

ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN HERITAGE

Heritage and Memory of War

Responses from Small Islands

Edited by
Gilly Carr and Keir Reeves



Heritage and Memory of War

Every large nation in the world was directly or indirectly affected by the impact of war during the course of the twentieth century, and while the historical narratives of war of these nations are well known, far less is understood about how small islands coped. These islands—often not nations in their own right but small outposts of other kingdoms, countries, and nations—have been relegated to mere footnotes in history and heritage studies as interesting case studies or unimportant curiosities. Yet for many of these small islands, war had an enduring impact on their history, memory, intangible heritage and future cultural practices, leaving a legacy that demanded some form of local response. This is the first comprehensive volume dedicated to what the memories, legacies and heritage of war in small islands can teach those who live outside them, through closely related historical and contemporary case studies covering twentieth- and twenty-first-century conflict across the globe.

This volume investigates a number of important questions. Why and how is war memory so enduring in small islands? Do factors such as population size, island size, isolation or geography have any impact? Do close ties of kinship and group identity enable collective memories to shape identity and its resulting war-related heritage? This book contributes to heritage and memory studies and to conflict and historical archaeology by providing a globally wide-ranging comparative assessment of small islands and their experiences of war. *Heritage and Memory of War: Responses from Small Islands* is of relevance to students, researchers, heritage and tourism professionals, local governments and NGOs.

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First published 2015
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,
an informa business*

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

CIP data has been applied for.

ISBN: 978-1-138-83172-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-73643-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
Introduction: Islands of War, Islands of Memory GILLY CARR AND KEIR REEVES	1

SECTION I

Islands of Memory, Islands of Community

1 Islands, Intimate and Public Memories of the Pacific War in Fiji JACQUELINE LECKIE	19
2 Fragmented Memories: The Dodecanese Islands During WWII HAZAL PAPUCCULAR	36
3 From Poetic Anamnesis to Political Commemoration: Grassroots and Institutional Memories of the Greek Civil War on an Aegean Island ELENA MAMOULAKI	55
4 Islands of War, Guardians of Memory: The Afterlife of the German Occupation in the British Channel Islands GILLY CARR	75
5 Turncoat Heroes or Reckless Egotists?: The Ambivalent Memorialization of the ‘Russian War’ on the Dutch Island of Texel ROB VAN GINKEL	92

SECTION II

Islands of Tourism, Landscapes of War

- 6 The HMS *Royal Oak* and the ‘Ownership of Tragedy’ in Orkney 113
DANIEL TRAVERS
- 7 “*Tingbaot Wol Wo II Long Pasifik Aelan*”: Managing Memories of WWII Heritage in the Pacific 129
KEIR REEVES AND JOSEPH CHEER
- 8 Malta G.C.: War Memories and Cultural Narratives of a Mediterranean Island 144
SANDRO DEBONO
- 9 Scraps of Memory: Pacific War Tourism on Efate Island (Vanuatu) 160
LAMONT LINDSTROM
- 10 Islands of No Return: Memory, Materiality and the Falklands War 177
TONY POLLARD
- 11 The Coastwatcher Mythos: The Politics and Poetics of Solomon Islands War Memory 194
GEOFFREY WHITE

SECTION III

Islands of War, Islands of Dark and Difficult Heritage

- 12 The Sacred and the Profane: Souvenir and Collecting Behaviours on the WWII Battlefields of Peleliu Island, Palau, Micronesia 219
NEIL PRICE, RICK KNECHT AND GAVIN LINDSAY
- 13 War Remnants of the Greek Archipelago: Persistent Memories or Fragile Heritage? 234
NOTA PANTZOU
- 14 Post-War Legacies in the Island of Kythera: Oblivion Versus Historical Memory 255
IRENE LAGANI

15	Crete: Visual Memories of War	274
	MARIA KAGIADAKI	
16	Remembering War and Occupation in Post-Independence Timor-Leste	292
	MICHAEL LEACH	
	<i>Contributors</i>	311
	<i>Index</i>	317

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Illustrations

CHAPTER 1

- 1.1 (a) Map of the Pacific Islands; (b) map of Fiji (Image copyright and courtesy of Les O'Neill). 20
- 1.2 Ai Matai 70th Anniversary, 2013. National War Memorial, Suva, Fiji (Copyright and courtesy, Fiji Ministry of Information). 21
- 1.3 Nate and his mother, c. 1946 (Private source. Supplied courtesy of Marsa Dodson). 22

CHAPTER 2

- 2.1 Map of the Aegean Archipelago (Courtesy University of Texas Libraries). 37
- 2.2 Monument of the Victims of the Holocaust in the Jewish Martyrs Square, Rhodes (Copyright Hazal Papuccular). 47
- 2.3 Statue of Victory, Rhodes (Copyright Hazal Papuccular). 49

CHAPTER 3

- 3.1 Map of Greece with Ikaria highlighted (Creative Commons, Pitichinaccio, amendments by the author). 56
- 3.2 The arrival of hundreds of political exiles by a warship at the shore of Aghios Kirikos, Ikaria, in 1947 (Reproduced courtesy of H. Malachias). 61
- 3.3 Snapshot from the memorial service at the site of the exiles' graves during the political commemoration ceremony in Mounte Monastery, Raches (Author's archive). 68

CHAPTER 4

- 4.1 Map showing location of the Channel Islands (Copyright Gilly Carr, courtesy Ian Taylor). 76
- 4.2 Guardian of memory Michael Ginns standing beside his heir apparent, Paul Bernal (current president of the Jersey branch of the CIOS), outside a restored bunker at Noirmont Point in Jersey (Copyright Gilly Carr). 81
- 4.3 Frank Falla (back row, first on the left) surrounded by his fictive kin during a reunion (Courtesy Sally Falla). 89

