,998	71,847	704	
1939	129,103	51,725	77,254	1,968	
1940	135,708	51,106	84,478	3,463	III
1941	141,259	51,089	90,072	5,824	
1942	145,272	51,951	93,220	6,407	IV
1943	148,972	52,197	96,670		

Source: 今泉裕美子, 2009,

Internment Camp

Right after the war, survivors became prisoners and lived in internment camps. In Saipan, local residents (natives) were moved to a camp in Chalan Kanoa and Japanese and Korean people were accommodated in a camp in Susupe. In Tinian, Japanese and Korean people were separately contained in one internment camp. There was a classroom for Korean (Chosen) people in the camp which indicates a separate area for

Korean people. In the camp, there was a special class only for Korean children in the school.

All of Korean (Chosen) people who lived in the camps took boats to return home in early 1946. The list of Korean people on the returning boats can be found in the United States National Archives. Deokyoung Yoon (2006) summarized the data in his study. The list of people returning from the South Sea Islands was prepared by U.S. Army (NARA).

The list shows that people took the returning boats from internment camps in Palau and Tinian. A total of 6,370 people were listed; Palau 3,793 and Tinian 2,577. In late 1945, prisoners in Saipan Island were as following: Japanese 13,954, Korean 1,411, Chamorro 2,966, Caroline 1,035, and Japanese military prisoners 600 (今泉裕美子, 2004a). The number of Korean people in Saipan (1,411) was about half of that in Tinian.

Korean-Chamorro

Most Korean people in the Mariana Islands are men who married native women. The Japanese and Korean people were supposed to return to their home countries but some decided to stay. In those cases, most of them were already married to Chamorro women and had families.

These Koreans are mostly living in Tinian whilst some of them are living in Saipan and Palau. A Tinian resident Matsumoto (Korean name Gyeongwoon Jeon) came to Saipan in 1939 as an employee of Nanyo Trading Company. He managed farms in Pagan, Sariguan and Alamagan islands and married a Chamorro woman. He wrote an autobiography but it was not formerly published. Only small amounts were printed for his friends. In this book, he described people stayed in Tinian as following:

“... as families have numerous descendants, progenitors Yookgon Kim, Joonsam Shin, Boki Song (Nishimura Company applicant in 1917, above), Sangjin Kang, Ddojinsoo Kim, Mongryong Choi, Gyeongwoon Jeon (until 1939) totaled 11. Including their 2nd, 3rd, and 4th generations, it would now be about 300. They are proud citizens of USA. There are two senators, a police chief, two school teachers and a Mayor...”

According to his description, six people came as Nishimura Chuksik employees in 1917 and five laborers and office workers moved to Tinian from Pagan, Rota and Saipan. They are the progenitors of Korean-Chamorros in Tinian.

Through forced changing names, the Pacific War and US Occupancy, Gyeongwoon Jeon was using Matsumoto as his name; Last name Kim became King, Choi became Shai, Shin became Cing and Kang became Kiyoshi. However, like Boki, some of them used fathers' given names as family names because they did not know their last names. Also, the original last name of Tosco Sadang (71) from Palau was Jinsang before marriage. His father's last name was Jin and he added Japanese appellation 'sang'.

All Korean immigrants who settled in Micronesia were moved from 1917 to 1939 and married native women. On the other hand, forcefully mobilized people after the Pacific War were either killed during the war or returned home in 1946. None of them stayed in the islands.

Conclusion

Precedent studies only explained Korean migration to the South Sea Islands by forced mobilization as construction workers or comfort women instead of voluntary emigration. However, I believe the migration to Micronesia should be classified into varied types according to time period. Most Korean immigrants were poor farmers but they voluntarily moved there. Some of them had 'management positions' from the beginning (Photo B). In some cases, people were hired by trading companies such as Nanyo Trading Company and involved in commercial activities in Saipan instead of working as construction worker or farmer.

The Problem of National Identity

Descendants of Korean immigrants in the South Sea Islands are living in Mariana Islanders. The 3rd and 4th generation people in Tinian are residents of CNMI (The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) and citizens of United States. They consider themselves as Chamorro and live as US citizens. Can we find Korean identities in them?

Since the 1980s, Koreans emigrated to Saipan and Tinian. Most of them are working in the tourism industry and have Korean associations. After the 1990s, Korean-Chinese people moved to Saipan to work in sewing factories. They consider themselves as

Chinese. Although they are rooted in Korea, they live without much interaction with it. Who is Korean?

Some Korean people voluntarily signed up for recruitment and others were forcefully mobilized during the war. Therefore, Micronesia was a land of opportunity as well as a land which represents the history of forceful mobilization. I would like to see research focused on this. By conducting studies with local residents' points of view, we can truly see the history of Pacific islands in 20th Century while including forcefully mobilized Korean (Chosen) workers and comfort women.

Presentation slides begin on following page.

Forgotten Peoples : Memories on the Koreans in Mariana Islands during the Japanese Rules

Cho Sung Youn
(Jeju National University, Korea)

Korean people lived in Mariana Islands
during the Japanese occupation of Micronesia.

-
- how many Korean people have migrated to Mariana Islanders,
- Why did they leave their home and come here?
- How many people survived during the Pacific War
- How many people died?
- Where did they go after the war ?

Reference

- Japanese scholar Imaizumi Yumiko(今泉裕美子)
- Korean scholar
 - Jeong, Hye Gyeong (鄭惠瓊)
 - Kim, Myeong Hwan (金明煥)
 - Yoon, Deokyoung
- Jeong and Kim explained Korean people's migration only by deportation rather than voluntary immigrations.
- all of male immigrants were construction workers and females were comfort women.
- However, I believe the Korean's migration should be explained by more diverse types according to different time period and by voluntary immigrations.

南洋살이 四十年을 回顧

(全慶運氏 自敘傳)



memirs of Gyeongwoon Jeon(全慶運)

(My Life in Nanyo during 40 years, Unpublished Manuscript, 1981)



Don Farrell 's Photo

- Photo A
- "Some Korean Farming Families arrived on Tinian"
- Don A. Farrell, 2012, Tinian: A Brief History, Pacific Historic Parks, p23.). – Poor peasants
- The Photo B can be found in the historical picture book of Okinawa Prefecture taken in 1940s.
- (with the Photo C) - Leaders group in Koreans





2. Migration of Korean (Chosen) Population

- period I : 1917 ~ 1920
- period II : 1921 ~ 1938
- Period III : 1939 ~ 1941
- Period IV : 1942 ~ 1946

Year	Total	Native	Japanese	Korean	Year	Total	Native	Japanese	Korean
1914	—	—	—	—	1920	61,921	49,617	13,202	170
1915	43,519	43,120	220	—	1921	60,628	49,605	13,825	198
1916	48,138	47,513	481	—	1922	72,027	59,058	22,890	225
1917	49,360	48,555	637	—	1923	70,457	59,069	23,291	270
1918	49,000	47,479	1,700	—	1924	82,202	49,905	32,214	310
1919	49,027	47,140	2,447	234	1925	90,051	59,300	40,215	310
1920	51,659	48,737	2,606	276	1926	102,537	59,573	51,091	546
1921	51,663	48,758	2,641	190	1927	107,137	59,524	53,496	545
1922	51,000	47,710	2,310	149	1928	110,277	59,074	52,205	579
1923	54,000	49,090	2,200	92	1929	122,909	59,990	71,847	704
1924	55,100	49,576	2,500	95	1930	126,103	59,725	77,254	1,808
1925	58,294	48,738	2,430	98	1931	130,708	59,100	84,476	2,403
1926	57,400	48,894	2,385	95	1932	141,259	59,089	90,072	2,824
1927	58,010	48,701	2,319	147	1933	140,272	59,351	93,230	2,407
1928	61,000	48,545	2,430	170	1934	140,972	52,197	90,070	-

Year	Total	Native	Japanese	Korean	Year	Total	Native	Japanese	Korean
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1928	61,000	48,545	2,430	170	1934	140,972	52,197	90,070	-

P1

P2

P3

P4

3. Internment Camp

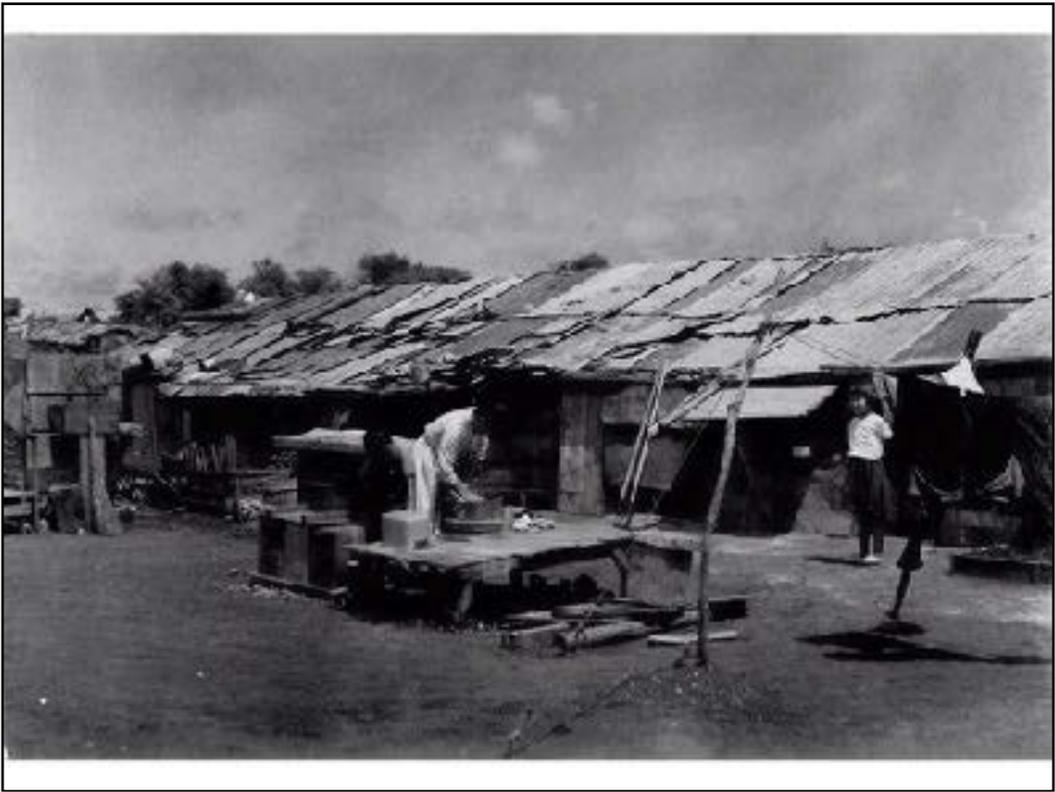
- **Saipan Camp**

- Natives camp in Charankanda 5,001
- Japanese camp in Susupe. 13,954
- Korean camp in Susupe. 1,411

- **Tinian Camp in Chulu**

- Japanese and Korean were separately committed in one camp.
- a special class only for Korean children in the school.
- Palau 3,793 and Tinian 2,577.
- (by the 1st of the returning boat.)









4. Korean-Chamoro

- Most of the Japanese and Korean people were supposed to return their home countries but some of them decided to stay.
- They already married with Chamoro women (natives) and had families.
- Korean-blooded people are mostly living in Tinian
- whilst some of them are living in Saipan and Palau.
-

Gyeongwoon Jeon(全慶運)
My Life in Nanyo during 40 years,
Unpublished Manuscript, 1981)

- "... as families have numerous descendants, progenitors Yookgon Kim, Joonsam Shin, ○○○, Boki Song(Nishimura Company applicant in 1917, above), Sangjin Kang, Ddojinsoo Kim, Mongryong Choi, ○○ Kim, Gyeongwoon Jeon (until 1939) were total 11. Including their 2nd, 3rd, and 4th generations, it would be about 300.
- They are proud citizens of U.S.A. ... Until today, 2 Senators, 1 police chief, 2 school teachers, and ... was once a Mayor."

Tinian

- 김(金) → King : 金六坤, 金德儀, 金年正수, 金○○
John E. King →
Jose King(75) → Heary King → Boina King(17)
- 심(辛) → Shai : 辛帝廉(Francisco Shai) → Rosa Shai(56)
→ Magdalena Shai(56)
→ Albert Shai
- 강(姜) → Kiyoshi : 姜和良(Hose Kiyoshi)
wife : Candad Kiyechi →
→ Ike Kiyoshi
- 신(申) → Cing : 申中三
→ 2세 → 윌리엄 싱(William Cing, 51)
- 권(全) → Matsumoto : 全慶運
- 송(宋) → Eoki : 宋協榮 → Maria Eoki(71)
- 박(朴) → Cabrera : 朴○○ → Juan Cabrera(73)

Palau

- 조(趙) → Jin : 趙○○
→ Tosco Sadang(71) 김문경 이듬은 Jinsang
- 김(金) → King : 金同正浩
金同正浩 → Noboru King(78) → Remedios King









6. Conclusion

- * forced mobilization
- Precedent studies only explained Korean migration to the South Sea Islands by forced mobilization as construction workers or comfort women instead of voluntary emigration.
- The migration to the South Sea Islands should be classified into varied types according to time period.
- Most Korean immigrants were poor farmers but they voluntarily moved there.
- Some of them had 'management positions' from the beginning (Photo B).
- Some people were hired by Nanyo Trading Company and involved in commercial activities in Saipan instead of working as construction worker or farmer.

