

## War in Palau: Morikawa and the Palauans

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The Pacific War was one of the most significant events in modern history. For most Micronesians, especially the Palauans, it provided a transition from rule by an Asian colonial power to rule by a Western colonial power. The story of "Morikawa" presented here illustrates this transition. The story traces the changes in the Palauans' views of the Japanese that accompanied the increasing severity of wartime conditions. First, however, I briefly describe the Japanese presence in Micronesia both before and during the war.

### Japan's Micronesia

During its thirty-year administration of Micronesia (1914-1945), Japan's main center in Palau was a thriving Japanese town in Koror. The Nan'yocho (South Sea Bureau) settling in Koror in 1922 caused the town to become the center of commerce and administration for the whole of Micronesia. Evidence of this was the fact that the Japanese population in Koror in 1941 was 9408, out of a total island population of 9873.

The Palauans had only a few roles to play in the Japanese political, social, and economic arenas, and they seldom had contact with the Japanese during their daily lives. Despite their talent or ability, job opportunities were limited for individual Palauans after graduation from *kogakko* (Islanders' public school). After three to five years of public schooling, some of them attended Mokko Totei Yoseijo (Carpentry Apprenticeship Training Center), later known as the Industrial Apprenticeship Training Center. Some also attended the Seinen Koshukai (Young Men's Night Classes). Despite this almost all of them, if hired, became "tea" boys in government offices, or workers for private companies in the Angaur phosphate mines. The only gateway to success for a young Palauan was to become a *junkei* (Islander policeman) or *hojo kyoin* (assistant teacher). It was very desirable for Palauans to establish an economic niche in Japanese society because the cash income they received enabled them to experience the modern world. Simon Ramarui of Palau

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remembered that the Palauans were very curious about what the Japanese had and what they did. At the same time the Islanders were reminded by their Japanese teachers to "learn from the Japanese behavior." That is, they were encouraged to emulate the cultural standards of Japan.

Rapidly changing internal and external events, such as the political conditions on the Chinese continent, especially the "Manchurian incident" of 1931, also had a great effect on the islands. Japan's policy of slow Islander advancement, characterized by segregation of Islanders from Japanese, had to be altered to a rapid policy for the realization of *komin* (nation of the Emperor of Japan). This change resulted from national expansionism and the policy of the new Nan'yocho director, Hisao Hayashi, from the bureau of Kanto, China.

In 1933 Japan gave notice of its intention to withdraw from the League of Nations and did so formally in 1935. This event provided just the impetus Director Hayashi needed to announce the "Ten Year Development Plan for the South Sea Islands." According to the plan, based on the National Mobilization Law, the whole nation was to reform its mode of living in both matter and mind and would support government policy in the matter of conquest; in other words, a crusade. As a result Nan'yocho examined the concept of conferring Japanese nationality on Islanders because of the unification of the two peoples implied in the ten year plan. This plan, however, was not carried out because of the unexpected and continuous events of the Pacific War. Nevertheless, during the war between Japan and the United States Palauans inevitably came to fulfill their duties as *komin*. With the opening of hostilities on the Chinese mainland, both the Islanders and the Japanese in Micronesia were completely mobilized. The slogan "All Japanese nationals shall unite tightly" was propagated to persuade both the Japanese and the Islanders to form a single body for achieving the government's wartime goals. This change was dictated by the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement of 1938 which spread throughout Micronesia. Thus the earlier policy of comparative separatism for the two groups was reversed.

In December 1940 Nan'yo Gunto Taisei Yokusan-kai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association in the South Sea Islands) organized. With direction from the Tokyo headquarters, fifty-eight branches of the association established themselves throughout the small islands in Micronesia. This association sponsored the following daily activities for the purpose of raising the nationalistic consciousness of both the Japanese and the Islanders:

1 Emperor Day (anniversary of Emperor Jinmu's accession)--worship of the Emperor's photo, ceremony of worshipping from afar, and festival of supplication for winning the war.