CHAPTER 5

- 5.1 Map of Texel (Image copyright Rob van Ginkel). 94
- 5.2 Georgians arriving with the Texel ferry in Den Helder on 17 June 1945 (Image collection Aerial and War Museum Texel). 97
- 5.3 Monument for the fallen Georgians (Image copyright Rob van Ginkel). 100
- 5.4 Georgians and Texelians meet informally outside the war cemetery premises on Remembrance Day 2011 (Image copyright Rob van Ginkel). 106

CHAPTER 6

- 6.1 The Orkney Islands (Creative Commons). 114
- 6.2 The Italian Chapel on Lamb Holm (Copyright Daniel Travers). 120
- 6.3 The Churchill Barriers constructed ‘... with the aid of Italian Prisoners of War’ (Copyright Daniel Travers). 121

CHAPTER 7

- 7.1 Map of Western Pacific Theatre of War (Map copyright Antoinette Dillon). 130
- 7.2 WWII-related ephemera, Solomon Islands (Image copyright Stefan Krasowski). 131
- 7.3 Tank on the deck of the wreck of the *Nippo Maru*, Truk Lagoon, Micronesia (Image copyright Geoff Sparkes). 133

CHAPTER 8

- 8.1 Map by S. J. Turner (From Ritchie [1942, 7] copyright expired). 146

- 8.2 The gift presented to Malta by Great Britain on Independence in 1964 (Copyright Daniel Cilia). 151
- 8.3 Monument to the Fallen of the Great Siege of 1565 (Copyright Daniel Cilia). 154

CHAPTER 9

- 9.1 Kalkoa makes a point, 2013 (Copyright Lamont Lindstrom). 161
- 9.2 Map of Efate Island, Vanuatu, showing local war museums along America Road (Adapted from Hk kng, Creative Commons CC-BY-SA). 161
- 9.3 Military mementos in a John Frum shrine overlooking Iasur volcano, 1978 (Copyright Lamont Lindstrom). 165
- 9.4 Kalkoa's relic bottles, 2013 (Copyright Lamont Lindstrom). 170

CHAPTER 10

- 10.1 Map of the Falkland Islands. Mounts Tumbledown and Longdon are located close to the west of Stanley (Reproduced on royalty-free licence held by Tony Pollard). 178
- 10.2 Scots Guards memorial on Mount Tumbledown and accumulation of personal memorials. Stanley is in the distance (Copyright Tony Pollard). 183
- 10.3 Grave of Lieutenant Taylor. Note aircraft wreck parts behind gravestone (Copyright Tony Pollard). 189

CHAPTER 11

- 11.1 Solomon Islands (Copyright Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i Mānoa. Cartography by Mānoa Mapworks). 195
- 11.2 Martin Clemens' coastwatching group, Guadalcanal, October 1942. Standing, left to right: Daniel Pule, Martin Clemens, Andrew Langabaea. Seated, left to right: Olorere, Gumu, Jack Chaparuka, Jack Chaku (Courtesy USMC photo, National Archives [127-N-50505]). 204
- 11.3 Figures in coastwatcher monument (Pride of Our Nation), Pt Cruz, Honiara (Copyright Geoffrey White). 205

CHAPTER 12

- 12.1 Peleliu Island in the Republic of Palau, western Micronesia (Map by Jenny Johnston. Image used courtesy of the University of Aberdeen). 220
- 12.2 A passage leading into the interior of the Japanese Navy command cave in October 1944 (United States National Archives and Records Administration, photo RG127-MW-729/107863, USMC photographer Fitzgerald; in the public domain). 230
- 12.3 The same cave passage in 2010; note the movement of artefacts (Photo by Rick Knecht, image reproduced courtesy of the University of Aberdeen). 231

CHAPTER 13

- 13.1 Map of the Aegean Sea: the circled islands served as places of exile during the twentieth century (Creative Commons, Future Perfect at Sunrise, additions by author). 238
- 13.2 A gate of Makronisos indoctrination camp today (Copyright Pantzou). 240
- 13.3 A former exile sharing his experiences during a visit to Markonisos (Copyright Pantzou). 248

CHAPTER 14

- 14.1 Map of Kythera, Greece (Copyright and courtesy visitkythera.com). 256
- 14.2 The Castle of Chora where the Greek flag was raised by Polymenakos, 4 September 1944 (Copyright I. Lagani). 262
- 14.3 Landing of British troops, Kapsali, Kythera, 15 September 1944 (Photo by M. Sofios, courtesy of M. Dapontes). 263

CHAPTER 15

- 15.1 Map of Crete (Copyright Ilias Kitsas). 275
- 15.2 Petros Vlachakis, *The Battle of Crete* (The Historical Archive of Crete. Copyright The Historical Archive of Crete). 277

- 15.3 Kanakis I. Geronymakis records a personal memory from September 1943; the Nazis were using people instead of horses to pull the carriages during the construction of a road in Hagia Galini (Copyright Kanakis I. Geronymakis). 278
- 15.4 Nikos Sofialakis, *Fall of the German Paratroopers in Crete (May 1941)*, from the frieze, *The Battle of Crete*, 1969, archives of The Nikos Sofialakis Center of Neoclassical Sculpture (Copyright The Nikos Sofialakis Center of Neoclassical Sculpture). 282

CHAPTER 16

- 16.1 Map of Timor-Leste (Creative Commons). 293
- 16.2 Indonesian integration monument, Dili, depicting a traditional Timorese warrior breaking loose from the chains of Portuguese colonialism (Copyright Leach). 297
- 16.3 Santa Cruz massacre monument, Motael, Dili (Copyright Leach). 298
- 16.4 Heroes Monument, Metinaro (Copyright Leach). 302

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Introduction

Islands of War, Islands of Memory

Gilly Carr and Keir Reeves

During the twentieth century, every nation in the world was directly or indirectly associated with or affected by the impact of war. While the historical narratives and legacies of war among nations are well known, far less is understood about how small islands coped. These islands, often not nations in their own right but rather small outposts of other kingdoms, countries and nations, have frequently been relegated to mere footnotes in history and heritage studies as interesting case studies (at best) and as unimportant curiosities (at worst). Yet for many of these small islands, war had an enduring impact on their history, memory, tangible and intangible heritage and future cultural practices and left behind a legacy that demanded some form of local response.

