Notes

Introduction


2. Ibid., 32–39, 125.

3. Ibid.


5. Scholars debate the importance of the impact of World War II on developments in the American West and in the Pacific. For the argument that the conflict fundamentally transformed the trans-Mississippi West, see Gerald Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). To the contrary, Roger Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), argues persuasively that most of the alterations associated with the war were more evolutionary than revolutionary in nature. My work on the United States’ Pacific holdings strongly suggests that, while World War II was certainly important in bringing changes to those territories, they were based, as well, on a long history of change.

6. Until recently, most historians described works like mine as studies in political economy. Over the past decade, they have characterized such studies as works in state and society. Only rarely, however, have scholars of political economy or state-and-society studies included the environment as central to their stories. See Mark Rose, “Technology


17. For an examination of Pacific developments with Hawai‘i at their center, see Walter M. McDougall, Let the Sea Make a Noise: Four Hundred Years of Cataclysm, Conquest, War and Folly in the Pacific (New York: Avon Books, 1992).

Chapter 1. Pacific Developments

1. Ben Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), esp. xiii, 74, 96, 308. A professor of anthropology at the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, Finney was a sparkplug behind the building and voyaging of the *Hōkūle‘a*.


19. Hau‘ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” 155. However, the historian David Igler has emphasized the reintegration of the eastern Pacific around the twin nodes of trade and disease


25. Even so, far from all of the integration can be traced to American actions. The activities of other Pacific peoples, including Pacific Islanders, have been important. Pacific Islanders have not simply been passive victims of western aggression, but active shapers of their futures. See Fischer, *History of the Pacific Islands*, xviii–xix.


27. Firth, “War in the Pacific,” 319.


31. Heffer, United States and the Pacific, 313, 398. In 1992, the Pacific as a whole accounted for about 20 percent of the cumulative stock of direct foreign investment by American companies.

32. Much has been written about MIRAB economies. Scholars like Hau'ofa have pointed out, for example, that remittances are an extension of older family exchange patterns and should not be seen negatively. On the other hand, scholars like D'Arcy have noted, “While many academics celebrate Hau'ofa’s vision of Oceania to counter the prevailing image of Pacific states as too small to ever be viable without heavy dependence on external aid, few believe it offers any way of addressing contemporary problems.” See D’Arcy “People of the Sea,” 18; Finney, “Other One-Third of the Globe,” 295–296; Hau'ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” 156; and Charles J. Stevens, “Introduction: Defining and Understanding Sustainability in Small Island States,” Pacific Studies 22 (Sept./Dec. 1999): 2–12.


36. UN, Pacific Environment Outlook, 3, 76.


38. Ibid.


49. UN, *Pacific Environment Outlook*. This 2005 report cites “small physical size and geographical remoteness, fragile biodiversity, exposure to natural hazards, high population growth, a limited natural resource base, remoteness from world markets, and small economies of scale” as being typical of PICTs (p. 1).

Chapter 2. The Hawaiian Islands


2. George Helm, “Notes,” 1977, file 7, box 1, George Helm Collection (Hawaiiana Room, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa); and anon., “Kaho'olawe Island Reserve: A Hawaiian Cultural Sanctuary,” *Manoa* 7 (Summer 1995): 18. In a recent political history of the Hawaiian Islands, the journalist Tom Coffman has correctly assessed the importance of Kaho'olawe to the native Hawaiian rights movement and to Hawaiian politics in general. “The political fallout of Kaho'olawe remains incalculable,” he observes, “Hawaiians were once again culture heroes in their homeland, not only to fellow Hawaiians but to a generally admiring and sympathetic public.” See Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), 299–304, esp. 304.


4. Investigations undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s showed that earlier archaeological work suggesting that Kaho'olawe was unimportant to Hawaiians was misleading. The later work found thousands of sites and features that led to a basic reassessment of the island's significance. For a summary of the earlier work, see Elspeth P. Sterling, *Sites of Maui* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998), 80–81, esp. 81. On the population of Kaho'olawe, see Robert C. Schmitt and Carole L. Silva, “Population Trends on Kahoolawe,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 18 (1984): 39–46. On the early history of Kaho'olawe, see Pauline N. King, “A Local History of Kaho'olawe Island: Tradition Development, and World War,” a report prepared in typescript for the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission (KICC) in 1993; population figures are on pp. 39 and 43. Archaeological discoveries in the summer of 2004 suggested that the number of Hawaiians living on Kaho'olawe was probably greater than earlier estimates.