2 Day of Worship at the Shrine--to deepen people's respect for the gods and ancestors.

3 Day of Upsurge of the Japanese Spirit and Clarification of the Fundamental Concept of Nation Policy--pamphlets and posters were distributed.

4 Day of Knowledge of the War Situation--lecture and movies.

5 Day of Conservation of Resources--gathering of both useless and discarded articles for recycling and the protection of materials.

6 Day to Reform the Nation's Life--stop smoking, stop drinking, eat simple foods, and donate extra money to the national defense fund.

7 Day to Restrain National Enjoyment--restraining of play, leisure, and so on.

8 Day of Physical and Mental Discipline and for Promotion of Health.

9 Day of Emergency Precautions--giving military training to preschool children and civilian adults, training maneuvers for air defense, fire defense, and searchlight use.

10 Day of Economy for the Coming Emergency--stop drinking, dispense with unnecessary luxuries, and donate savings to the war relief fund.

11 Day for Encouragement of Thrift and Diligence--abolish idleness with all one's might according to one's own occupation, the promotion of efficiency, good use of energy, curtailing of unnecessary expenses and saving money.

12 Day of Patriotism--conduct marches and flag processions to inspire patriotism.

13 Day for the Home Front to Support the Fighting Forces--house to house visiting, gathering donations for the soldiers.

14 Day to Wake Up Early--waking up early, worshipping at the shrines, mountaineering, worshipping the Emperor's Palace from a distance.

15 Day for Appreciation of the Imperial Favor--regularly paying silent tribute to the great Imperial favor with appreciation.

Palauan knowledge of the national situation deepened through these spiritual days and common activities with the Japanese. Tomin Fujin Kinro Hoshi-kai (Island Women's Volunteer Group) led by the Japanese Women's Patriotic Society; Tomin Seinen-dan (Young Islanders' Association) which joined with the Japanese Shobo-dan (Fire Fighting Association); and Keibo-dan (voluntary guards for the purpose of making preparations for US air

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attacks) were typical examples of how the Islanders and Japanese mobilized themselves under the same purpose to win the war.

As the war moved closer to Palau the Islanders themselves came to understand the war situation and made contributions to the various saving funds. In their support of the war effort the Islanders contributed 14,129 times for a total of 131,815 yen. This generous amount was contributed during the period from April to December 1943. These amounts show clearly that the Palauans on a per person basis banked and contributed large sums of money according to the Japanese national policy for building the Greater East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Some Islanders, especially those in Saipan, asked the Nan'yocho to give them Japanese nationality. With this change in status the Islanders could be sent to the war front. The request was not approved. However, several small groups of Islanders were sent to New Guinea as civilian helpers assigned to the military (see chapter 14 by Ubal Tellei).

The Japanese naval office in Palau started constructing fortifications in Micronesia in 1937. From the advent of the Pacific War to about mid-1943 the Japanese military viewed Palau mainly as a rear base and supply depot between Japan, New Guinea, and Dutch Indonesia. Although personnel in military units passing through Palau were drafted to assist in the construction of airports, roads, bomb shelters, and the movement of war supplies, labor was still very much in short supply. All residents of the Palau Islands, including both Palauan and Japanese women, and children in elementary schools, were made to work on the construction of military facilities. War supplies were stocked all over Koror town, and huge amounts were scattered throughout southern Babeldaob. During this time the Islanders labored with patriotic vigor. Their unflinching dedication surprised the Japanese who, in turn, reevaluated their conception that Palauans were lazy and did not realize the need for hard work.

The first US attack on the island took place on 29 March 1944, when US carrier-based planes raided Palau. After these raids most residents in populated areas, including the military, evacuated to jungle sanctuaries on Babeldaob. On 6 July 1944 the Japanese military garrison on Saipan was captured. American troops landed on Guam on 21 July and on Tinian on 23 July 1944. The situation for Japan's military forces in the Pacific War became serious, especially after the US invasion of Peleliu on 15 September and Angaur on 17 September 1944. The Japanese military, cut off from all communication with the outside world, announced the "Principle of Self-Support" to all field troops on 3 November 1944. Furthermore, all navy, army, and civilian personnel not engaged in fighting became members of agricultural groups. Nan'yocho Director Vice Admiral Boshiro Hosogaya called for all

general residents in the Palau Islands to "fight the war successfully through rearguard action."