The Problem of National Identity

- Descendants of Korean immigrants are living in Mariana Islands. The 3rd and 4th generation people in Tinian are residents of CNMI.
- They consider themselves as Chamorro and live as U.S. citizens. Can we find Korean identities in them?
- Since 1980s, New Korean people emigrated to Saipan and Tinian. Most of them are working in a tourist industry and have Korean associations.
- After 1990s, Korean-Chinese people moved to Saipan to work in sewing factories. They consider themselves as Chinese.
- Although they are rooted in Korea, they live without much interaction with it. Who is Korean?





Sung Youn Cho is a Professor of Sociology at Jeju National University in Korea. Dr. Cho's specialty is Modern Social History and the Sociology of Religion.

The South Seas on Display in Japan

Yosano Tekkan's "Nanyōkan" and South Seas Discourse of the Early 20th Century

By Mark Ombrello

East Asian and World History Instructor

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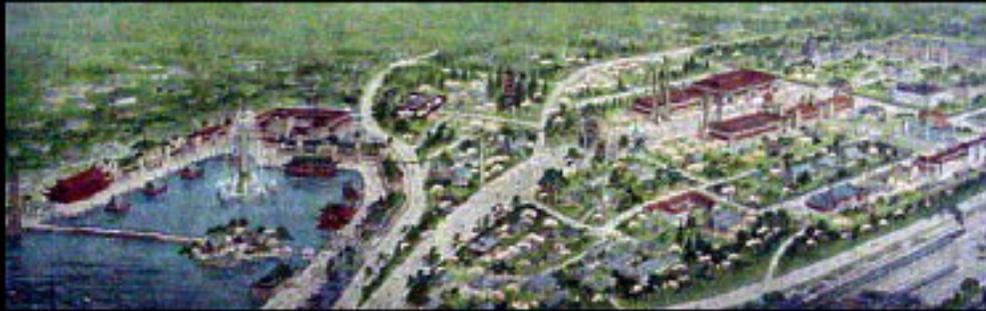
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Abstract: *Celebrating the Taishō Emperor's 1914 coronation, the Tokyo International Exhibition showcased Japan's increased overseas presence and economic influence in the Eastern hemisphere. Accordingly, the event demonstrated that the nation achieved a level of sophistication equal to the West and affirmed notions of a modern state via the display of human societies considered culturally backward at fairground sites. The Nanyō Pavilion offered visitors an "authentic" glimpse of the primitive South Seas, a region that had come into sharper focus in the Japanese collective conscious since the outbreak of WWI and subsequent takeover of Germany's Pacific Territories. "Nanyōkan," a poem by Yosano Tekkan, detailed the experience of an attendee whose understanding of modernity and the self were inextricably tied to projected rumination of the peoples and landscapes on display. This presentation will examine the poem and its meanings in historical contexts related to colonialism, modern identity formation, historiography, and South Seas discourse.*

Editor's Note: This paper, presented at the Marianas History Conference, was not made available for publication.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

The South Seas on Display in Japan: Yosano Tekkan's "Nanyōkan" and South Seas Discourse of the Early 20th Century



Mark Ombrello
University of Guam

Illustration of March 1914 Taishō International Exhibition Fairgrounds



Fairgrounds of 1914 Taishō International Exhibition



Illuminated Fairgrounds of 1914 Taishō International Exhibition

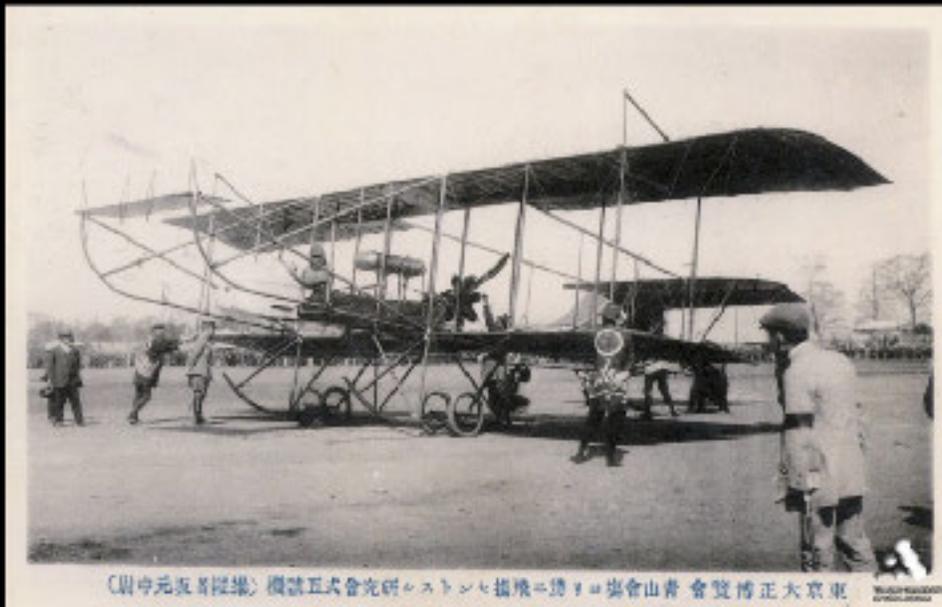


Cable Car at Fairgrounds



大正博覧会第二会場（不忍池畔）ケーブルカー

Aircraft on Display



（前中元記者撮影）機試五式會究研・ストン・操機=誘ヲ=案會山青 會覽博正大京東

Japan's First Escalator



Taiwan Pavilion

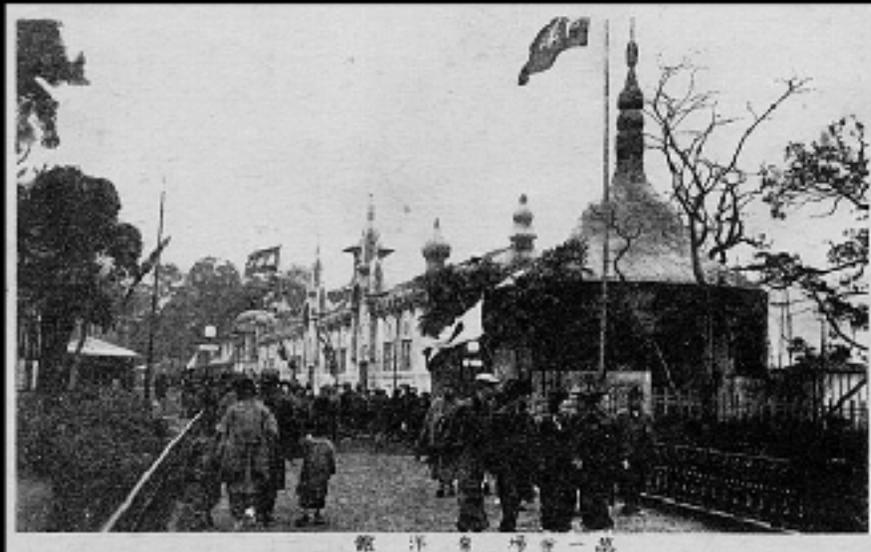


Korea Pavilion



朝鮮館 (博覽會一景)

Nanyō Pavilion (Nanyōkan)



南洋館 (博覽會一景)

Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935)



Yosano Tekkan and Yosano Akiko



Turn-of-the-Century Poetry Journal,
Myōjyō (Bright Star)



Nanyōkan (August 1914)





Mark Ombrello teaches East Asian and World History at the University of Guam. He is a doctoral candidate in History at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa where he is finishing his dissertation on Japanese conceptualizations of the Nanyō (South Seas) as a supernatural space from ancient times to the present.

Northern Marianas Under Japanese Navy Administration (1914-1922)

By Yumiko Imaizumi

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Abstract: *This presentation analyzes the Marianas under Japanese naval administration and elucidates the formation of fundamental Japanese policies for Micronesia then. In WWI, the Japanese Navy occupied Germany's northern Pacific islands. The Provisional South Seas Defense Force was established in Chuuk for military administration. Research on Japanese rule of Micronesia has not grasped this period and underestimates naval rule versus the succeeding Mandate. However, the Japanese government and Navy conceived and embarked on basic, long-range policies for Micronesia during their eight-year administration. The South Seas government inheriting the policies embellished them as "a sacred trust of civilization" under the Mandate. In the Marianas, the Navy attempted to make the local people submit to Japanese rule, to establish industries and to eliminate all Western missionary influences. Based on an analysis of Japanese documents, this presentation examines policies the Navy inherited from the Germans and the state of the Marianas under Navy administration.*

In October 1914, three months after World War I began, the Japanese Navy occupied the German Pacific islands. The Japanese Provisional South Seas Defense Force governed Micronesia for eight years. This was about one-fourth of the 30 years that Japan governed Micronesia.

In research on Japanese rule of Micronesia, although an enormous number of official documents on naval administration exist¹, they have not been analyzed. Moreover, the

¹ We can examine the navy administration mainly in the archives of Japanese Navy's collection (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920) and in Ministry of Foreign Affairs' collection relating to Mandate (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). We can see some of them in microfilm of the Archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, Library of Congress.

policies of the naval administration period are seen as having been ended with the Mandate period that followed, and have been lightly esteemed.²

Based on the archives of Navy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this presentation clarifies what the Japanese government and Navy inherited from the German administration and how they formed basic policies for administering Micronesia.³ Hence, I wish to present the kinds of policies were carried out in the Mariana Islands. Through this analysis, the characteristics of Nanyo Cho (the South Seas Government) and the rule of Micronesia when World War II broke out will be made clearer.

Administration Policy for the Occupation of Micronesia, Aiming to Turn it into a Japanese Colony

As a latecomer to the ranks of imperialistic nations, Japan saw World War I as an opportunity to expand into the Pacific, which had already been carved up by the USA and Europe.

At the start of World War I, Japan declared its neutrality. However, when the United Kingdom requested Japan's limited participation in the form of hunting and destroying German merchant raiders in Chinese waters, Japan began showing a stance of actively joining in the war. Japan's stance was so enthusiastic that Australia and New Zealand grew concerned about its occupation of the German Pacific islands. The UK responded cautiously.

The Japanese Navy is said to have been hesitant about participation in the war, but part of the Navy argued positively for sweeping German forces from the Pacific, occupying Micronesia, and expanding Japanese forces in China. When it came to occupying Micronesia, the government was cautious, but the Southern Expeditionary Squadron that had been sent responded to changes in the war situation by aggressively proceeding with the occupation. When the occupation of Jaluit Atoll, Marshall Islands was announced, it incited critical American public opinion. Japan therefore refrained from announcing the occupation of other islands. Immediately

² Peattie (1988) describes the process of Japanese military occupation and mentions something about the Navy administration based on Gabe (1982). Gabe (1982) is one of the few elaborate researches analyzing the Navy's collection (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920). However, he concluded navy's policies which tried to make Micronesia a base for "Southern Expansion" was completely hampered by mandate system.

³ For deeper examination of the navy administration, see Imaizumi (1990a, 1990b).

after occupying, the Navy stationed Special Naval Landing Forces and formed an initial military government.

Civilians began moving into Micronesia immediately after naval occupation began. There was movement to support this even in the Navy. Rear Admiral Saneyuki Akiyama believed that it was necessary to obtain an economic foothold in Micronesia, so he allowed a civilian company, the Nanyo Keiei Kumiai, onto Angaur Island, Palau. In November 1914, the company sent in a few dozen workers there. As travelers looking to get rich quickly increased, stowaways and smugglers began to appear. The Navy believed this situation would become an obstacle to the future “permanent occupation” of Micronesia. Therefore, on December 28, it disbanded the Southern Expeditionary Squadron and the Special Naval Landing Forces and established the Provisional South Seas Defense Force, beginning a full-fledged military government.

Carrying out the administration of Micronesia through continuing trial and error, the Navy clarified what Japan could achieve in Micronesia, and how to achieve it. After study by the government, those policies were carried over into the Mandate.⁴

Change in Governing Structure

The Provisional South Seas Defense Force Ordinance of 28 December 1914, placed the headquarters in Tonoas Island, Chuuk and handed the military and civilian governments to the Commander. The occupied territories were divided into six districts, Saipan, Palau, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Jaluit, and Yap, which was added in 1915. A garrison was placed in each district, with each garrison commander also serving as the head of the sector military administration station and taking over civilian administration.