14. Spoehr, Forest Reserve Period, 7. Na‘ulu rains have also been called “showers” or “rains falling from a cloudless sky.” See King, “Local History,” 128–129.

15. Spoehr, Forest Reserve Period, 15.


21. Ibid. See also KICC, Cultural Treasure, 24; King, “Local History,” 153; and State of Hawai‘i, “Kaho‘olawe: Aloha No,” 44.

22. KICC, Restoring a Cultural Treasure, 119. For negative western views of Kaho‘olawe as a wasteland in the 1930s and 1940s, see Garland Greene, “Kahoolawe: Time and Tide,” Paradise of the Pacific 53 (March 1, 1941): 28; and Jeanne Skinner, “A Week-End on Kahoolawe,” Paradise of the Pacific 45 (June 1, 1933): 16.


32. The situation was even more complicated. Some visitors to Maui viewed the bombing, especially night bombing well lit by flares, as a tourist attraction. On numerous visits to Maui in the 1970s and early 1980s, I saw visitors on lawn chairs at South Maui resorts watching the bombing as a spectator event like fireworks.


36. U.S. Navy, Final Environmental Statement Concerning the Use of Kahoolawe Target Complex in the Hawaiian Archipelago, 1, 15, 30.

37. Ibid., 1, 14, 15, 23–30; Maui News, Dec. 11, 1971, p. C-8; and Pyle interview, tape 1, side 1.


45. Ritte and Sawyer, *Na Mana’o*, 3.


48. *Sunday Honolulu Advertiser*, Jan. 11, 1976, p. 2; and State of Hawai‘i, “Kaho’olawe: Aloha No,” 50–51, 174. The report does not say how many people took part in these discussions or who they were. In early 1968, the Maui County Council praised members of the PKO for their landings and reiterated their stance that Kaho’olawe should be returned to the state. See “County Council Minutes,” Jan. 17, 1968.


57. Smith, “Ohana,” 19, 25. Women were important to the PKO. A few took part in the landings, with many more active in networking, organizing rallies and protests, fundraising, and the like. Older women, like older men, were respected as kupuna. On the importance of elders in native Hawaiian society, see M. J. Harden, Voices of Wisdom: Hawaiian Elders Speak (Kula: Aka Press, 1999); and Jay Hartwell, Na Mamo: Hawaiian People Today (Honolulu: ‘Ai Pohaku Press, 1996). Aunty Clara Ku has been described as “A kupuna, cultural and spiritual counselor to movement leaders, especially on Molokai”; see “Fallen Warriors,” Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Aug. 11, 1998.


60. “Harry Mitchell,” first cassette.

61. Norris, “Kaho‘olawe,” 108–120. The main suit was Aluli v. Brown. 602 F.2d 876 (1979); Harold Brown was the secretary of the navy.

62. U.S. Navy, *Draft Supplement 10-31-77 to Final Environmental Statement Concerning* *Military Use of the Kahoolawe Island Target Complex in the Hawaiian Archipelago, February 1972*, n.p., n.d., pp. 9g–9i, 14a, 29m, 29v, and A6. The archaeological work was carried on by the Hawaiian Historic Places Review Board, a state body, which found numerous archaeological sites and features and urged that the entire island of Kaho‘olawe be listed in the National Register. See Pyle interview, tape 1, side 1 (Pyle was a member of the Review Board).


77. KIRC, *Use Plan, December 1995.*

**Chapter 3. The Pacific Coast**


34. Leslie and Kargon, “Selling Silicon Valley.”


37. Ibid., 216, 220.


45. Ibid., 461–467.
46. For an assessment of the many factors needed for success in the creation of high-technology districts, see O’Mara, Cities, 225–231.
47. Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 19.
48. Matthews, Silicon Valley, 146.
49. Pitti, Devil in Silicon Valley, 173.
50. Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 77.
51. Ibid., 100.
54. Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 67.
56. Matthews, Silicon Valley, 172–173; and Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 75–77. For more detail, see Baker and Woodrow, “Clean, Light Image,” 28–35. Pressure from the federal government was more important than pressure from the state government in bringing about changes. Since the 1970s, the state of California possessed a California Environmental Quality Act, modeled on federal legislation, but in the water-pollution cases of Silicon Valley it was the Superfund designations that made the most difference. See Stephanie S. Pincetl, Transforming California: A Political History of Land Use and Development (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 184.
57. Pitti, Devil in Silicon Valley, 151, 163, 169, esp. 163.
60. Ibid.
61. Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 214.