From late 1944 on, the "fight" for the Japanese became one of obtaining food rather than preventing an American invasion of Babeldaob and Koror. The Japanese commander in Palau, Lieutenant General Inoue, decided to hold Babeldaob no matter what the sacrifice, and to inflict maximum damage on the enemy. This "fight" continued until the end of the war even though US troops did not invade Koror or Babeldaob.

On 15 August 1945 the war between Japan and the United States in Palau ended. The Japanese military in Palau and Yap signed the instrument of surrender aboard a US destroyer on 2 September 1945. Representing the two sides were Lieutenant General Inoue and Brigadier General Marshall. Approximately forty-five thousand people formally surrendered that day. This included the Japanese military and all civilian personnel. After the war groups of Korean and Taiwanese laborers rioted against the Japanese, but a friendly relationship between the Japanese and the Palauans remained.

Kanpei Taisha Nan'yo Jinja, the highest ranking Shinto shrine in Koror, was built in 1940 by the Japanese government to celebrate the 2600th year of the Imperial reign. It was considered one of the greatest symbols of Japan's expansionism overseas. This important shrine was set on fire by the Japanese military just before the US landing, because they believed it would have been desecrated by the Americans. In retrospect this act was symbolic of the end of the Japanese administration of the islands.

### **Morikawa and the Palauans**

"Morikawa" is a fascinating story filled with both fact and fiction. It is a mixture of both the horrors of war and the unique human ability to psychologically explain the seemingly unexplainable. It is not known whether the Morikawa legend, which developed over a number of years, was started during or after the war.

Even today nearly all older Palauans recognize the name "Morikawa-san" or "Morikawa Taii" (Captain Morikawa). According to Palauan oral history Morikawa suddenly appeared in Palau. He would walk about resolutely without hiding in the jungles, even when US airplanes started strafing. These planes, local tradition holds, did not and could not attack Morikawa. Palauans who met Morikawa during the war period believe he was connected with the US military. There are many common Palauan beliefs about Morikawa that, taken together, form a powerful wartime legend. One story said that Morikawa had a wireless for communicating with the United States, and he sent his messenger, a Yapese, to Peleliu, which the United States had taken

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from the Japanese in a fierce battle. The Palauans believed that Morikawa was an American spy who had succeeded in contacting the Americans in order to help thwart the Japanese. Some Palauans heard rumors that the Japanese planned to kill them all; others predicted this plan would be canceled because of the influence of Morikawa.

The strength of these wartime legends probably prompted Timothy Ngtil of Ngeremengui to report on 7 January 1975 that

Morikawa arrived in Palau without informing anybody as to which airport or seaport he would use. He urged Palauans to concentrate on enlarging their farms and growing many plants such as taro, tapioca, rice, and other foods. The increased production would help alleviate the food shortage and improve Palauan morale. Because the Japanese military in Palau suffered from a scarcity of food, they had decided to kill all the Palauans. The Japanese were quite positive that this genocidal plan was the panacea that would end their suffering. Upon learning about the plan, Morikawa attempted to find a solution whereby Palauans could escape mass death and, at the same time, solve the Japanese food shortage problem. He suggested to the Japanese military officials in Palau that they postpone their extermination plans and use the natives to grow more food plants.