In July 1918, a civil administration department was established under the commander. The military administration station in each district were abolished and replaced with a civil administration station. The heads of the civil administration station took over civilian administration under their jurisdictions, while the garrisons became the equivalent of district police forces. This change in the government structure made the civilian administration independent of the military administration on paper.

Later, the South Seas Government called it the start of “the era of civilian administration in Micronesia” and commemorated it as “the Anniversary of the South

⁴ For further discussion, see Imaizumi (1992).

Seas Government.”⁵ Therefore, research has conventionally viewed this structural reform as the beginning of civilian government in Micronesia.⁶ It should be noted, however that until April 1919, the heads of the civilian government departments were also garrison commanders. The Navy held the true reins of governing power. Employees of the civilian government departments were overwhelmed by the work of their bloated organizations. Funded by local revenues, civilian government expenditures were minuscule, and there was antagonism between military and civilian officials. It was thus very difficult to carry out civilian government. The above factors, as will be discussed below, can be considered part of the “repressive control” backed with military force⁷ of the naval administration period that caused problems in governing.

In short, the process of transfer to a full-fledged civilian government began in May 1919 with the decision that Japan would administer the “C” Mandate in Micronesia. In July 1921, about six months before the South Seas Government would be established, the civilian government division was transferred from Chuuk to Koror Island, Palau. The authority of the civilian government division was expanded, with the power to issue ordinances and rules transferred to its head, and its personnel increased. The Provisional South Seas Defense Force was withdrawn by September 1921, and administration by the Mandate organization, the South Seas Government, began in April 1922.

Foreigners who inspected Micronesia generally praised the naval administration as contributing to the civilizing of the local people,⁸ but that opinion should be checked as simply swallowing Japanese navy’s explanations. The opinions of foreigners critical of the administration during that period included view that over-administration and sudden, compulsory local policies were problematic. Furthermore, we can see the same opinion in the inspection reports presented by staffs of Japanese government and Navy.

What, then, were the policy and the reality of the naval administration?

⁵ Nanyocho 1932, 2.

⁶ For example, see Peattie (1988, 67).

⁷ “Enomoto Sanjikan Sisatu Hokoku” [Inspection Report of Micronesia presented by Enomoto, a counselor of Ministry of Navy], accepted June, 1918 (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920).

⁸ Blackeslee 1922, 105-106.

The Policy and Reality of the Naval Administration

The basic policy of the naval administration was indicated in the January 1915 “Micronesia Administrative Policy” (“the Administrative Policy”). This policy had three specific contents. First, Micronesia was to be used militarily for Japan. Second, Micronesia’s peace and public order was to be maintained. Third, the local people were to be made to submit to Japanese rule, allowing Japanese people and companies to enter and extend their influence. In other words, whether Micronesia became a Japanese territory would be up to a peace conference, but the Japanese government aimed to turn it into a de facto territory. There were five commanders during the naval administration period.⁹ They created the policies that subsequently became the basis of the South Pacific Mandate administration.

The above policy and reality will be examined mainly through the indoctrination program and the colonization program.

Indoctrination Program

The main aims of making the local people submit to Japanese rule were forming an acceptance of it and training diligent workers.

Military government authorities saw the local people as “primitive” and “savage natives.” However, the authorities learned from the period of German rule that chiefs of the local people had great influence, so chiefs were made to administer part of the military government and attempts were made to develop pro-Japanese feelings in them. Furthermore, local people, in areas seen as having heavy European influence, people of mixed European background, and the Chamorro people were carefully watched for anti-Japanese sentiment. Moreover, as will be discussed below, improving anti-Japanese feelings generated by the attitudes of military personnel and officials under the military government and of Japanese traders was an urgent issue.

In short, development of pro-Japanese feelings was a priority connection with the indoctrination program. Special efforts were devoted to the leadership class. The organization of “mainland tourist parties” that sent chiefs and their children to Japan for an inspiring look at a “civilized nation” was one example.¹⁰ As Mainland tourist

⁹ Five Commanders were Matumura Takao (1914.12-1915.8), Togo Kichitaro (1915.8-1916.12), Yoshida Masujiro (1916.12-1917.12), Nagata Yasujiro (1917.12-1919.12), Nozaki Kojuro (1919.12-1921.3). The Chief of Civil Administration was Tezuka Toshiro (1918.7-1922.4) who became the first Governor of South Seas Government.

¹⁰ For further information, see Senju (2006).

parties also were organized in the other Japan's colonies and made good effect for indoctrination of colonized people, Micronesia's military government made use of it immediately. They brought members in contact with the Imperial Palace, factories, department stores, and Japanese manners and customs, showing them Japanese "civilization" and creating attitudes that would lead to acceptance of Japanese rule.

Arousal of worker morale continued from the days of German rule. For example, things seen as hindrances to labor, such as dances, festivals, alcohol, and visits to common meeting houses (bai in Palau, pebai in Yap), were forbidden or controlled under both regimes. Establishment of hospitals and sanitation programs was actively utilized more to engender good feelings towards Japan than to actually improve the health and strength of local people.

Within the indoctrination program, military government authorities were especially enthusiastic about educational and religious aspects.

"The Regulations for Elementary School in the South Seas Islands" (Nanyo Guonto Shogakko Kisoku) was established in 1915 to deprive educational activities of foreign missionaries. The religious primary schools in operation under German rule were prohibited. Educational activities through Christianity were suppressed. The same education proffered in Japan was implemented, with the aim of "making the local people Japanese." Subjects of emphasis were Japanese as "National Language," Moral Training and Japanese History. In schools, Japanese flags were raised, the Imperial Palace was venerated, and Japanese ceremonies were observed.

However, the military government authorities realized that this educational curriculum aimed at suddenly turning people Japanese was not suited to the local children. For example, the second commander, TOGO Yoshitaro, asserted that distinguishing between local people and Japanese was "natural reason" and called for a policy of "discriminatory impartiality" (Sabetsuteki Issi Dojin Seisaku).

Based on such attitudes, in 1918 "The Regulations for Elementary School in the South Seas Islands" was amended into "The Regulations for Local People's School in the South Seas Islands" (Nanyo Gunto Tomin Gakko Kisoku). Under the regulations, although the local people were still taught that submitting to the Emperor's will meant true happiness, they were seen as less than human and emphasis was placed on teaching them to fulfill their duties as beings ruled by Japan. Thus, the number of years of school was reduced from four-years to three-years, and the curriculum

emphasized practical subjects such as Japanese, agriculture, and home economics. The raising of the Japanese flag and the observance of Japanese ceremonies continued. These curriculum and ceremonies continued under the Mandate as well.

As for religion, the military government authorities initially tried to do away with the influence of Christianity. Recognizing that its influence on the local people was greater than they had expected, the military government authorities corrected course to a policy of using Christianity as a means of indoctrination. However, because the local people revered “white people,” the military government authorities were extremely wary that this would lead to a loss of Japanese dignity and that foreign missionaries were preaching anti-Japanese thought. Therefore, German missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church were all expelled as enemy aliens by 1919. Their replacement with Japanese missionaries was attempted, but for various reasons did not work out. Through negotiations with the Vatican, missionaries from Spain were welcomed, as that country was thought to have little anti-Japanese sentiment. As for Protestants, the Japanese Congregational Church was provided with a subsidy, and a South Sea Mission (Nanyo Dendo Dan) was organized and sent. Surveillance of European and American missionaries was stepped up.

Despite such policies Japanese government and Navy officials observing Micronesia pointed to repressive control backed with military force and “radicalism” as negative influences on indoctrination. Reports presented by staffs of Japanese government and Navy repeatedly mentioned problems with garrison and civilian government personnel displaying overbearing attitudes towards local people and using violence against them. Combined with the rapacious greed of the business dealings of Japanese traders, such policymaker attitudes were said to have engendered contemptuous feelings towards Japan. Reports said the difference between the model Japanese people they learned about in Japanese school and the actual Japanese they met in reality led local people to become confused about standards of good and evil and to think that they were simply being oppressed by an iron fist.

A report at the end of the naval administration pointed out that local people simply being overpowered by Japanese rule and furthermore having rebellious feelings are problems. That was the first point for improvement under the Mandate.

Trade Program and Colonization Program

After the Navy occupied Micronesia, in mainland Japan amidst rising cries that Micronesia was a treasure house of resources, expectations rose for business in and emigration to Micronesia. Military government authorities, however, judged that there was little prospect of large-scale development or immigration. They aimed rather at entering the resource-rich Outer South Seas, New Guinea and Indonesia for example, and developing Micronesia as a base for that operation.

As for trade, Germany's Jaluit Trading Company and Australia's Burns Philip Company had been active in the trade mainly of copra and miscellaneous goods since the time of German rule. They had earned the trust of the local people and built up a foundation for economic activity. Because under international law, foreign companies not from enemy countries could not be expelled, they were carefully watched. The American Atkins Kroll Company also had to be allowed to begin trading.

At that point, military government authorities began working to protect Japanese companies. They actively supported Nanyo Boeki Kabusiki Kaisha (South Seas Trading Company), which had opened branches around Guam and the other islands of Micronesia and had been trading there since the Spanish period, and that company began new activities. In more detail, in addition to providing a subsidy, the authorities allowed Nanyo Boeki Kabusiki Kaisha to inherit the Jaluit Trading Company's business and gave it the opportunity to expand beyond Micronesia and to establish a regular line with Japan.¹¹ Additionally, they had the company demonstrate national prestige around Micronesia and, following the example of German rule, had its branches on outlying islands assist with governing. Nanyo Boeki Kabusiki Kaisha sometimes acted in ways that interfered with the naval administration in order to pursue its own profit, but military government authorities had to depend on this company even while working to enforce the rules.

In addition, small companies looking to get rich quickly also came to Micronesia. Although military government authorities attempted to regulate them, trouble broke out with local people, and competition between companies led to mutual destruction. These circumstances led the South Seas Government to view economic policy as a priority for improvement. The decision to give one company a monopoly on the sugar

¹¹ Japanese government finally ordered Nippon Yusen Co., Ltd., one of the Japanese biggest shipping companies, to manage the regular line with mainland Japan and foreign countries from Micronesia.

industry, which supported the South Seas Government finances, was based on the experiences of the naval administration period.

In the development program, the mining of rock phosphate (on Angaur Island) and cultivation of coconut palms that were made with more efforts under German rule were further developed. The Navy managed rock phosphate beginning in 1915, and after the Mandate started, the South Seas Government took over its management. Phosphate had been major export good of Micronesia during Japanese administration. Learning from German coconut palm operations, organization and planting were encouraged, and coconut also became a major export of the naval administration period. For mine workers on Angaur Island, the method under German rule was continued, and local people were recruited from around Micronesia, or prisoners were used for labor. However, Japanese observation reports noted that the local people were dissatisfied with the work at Angaur Island from the start. South Seas Government kept up this recruiting system and also began to hire Japanese workers.

In other development programs, the Navy tested cultivation of crops such as sugarcane, cotton, and rice before deciding to develop sugarcane as a major industry.

The Navy drew companies to sugarcane as a saving business for the Mariana Islands, which were suffering from insect damage to their coconut palms. Commander of Military government reports saw the sugar industry as the most promising business for the region. Nishimura Takushoku Co., Ltd. and Nanyo Shokusan Co., Ltd. carried it out.

Most of these planting businesses had stalled by the end of the naval administration due to factors such as natural disasters, World War I recession, and inexperienced management. Workers brought in from the Korean peninsula, Okinawa, and mainland Japan grew destitute. Labor disputes and wage hikes followed one after another. In particular, a strike by Koreans mired in poor working conditions ended with management beating some of them to death. According to a report by observers sent from mainland Japan, the Koreans' demands were reasonable, and the problem stemmed from the historical discriminatory attitudes of Japanese towards Koreans.¹² With the Korean March 1st Movement of 1919 in the background, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was concerned that the incident would affect Japan's receipt of the

¹² Takeuchi Yasukichi, "Inspection Report of Kosrae Island," April 17th, 1920 (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920).

Mandate. The existence of such problems is likely why fewer Koreans were brought in for a time after the Mandate.¹³

After the trial-and-error initiatives on trade and colonization during the naval administration period, during the transition to the Mandate, the government began planning for the establishment of a full-fledged colonization company in Micronesia. Therefore, the national policy company in charge of the colonization program on the Korean peninsula, Toyo Takushoku Co., Ltd. obtained capital assistance, gathered sugar manufacturing technology and personnel from Taiwan and mainland Japan, and established Nanyo Kohatsu Co., Ltd., as a sugar industry specialist. The company saw securing a labor force as the key to success, so it actively recruited workers from Okinawa, where labor was cheaper and more abundant. There were so many immigrants from Okinawa that their numbers overwhelmed the local population. In terms of its population, Micronesia had indeed “turned Japanese.”