64. Ibid., 132–139.
69. Ibid., 193; and Pellow and Park, Silicon Valley of Dreams, 71.
75. Investigations in the early and mid-1960s found that some insecticides and toxic chemicals were being carried into the groundwater in the Seattle area but concluded that pollution by sewage was a much more serious problem. See Leon Robinette, “Caution: Living May be Dangerous to Your Health,” Seattle Magazine 6 (June 1969): 24–31, esp. 24.
81. On Seattle's growth after World War II, see Abbott, Metropolitan Frontier, 53–98; Richard C. Berner, Seattle Transformed: World War II to the Cold War (Seattle: Charles Press, 1999); Roger Sale, Seattle Past to Present (Seattle: University of Washington Press,

82. Abbott, Metropolitan Frontier, 54.


84. Sell, Wings of Power, esp. 33–51.


87. Sale, Seattle, 190.

88. Findlay, “Off-center Seattle Center.” See also Findlay, Magic Lands, 214–264. The fair was also intended to be an urban renewal effort to rid Seattle of a run-down area, at the expense of residents there, raising yet another environmental justice issue. For a more positive appraisal of the world fair’s impact on Seattle, see Abbott, “Regional City and Network City,” 306–308.

89. Abbott, “Regional City and Network City.”


94. Ibid. Seattleites had turned down a regional sewage initiative in 1954, a vote which had spurred Ellis to action.

95. Klingle, “Urban by Nature,” 410. The success story was complex. It was not simply that Seattleites convinced others to accept their Metro Plan. In fact, John Henry, the head of the Bellevue Sewer District, was the first person to propose a regional system of interceptor sewers and helped spearhead early attempts to have them approved. During the 1958 campaigns, he worked hard to get residents in Bellevue, Kirkland, and other eastside suburbs to support regional government. Klingle to the author, Oct. 26, 2004.


101. To deal with the growing congestion, in 2002 Seattleites approved building a 14-mile-long monorail from North Seattle to the city’s southwestern area, at a cost estimated to amount to $9.3 billion. See *Economist*, July 2, 2005, p. 33.


106. MacDonald, *Distant Neighbors*, 155; and Sell, *Wings of Power*, 29. There were 1.6 million residents in Seattle’s SMSA (1960 boundaries) or 2.1 million residents in Seattle’s Consolidated Metropolitan Area. See Abbott, “Regional City and Network City,” 320.


111. Abbott, “Regional City and Network City,” 320; and Stein, *Bellevue Timeline*, 93.


116. In 1990, the per capita income of residents of King County (home to Seattle) was $18,587; that of all Washingtonians came to just $14,293. The per capita income of residents of Santa Clara County was $20,423; that of all Californians was the lower $16,409. See Gray, “Hub-and-Spoke,” 284.


118. Traffic congestion was a problem throughout the United States, but was especially pronounced in the United States’ Pacific Coast and western cities. See *Economist*, June 4, 2005, pp. 28–29, and Nov. 5, 2005, pp. 33–34.
Chapter 4. Alaska


4. See Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967). Nash argues that most people on frontiers sought to put nature to immediate use for personal gain. For a nuanced examination of attitudes and actions, see Richard W. Judd, Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in New England (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Judd sees a complex set of relationships governing people, their communities, and nature. Community norms and traditional ways of dealing with new lands (and bodies of water) were, he shows, important in the development of twentieth-century conservation movements.


8. Ibid., 45–62. For more detail, see Lydia Black, Russians in Alaska, 1732–1867 (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004). Black argues that most Russians treated Aleuts reasonably, at least by the 1800s, and that the Russians followed meaningful conservation measures in their hunting of fur-bearing animals, including sea otters. See also Mark Bassin, Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1965 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).