While some islands have been perceived to be on the periphery of war (the Channel Islands, the Orkney Islands, Texel, Bermuda and Vanuatu), others have been in the epicentre of where the action has taken place, often because of their strategic position in the theatres of war (for instance Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands and East Falkland and South Georgia in the Falkland Islands). Islands are often noted for their stereotypical images of tranquillity and rurality, and yet when war encroaches upon their shores, the impacts upon the local population are often disproportionate and continue to affect identity and heritage long after the conflict has passed.

For this book, we seek to discover what the memories, legacies and heritage of war in small islands can teach those who live outside them, on the mainland. What can we learn from these islands of memory? Can islands really act as ‘controls’ or ‘laboratories’ or even bounded entities that allow us to understand the macrocosm of war memory/heritage microcosm? Conversely, do we regard them as closed and bounded societies when that isn’t the case?

This volume also investigates a number of research themes. Why and how can war memory be so enduring in small islands? Do factors such as population size, island size, isolation, climate or geography have anything to do with it? We argue here that close ties of kinship and group identity enable collective memories to last longer and in turn more strongly shape identity and its resulting war-related heritage, as discussed in this volume. In some islands,

2 *Gilly Carr and Keir Reeves*

the shock of conflict and the arrival of armies as ‘strangers’, ‘outsiders’, ‘occupiers’ and ‘invaders’ are also enough to ensure their long-term impact. Also explored is how contested war memory manifests itself in present-day island communities and in the many ways that these communities have tackled such contestation. Small islands are also places that contain dark heritage sites associated with war such as captivity and internment, and the perceived darkness of such places can seep out, or ‘contaminate’, the surrounding area. Given the small size of many islands of conflict, this can be problematic, and we seek to understand the process by which that darkness is remembered with positivity and can be turned around to create a positive self-identity for islanders. In other places, dark heritage has been treated only with silence and neglect in the hope that this will allow healing, but the effects of this can be surprising and can have a negative impact on later generations who live in the same small communities.

That this volume was long overdue, necessary and valuable for those who work in this area was revealed in the international conference *Islands of War, Islands of Memory* that preceded this volume, held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge in April 2013. The deliberate aim of the meeting was to bring islands away from the periphery, a position that they have occupied for too long. At core, we wanted to ask what (if anything) is special about small islands in the way that they nurture their heritage and war memory. This was the central research question of the conference from which this book emerged and was based upon the observation and hypothesis of the editors that there was something different, still raw, and particularly long-lived about the island response to war that begged analysis. In this volume, our central position is that the answer is to be found in two main areas: first, in the particular way that memory is passed down in small, close-knit communities; and second, in the way that the continued circulation, curation and reuse of war debris, broadly defined, appears to play a key role in the creation of heritage, which itself is also used to construct and maintain—and is constructed and maintained by—*island identities*.

This volume seeks to situate and integrate the research therein firmly and centrally within the field of critical heritage studies, rather than in the often marginal field of island studies. While islands themselves may, by definition, be insular, there is no reason why the study of them should also be so. Accordingly, this book aims to bring islands from the margins to the centre stage in the analysis of the heritage and memory of war during the twentieth century.

While an early concern for the volume was whether we could compare the many island experiences, memories and heritage of war without type-casting the island war experience as a generic one, the chapters collected here show that there is no generic or single experience. If anything, this volume shows that each island has used the memory and heritage of war to construct its own identity, often in direct and deliberate contrast to that

which is nurtured and narrated on the mainland. In other cases, the different heritage is 'simply' a direct reflection of a different history compared to the mainland. In all cases, we were impressed by the breadth and richness of the island experience and with the insights that they can bring to those who work on the mainland.

LONGEVITY OF MEMORY

To explore further the observation of the longevity of memory in small communities which are intimately related to their island status, we have identified three factors. First, the long-term role of 'guardians of memory', identified by one of the editors (G. C.) as those who seek to nurture and protect the war memory of their group, can have a disproportionate effect within a small population, where individuals can make a real difference and become well known. Their hegemonic control of war narratives, and the influence of and respect accorded to these same people, can also act to reject and repel outside interference, while ensuring the passing down of their mantle safely to the next generation.

Second, we might also observe a greater continuity of population in small islands, which helps to cement this phenomenon. This is not to deny that population movement takes place in small islands but rather to observe that such movement can often be within the same island rather than away from it and that those who leave will often return, allowing for a continuity of memory.

The third factor is the observation that the island nature of these places can also have a strong impact on the continued presence of war debris, and we cite this as being a key feature of small islands and of prime importance in their analysis, as will be discussed. Because of the difficulty and expense both of removing military hardware and of importing goods, recycling and adaptive reuse have historically been endemic in small islands, not to mention the opportunities for collecting that the continued presence of militaria provides. The continued presence of war debris has also often been assured by the rurality of many islands, where the spread of urbanism has not been as strong as on the mainland because of the difficulties and expense of importing building materials and sometimes the lack of population pressures. Countering this, the climate in small islands can hinder preservation. Being coastal environments, islands face wind and salt erosion, are more at risk from rising sea levels, and can also be prone to the predations of foliage because of their rurality and enhanced fertility.

There are, of course, war-affected small islands which do not conform to these observations. Such places can be silent about or reject their war memory, paying little heed to the war debris which litters their shores. This in itself is a phenomenon to be investigated and explored. Why do such places seem not to care about this aspect of their past, and is this really

the case? Such lack of concern often has its roots in a belief that the debris does not form part of their war experience or their history. Sometimes this is because the debris belonged to a hated enemy who caused devastation to their island, too painful to bring to mind, or because it was dropped, constructed or left behind by mainlanders, foreigners, and/or ‘colonial masters’ from a long way away who seemingly cared little for islanders, their wishes and their sufferings. As some chapters in this volume seem to suggest, the war debris, heritage and memory of the war in the Pacific are neglected and of little interest to local people in Pacific islands. WWII was seen by them as a war fought by foreigners, and it is the foreigners who have instigated memorials in these islands. The only value of the relics of that war is in their potential to be translated into tourist dollars, to be either sold back to or displayed for tourists. Local people seem to have little interest in using war debris as part of their own cultural memory work, although there are exceptions in just a few areas, such as in the John Frum cargo cult which incorporates WWII ephemera within its cultural practices.