The Mariana Islands Under Naval Administration

In the Mariana Islands, most records made by Japanese inspectors concern the Chamorro people. In the records, military government authorities noted that the Chamorro people had been influenced by European culture, that their manners and customs were the most “advanced” of the peoples of Micronesia, and that they were confident they were a “superior race.”¹⁴ Records said that Chamorro should be watched as people who not only did not accept Japanese rule but also disliked Japan.

When the Mariana Islands were occupied by the Japanese military, crops were in serious trouble because of drought and insects. Therefore, the Navy administration in the Mariana Islands can be characterized by its efforts to rebuild agriculture and to address the anti-Japanese sentiments of the local people.

Rota and Saipan will be Examined as Examples of Crop Damage

On Rota, when World War I began, Germany was encouraging the planting of sweet potatoes. As drought continued, however, sweet potatoes died, so a chief of Rota, where food was scarce, sought help from the military government on Saipan. Reportedly, because there was no response from Saipan, they turned to the American Governor of Guam. According to reports, Japanese military government authorities

¹³ For further discussion of Korean immigration and wartime mobilization, see Imaizumi (2009).

¹⁴ Takushoku Kyoku (1919) is publication and official information about local people researched under Navy administration.

considered it routine for the Chamorro of Saipan and Rota to complain of a lack of food, so they dismissed it. That kind of response from the military government was at the core of the local people's dissatisfaction.¹⁵

On Saipan, after the de facto Japanese occupation began, crops failed. This caused great discontent among the residents. The reports explained the discontent is said to have increased because the local people of Saipan had appreciated Germany's efforts at governance. In more detail, in response to insect damage to coconut palms, military government authorities ordered the trees to be burned. They added other regulations to the management of coconut palms. These compulsory policies aroused antipathy of the Chamorros to Japanese administration. It is said that among the Chamorros, there was a superstition that the blighting of the coconut palms was brought about by the Japanese occupation. Furthermore, Japanese companies began developing wide swaths of land for sugarcane cultivation and so on. The Chamorro feared that the land where they grew coconut palms would be taken from them.¹⁶

With Chamorro dissatisfied with the responses of the military government authorities regarding the food and agriculture on which their lives depended, the military government and observers from the Japanese government warned that even if Chamorros showed outwardly pro-Japanese attitudes, that was only on the surface.

Besides the Above-Noted Responses from the Military Government, What Other Dissatisfactions did the Chamorro have?¹⁷

First, there was the poor attitude of the Japanese military personnel under the administration. For example, forcing their way into local homes and impregnating women. Second, there was antipathy towards the lifestyles of impoverished Japanese immigrants. Furthermore, under Japanese military occupation, travel to Guam, where Chamorros had many relatives and friends, was prohibited. Additionally, the expulsion of German missionaries was a serious inconvenience in their lives. Those factors were decisive in worsening anti-Japanese feelings. For those reason, Chamorros were less

¹⁵ Suzuki Ujimasa (the captain of Chihaya), "Inspection Report of Rota Island," July 26th, 1915 (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920).

¹⁶ "Enomoto Sanjikan Sisatu Hokoku Sono Ni" [Inspection Report of Micronesia (No.2) presented by Enomoto, a counselor of Ministry of Navy], accepted August 8th, 1918 (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920).

¹⁶ Blackeslee 1922, 105-106.

¹⁷ We can see this information in many reports such as vice admiral Tsuchiya Mitukane et. al., "Inspection Reports," June 3rd, 1918 (Kaigun Sho 1914-1920).

accepting of Japanese rule than other local people were. Indeed, many of them believed a return to German rule would be preferable.

The military government had to work to tighten discipline among military personnel and it allowed Spanish Roman Catholic missionaries to replace the expelled German missionaries. In response to the crop damage, however, it actually prioritized the sugar industry inviting a Japanese company and bringing in large numbers of workers from mainland Japan. As for land, just as the Chamorro feared, more than 80 percent of the Mariana Islands were confiscated as public land to be developed under the monopoly of Nanyo Kohatsu. As for development, many impoverished manual laborers from Okinawa were brought in. The Mariana Islands were developed by Japanese, and Japanese greatly outnumbered, the local population.

Conclusion

The provisions of the Mandate stated that it was to “promote the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants” who are still unable to be independent. Japan worked to fulfill its commission as the country accepting a class C Mandate for Micronesia.

When the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations reviewed Japan’s rule, the issues it pointed to were connected to the basic direction and related policies the Navy set for the rule of Micronesia under naval administration.¹⁸

For example, problems with the education policy the Japanese government emphasized as a main pillar of the Mandate were that it had half of all instruction time in Japanese, it included Moral Education based on the Emperor system, and it provided no educational opportunities beyond secondary school. Additional doubts were raised about the sugar industry occupying a monopolistic position in local industry. Local people had little involvement with the sugar industry, and the Commission expressed strong concern about the rapid increase in Japanese immigrants as threatening the local population.

The “repressive control” and “radical reform”, the methods of pursuing policy during the naval administration, were modified by the South Seas Government. As examined in this presentation, however, the basic direction of the Navy’s policies on the local

¹⁸ See Imaizumi (1994) For further discussion analysis the discussion , see Imaizumi (1994)..

people and the colonization program continued under the rule of the South Seas Government.

The reactions and opinions of the local people on the South Pacific Mandate needs to be examined in light of their experiences with and opinions of German rule and the naval administration period.

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Under the Gun

The US Stronghold at Mount Tenjo, Guam

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Abstract: *As the US tried to determine the best method to defend its new territory of Guam at the beginning of the 20th Century, several high level military boards met to discuss the problem. A reconnaissance officer was sent to the island to make observations. His recommendations, added to those of the board, would create a defense “not intended to hold out for any definite length of time but to hold out for as long as possible.” The method of defense would be to emplace so many guns on Guam that no country would be foolish enough to attack it and if they did, the guns of the Mount Tenjo redoubt, manned by 300 men (“to be sacrificed”), would allow the Orote Peninsula defenders to hold out as long as they could. The plan was enacted and troops arrived, planes landed, camps were built, and Guam was armed to the teeth.*

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US Navy Submarine Patrols to the Mariana Islands in World War II

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Abstract: *Patrols by US Navy fleet submarines operating from Pearl Harbor and Australia contributed to the US Navy's World War II seizure of the waters of the Marianas Archipelago from the Imperial Japanese Navy. US submarine missions evolved to meet the requirements of the US Navy Pacific Fleet – from the initial patrol of USS Thresher in February of 1942 until June of 1944 with the contributions of the US submarines in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. Their missions included solitary long range patrols and wolf pack operations along with support of carrier operations. In essence, US submarines provided the opening salvos in the Battle for the Mariana Islands that commenced in early 1944 with the sinking of Japanese military reinforcements sent to the islands. This presentation provides a critical review of these operations.*

The War in the Pacific was a conflict waged primarily on and for control of the Western Pacific Ocean. Upon the ocean the resources of commerce and warfare were almost entirely transported by ship. The scattered islands were thus dependent upon and impacted by the events on the ocean. During the war US Navy submarines performed a vital offensive role for the US Navy. From a few patrolling submarines in 1942, their presence increased in the waters of the Mariana Islands in 1943 as Saipan had become a focal point for Japanese wartime shipping. The next year, US submarines continually patrolled the waters of the Mariana Islands from February 1944 until the invasions of the islands of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian in the summer of 1944. These patrols contributed towards seizing control of these waters from the Imperial Japanese Navy by the US Navy during the war.

For purposes of this evaluation, the waters of the Mariana Islands are considered to be identical with the designated submarine Patrol Area 14 which encompassed the archipelago. The boundaries were north of Farallon de Pajaros at 21° North latitude to south of Guam at 13° North latitude and west of the archipelago at 140° East longitude to east of the islands at 147° East longitude.

The US Navy entered the war having developed the long range fleet submarines ideal for these patrols. This occurred since the 1920s with the advancement of submarines through a series of submarine classes. By 1941, the *Gato*-class submarines were being launched as the latest class of seventy-seven boats which bore a significant responsibility for the war patrols. These submarines were 312 feet long with a displacement of 1,525 tons and capable of an endurance of 11,000 miles with a surface speed of 20 knots and a submerged speed of 9 knots. Four diesel engines powered the submarine on the surface while also charging the batteries which provided the submerged power for the electric motors. *Gatos* had a listed diving depth of 300 feet which was exceeded on many instances. The submarines were armed with 21-inch torpedoes with six bow torpedo tubes and four stern torpedo tubes. For the first two years of the war, the torpedoes suffered depth control and detonation problems which impeded the effectiveness of the submarines. The submarines also mounted a deck gun and anti-aircraft guns. A crew of eighty-one officers and men was the usual wartime complement of the *Gato*-class submarines.

Innovations of electronic and related equipment were essential to the success of the fleet submarines. This included the torpedo data computer; the target bearing transmitter; SD, air search radar; SJ, surface search radar; sonar, and the bathythermograph along with use of the periscopes.

The missions of the patrolling submarines evolved as the war progressed commencing with the solitary appearance of *Thresher* off the Mariana Islands in February 1944. The initial coordinated submarine attack group, or wolf pack, to Patrol Area 14 was *Snook*, *Pargo*, and *Harder* in November 1943. Submarines provided the support for the initial US Navy carrier task groups that attacked the southern Mariana Islands on 23 February 1944 with *Apogon*, *Searaven*, *Sunfish*, *Skipjack*, and *Tang*. Photographic reconnaissance of the islands was provided by *Greenling* in April 1944. Multiple sector patrols of Patrol Area 14 commenced in April while rotating Pentathlon patrols started in May of 1944. Finally submarine scouting for the fleet was a role for fleet submarines west of the Mariana Islands during the Battle of the Philippine Sea in mid-June 1944 sinking Japanese carriers *Taiho* and *Shokoku*.

Depending on the situation, fleet submarines had several options for conducting torpedo attacks. This included attacks utilizing the target bearing transmitter, periscope, radar, sonar, or a combination of sources to obtain target information. Further, the attacks could be on the surface or submerged and similarly determined by day or night. While preferring firing torpedoes at the broad side of the enemy ships,

situations could dictate a “down the throat” attack or an “up the kilt” attack. A particularly useful method of approach was the “end around maneuver” where, once the enemy convoy’s course and speed were determined, the submarine paralleled the enemy course at a distance, maintaining contact with the enemy ships by radar, periscope, or lookouts, to achieve a position ahead of the enemy’s course and then submerge to await the convoy’s approach.

The initial US submarine torpedo attack on a Japanese ship in the waters of the Mariana Islands was on 4 February 1942 by *Thresher* on a small freighter near Guam. While the target appeared to be hit, no sinking was ever substantiated. The first confirmed sinking of a Japanese ship by an American submarine in these waters was by *Flying Fish* on 16 February 1943 of *Hyuga Maru*, a stores ship, near Pagan.

Bold approaches to fire torpedoes into harbors of the Mariana Islands were accomplished. On 1 August 1942, *Pickrel* closed onto an anchored merchant ship in Sasajayan Bay, Rota to fire torpedoes to possibly damage the ship. Later, *Flying Fish* in January and February of 1943 conducted daring closures on harbors of the islands to sink enemy ships. This included firing torpedoes into Apra Harbor, Guam to damage the anchored *Tokai Maru* on 26 January, later sunk in Apra Harbor by torpedoes from *Snapper* on 27 August 1943, and damaging the anchored *Nagisan Maru* in Sunharon Roadstead, Tinian on 6 February. On 28 June 1943 *Tunny* torpedoed and sunk *Shokoku Maru* in daylight within sight of Rota.

Submarine guns were also used to attack the Japanese in the Mariana Islands. On 9 May 1943 *Permit* conducted a bombardment of Pagan with the four-inch deck gun. On 17 September 1943 *Gudgeon* engaged the Japanese minelayer *Fumi Maru No. 2* with the five-inch gun in the Rota Channel. A special mission deserves mention. On 18 April 1944 a boarding party from *Tambor* boarded a Japanese ship en-route to Wake and seized the new Japanese code books. Then the enemy ship was subsequently sunk. Lifeguarding, the rescue at sea of downed Navy airmen, was an assigned submarine responsibility for the US Navy carrier strikes of 23 February by *Sunfish* and later in June 1944 by *Pipefish* and *Stingray* during the pre-invasion carrier strikes on Saipan.

Japanese naval forces were diligent in attempting to protect their wartime shipping with Saipan’s Tanapag Harbor the primary harbor of the Mariana Islands utilized during the war. This included utilizing a wide variety of naval vessels for convoy escorts from destroyers to converted trawlers as numerous merchant ships were acquired for anti-submarine efforts. Seaplanes based at Flores Point on Saipan and

bombers from the Ushi Point Airfield on Tinian provided aerial escorts. By 1943, the Japanese utilized land based radar on Saipan to locate surfaced nearby US submarines to then direct ships and aircraft to attack these submarines. The primary Japanese anti-submarine weapon was the depth charge. However, to the advantage of the US submarines, the Japanese set their depth charges to explode too shallow to sink submarines and in many instances broke off these attacks too early.