17. There were the bare beginnings of farming and lumbering in Alaska. In the 1930s and 1940s, the federal government sponsored the resettlement of several hundred farmers from northern Great Plains states to the Matanuska Valley just north of Anchorage as a New Deal project. Never very successful, this experiment did little to boost Alaska’s economy. Lumbering, which developed into a major industry after World War II, was just beginning in the prewar years. Alaskans produced most of the lumber they used by the 1920s and 1930s but had not yet developed an export business in timber. See Haycox, *Frigid Embrace*, 61; Naske and Slotnick, *Alaska*, 73–74, 85–86, 94–98, 106, 112–117; and Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests,” 328–329. For attitudes toward farming in the north, see James Shortridge, “The Alaskan Agricultural Empire: An American Agrarian Vision, 1898–1929,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 69 (Oct. 1978): 145–158.


20. Hayes, *Hidden Wars*, 11, 127. For the details of Aleut relocation, see Dean Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River: Aleut Evacuation in World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995). See also Ethel Ross Oliver, *Journal of an Aleutian Year* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988). Ross taught on Atka Island in 1956. In addition to describing how Aleut life was changing in the 1950s, this diary is valuable because it reprints firsthand accounts of the experiences of Aleuts during and after World War II.


24. Ross, *Environmental Conflict*, 110–120. For more detail, see Dean W. Kohlhoff, *Amchitka and the Bomb: Nuclear Testing in Alaska* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Amchitka was eventually restored at a cost of $6.7 million. Amchitka had been part of the 3-million-acre Aleutian Islands Reservation formed in 1913, and by the time of World War II the island was part of the Refuge of the National Wildlife Reservation. Amchitka became part of the 1-million-acre Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge in 1976. Even so, the island continued to be used for military purposes through the 1980s.


30. Terry Johnson, *The Bering Sea and the Aleutian Islands: Region of Wonders* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, for the Alaska Sea Grant Program, 2003), 19–44. For still valuable observations, see the report of expeditions sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute to the Aleutians in 1936–1938: Ales Hrdlicka, *The Aleutian and Commander Islands and Their Inhabitants* (Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology,


35. Ibid., 12–17.

36. Ibid., 39–40.

37. Ibid., 9, 26, 30–31.

38. Ibid., 168. These are live-weight pounds, the weight of the entire crabs, not just the meat eaten by consumers.


40. Ibid., 141–144. To deflect criticism that it was an outside interest, Wakefield Seafood moved its headquarters to Alaska in 1960.


43. By this time, some nations had unilaterally taken this step: for instance, the United States (concerned mainly about undersea oil resources, not fish or crab) and Iceland. Thus, the United States insisted that other nations respect its rights over its continental shelves but was at first unwilling to respect the rights of other nations over their continental shelves. In addition, Argentina, Panama, Mexico, Peru, and Chile claimed exclusive rights to their continental shelves to a distance of 200 miles from shore. See Rognvaldur Hannesson, *The Privatization of the Oceans* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 31–38.


49. Hannesson, Privatization, 41–42.


51. Matsen, Fishing up North, 7.


56. Hannesson, Privatization, 158–159. Many questions surrounded the granting of ITQs, however, making their implementation difficult. Most controversial were the decisions about which fishermen would be granted ITQs and which would not, thus excluding them from the fishery. Usually only those fishermen who had provable long-term histories of taking part in a given fishery were granted ITQs.


73. Eugene H. Buck et al., *Kadyak: A Background for Living* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Arctic Information and Data Center, 1975), 304.
91. Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also Karl Jacoby,


95. NPS, “Shared Beringian Heritage Program,” 2. Some tourism was beginning in the Bering Sea in the early 2000s, and the park was expected to play a role in this development. The 114-passenger ship Spirit of the Oceans offered two-week cruises in the Bering Sea in the summer of 2004 for $7,200 per person. See www.cruisewest.com (accessed June 20, 2004).


Chapter 5. Southern Japan during American Occupation


5. Cherie Wendelken, “Aesthetics and Reconstruction: Japanese Architectural Culture in the 1950s,” in Hein et al., Rebuilding Urban Japan, 188–209, esp. 192. See also T. Su-

7. Yoshiteru Kosakai, *Hiroshima Peace Reader* (Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 1980), 5–22. Kosakai was chief editor of the Hiroshima City Historical Collective and the director of the Hiroshima City Archives. See also “There Have Been Two Versions of the Name Hiroshima and Kure,” one-page manuscript in the Hiroshima City Archives.