In the gap between the willing use and reuse of war debris for heritage and identity construction on the one hand, and its use only for exploitation for the tourist dollar on the other, lies a third pathway for attitudes towards war debris. In islands which have emerged from a colonial rule which held sway at the time of conflict, attitudes towards the colonial power’s war machinery and militaria are more equivocal—or at least can be subject to competing factions and narratives. Should such islands exhibit and showcase the war debris of their former colonial masters in order to earn money from tourism, especially when many of those tourists are from the former colonial power, or should such debris be discarded in favour of that which prioritizes the local experience of war? Such dilemmas are only further compounded by the overlap and interweaving of narratives when colonizers and colonials worked together and experienced the same trauma of war together.

WAR DEBRIS EXPLORED

We identify *war debris* in all of its forms as a vital evidentiary lens through which to explore and understand the island response to war memory and heritage. This debris forms the daily reminders scattered about islands, in museums, private houses and still sometimes lying where it fell or was abandoned—or has been moved by visitors. We refrain from referring to war debris as ‘heritage’, as this is not how it is always perceived. Rather, it is a *legacy* of conflict that can become heritage through deliberate action or that can remain abandoned as simple litter-like debris.

War debris comprises the memory objects which send the wartime generation off into a reverie of recall and reminiscences, the objects used to teach the next generation about the war. And it is also present in the invisible, intangible and unspoken—the traumatic war memories which are passed

down to the next generation in the form of post-memory, as defined by Marianne Hirsch in relation to Holocaust memories (1997, 2008), as a process of retrospective familial remembrance whose second-generation stories have come to assume a life of their own.

War debris is a good tool with which to think. But what do we mean by *war debris*? For the purposes of this chapter, we see it as the prime tool to be analysed that can be used to unlock and decode the long-term island response to war. We offer here a definition and subdivision of the term, and all are of equal importance. For us, the *primary* (military) debris of war refers to discarded, fragmentary and scattered large items of war matériel and machinery of war, such as aircraft, bombs and unexploded ordinance, ships, machinery and other war-related maritime heritage. There is also civilian debris, and this refers to destroyed civilian buildings and possessions, typically caused by bombing raids. Such debris is not always cleared away but is sometimes kept as a political statement, a statement of identity, or simply a physical manifestation of an island's war narrative, such as the ruins of the opera house in Valletta, capital of Malta, bombed on 7 April 1942 by the Luftwaffe.

The *secondary* debris of war refers to the infrastructure of war (destroyed or intact), including airstrips, piers, jetties, bunkers and fortifications—but also prisoner of war camps and air raid shelters. Many such sites are often rapidly reused for civilian domestic or tourist purposes but might also be used for war heritage purposes. Examples of this include the many restored German bunkers in the Channel Islands or the aircraft hangers at Ta'Qali in Malta that now host a craft village.

We might also speak of *tertiary* debris, and within this we could cite mainly portable conflict material culture, such as uniforms, medals, flags, helmets, pistols and military paperwork. Trench art is also included in this tertiary debris, a form of recycled war matériel that has been studied in detail by Nicholas Saunders (e.g. 2003, 2004 and, with Paul Cornish, 2009, 2014). Island examples of trench art emanate from a number of sources, such as the POW camp in Orkney discussed in this volume. We might also include within tertiary debris the testimonial objects discussed by Hirsch and Spitzer (2006), which were left behind by those exiled in the Greek island of Ikaria and are curated by local people.

Our fourth, or *quaternary*, and final form of war debris is that which is bodily and which can be subdivided into the (overlapping) tangible and intangible. While the former includes the graveyards, massacre sites and watery graves of military and civilian casualties of war, it also speaks of the injuries upon the living, both of the body (tangible) and the mind (intangible). Such bodily debris includes everything from (tangible) bullet wounds to (intangible) post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which, as delegates at the conference in Cambridge learned, still haunts the war generation of Okinawa.¹ A related form of bodily debris might be said to include the children of soldiers, legitimately or illegitimately born to civilian women,

a phenomenon explored later in this volume with respect to Fiji. For these bodily or biological legacies of war, the children of soldiers, their intangible heritage is carried around in their bodies and DNA and also in the memories of the mothers, who themselves become the (sometimes unwilling) guardians of memory of a very particular group, one that rarely speaks about their experiences, such is the shame or taboo that such heritage carries with it in small communities.

Other examples of intangible bodily war debris are the trauma, ghosts or memories of war which continue down the generations in the form of post-memory.

Intangible debris also includes the commemorative ceremonies of war, and here tangible and intangible heritage interacts, as both objects, people and places of war are used as part of the ceremonies, as can be seen in the island of Vanuatu. Oral tradition, too, is a vital part of intangible war debris. This is the case in every island examined in this collection. Because of the centrality of oral history to cultural memory, it is important for researchers to listen to islander voices, narratives and memories and not to force mainland or outsider interpretations upon history, tourism and heritage. To a large extent, the keeping place of war memory resides with the islanders. Collectively, they can function as guardians of memory. Further, in many places there has been a lack of acknowledgement of the contribution of the indigenous populations to the war effort, whether that contribution is their military service or their degree of suffering, service and sacrifice. Island societies are often permanently changed by such suffering and service of their citizens, and this often becomes a post-conflict legacy which has repercussions up to the present day.