Only one US submarine, *Gudgeon*, with orders to patrol the waters of the Mariana Islands was lost to Japanese anti-submarine warfare. *Gudgeon*, to the north of the islands headed for the Mariana waters, was sunk near Iwo Jima on 18 April 1944 by a direct bomb hit dropped by a patrolling Japanese Mitsubishi G3M Nell bomber. There were no survivors of the crew of seventy-nine on the submarine's twelfth war patrol.

By the war years the US Navy submarine patrols ordered to the Mariana waters and Japanese ships sunk in Patrol Area 14 are summarized as follows:

1942: 4 submarine patrols; no Japanese ships sunk.

1943: 20 submarine patrols; 7 Japanese ships sunk of 26,551 tons.

1944: 28 submarine patrols; 30 Japanese ships sunk of 129,637 tons.

This clearly indicates the increasingly effectiveness of the US submarine operations in Patrol Area 14 primarily based upon increasing numbers of submarines, improved tactics and equipment, and more reliable torpedoes.

The most productive submarine patrols to the Mariana Archipelago were:

Tang sinking five ships in February 1944 on the submarine's first war patrol.

Seahorse sinking four ships in April 1944 on the submarine's fourth war patrol.

Sand Lance sinking five ships in May 1944 on the submarine's second war patrol.

Shark sinking four ships in June 1944 on the submarine's first war patrol.

The determination of US submarines to pursue Japanese ships in Patrol Area 14 is superlatively illustrated by the efforts of a coordinated submarine attack group, *Pintado*, *Pilotfish*, and *Shark*, called Blair's Blasters, from 29 May to 8 June 1944. For several days the three submarines pursued several Japanese convoys sinking seven Japanese ships. Especially decimated was Japanese convoy 3530 that arrived in Saipan on 7 June with only two transports from eight transports that had left Tateyama, Japan on 29 May. This includes the last two submarine sinkings of Japanese ships by a US submarine in Patrol Area 14, by *Pintado*, on 6 June of *Kashinasan Maru* and *Havre*

Maru. The impact of the missing transports of convoy 3530 was the loss of men and equipment of the Japanese 43rd Japanese Army Division sent to reinforce the Mariana Islands.

Previously submarine attacks of *Rock*, *Trout*, and *Nautilus* on Higashi Matsu Convoy No. 1 in February 1944 sank at least one ship and damaged a second ship. This resulted in the loss of men and equipment from the 29th Japanese Army Division. Cumulatively submarine attacks resulted in loss of Japanese reinforcements of men and equipment being sent to the Mariana Islands in early 1944 thus diminishing the Japanese resources to defend the islands. Many ships sunk returning to Japan were attempting to evacuate civilians that perished with the ships' losses.

Perhaps the most significant impact on the Japanese war effort in the waters of the Mariana Islands was the physiological impact of the submarine attacks that generated fear to head toward and leave the ports of the islands. This is best illustrated by the stalking by *Whale* on the night of 25 May 1943 of *Shoei Maru* on a night voyage from Guam to Saipan to be suddenly without warning devastated by a torpedo attack at 0014 sinking *Shoei Maru* in four minutes, eighteen miles west of Rota, along with the loss of men of the Japanese Fifth Base Force.

Certainly the sinking of Japanese ships resulted in the loss of manpower and material resources to the Japanese war effort in the Mariana Islands in addition to loss of food on the islands. The efforts of the US submarines also forced the Japanese Navy to commit scarce resources to anti-submarine efforts. Thus the submarines contributed to the US Navy's seizure of the waters of the Mariana Islands during the war which, along with seizing control of the air, were the two essential requirements to achieve, prior to the invasions of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian in the summer of 1944.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

U.S. Navy Submarine Patrols to the Mariana Islands in World War II

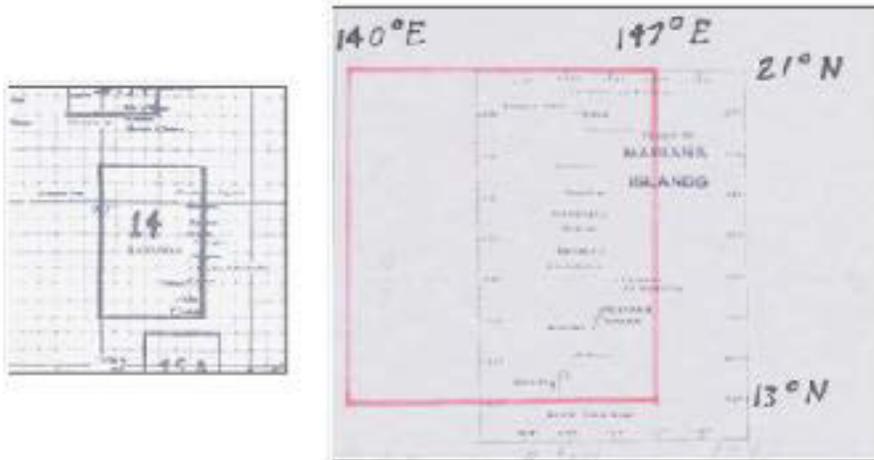


Dave Lotz

Mariana Islands



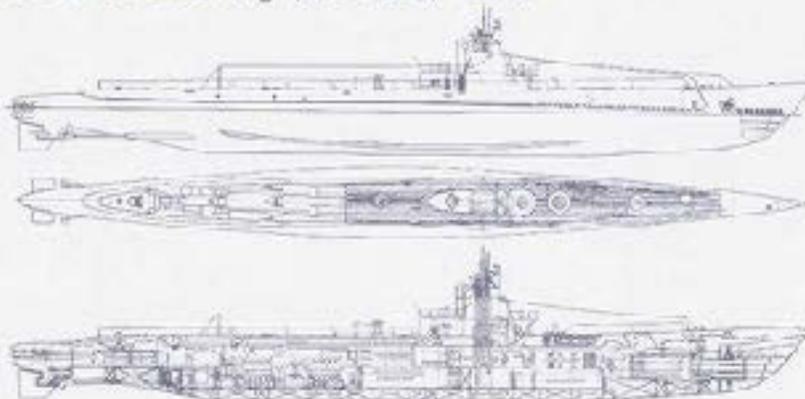
Patrol Area 14



U.S Navy World War II Fleet submarine



USS Greenling (SS213), 1943



<p>NUMBER: BUREAU NO. 100-10, DRAWING NO. 100-10-1</p> <p>DATE: 11 APRIL 1943</p> <p>APPROVED: 20 SEPTEMBER 1943</p> <p>DESIGNED: 15 OCT - 21 FEB 1943</p> <p>CONSTRUCTION: 20 FEB - 10 JULY 1943</p> <p>DIMENSIONS: LENGTH - 91' 4" 3/4 BEAM - 27' 2"</p> <p>DISPLACEMENT: SURFACE - 500 TONS SUBMERGED - 340 TONS</p>	<p>ARMAMENT: GUNS - 1" (50 CAL) 4 50 CAL</p> <p>PROPULSION: 2 DIESEL ENGINES - 1750 HP EACH</p> <p>RAVISION: ENGINE - 1 500 HP 500</p> <p>SYSTEMS: ELECTRIC - 240 V 60 CY</p> <p>SAVES: 1000 TONS 1000 TONS</p> <p>TRIALS: SURFACE - 20.5 KTS SUBMERGED - 8.5 KTS</p> <p>OPERATING: CRUISE - 1</p> <p>HAZARD: ENLITED - 1</p> <p>HAZARD: OPERATING DEPTH - 100'</p>
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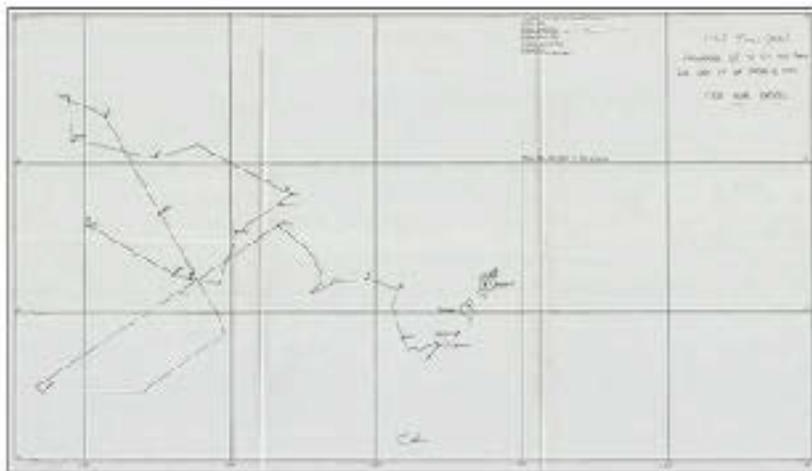
Thresher February 1942



**Wolfpack of *Snook*, *Pargo*, and *Harder*
November 1943**



***Apogon*, *Searaven*, *Sunfish*, *Skipjack*, and
Tang supporting carrier raids of 23 February
1944 sinking six escaping Japanese ships**



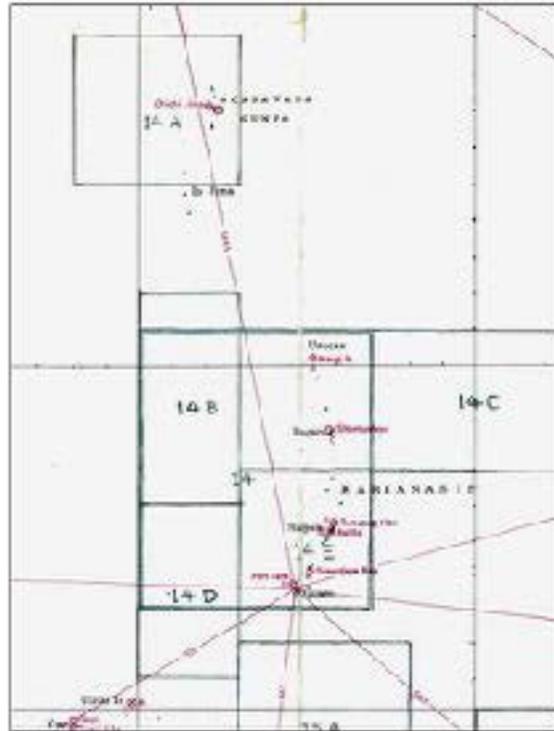
Greenling
April 1944 Photographic Reconnaissance



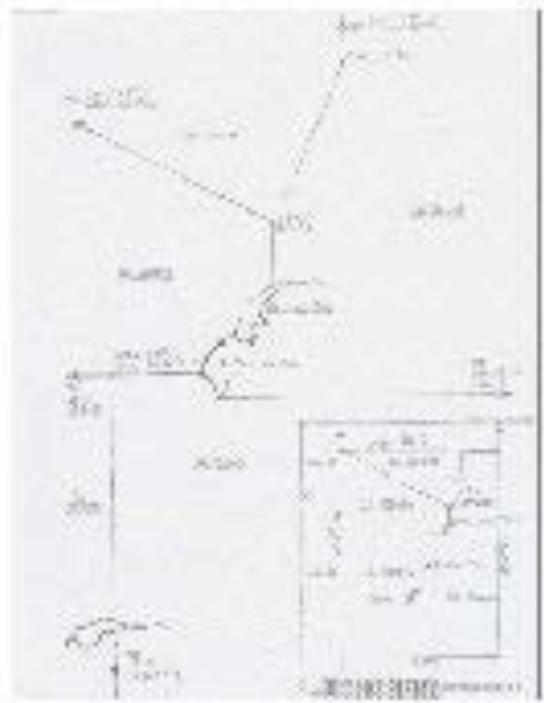
Laulau Bay Saipan from *USS Flying Fish*
March 1943



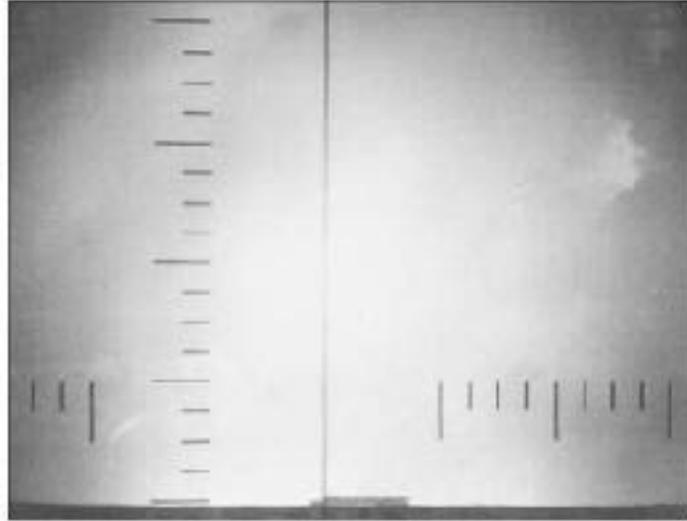
Sector Patrols April 1944



Pentathlon Patrols May 1944



Battle of the Philippine Sea 19 June 1944



Types of torpedo attacks

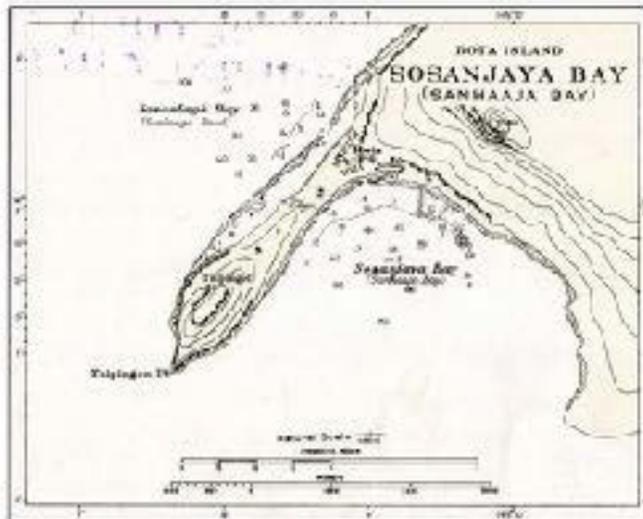
Submerged
Surface
Day
Night
Radar
Sonar
Down the Throat
Up the Kilt
End Around
Maneuver



First sinking: *Flying Fish* torpedoes
Hyuga Maru near Pagan on
16 February 1943.