9. Ishimaru, “Reconstructing Hiroshima,” 87; Kosakai, *Hiroshima Peace Reader*, 8–9; Yoshida Mitsukuni, *Hiroshima and Beyond: A Heritage of Technology* (Tokyo: Mazda Corporation, 1985), 15–19, 26–27, 49–55. This conflict between miners and farmers resembles a contest between gold miners and early-day farmers in northern California, with the farmers complaining that mining caused the silting up of rivers. Going to their state capital in Sacramento, the farmers succeeded in having the state’s first environmental legislation passed in an attempt to prevent that silting.


15. Sorenson, *Urban Japan*, 53–57, 61. From 1889, mayors were appointed from one of three elected candidates, and there were elected city councils. However, the electorate was very limited until 1925, and the powers of the mayor and councilmen were severely restricted.


17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.


20. Ibid. For a detailed look at prewar neighborhoods, see Sugimoto, “Atomic Bombing and the Restoration of Hiroshima.”


27. Committee, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 80–86; and Tsutsui, “Landscapes,” 295–297. The radiation effects of the atomic bomb did not last long, for the half-life of the bomb’s
radioactive material was short. Within a few weeks it was safe to move back into Hiroshima. Interestingly, Tsutsui finds that the impact of the Second World War on Japan's flora and fauna was far from one-sided. There were negative consequences flowing from wartime exigencies—increased clear-cut logging, industrial pollution of the air and water, and the decimation of wildlife (especially through the use of birds as a food source). On the other hand, relieved of diminution by the removal of Japanese fishing vessels, fish and crab stocks in nearby and offshore waters recovered. So did fur seals in the Pacific Islands once Japanese hunting ended with the war. Tsutsui concludes that “while the Second World War clearly had a deleterious impact on many aspects of Japan’s natural environment, there were also significant ways in which the war brought unexpectedly beneficial environmental consequences” (p. 295).

31. Hershey, *Hiroshima*, 34.
32. Ibid., 73; and Liebow, *Encounter with Disaster*, 116.
35. Liebow, *Encounter with Disaster*, 120.
43. Otis Carey, *From a Ruined Empire: Letters—Japan, China, Korea, 1945–46* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1984), 249; Committee, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 468; Jungk, *Children of the Ashes*, 46–47, 76, 78–79; Liebow, *Encounter with Disaster*, 118; Lifton, *Life in Death*, 268; Rafael Steinberg, *Postscript from Hiroshima* (New York: Random House, 1965), 110. Only much later was discrimination against minority groups seen as bad by most Japanese. In 1980, while I was serving as a Fulbright Lecturer in Fukuoka, I was asked by two of my students, who wanted to marry, to serve as a go-between for their families, one of which was *eta*. With considerable reluctance, I agreed to do so. At what quickly became a very uncomfortable dinner, family members sat on opposite sides of a table in a Chinese restaurant (they probably felt that they could not refuse my invitation). They talked only to me, not to each other. The students did not marry.
44. On the meaning of the term hibakusha, see especially Lifton, Death in Life, 6–7. Survivors were also called higaisha and seizonsa.


48. Sorensen, Urban Japan. Sorensen concludes that postwar planning in Japan was at best “a qualified success” (p. 167). See also City Bureau, Ministry of Construction, City Planning in Japan (Tokyo: n.p., 1974), 26–27.


50. Ibid., 110; and Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 92–93. See also Ishida, “Reconstructing Hiroshima,” 92–93.

51. For reprints of the testimony, see City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima, 110; and Kosakai, Hiroshima Peace Reader, 18–19. See also Asahi Evening News, July 12, 1985, p. 3.

52. Ibid. On the planning ferment in 1946, see also Mark Gayn, Japan Diary (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1981), 267; and Hershey, Hiroshima, 102–103.

53. Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 94–95, 104. Advice came from all over Japan. The former head of city planning in Tokyo urged that Hiroshima residents pay special attention to devising new layouts for shopping streets and that they create landscaped parks along the banks of the Ota River. See Ishida, “Reconstructing Hiroshima,” 91–92.

54. Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 94–95, 104. See also Ishimaru, “Reconstructing Hiroshima,” 96.

55. City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima, 108.

56. Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 104.


60. Lifton, Death in Life, 213.

61. Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 106.


64. Kosakai, Hiroshima Peace Reader, 21. On Hamai’s initial doubts, see Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 61–62, 135. This account also argues that an Australian journalist, among the first to view Hiroshima after its bombing, coined the phrase “No More Hiroshimas.”