Another Palauan, Yoshiko Ashio, echoes Ngtil's story. She remembers that Morikawa was a very handsome, likeable young man, probably a nisei from Hawai'i. She maintains that as the commanding officer responsible for Palauans he was, at the same time, a US spy. Japanese soldiers, according to Ashio, had prepared a huge bomb shelter and planned to kill the Palauans by herding them in and then detonating a bomb. As ordered by headquarters, Morikawa visited Ashio's village in Ngiwal. He told the villagers there that he would inform them in about a week of the date they should prepare food, clothes, and mats and come to Ngatpang. After Morikawa left Ngiwal he was not seen for a while. Palauans believed that during this time Morikawa climbed Todai-yama in Ollei, located in northern Babeldaob, and sent signals to US ships located between Kayangel and Ngarchelong. The signals, they believed, probably meant he had finished visiting Palauan villages on the east coast of Babeldaob and was going to visit the west coast villages. The Islanders also believe military officials on the US ships already knew of the Japanese plans for genocide. After this work Morikawa returned to Ngatpang and asked Lieutenant General Inoue, the commander, "Please wait one more week before ordering the Palauans to assemble here." Within this same week Japan's surrender ended the Pacific War. Ashio maintains that the Palauans "commonly believe that Morikawa saved them from genocide." Moreover, because no one could find him after the war, Palauans believed that

Morikawa returned to Hawai'i or was killed in Palau by the Japanese on suspicion of being a spy.

Other oral traditions in Palau support this testimony. They maintain that Morikawa knew the war would soon end and suggested to the Japanese military officials in Palau that young, athletic Palauans could be mobilized to form a new military group. The idea was accepted by the Japanese authorities, and a training program was established. This was yet another way Morikawa found to save the Islanders from execution. Ngartil concluded, "Maybe our God in heaven did not agree with Japanese military plans, so he sent this powerful and intelligent man to us. Many Palauans thank him for the great job he performed in saving the entire population of Palau."

The following Palauan chant song, titled "Meringel a Mekemedil Rubak" (Merciless War of the Rubak), composed by Buikispis, typifies the Palauan regard for Morikawa:

So reckless was the way Isoroku [Admiral Yamamoto] handled the war that  
he irritated Roosevelt who sent out *kidobutai* [mobile troops].

He sent our *kidobutai* to fill the whole Pacific.

It filled the whole Pacific and turned its weapons on us.

Wow--there are *okabes*, flying *kusentei* [submarine chaser] shooting at our  
lands.

Wow--*kusentei* shooting. Hiding in the woods we were unaware that they  
[the Japanese] were preparing a *bokugo* [air raid shelter] at Ngatbang  
in an attempt to exterminate us all.

Were it not for our rescue by Morikawa, [President] Roosevelt's spy, we  
should have all perished at Ngatbang.

Today Yoshiyasu Morikawa lives in Japan. Documents state that he was educated in the Japanese Army Officers School during the prewar period. Morikawa was trained as a field artillery man at the Tokyo Field Artillery Training School and after graduation was assigned to the 20th Regiment in Utsunomiya, Tochigi-ken, Japan. He served in the border guards along the Russian-Manchurian border in Chichiharu (Qiqihar). He received further training for six months in academic artillery study at the Science School in Tokyo, graduating in April 1944. His corps had been ordered to move from Manchuria to Palau while he underwent his training in Tokyo. Upon his graduation he was appointed to serve at the headquarters in Palau in early May. Currently, he is retired from Japan's Ground Self-Defense Force. Morikawa claims that the Palauan contention that he was a US spy is erroneous and is amazed at the myth. He also denies that the Japanese military planned to kill all of the Palauans. In reference to his arrival, Morikawa states he was the only passenger on a military flight destined for

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the islands. He served directly under Lieutenant General Inoue, commander of the headquarters in Ngatpang. His duties involved studying strategic military topography; surveying times, places, and strategies of possible US landings on Babeldaob; and drafting plans to counter subversive activity on the part of the Islanders.

According to Morikawa one great anxiety the Japanese military had during the war was the civilian unrest that prevailed throughout Babeldaob. The meaninglessness of the fight against the United States, food shortages, and the US strategy of surrounding Babeldaob with warships but not landing after the Peleliu and Angaur invasions, tempted not only Chamorros, but also Palauans to escape to American warships regularly anchored off Ngarchelong. In fact most of the two hundred Chamorros living there had escaped to US naval ships between late 1944 and early 1945. A Palauan named Oikawasang (Joseph Tellei) was tempted by these Chamorros to escape to an American ship in Kossaol Channel. In mid-December 1944 he fled with his wife, Josefa, to Peleliu via Angaur. The news of his escape gave Japanese headquarters a great shock because he was a former *junkei-cho* (head native policeman). This was the highest position an Islander could obtain in those days, and for many years he had enjoyed the confidence of the Japanese. Morikawa said Japanese headquarters regarded such escapes as a serious problem, and they feared strategic information would be leaked to the Americans. Therefore, the need to organize the Palauan society for united Japanese-Palauan action became pressing.