Bold Approaches:
Pickerel on 1 August 1942



Apra Harbor, Guam



Tokai Maru



***Flying Fish on 26 January and
Snapper on 27 August 1943***

Flying Fish on 6 February 1943 damaging Nagisan Maru



Shotoku Maru off Rota



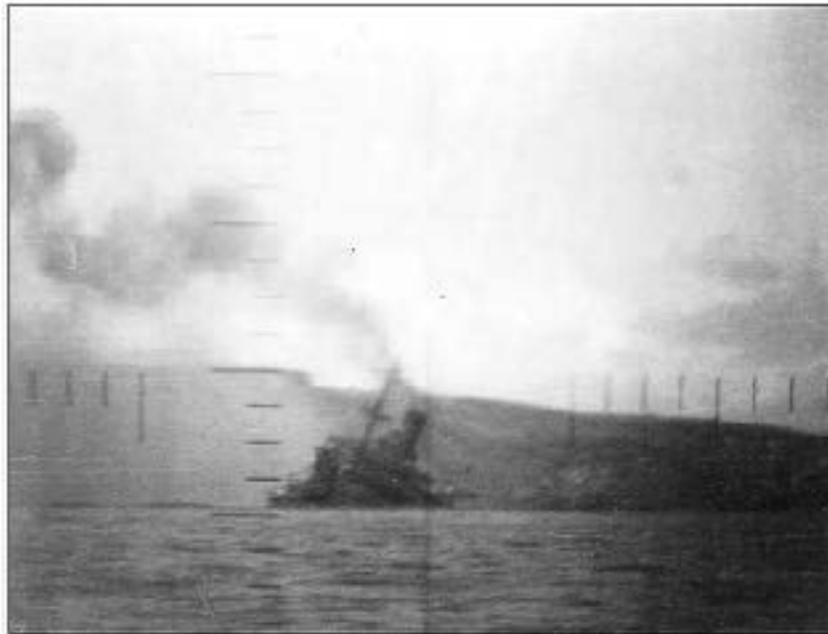
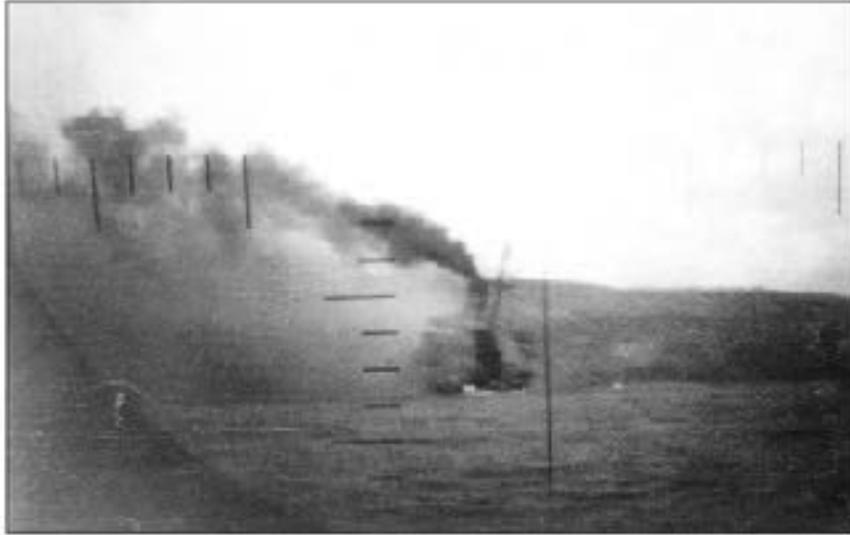
28 June 1943



Torpedo attack by *Tunny*



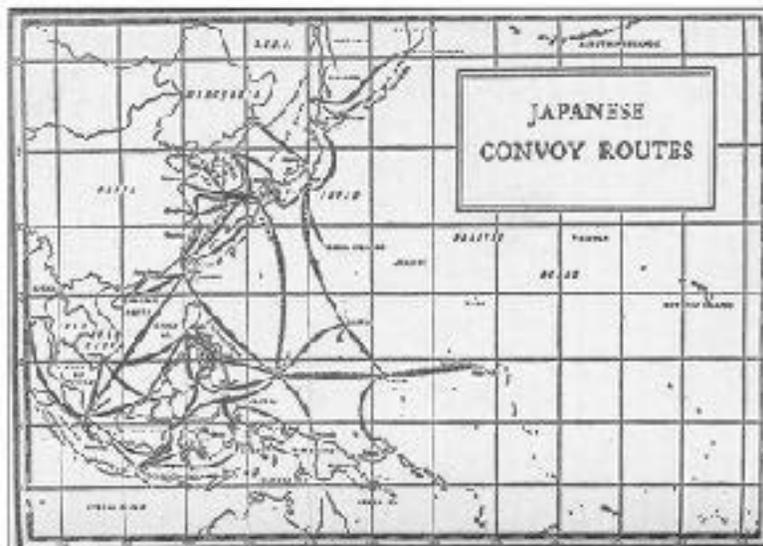
2 torpedoes hit



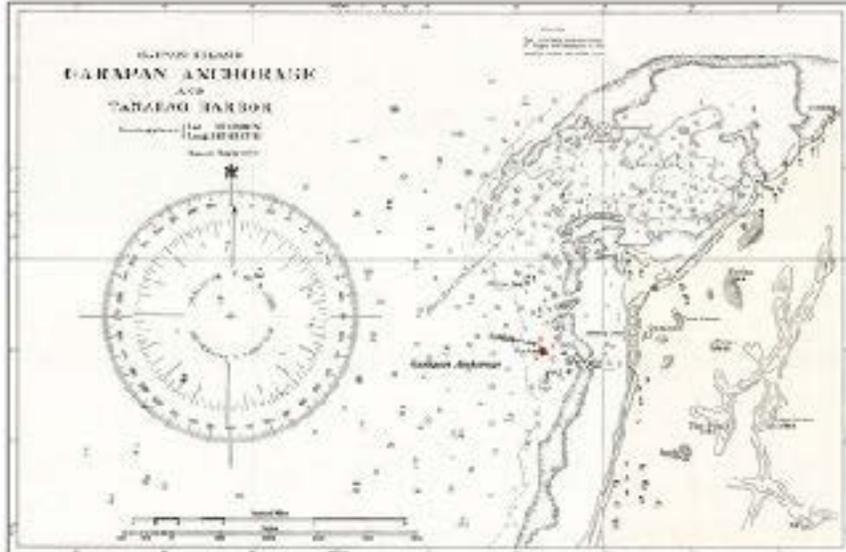
Diverse roles

- *Permit* gun bombarded Pagan on 9 May 1943.
- *Gudgeon* engaged *Fumi Maru No. 2* in a gun duel in the Rota Channel the night of 17 September 1943.
- A *Tambor* boarding party obtained Japanese codes from a Japanese ship en-route to Wake on 18 April 1944.
- Lifeguarding, the rescue at sea of downed Navy aircrews.

Japanese Convoy Routes



Saipan's Tanapag Harbor: the principal port for Japanese shipping in the Mariana Islands



Warships Escorted Transports to the Islands



Destroyers



Converted trawlers



**As seen on *Mingo's* patrol of
October to November 1943**

Japanese Naval Aircraft

- Flying primarily from Flores Point Seaplane Base on Saipan and Ushi Point Airfield on Tinian.
- Kawanishi H6K Mavis & H8K Emily flying boats
- Mitsubishi G4M Betty bombers
- Mitsubishi F1M Pete seaplanes

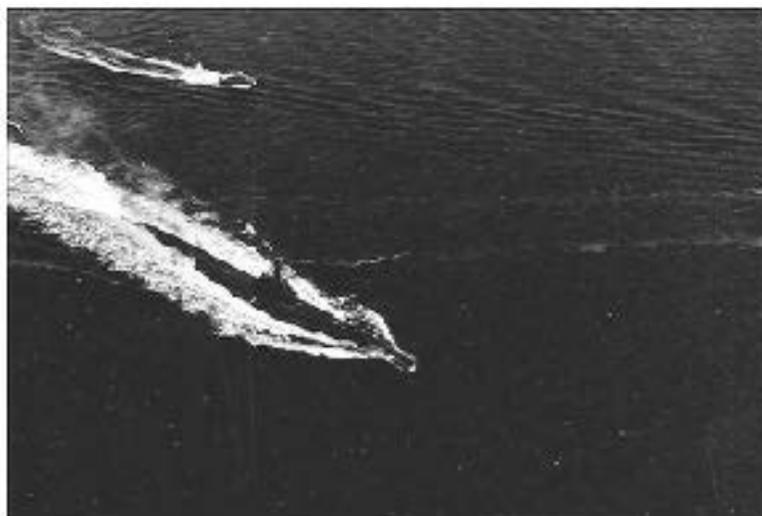
Patrol Area 14 results

- 1942 4 submarine patrols no sinkings
- 1943 20 submarine patrols 7 ships sunk of 26,551 tons
- 1944 28 submarine patrols 30 ships sunk of 129,637 tons

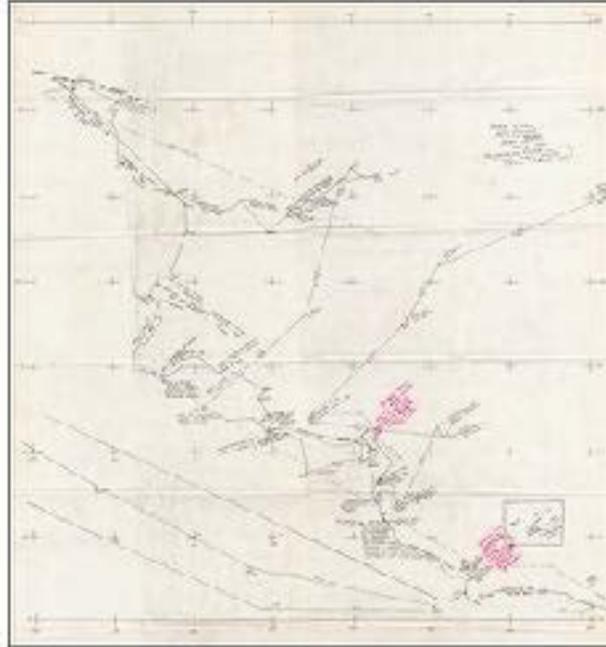
Tang, 5 ships sunk in February 1944
Sand Lance, 5 ships sunk in May 1944



Pintado, *Pilotfish*, and *Shark 29*
May to 8 June 1944



7 ships sunk



Impact on the War in the Marianas Archipelago



- Convoy Higashi Matsu No. 1 lost 1 ships and 1 damaged carrying the 29th Japanese Army Division to the islands in February 1944.
- Convoy 3530 lost 7 ships, with men and equipment, in May to June 1944 transporting the 43rd Japanese Army Division to the islands.
- Overall loss of manpower, supplies, and equipment and the fear of ocean travel to submarine attacks.
- Whale stalking *Shoei Maru* on the night of 25 May 1943 departing Guam for Saipan to be sunk west of Rota in four minutes. Loss was men from the Japanese Fifth Base Force.
- Japanese civilians lost being evacuated to Japan.