While *debris* is a word filled with connotations of discard, of unwanted rubbish, of leftover pieces, we reclaim and refashion the word here. While the term, as we use it, very much embraces the sense of that which is left over and left behind, we perceive it more as a *legacy*—items which are often cherished, reused or of absolute primary importance to communities and populations in telling the story of what happened to them and who they are today—or are there to be exploited for the tourist economy. They have the potential to be, for some, manifestations and symbols of identity. For others, they represent symbols of identity which are now unwanted or which have outlived their value or have become the focus of contestation between those who look to the past and those who look forward. Again, we might draw upon the example of Malta, where, as the Maltese have emerged from their colonial past, so they have rejected symbols associated with the erstwhile motherland such as the George Cross.

Yet with war debris defined and subdivided, the core of its value for researchers is to examine its local meaning and its biography—its changing role through time. How has it been treated since the war in question? How has it been used, reused, recycled, redefined, received, perceived or rejected by each post-war generation? The groups of debris just listed are

presented in their ‘unadulterated’ original state; yet war debris is often recycled, reused, domesticated, tamed and refashioned. Trench art is perhaps the best known example of such a process.

The site of certain types of debris can become of prime importance in islands; they can become sites of memory and places where memorials are erected and commemorations take place. They can also become sites of deliberate forgetting and can be shunned by the community. Debris can also become hallowed and curated in museum exhibitions and even used in memorials. But what is the degree of overlap and the interrelationship between the types of war debris, tangible and intangible, when used, discussed and curated in heritage responses to war? How are they used, as a group, to tell the story of war to the next generation and to tourists? These are two very different populations, and there is often a difference between what can be learned from parents and grandparents around the metaphorical fireplace and what is displayed for public consumption on tourist routes. In fact, it seems that in some islands the heritage would not exist or would not be curated and displayed at all if it were not for the tourist interest—for example in the Solomon Islands. What, then, does this say about war debris and the use to which it would be put if it were not for heritage and tourism?

DEFINING SMALL ISLANDS

In this volume and in the original conference from which this volume emerged, we repeatedly refer to ‘small islands’. We have been unwilling to define this phrase too closely; we did not want to be too prescriptive in terms of population size or island dimensions and thereby inadvertently exclude certain revealing or important case studies. We are probably guilty of stretching our own definitions of ‘small’ for the same reasons.

We have, however, been strict in excluding places, such as Gibraltar, which are on the edges of bigger countries but are still connected to them via a land bridge, despite being thought of as an ‘island’ of Britishness. Also rejected was Cold War Berlin, which was an ‘island’ of Western Europe within East Germany. But just as these places are not ‘real’ islands, we might also consider factors which arguably threaten an island’s status (e.g. Baldacchino *et al.* 2007) or increase feelings of insularity (e.g. Vannini 2011), such as bridges, tunnels and causeways, and non-fixed links, such as ferries, flights and the Internet, respectively.

We are used to borders enclosing nations, ethnicities and cultures, with defined centres and peripheries, and seats of power, authority, and governing elites in the nucleus, with marginalized communities at the edge (Sofield 2006, 102), but small islands present something rather different. Not only is the concept of centre and periphery hard to identify within an area of only a few miles in diameter, but the idea of being bounded by nationality, ethnicity or culture can be a complex one when discussing small autonomous or

semiautonomous states or archipelagos. Geographical and political boundedness in an island context is further complicated by issues of immigration, diaspora and, during the past twenty years, the arrival of the Internet to remote communities. There is thus fluidity in island communities in terms of how they are constituted geopolitically. This means that islands are separate when they want to be but joined up (both to the rest of their island groups or the mainland) at other times.

Our main concern in putting together this volume was to fight against the mainstream, mainland perception of these ‘small’ places, as well as the implications of something that was insignificant, easily dismissed and legitimately excluded from academic debate. Attention was drawn to such perceptions by Hau’ofa (1993), who argued that the prevailing attitude towards island societies was that they were too small, at a remove from key economic activities, and often ill-equipped with limited natural resources, which meant that they were unable to function autonomously. This was a Western-determined narrative that ultimately led to island communities being stereotyped as economically dependent and fatalistically consigned to the role of client states of powerful, often former colonial masters. Hau’ofa concluded that it was this attitude or metaphor that constituted a belittling language that was both potentially disruptive and misrepresentative of small island life. While Hau’ofa wrote explicitly about Pacific societies in a postcolonial context at the end of the twentieth century, his overarching point—that islands are often depicted as too small, culturally and economically insignificant, and often at a remove from the key drivers of power and influence—is an enduring one amongst small island communities throughout the world.

For the purposes of this volume, then, we contend that small island communities are ones that are typified by a relatively small scale and intimate cultural practices and accordingly are more vulnerable to external events (such as invasion or colonization) to a greater extent than mainland communities. Lest it be thought otherwise, small islands are not immune to civil war, as a number of case studies in this volume show. Yet if a small island is typified by smallness of scale and closely bound communities, then what do we mean by the term *island*? It is often bound up in the baggage of assumptions that comes with certain islands, namely issues of exoticism, untouchedness, ‘otherness’, wilderness, paradise playgrounds for mainlanders, remoteness, isolation and stereotypes of unproblematic lives typified by tranquillity. Yet in many cases, islands have been key theatres of war during the twentieth century and have experienced unprecedented levels of conflict and violence, where the residue of war continues into the present day both physically and psychologically.

Those of us who conduct fieldwork in small islands see and know the value in the very ‘smallness’ of these places; we know the richness of the case studies and their wider implications for places that are much larger. For us, small is certainly beautiful and has only positive connotations of

close-knit communities, which has led to intact and strong war memories, narratives and heritage, as well as to material richness in terms of war debris, militaria and conflict material culture. Thus, we are interested in islands that are small enough to share these attributes and that are culturally rich in war heritage; in fact, our observation seems to suggest that these are attributes that many—if not most—post-conflict small islands seem to share. As argued earlier, it is their very *smallness* and all of the associated characteristics of such islands that have contributed to the rich survival.