65. Kosakai, Hiroshima Peace Reader, 44.


74. Ibid., 18, 22; Steinberg, *Postscript from Hiroshima*, 63–64.


77. “Motomachi District Redevelopment Project, Hiroshima City,” typescript in the City Planning Office, Hiroshima. See also City of Hiroshima, “City Planning of Hiroshima,” 32; and Ishida, “Reconstructing Hiroshima,” 99–100. I had numerous opportunities to visit the apartments in the 1980s. The grounds were always meticulously clean and free of the graffiti.


84. Ironically, the fact that *hibakusha* were a shrinking proportion of Hiroshima’s population contributed to the city’s growing ideological unity. *Hibakusha* had composed about one-third of the city’s population in 1950, but a scant one-fifth fourteen years later. Affected by feelings of guilt and shame, and often physically debilitated, *hibakusha* found it difficult to cooperate in trying to win aid from their national government. The medical needs of the *hibakusha* were long ignored by governmental authorities. In 1954, prodded by the *Lucky Dragon* incident, the Japanese Diet made its first appropriation, one of less than $10,000, to aid hospitals in Hiroshima and Nagasaki dealing with nuclear-bomb
victims. By 1956, national government aid had risen to almost $100,000. Finally, in 1957 the Diet passed legislation recognizing the special medical needs of hibakusha and appropriated a significant sum to aid them. Even so, it was not until extensions of that legislation were made in the 1970s that the needs of hibakusha were adequately met. See Lifton, Death in Life, 267. See also Committee, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 503–603; and Walter Enloe and Randy Morris, Encounters with Hiroshima (St. Paul, MN: Hamline University Press, 1998).

85. Lifton, Death in Life, 262–263; Jungk, Children of the Ashes, 228–229; and Steinberg, Postscript from Hiroshima, 42–43.
86. Sorensen, Urban Japan, 200–255, esp. 213.
87. “Motomachi District Improvement Project.”
89. Ibid., 6, 12, 14, 16, 38; City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima, 128–129.
90. City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima, 129.
93. Hiroshima thus seems to have fared better than most Japanese cities. Sorensen judges the 1968 and 1970 laws to have largely failed in empowering local authorities, curbing urban sprawl, and, more generally, remaking cities. There were many loopholes in the laws, which developers in most localities exploited to carry on much as before. Not until the late 1990s and early 2000s did new legislation passed by the Diet in response to continuing citizen protests change the situation. See Sorensen, Urban Japan, 288–332.
96. Cusumano, Software Factories, 130,165; and Sorensen, Urban Japan, 261–264.
98. Ibid. Sorensen has tentatively concluded that “it does not seem likely a majority of the technopolises will be successful in the long run” and that “the concept of creating many small Silicon Valleys is flawed.” See Sorensen, Urban Japan, 263.
100. Ibid., 131–132.
101. Ibid., 134–139.


104. Ibid., 138–141.

105. Ibid., 140–152.

106. Ibid., 154–155.


108. See Columbus Dispatch, Oct. 26, 2005, p. A-10, Oct. 30, 2005, p. A-7; and Economist, Oct. 29, 2005, p. 44. I experienced a taste of Okinawan independence in 1980. My diary recorded: “Okinawa is very different from Fukuoka in culture and people. The people do not consider themselves to be part of Japan. An old woman at a Bingata factory told us that she had never been to Japan.” At the end of my visit, my hosts took me to the airport outside of Naha for my return flight to Fukuoka and bid me farewell, saying, “Bye, bye; have a good trip back to Japan.” See Blackford, “Diary,” Nov. 29, 30, 1980.


Chapter 6. Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa


5. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 41–107, esp. 73.

6. Ibid., 126.


10. After World War II, the U.S. military wanted to annex all of Micronesia and make Guam its capital. However, when the Soviet Union invaded Japan in 1945, it took several small Japanese islands north of Hokkaido and held them for strategic purposes. The United States wanted the Soviet Union to return those islands to Japan. The U.S. secretary of state advised President Truman that if the U.S.A. unilaterally annexed Micronesia, the Soviet Union would use that action as a precedent to keep the northern islands. From Undersecretary of the Interior Abe Fortas came the idea of making much of Micronesia a strategic trusteeship of the United States. The Soviet Union agreed to this compromise in return for American assurances that it would not press too hard for the return of the northern islands to Japan.