Headquarters ordered Yoshiyasu Morikawa, then a twenty-four-year-old captain and intelligence officer, to organize all the Palauans in Babeldaob. Morikawa's assignments were to iron out the differences between the Palauans and the Japanese soldiers, to encourage the Palauans to cooperate with the military, and to prevent Palauan involvement in any acts serving the interests of the enemy. Lieutenant General Inoue ordered all military officials to support Morikawa. The group of Palauans Morikawa organized came to be known as the Morikawa Butai (Morikawa Corps). The corps was comprised of a group of civilian, administrative, and military persons. In addition Japanese *shidokan* (leaders) who were former school teachers or policemen were stationed in some *hinanba* (places of refuge). Palauan chiefs and elders were to cooperate with the Morikawa Butai and the *shidokan* under the single authority of the Japanese military headquarters.

Before the beginning of hostilities with the United States, the relationship between the Palauans and the Japanese was considered satisfactory, and the nan'yochō administration of Palauan affairs was benevolent. The Palauans began to understand the intricacies of a more sophisticated social order and gained the amenities of a modern society. The Japanese, for their part,



harvested the resources of the islands. The outbreak of war and the continual failures of the Japanese Imperial Forces caused a serious breakdown in this harmony. The cultured group that once flourished in Palau was supplanted by an increasingly haggard military, one forced to scavenge, often abusively, without regard to the Palauans' needs.

Attempting to make amends, Captain Morikawa began survey trips twice a month to the twelve to thirteen Palauan *hinanba*. He investigated Palauan living conditions and learned that the Palauans resented Japanese soldiers stealing coconuts and potatoes, so he asked the leaders of the Japanese soldiers to stop such behavior. Morikawa urged the Palauans not to disturb military maneuvers and to obey orders. In order to help alleviate the food shortages the Morikawa Butai taught the Palauans how to enlarge their farms and especially how to cultivate tapioca and sweet potatoes. He also ordered troops to be stationed near the Palauan *hinanba* for its protection. He recalls that the Palauans had morning assemblies in each *hinanba*. The *shidokan*, the leader of the *hinanba*, delivered a patriotic speech and assigned the Palauans their daily work. The Japanese national anthem was sung and Palauans faced respectfully in the direction of the Emperor's palace in Tokyo. If the Palauans had any complaints to make, the military officials and *kyoiku-shigaku* (school inspector) would hear them.

The role of the Morikawa Butai helped reduce the friction between the Palauans and the Japanese soldiers. These activities are remembered by older Palauans who have great respect for Morikawa, even now, some forty years after the war.

Contradicting the Palauans' belief that Morikawa was an enemy spy, he said, "I was never a spy. I recommended to headquarters the idea of Giyu-Kirikomi-tai (Patriotic Shock Corps) as a means of spiritual control of young, male Palauans." The Islanders confirmed that this name greatly encouraged young Palauan men because it was the name used for a special Japanese corps that counterattacked US forces in Peleliu in late September 1944. The name took on the aura of heroic suicide troops facing the enemy.

Second Lieutenant Ichiro Hachisu recalled that he was ordered by Teru Shudan (Teru Group, veteran troops from Manchuria) at headquarters to be one of the trainers. A total of eighty Palauan men were enlisted on two separate occasions. The men were between eighteen and twenty-seven years old, physically strong, and of good character. They received six months of spiritual and technical combat training.