IDENTITIES IN SMALL ISLANDS

Islands often choose or claim alternative identity markers to their mainland cousins, and different war narratives can be an important part of this. However, we must question this apparent ‘choice’. Is identity a deliberate choice, or does it just happen naturally and organically, based on different war experiences? Is this, in fact, a false dichotomy? Who, in the first scenario, are the decision makers, and how do they agree upon and create narratives and consensus? In a free democracy, identity construction is often a series of decisions made by many along the way, rather than a preconceived grand plan manipulated by a single individual, although such examples are not unknown. In almost every case study in this volume, identity has developed as a series of ‘organic decisions’ made at different times by individuals and influenced by different events, people and cultural trends. When these events and influences are past wars and their impact (an impact which we must remember can be disproportionate in small islands), identities of conceptually or geographically bounded peoples can be built around post-war narratives such as victimhood, suffering, endurance and victory. The memories and legacies which inform and are informed by such narratives will shape the resulting heritage. This heritage, which takes its form in museums, memorials and commemorative ceremonies, makes identity claims for and on behalf of the local population. Just as they construct the heritage to proclaim who they are, so that same heritage will teach and influence the next generation. While subsequent generations will often modify the way that heritage is presented through time, drawing new narratives into that heritage as they are exposed to outside influences or embroiled in later conflicts, some war narratives can be extremely slow to change because of both the inward-looking nature of many island communities and the influence of the guardians of memory as discussed earlier in the chapter.

While we can hypothesize about how islanders see themselves and construct their identities in different ways after conflict, we must also consider how outsiders or mainlanders perceive them, as well as how this can change during and after conflict. Certainly we can observe how otherwise

almost-ignored islands, which hover on the very outer edges of the awareness of the inhabitants of larger nations, can suddenly acquire new, more central positions, as happened after the Falklands conflict for people living in the United Kingdom. Islanders can find that they are treated with a new respect after conflict or move to the forefront of national consciousness if their ownership is contested. Inevitably this will impact upon tourism strategies and the particular face that they wish to present to newly inquisitive outsiders, who can be drawn to these islands in search of 'dark tourism' experiences (as defined by Stone 2006). But what aspects of war, war heritage and war identities are showcased, if at all, and who decides this? Decisions are not made only at the local governmental level: tourism officials and local entrepreneurs can both independently decide what to promote. There are also stories of war that are kept firmly within the community, the family and the home, and not shown to outsiders. How different are these two faces, or are they simply two sides of the same coin?

Perhaps it is more important to ask why anyone would choose to promote war heritage: is this a decision based on shrewd money making and the exploitation of outsiders, or is it actually simply unavoidable, given that heritage and identity are interlinked? Does such war heritage proclaim an unveiled this-is-who-we-are or a selective and manipulated this-is-what-we-wish-to-show-outsiders? How much clear blue water separates these statements?

These questions also impact upon written history (such as school textbooks) and heritage planning documents and legislation for use within island communities. These texts and documents are influenced by whether they are written by islanders for islanders or by outsiders from the mainland with little reference to the role of, or input from, islanders.

It is clear that multiple potential interest groups and narratives are at play here, and this is not limited just to islanders and mainlanders. There are also the different groups within the island communities to consider, such as the island officials/elites and non-officials/non-elites; there are also the different generational, religious and, potentially, ethnic groups; and there are different memory groups and their associated guardians of memory. If there is more than one island within an archipelago, then there are also inter- and intra-island identities to grapple with. To complicate matters further and to exacerbate (or to conceal) the clashes among these groups, when it comes to heritage and the representation of post-conflict identities, there are both heritage professionals and amateurs from each of these different groups to contend with. The problem only gets worse if we add into the mix the legacy of more than one historical conflict fought on island soil or the problems of colonialism. Clearly, we can never talk of a singular island voice which we might use to contrast with or to counter strong memories and narratives from the mainland and which themselves are similarly contested and multiple. When it comes to small islands, diversity is our watchword.

STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

The sixteen papers chosen for this volume, selected from twenty-six presented at the conference with an additional three commissioned, share many commonalities in terms of the war island themes already highlighted by the editors in this introductory chapter. These include the key role of guardians of memory; the importance of population continuity; and the continued presence, use and reuse of war debris in its many forms. All of these have contributed, we argue, to the longevity of memory and to the prominence of the heritage of war in small islands, which is not to say that there are not notable exceptions that prove the rule. While this volume was initially prompted by the observation of the editors of an unusual longevity of memory in the islands where we both carry out fieldwork, one of the central questions that we asked authors to address was what, if anything, is special about war memory and heritage in small islands that can contribute to debate in war heritage and memory studies as a whole? What, beyond the case study itself, can be carried forward to inform those who work in and with larger nations? We have been inspired by the answers we received, which were rich, diverse, valuable and fascinating.

While it will not escape the notice of readers that the majority of the chapters concern WWII, this was not a stipulation given to authors; rather, it is a reflection of the research specialism of those who carry out fieldwork in small islands. As WWII impacted almost every place on earth, unlike wars before, it is not surprising that small islands were also impacted. As this war is on the edge of living memory, the number of researchers now working in this field to collect data before it is too late is not surprising. We are also working in a time of anniversaries—the year of the publication of this volume marks seventy years since the end of WWII—and during such periods, public and academic attention is often highly concentrated. Similarly, readers will observe that a high number of chapters involve Greek islands or Pacific islands. We make no apology for this; not only are these places where fieldwork is concentrated, but they are also locations which provide us with fascinating insights, and the volume would have been the poorer for their omission.

Broadly speaking, the main theme of each chapter in this volume can be categorized into at least one of three overlapping sections presented here, and they cross-cut the trio of small island commonalities previously listed. These sections address the kinds of war memory and heritage that typify small communities; the importance of war heritage tourism for island economies; and the profound impact of a dark war heritage within the heritage and memory of small communities.

Our first section, ‘Islands of Memory, Islands of Community’, comprises chapters that focus primarily upon or compare selected communities of memory. Our first chapter, by Jacqueline Leckie, reveals the often

overlooked experience (and intimate memories) of Fijian women who had encounters with American servicemen during the war, producing children. These women, historically invisible due to the masculinized military history of Fiji, were silent about their encounters, seldom revealing details to their offspring about their fathers. Leckie thus reveals that memory can also be about burying, eliminating and ultimately forgetting.