14. Ibid., 208–211.
15. Ibid., 214. It was the same 1946 Congress that passed legislation allowing Native Americans to take legal actions against the United States government for compensation due to broken treaties.
19. Ibid., 224–225. In 1962, a CIA training base on Saipan was relocated to Okinawa, thus enabling the security restrictions to be lifted.
27. Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1987), 52–69; David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944–1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 21–50; and Rainbird, *Archaeology*, 58–60. It took into the 1990s for other nations to fully recognize some of these political changes, which were complicated by global geopolitical concerns.
29. Carano and Sanchez, Complete History of Guam, 328; and Galbraith, Micronesia, 84. See also Economist, April 20, 2004, unpaginated announcement.

30. Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 288. Per capita income varied tremendously throughout Micronesia in the early 2000s: $21,000 in Guam; $8,000 in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands; $2,000 in the Federated States of Micronesia; $1,900 in the Marshall Islands; and $800 in Kiribati. See Pacific Magazine 30 (Jan. 2005): 24, 26, 30, 32, 33.


34. Hearings, 1972, 52.


38. Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 248.


43. Ibid., 28.


47. DEIS, 1977, III-6.
48. Hearings, 1972, 86. Rogers has written that “Orote Island is not really an island, but a large rock formation at the tip of Orote Peninsula, and is separated from the peninsula by a ravine that is partly submerged only at high tides.” Robert Rogers to the author, November 11, 2004, letter in the author’s possession.
49. DEIS, 1977, A-iii.
50. Ibid., C-1.
54. EIS, 1984, ii.
55. Ibid., F-1, F-20, F-33.
56. Ibid., D-18–D-21, D-28, D-29, F-21, F-22, F-29.
57. Ibid., D-12.
58. Ibid., D-13, D-14, D-30, D-32.
59. Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 249.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 22–25.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 24–25.
68. Ibid., 27–28.
69. Ibid., 37–38.
70. Ibid., 44–48.
71. Ibid., 64–67, 75.
72. Ibid., 81.
73. Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 249.
75. Hearings, 1972, 1–6.
76. Ibid., 3, 4, 11, 16.
77. Ibid., 5, 11, 17.
78. U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on the National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands (of the Committee on Natural Resources), Hearing to Provide for Additional De-

79. Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 260.
80. Hearing, 1993, 30–43
81. Ibid., 104, 107.
83. Holmes, This Is Guam, 11.
86. The brown tree snake was only the most notorious of alien species to invade the Mariana Islands in the wake of World War II. On Saipan, the navy planted tangan-tangan grasses to hold earth in place. The soil was eroding due to destruction by bombing and shelling during the conflict. Tangan-tangan quickly spread over Saipan, creating what one scholar has called “an impenetrable barrier.” See Peattie, Nan’yo, 313.
90. Ibid., 661.

96. For a bibliography of popular and scholarly studies, see H. G. A. Hughes, *Samoa (American Samoa, Western Samoa, Samoans Abroad)* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1997).


101. Darden, *American Samoa*, esp. 5, 17. Some commercial development occurred, but not much. In the mid-1950s, only 9 percent of the adult population held full-time jobs in one of the most commercially developed towns on Tutuila; of those who lived in a less-developed village on Ofu, the proportion came to only 1 percent. See Melvin Ember, “Commercialization and Political Change in American Samoa,” *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 95–110, esp. 104.


103. Ibid.


107. Vincente Diaz, “’Fight Boys, ’til the Last . . .‘: Islandstyle Football and the Remasculization of Indigeneity in the Militarized American Pacific Islands,” in *Pacific Diaspora*, Spikard, Rondilla, and Wright, eds., 169–194; and Vincente Diaz, “Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam,” in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, Borofsky, ed., 362–382. In mid-2004, Dirk Ballendorf, a faculty member at the University of Guam, wrote, “On Guam today there is a small, but loud minority of ‘Chamorro activists’ who might be something less than ten per cent of the total population” (Dirk Ballendorf to the author, May 7, 2004; letter in the author’s possession). Women were important leaders, just as in the Hawaiian Islands. See Rainbird, *Archaeology*, 35; and Laura Maria Torres


**Conclusions**