Remnants in the Islands



Aratama Maru in Talofofu Bay, Guam



David Lotz holds a BS in Park Management from Colorado State University, 1969 and an MS in Park Management from Michigan State University, 1977. He worked as Parks Administrator at the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation from 1984-1996, and as the Conservation Resources Element Chief, Andersen AFB, from 2009-2011. He has been a member of the Guam Historic Preservation Review Board since 2012. Lotz contributed to the establishment of the historic preservation program on Guam and has been active in preservation issues on Guam. He is the author

of *World War II Remnants* and *The Best Tracks on Guam*.

Representations of War Memories on Guam from Three Perspectives Chamorro, Japanese and American

By Ryu Arai

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Abstract: *Presently, Guam holds some memorial services for the victims of the Japanese occupation and WWII every July; for instance at Manenggon, Tinta, Faha and Fena. Moreover, every July 21, the “Liberation Parade,” which celebrates the “liberation of Guam,” is held on the island. This presentation considers war memories on Guam from three perspectives – “Chamorro”, “Japanese” and “American”. It examines the representation of war memories in commemorative events, specifically paying attention to the “empathy” for the people’s situation on the island during that war expressed at the annual memorial services and “Liberation” ceremonies. This presentation thus takes account of the social circumstances in post war Guam that affect representation of war memories on the island.*

The Mariana Islands has a long history of being colonized by various powers for more than 350 years – Spain, Germany, Japan and the United States, beginning in 1668. In the early 20th century, the islands became a military strategic arena that the US and Japan struggled for and against each other. The two wars were the turning point of expansion of the two countries toward the Marianas: the Spanish-American War in 1898 and World War I in 1914¹. After these wars, the Mariana Islands were divided into two parts. The northern part of the island chain became a part of “Nanyo Gunto,” which was administrated by Japan. The island of Guam, the southernmost of the islands, was under the rule of the US.

In short, the Spanish-American War and WWI were the cause of tense relationships between the US and Japan in the Marianas. Because of the oppositional relationship between these countries, a large number of people in the Mariana Islands became

¹ Camacho, Keith L., *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2011, p.22.

involved in World War II. Many civilians in the islands were injured and killed because of this war.

Presently, Guam has memorial services for the victims of the Japanese occupation of Guam and WWII every July at Manenggon, Tinta, Faha and Fena. July is an important month for remembering the Japanese occupation and WWII on Guam as this is when memorial services are held on the island. These memorial services are sponsored by the local community, memorial foundations and other such groups. Various people take part in these memorials such as members of the Guam Legislature, the governor of Guam, members of the US military forces and Guam National Guard, Consul General of Japan, some Japanese civilians on Guam, the survivors of the wartime and others. Besides attending these services, people have conversations with each other after the memorial services, which serves to strengthen relationships between participants. In short, the people who participate in the memorials might turn their own thoughts to the wartime period, in particular to the war experiences of their families and relatives.

Moreover, every July 21, a “Liberation Parade” which celebrates the “liberation of Guam” is held on the island.

On December 8, 1941 Guam was bombed by Japanese military aircraft. Two days later, Japanese military forces landed and soon occupied Guam. The Japanese occupation of Guam lasted for two years and seven months, and then on July 21, 1944, the US forces landed on Guam which was the beginning of the battle of Guam. In post war Guam, July 21 became the day to celebrate the “liberation” of Guam from the Japanese occupation. On this day a large number of people gather along Marine Corps Drive, one of the main streets of Guam, to watch the parade. The event also has a wide variety of participants, the same as with the memorial services, and we can learn a part of the representation of the “Liberation of Guam” by paying attention to the participants of the events.

In this presentation, I consider war memories on Guam from three perspectives: “Chamorro,” “Japanese” and “American.” In other words, I examine the representation of war memories in these commemorative events. Specifically, I have focused on the “empathy” for the people’s situation on the island during that war through the memorial services and “Liberation” ceremonies that various people take part in.

For that reason, it is important to take into account the social circumstances of post war Guam which have had an effect on the representations of war memories on the island.

Final Days of the Japanese Occupation

In the last days of the Japanese occupation, Japanese forces were gradually forced into a corner because the course of the war had turned against Japan. The situation of the Japanese troops on Guam was also getting worse which brought about brutalities and atrocities toward the indigenous people of Guam. They requisitioned food from the Chamorro people to feed themselves and forced the Chamorro people to move to concentration camps set up by the Japanese military forces. In books about the general history of Guam such as *A Complete History of Guam, Destiny's Landfall* and *Guahan Guam*, the authors showed that Chamorros were forced to walk a long and rugged road to concentration camps². Manenggon Valley was the one of these camps.

Moreover, at Tinta, Faha, Fena, Chagui'an and other such places, people who were considered to be pro-American and young Chamorro men were killed by the Japanese forces because of their perceived threat of possible secret communication with the US forces. In those days, the Japanese military headquarters in Guam could not communicate with the Japanese forces in Saipan so they did not know when or even if D-day of the US forces would be upon them. They had become nervous about the landing of the US military forces which is the reason for the brutalities and atrocities by the Japanese military forces occurred frequently in the end of the occupation. In addition, some Chamorros in the Northern Marianas worked as assistants for the Japanese military forces, and the situation made for a tense relationship between Chamorros of Guam and Chamorros of the Northern Marianas. This poor relationship was one of the results of colonialism and war caused by the opposition between the US and Japan. On July 21, 1944, the US military forces landed on. The battle against the Japanese military forces continued for about twenty days. The US forces "reoccupied" Guam on August 10.

Memorial Services

As I explained above, memorial services and ceremonies take place in Guam every July since the end of World War II. At this time, I would like to give two examples of

² Carano, Paul & Sanchez, Pedro C., *A Complete History of Guam*, the Charles E. Tuttle, 1964, pp. 286-288.; Sanchez, Pedro C., *Guahan Guam: The History of our Island*, Sanchez Publishing House, 1987, pp.220-223, pp.227-228.; Rogers, Robert F., *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1995, pp.171-172.

memorial services for the people who suffered and died in the Japanese occupation of Guam and during the war. I visited Guam and observed the memorial services and ceremonies including Manenggon and Chagui'an on July 2011. The observation reminds of me that it is significant to focus on the participants in the memorial services and ceremonies because there might be some perspectives to be learned about the war time on Guam. The perspectives are about "Chamorro," "Japanese" and "American" which I describe in this presentation.

Japanese

A variety of participants attend the memorial services. Some of these are the war survivors and their families, senators of the Guam Legislature, some US military officers, Japanese voluntary people, and many others. It is notable that various people participate in the memorials for Chamorros who suffered and died during the occupation and the war. The memorial services consist of torch lighting, reflections by survivors, a memorial Catholic Mass, laying of wreaths and other such things. It is also notable that the Consul General of Japan and other Japanese residents of Guam attend the memorial services in recent years. It was in 2004 that the Consul General of Japan began to participate in the memorial services, according to the Pacific Daily News³. The Japan Consul General made a speech showing feelings of sympathy and apologized to the people of Guam who suffered and died during the wartime⁴. At the Manenggon Memorial Service in 2011, the Consul General had a conversation with one of the speakers who had reflected about she and her family's war experiences.⁵ The attendance of the Consul General of Japan is a remarkable thing because it is the top position of the Consulate General which belongs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. His participation in the memorial services gave him an opportunity to listen to the sharing of war memories between the participants who come from a variety of backgrounds, even though they opposed each other at one time. From the "Japanese" perspective, it is an opportunity to show "empathy" for the people who suffered and died on Guam during the wartime through the attendance of the memorials.

³ Pacific Daily News, July 22, 2005, p. 4.

⁴ Ibid., July 11, 2010, p. 3.

"Today, having the opportunity to attend the memorial service and to lay a wreath, I truly express feelings of deep sympathy and sincere apology as a husband, a father and a human being that the people of Guam became (victims)";

Ibid., July 16, 2005, p. 2.

"I want to express my profound condolences and deepest sympathies to all the Chamorro people who lost their lives and to those who survived and experienced physical and mental pain"

"I laid the flowers at Tinta and Faha today as an expression of my heartfelt apologies"

⁵ Marianas Variety, July 11, 2011, p. 1.

Chamorro

At the Manenggon memorial service, the Chamorro survivors who experienced internment at Manenggon Valley told their stories in front of the participants. People also spoke about war memories at the Chagui'an Memorial Service, but they did not include the survivor's reflections. These are exactly the places where they suffered, and they spoke about their own experiences in the same place. It would be easy for survivors to recall their own situation in those days but their narrative in the memorial service was just a part of their whole war experience. This practice of talking about these memories might be difficult for the survivors because their experiences were often hard. Sometimes, they had to stop as they could not tell their wartime stories in front of people. When we consider the meanings of telling their stories in front of people, it is necessary to turn our thoughts to their real experiences as we experience empathy for them. It is meaningful for Japanese, Chamorros and Americans to attend these memorials and have conversation with each other, especially the Japanese because they can hear the survivors and their family's stories about these times. The real feelings of empathy for the occupation and war victims might be the first step for sharing the survivor's stories of war time Guam.

American

In post war Guam, "July 21" is the day to celebrate the "liberation" of Guam from the Japanese occupation and a big parade is held which many people take part in. Each year a theme is set for celebrating "Liberation Day." For example, the theme of 2011 Liberation Day was "Our Man'amko... Our Legacy".⁶ There were a variety of floats in the parade, and it is also significant to remark on the fact that all kinds of people participated in the Liberation Parade including the survivors who suffered in the occupation and the war, the Governor and Senators of Guam, the personnel of Guam National Guard, US military forces, government agencies personnel and other such groups and people. In particular, it is interesting to take notice of the "Liberation Queen". The contest of "Liberation Queen" has a long history, having been held on the island for nearly 70 years. It is meaningful that the Queen crowned with the name of "Liberation," and the word of "liberation" shows the position of Guam from 20th century to 21st century. The island has connected with the military during this period and is now home to several US military bases. For that reason, the war memory represented by the crown of "liberation" always follows two important elements: the US as the "liberator" and Japan as the "occupier".

⁶ "Man'amko" is Chamorro language, and it means elders in English.

The “Liberation Queen” is the symbolic existence of the “liberation” of Guam. The events of Guam’s Liberation commemoration have lasted for nearly 70 years which has surely strengthened ties between Guam and the US. Considering the events of “liberation” from the “American” perspective, on the one hand, they built the military bases and facilities on the island, but on the other hand, they tried to strengthen the relationship between Guam and the US. In short, there is the true intention of the US, securing the island of Guam as the military strategic point, in the back of the representation of “liberation.” Moreover, the “Liberation Queen” is not just a winner of the beauty contest because the candidates of the contest often join the memorial services and ceremonies as to the occupation and WWII on Guam. The queen’s role is to promote a better understanding of the wartime Guam through the participation in the commemorative events including the memorial services and the “Liberation Parade” on that day. Her participation could be a valuable experience for her to learn about the ravages of war on Guam even if the representation of war memory is often influenced by the crown of “liberation.” Above all, the queen as well as all the participants get an opportunity for considering the wartime Guam through the participation in the commemorative events.

Conclusion

The representation of war memories is likely influenced by the social circumstances of Guam. In particular, the participation of the Consul General of Japan at the war memorial services is one of the typical examples of this point because the Consul General had not participated in the memorials for Chamorros who suffered and died during the wartime Guam before 2004. The year of 2004 is the 60th anniversary of the end of the war in the Marianas, and the anniversary might be related to the participation of the Consul General of Japan in the memorials. Japan could not ignore the commemorative activities on the island.

There were some movements about the commemoration of war memories on Guam in the early 2000’s such as new panel exhibitions, a new calendar of war memories on the island and other such things. The commemorative movements may be related to the activities of Guam War Claims Review Commission, established in 2002. One of the commission’s activities was collecting oral testimonies from the survivors and their families who suffered in the wartime Guam. The activity may have had an effect of stimulating once buried war memories, which led the people to share survivor’s stories in the occupation and the war on the island. We may find that the connection between

the remembrance of war memories and the war claims by giving attention to a chain of events on Guam in the early 2000's.

And then, in considering the relationship between the representations of war memories and the social circumstances, it is most important to take into account the presence of the US military forces on Guam. As I mentioned before, the personnel of Guam National Guard and the US military forces take part in the memorial services for Chamorros who suffered and died in the wartime and the events of "Liberation Day". On the one hand, the US troops might be seen as "the liberator" in Guam, but on the other hand, they took over more than half of the land belonging to the Chamorro people for use as military land soon after the war. The US Navy and Air Force bases have continued to occupy much of the land of Chamorros until now. In short, we can't refer to the issue of the succeeding war memories in Guam without paying close attention to the military forces on the island, especially the US troops.