Hazal Papuccular's chapter addresses the different ethnic communities that make up the Dodecanese islands of Rhodes and Kos: the Greeks, the Turks and the Jews. While the islands were occupied by the Germans, leading to potential brutality, starvation and migration for all, the three groups perceive and remember this period in very different ways, which has led to different sites of memory within the islands. Even within small islands, Papuccular's work shows us, memory and heritage are far from monolithic.

The next chapter, by Elena Mamoulaki, takes us to another Greek island: Ikaria, a place of exile for political detainees during the Greek civil war. While this could have led to the island becoming a place of traumatic memory and stigma for generations to come, Mamoulaki shows us how the hospitable Ikarians have treated this memory as a source of pride and identity formation, leading to community commemorations and heritage construction.

Gilly Carr's chapter considers one of the central themes of this volume, namely the role of 'guardians of memory', a concept and epithet that she develops here with respect to the Channel Islands. These figures comprise mainly the senior members of the community who lived through the war and, through dint of their age, good memory and eloquence, are held up and respected as the ultimate authorities for the period. She considers their position with respect to the university-trained heritage professionals and the outside researchers, identifying how their mantle will be passed on and the impact that they have had and will continue to have on heritage and heritage structures in these small islands after their generation has passed on.

Finishing this section is the contribution of Rob van Ginkel, who examines the Dutch island of Texel. What makes this island unique is the formation of a community of memory and inextricable linking with Georgia. During WWII, the contingent of Georgians within the German army occupying the island rose up and killed their German comrades. Many Texelians were caught up in the fight and killed alongside a number of Georgians. Despite the potentially controversial presence of these hero/villain 'ambiguous dead' in the 'Russian' graveyard in the island, Texelians have long looked after it and hosted visiting dignitaries from Georgia. Although the population is split, the relationship with Georgia is cherished because it gives the Texelians a unique identity, different from the mainland Netherlands.

Van Ginkel's chapter provides a smooth segue to the first chapter of the second section of the volume, 'Islands of Tourism, Landscapes of War', which

begins with Daniel Travers' assessment of Orkney. Like Texel and Georgia, Orkney has sought to differentiate itself from the mainland through its war-time connections with outside visitors to the island. In this case, the role of Italian prisoners of war, who built a beautiful and still-maintained chapel out of Nissen huts, has cemented ties with the Italian town from which the POWs came. Orkney has used its unique heritage to strengthen its own sovereignty and differentiate itself from its more powerful neighbours.

One of the core themes emphasized by many chapters in this section of the volume, in addition to the presence of war debris in the landscape of these tourist islands, is the importance of the indigenous perspective and local understanding of this material culture. Moving to the Western Pacific, especially Melanesia, Keir Reeves and Joseph Cheer's chapter emphasizes the local value of war heritage, which lies in its commercial potential rather than in its historical significance. A distinctive legacy of WWII is the monetization of communities that were previously custom-focused. Islanders have felt little need to conserve or curate the war debris unless there has been a commercial imperative to preserve it, regardless of its heritage significance to former combatant countries such as America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Sandro Debono takes us away from the Pacific and back to the Mediterranean, where he considers the situation in his native Malta, the most bombed place on earth during WWII. Once a colony of the British but independent since 1964, the islanders today grapple with the importance of rival symbols to represent themselves as a postcolonial people. On the one hand, the Maltese feel a pride in having received the George Cross in 1942 for their solidarity, courage, fortitude and determination in times of difficulty—values which they still recognize and embrace today. On the other hand, this symbol of war carries the associated and complicated baggage of colonialism, unlike the preferred Maltese Cross, which has intertwined, associated and variously complementary and competing meanings. The non-British Maltese war heritage is a community one and revolves around their deceased kin, but as an island which receives many British tourists, the islanders instead promote an official pro-British war memory of a time when the island showed its finest attributes but which also brought about its destruction.

Returning to the Pacific, Lamont Lindstrom explores Efate island in Vanuatu, which hosted thousands of American soldiers during WWII. Now, two generations later, Americans are once again returning as tourists. This boom to the economy has spurred local entrepreneurs to collect war relics, which they use to share stories in the island's war museums. However, rather than this having a purely economic impact on the island, it has led to the salvaging of history alongside the salvaged war debris. War memory is being kept current through these artefacts and relics. As Lindstrom puts it, 'Vanuatu war memory today adheres in relics and the stories they revitalize'.

Tony Pollard, too, stays with the subject of war debris within the landscape of war of the British Falkland Islands. Invaded and occupied by the Argentineans and then liberated by the British in 1982, this chapter is one of the few which does not concern WWII. However, Pollard examines the way in which the material culture of conflict from different battlefields was gathered, recycled and used by soldiers and later differentially curated in the landscape by veterans and tour guides, giving us an insight into how similar strategies of curation and ‘manicure’, as he calls it, may have impacted WWII debris that we still find lying in the landscape today in other places.

The final chapter in this section by Geoffrey White emphasizes once again the indigenous perspective, although this time exploring attitudes towards memorials rather than the war debris that litters the Solomon Islands. Like the artefacts which were ‘not their war’, islanders feel little towards memorials, which have largely been the initiative of foreign powers due to a lack of local interest. Where memorials have included indigenous people, they, like the written histories, have tended to cast them as ‘loyal natives’ and subjects in other people’s narratives. Thus, White’s oral testimony project looks to indigenous logics to record indigenous perspectives, narratives and histories and to find a way to engage Solomon Islanders in their own history, heritage and war tourism.

Our third and final section of the volume, ‘Islands of War, Islands of Dark and Difficult Heritage’, looks at how islands overshadowed by particularly traumatic war memories and sites of violence, oppression or internment have tackled the difficult issues surrounding heritage presentation in these islands. Our first chapter, coauthored by Neil Price, Rick Knecht and Gavin Lindsay, examines Peleliu island in Palau, Micronesia. Like the chapters in the previous section, these authors also take the war debris in the landscape as the theme of their chapter. However, such was the high death rate on this tiny island, where American deaths were more numerous than those of the Allies on all five Normandy beaches on D-Day put together, that the darkness of this chapter is addressed in this third section of the volume. The authors examine the various reasons for souveniring from the dense scatters of militaria in Peleliu. While the local people take items of ‘lethal litter’ for pragmatic reasons (which include taking items for museums for tourists), the collecting behaviours of the visiting Americans and Japanese focus on memorializing the battle. While Americans tend to focus on Japanese souvenirs as war trophies, the Japanese perceive these items as sacred and leave them as offerings on shrines.

For Nota Pantzou, the darkness of the exile islands of the Aegean such as Makronisos, Giaros and Ai Stratis lies not in their material culture but resonates in the camp buildings that still remain in these remote places. For Pantzou, the dark narrative of exile jars with the beauty of the Aegean and the national narrative of resistance during WWII, leading to the neglect of tourism, especially dark tourism, in these islands of difficult history.

Pantzou, however, sees change afoot, with young Greek people showing an interest in preserving and presenting the heritage in these islands. The first green shoots of future dark tourism to these islands are, she believes, beginning to emerge after decades of neglect.

Staying in the Mediterranean, Irene Lagani's chapter addresses the Greek island of Kythera, where the silence and neglect of memory, along with the absence of a WWII heritage, has led to disastrous results. While this silence has been encouraged as a way to promote reconciliation and heal old wounds, Lagani shows that a different result has been achieved. A policy of forgetting, as well as the ignorance of the island's young people of their own history, has led to a vulnerability to neo-Nazi movements, namely Golden Dawn. With the current economic climate in Greece exacerbating problems, historical ignorance and the neglect of heritage have come at a high cost.

Maria Kagiadaki also deals with the German occupation of a Greek island: Crete. In a departure from other authors, the form of heritage that she addresses is art, and primarily the artistic forms employed in Cretan war memorials. Kagiadaki particularly focuses on how memorial art is used to construct and reflect Cretan memory and narratives of war, putting a positive spin on traumatic scenes of execution and fighting and turning them in to opportunities to depict, instead, brave episodes of Cretan resistance—a national characteristic that chimes with official war narratives. When designing the memorials, the Cretans drew on earlier modes of depiction of heroes of the Greek Revolution and of Byzantine motifs in art, thus drawing on the past to validate the politics of the present, regardless of historical accuracy.

The chapter which brings to a close our discussion of dark heritage is by Michael Leach, who examines Timor-Leste. Here the situation—and the heritage—is complicated by not just one war, but by 450 years of Portuguese colonialism which ended in 1974, the Japanese occupation in WWII and finally a traumatic twenty-four-year struggle against Indonesian occupation, which ended in 2002. These layers of trauma, each with its own sites of memory of massacre, political imprisonment and torture, and with their own guardians of memory, has led to fissures in the patchwork of memory claims and sites among different generations. This has not been a recipe for harmony in nation building in this post-conflict island.

Themes of heritage and memory of war are certainly not unique to small islands, although the editors believe that small islands have their own unique way of dealing with them. The impact of events of such magnitude as war cannot be hidden, neglected, forgotten or suppressed for long in small communities, especially while there are still many alive who remember them. We hope that this volume will result in the repositioning of fieldwork, case studies and concepts emanating from small islands into the mainstream of heritage and memory studies, and that the chapters here will be considered and assessed alongside better known case studies in centres of power across the world by professionals and practitioners alike.

NOTE

1. Paper by Ryoji Aritsuka, "Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSS) in the battle in Okinawa islands in Japan 1945," Islands of War, Islands of Memory conference, University of Cambridge, 5–7 April 2013.

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Section I

**Islands of Memory,
Islands of Community**

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1 Islands, Intimate and Public Memories of the Pacific War in Fiji

Jacqueline Leckie

INTRODUCTION

War is among the most celebrated and painful of collective and individual memories. This ranges from the world wars that are remembered globally, often through a national lens, to less known localized wars. The Pacific War evokes vivid memories of tenacious combat on small islands in Western Melanesia and Micronesia—in 2010 brought to the television screen in *The Pacific*.¹ This war also had a profound impact on the small Pacific Islands² that were outside the battle zone. New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia, Fiji, Cook Islands, American Samoa, Western Samoa, Tonga, Society Islands, Wallis, Bora Bora and New Zealand were all support and rear bases. These were crucial to the operations of the Pacific War and the recuperation of the Allied personnel. The contribution of Pacific peoples, however, continues to be overlooked when remembering WWII, despite the significance of Islanders as combatants and the stories of civilians in these islands coming to light through academic research (Camacho 2011; Falgout *et al.* 2008; Laracy and White 1988; Poyer *et al.* 2001; Ravuvu 1988; Toyoda and Nelson 2006; White *et al.* 1988; White and Lindstrom 1989). Here only one group of the Pacific Islands is discussed—the Fiji Islands (Figure 1.1)—as part of a project that has traced the children born to Pacific Islands women and American servicemen during WWII.³ This focused on the uncelebrated war memories—intimate encounters that are not usually part of the narratives of islands in the Pacific.

This chapter explores how the war is now being publicly remembered and represented in Fiji and then focuses on intimate memories that are often secret but rarely forgotten.⁴ These are not the combatants' memories but those of Fijian women who had close relationships with American servicemen and became mothers of their children. These fragmented memories have been passed on to create war memories for these children, their descendants and others.

The images in this chapter evoke different memories of the Pacific War in Fiji. Figure 1.2 is from the seventieth anniversary in 2013 of the departure of the Ai Matai (the 1st Battalion and 1st Commando) from Suva on 13 April 1943 to fight in the Solomon Islands. In many ways this image corresponds to conventional war commemorations, with the ceremony held at