In addition, Japan Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF) has been to Guam a number of times for a port of call as a part of the ocean navigation in the post war. In recent years, Japan Ground Self Defense Force (JGSDF) and Japan Air Self Defense Force (JASDF) also conducted joint military exercises with the US military forces on the island. This means that the military organization of Japan has also connected with the island in the post war. I have not analyzed in detail on the relationship between the Japan Self Defense Forces and Guam in the post war period yet, but it is necessary to research that point.

I described about the representation of war memories on Guam from three perspectives of "Chamorro," "Japanese" and "American" in this presentation. It is required to analyze more examples which related to the representations of war memories on Guam and compare with the case in the Northern Marianas in future study. My study will continue to focus on the complicated circumstances of the representations of war memories in the whole Mariana Islands.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Representations of War Memories on Guam from Three Perspectives of “Chamorro”, “Japanese” and “American”

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Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan
Ryu ARAI

The historical background of the Marianas

The Mariana Islands has a history that has been colonized from the powers for over 350 years, for example, Spain, German, Japan and the United States.

- * The two wars are the turning point of expansion of the two countries toward the Marianas: the Spanish-American War in 1898 and WWI in 1914.
- * The Spanish-American War and WWI made the cause of a tense relationship between the U.S. and Japan in the Marianas.

The commemorative events on Guam

Presently, Guam has some memorial services for the victims of the Japanese occupation and WWII every July, for instance, Manenggon, Chagui'an, Tinta, Faha and Fena.

- * These memorial services were sponsored by the local communities, the memorial foundations and other such groups.

The commemorative events on Guam

A variety of people would take part in these memorials, and they might have a conversation with each other after the memorials.

- * All kinds of people who participate in the memorials might turn their own thoughts to the wartime period, for example, the war experiences of their families and relatives.

The commemorative events on Guam

Every July 21, "Liberation Parade" which celebrates the "liberation of Guam" is held on the island.

- * In the post war Guam, "July 21" became the day cerebrate the "liberation" of Guam from the Japanese occupation.
- * The event has also various kinds of participants the same as the memorial services, and we can see a part of the representation of the "Liberation of Guam" by paying attention to the participants of the events.

The aim of my presentation

My goal is to examine the representations of war memories on Guam from three perspectives of "Chamorro," "Japanese" and "American."

- * I would like to pay attention to the "empathy" for the people's situation on the island during that war through the memorial services and "Liberation" ceremonies that various people take part in.
- * It is important to take account of social circumstances of the post war Guam. The circumstances have an effect on the representations of war memories on the island.

The structure of the main body

- 1, The circumstances of Chamorros in the end of the Japanese occupation and the war
- * 2, Memorial Services on Guam
- * 3, The representation of "Liberation"
- * 4, Conclusion

The circumstances of Chamorros in the end of the Japanese occupation and the war

The circumstances of Chamorros in the end of the Japanese occupation and the war

The situation of the Japanese troops on Guam was getting worse, and it brought about the brutalities and atrocities toward the indigenous people of Guam.

- * Chamorro people were forced to move to concentration camps set up by the Japanese military forces, especially at Manenggon.
- * Pro-American people and young Chamorro men were killed by the Japanese forces because of their threat of secret communication with the U.S. forces at Tinta, Faha, Fena, Chagu'an and other such places.

The circumstances of Chamorros in the end of the Japanese occupation and the war

Some Chamorros in the Northern Marianas were worked as assistants for the Japanese military forces, and the situation made a tense relationship between Chamorros in Guam and the Northern Marianas.

- * On July 21, 1944, the U.S. military forces landed on Guam and then the battle against the Japanese military forces continued for about 20 days. The U.S. forces "reoccupied" Guam on August 10.

Memorial Services on Guam

Memorial services on Guam

Two examples of the memorial services for the people who suffered and died in the Japanese occupation of Guam and the war; Manenggon and Chagui'an.

- * The research in 2011 reminds of me that it is significant to focus on the participants in the memorial services and ceremonies because there might be some perspectives about the wartime on Guam.
- * Those perspectives are “Chamorro,” “Japanese” and “American” which I describe in this presentation.

Memorial services on Guam

The program of Manenggon Memorial Service in 2011

1. Torch Lighting
Manenggon Survivors and Memorial
Foundation
2. Chamorro Blessing
Pa'a Taotao Tano
3. Panagl Chantierro
Kevin Iwashita
4. Reflections
Carl Gutierrez
Susie Arceo
5. Manenggon Memorial Mass
Anthony Sahlan Apuron, OFM, Cap., DD
Metropolitan Archbishop of Agaña

Bishop Eric Forbes, OFM, Cap
Concelebrant
6. Laying of Symbolic Wreaths
Consul General of Japan
U.S. Explorers Study
Peace Ring of Guam
Congresswoman Madalaine Z. Bordallo

Memorial services on Guam

Firstly, what I would like to mention firstly is kinds of people who take part in the memorial services, especially, on the "Japanese" perspective.

- * In the memorial services, a variety of participants were there, for example, the survivors in those days, Senators of the Guam Legislature, the U.S. military officers, Japanese voluntary people on Guam and other such people.

Memorial services on Guam

The memorial at Manenggon

Manenggon Memorial Service
In 2011



Memorial services on Guam

It is notable that Consul General of Japan and other Japanese voluntary groups attended the memorial service in recent years.

- * The Consul General made a speech for the people of Guam in the memorial services, and it showed the feelings of sympathy and apology for the people of Guam who suffered and died during the wartime.

Memorial services on Guam

The laying of wreath by Consul General of Japan at Manenggon



The laying of wreath by Consul General of Japan at Chagufan



Memorial services on Guam

It means that the memorial services give opportunities for sharing war memories between the participants who have a variety of backgrounds, even though they were opposed each other at once.

- * From the “Japanese” perspective, it is possible to get an opportunity of showing the “empathy” for the people who suffered and died on Guam during the wartime thorough the attendance of the memorials.

Memorial services on Guam

The Participants In the
Manenggon Memorial Service



The Participants in the
Chagui'an Memorial Service



Memorial services on Guam

Secondly, I will take notice of the relationship between the “place” and the “people” in the memorial services. In particular, I will focus on the “Chamorro” survivors.

- * In the Manenggon Memorial Service, the “Chamorro” survivors who experienced the internment at Manenggon Valley often told their stories in front of the participants of the memorial.
- * There is also the similar circumstance in the Chagui'an Memorial Service, but it doesn't include the survivor's reflections.

Memorial services on Guam

The program of Chagui'an Memorial Service in 2011 (Part 1)

1. Master of Ceremony
Vice Mayor Ronald J. Flores
2. Presentation of Colors
S. S. I. S. JROTC
3. Cultural Blessing
Gantao Lagii
4. Invocation
Fr. Patrick K. Q. Garcia
Our Lady of Lourdes Church
5. Tribute
S. S. I. S. JROTC
6. Prayer/Blessing
Fr. Patrick K. Q. Garcia
7. Introduction of Honored Guests
Vice Mayor Ronald J. Flores

Continue to next slide...

Memorial services on Guam

The program of Chagui'an Memorial Service in 2011 (Part 2)

from the previous slide...

8. Welcoming Remarks
Mayor Ruben S. Lizaola
9. Keynote Speaker
Tony Ramirez
Historic Resource Division, DPP
10. Laying of Memorial Wreath
Dignitaries, Families and Organizations
11. Rifle Volley
Guam Police Department
Special Operations Division
12. Sounding of Taps
PFC Jerald Roberto
Guam Army National Guard
13. Closing Remarks
Vice Mayor Ronald J. Flores
14. Benediction/Blessing
Fr. Patrick K. Q. Garcia

Memorial services on Guam

The white cross at Chagui'an

Chagui'an Memorial Service in
2011



Memorial services on Guam

When we consider about the meanings of telling their stories in front of the people, it is necessary to turn our thoughts to their real experiences behind the narrative. The “empathy” is a key term to do it.

- * It is meaningful for the various kinds of people to attend and have conversation with each other in the memorial services, especially, “Japanese” people because the memorials can be the “place” where sharing the survivors and their relative’s stories among the all of participants.

The representation of “Liberation”

The representation of “Liberation”

- * In addition, I would like to describe the representation of “Liberation Day” on Guam, especially from “American” perspective.
- * There are themes of the celebrating “Liberation Day” every year, for example, the theme of 2011 Liberation Day is “Our Man’amko... Our Legacy”

The representation of “Liberation”

The list of the themes in Liberation Day in Guam

2011

"Our Man'amko... Our Legacy"

* 2010

"Honoring our Heroes"

* 2009

"We are Guam... A Legacy of Our Ancestors"

* 2008

"Inafa' maolek: Inaguaiya yan kinenprendi para todü"

"Sharing: love and understanding for all"

* 2007

"the Spirit of Freedom"

The representation of “Liberation”

There are a variety of floats in the parade, and it is also significant to remark all kinds of people who participated in the Liberation Parade.



The representation of “Liberation”

In particular, it is interesting to take notice of “Liberation Queen.”

- * It is meaningful that the Queen crowned the name of “Liberation,” and the word of “liberation” shows the position of Guam from 20th century to 21st century.
- * The war memory represented by the crown of “liberation” always follows two important elements: the U.S. as the “liberator” and Japan as the occupier.

The representation of “Liberation”

The “Liberation Queen” is the symbolic existence of the “liberation” of Guam, and the events of “liberation” includes the purpose for strengthening the ties between Guam and the U.S.

- * There is the true intention of the U.S., securing the island of Guam as the military strategic point, in the back of the representation of “liberation.”

The representation of “Liberation”

The “Liberation Queen” in the Parade



The representation of “Liberation”

The “Liberation Queen” is not just a winner of the beauty contest because the candidates of the contest often join the memorial services and ceremonies as to the occupation and WWII on Guam.

- * The participation would be a valuable experience for paying attention to the ravages of war on Guam even if the representation of war memory is often influenced by the crown of “liberation.”

The representation of “Liberation”

The participation of “Liberation Queen” in the Manengggon Memorial Service



The participation of “Liberation Queen” in Chagui'an Memorial Service



Conclusion

Conclusion

I would like to point out that the representation of war memories could be influenced by the social circumstances around Guam.

- * In particular, the participation of the Consul General of Japan in the memorial services is one of the typical examples of this point because the Consul General had not participated in the memorials for Chamorros who suffered and died during the wartime Guam before 2004.

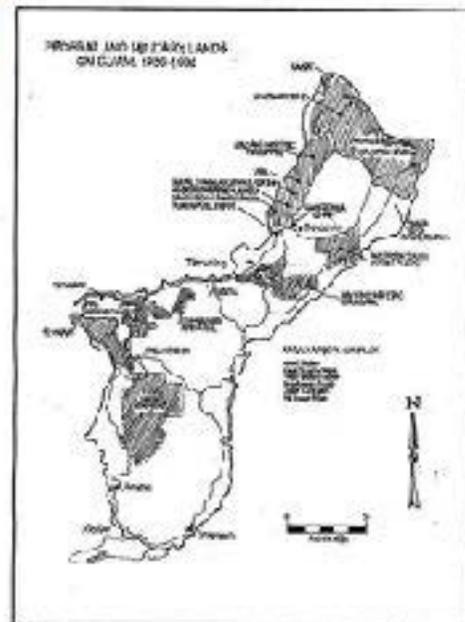
Conclusion

For considering about the relation between the representations of war memories and the social circumstances, it is most important to take account of the presence of the military forces on Guam.

- * On the one hand, the U.S. troops might be seen as “the liberator” in Guam, but on the other hand, they took over more than half of the land of Chamorro people for using as the military land soon after the war.

Federal and military lands on Guam, 1950-1990

we can't refer to the issue of the succeeding war memories in Guam without paying close attention to the military forces, especially the U.S. troops.



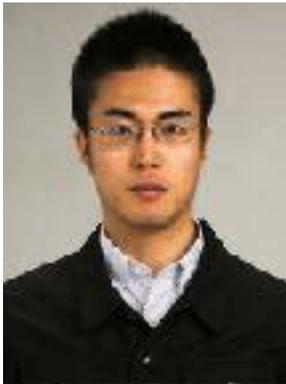
From Robert S. Anthony, *Guam: A History of the Island*, University of Guam Press, 1995, p. 102. <http://www.guamhistory.com>

Conclusion

Japan Self Defense Forces (JSDF) have been to Guam a number of times in the post war period.

- * It means that the military organization of Japan has also connected with the island in the post war.
- * It is required to analyze more examples which related to the representations of war memories on Guam and compare with the case in the Northern Marianas in future study.





Ryu Arai was born in Nagano pref., Japan in 1988, and received BA in social sciences at Shimane University in Japan in 2010 and an MA in social sciences at Hitotsubashi University in Japan in 2013, before enrolling as a doctoral student at Hitotsubashi University. Arai has studied Pacific history, US history and Modern Japanese history. Since the start of undergraduate schooling, Arai's research interest have included relations between Guam and Japan, and, more recently, on the tripartite relation, Guam, Japan and the US.