Recent interviews with all the surviving Palauan members of the Kirikomi-tai reveal that they believe, even today, that their mission was to counterattack US troops on Peleliu. However, this was not the case. Hachisu said that the military training that Palauans received from the Japanese was

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for the purpose of teaching rigid discipline, Japanese manner, and genuine courage culled from experience. He thought the Islanders would believe their duty would be equivalent to that of the Japanese. Both Morikawa and Hachisu contend that the Japanese high command in Palau did not envision Palauans as an actual fighting force.

Corresponding to Morikawa's idea to create the group, Hachisu remembers that his efforts were admired by former Nan'yocho officials, who since the beginning of civilian rule felt there had not been a greater fruit in the education of Islanders than this training, even though Nan'yocho had made large budgetary outlays for over twenty years pursuing this type of policy. Morikawa said "the meaning of education in this case was to provide Palauans the ability to work with the Japanese, and to achieve capability on the Japanese level with which Islanders could fulfill their responsibilities." These words reflect Morikawa's national patriotism in those days as a man trained by the Japanese Military Officer School.

According to Palauans, Japanese witnesses, and Morikawa's own statement, there are no substantiated facts to confirm he was an American spy. Morikawa stated the reality behind the Palauans' "Morikawa" fable. First, he was a military officer born in Ehime prefecture, Shikoku, Japan. He was not a nisei from Hawai'i. His father, who was a principal of a Japanese elementary school, always taught him that he must be benevolent to everybody. Morikawa also explained that he had studied but does not speak English. He insists he never contacted anyone from the US military during the war. Although Palauans said he suddenly disappeared after Japan's surrender and was either killed by the Japanese military or returned to Hawai'i, he was in fact repatriated to Japan with his troops in January 1946 after he received treatment for amoebic dysentery. Further verification of this is the registry of his name on the list of Japanese military pensioners in the Welfare Ministry of the Japanese government. Lieutenant Hachisu, Morikawa's subordinate, stated, "It was completely impossible for any military officer who worked for headquarters to conduct activities as an enemy spy." Morikawa acknowledged that he had attempted to send signals to US warships off northern Babeldaob in order to judge what the Islanders' signals to these ships had meant. He said, "I was ordered by Lieutenant General Inoue to investigate the meaning of light signals which the Islanders occasionally used to communicate with the U.S. warships." This was one of his missions as an intelligence officer. Morikawa also said he had never visited Peleliu during his one-and-a-half-year tour of duty in Palau.

Morikawa and other former Japanese military officers and soldiers denied the existence of any plan to kill the Palauans. "The result of the American-Japanese fight was readily obvious even for us when both Peleliu and Angaur

fell. US ships surrounding Babeldaob Island didn't attack us except on a few occasions, and it was completely unnecessary for us to kill the Islanders that late in the war. The Islanders didn't affect us," said Morikawa. He recalls that escapes to the US ships did not continue after early 1945 when the Morikawa corps established itself. Jiro Nakamura, a former Nan'yo military policeman who was sentenced to prison for his involvement in the 1944 shooting of an American pilot prisoner, stated, "While a few rebellious Korean laborers were captured by the military police, the simple and honest Palauans, who were below the standards set by the general Japanese population, were to be regarded as not dangerous. Genocide of the Islanders would have been planned if it took place on an island such as Saipan or Guam. But in the case of Babeldaob, it was not seriously attacked by the Americans in the post-Peleliu and Angaur days. Therefore, the idea that the Japanese military would have tried to kill the Islanders does not correspond with the facts. I personally never heard of the plan which was supposed to be our duty."

Reflecting on his wartime experiences in Palau, Morikawa said, "That I was a military officer might be a reason why the Islanders paid special attention to me. Because of my officer education and training, I was naturally different from the non-professional soldiers with respect to behavior and language." These words remind us of Ashio's statement: "Morikawa always wore white clothes and walked dauntlessly in the jungle even while American airplanes attacked."

Morikawa's story, or that of the "man" that was named Morikawa, was created piece-by-piece by the Islanders' fear, dissatisfaction, frustration, uneasiness, and anger associated with the extreme conditions of war experienced for the first time. The complex events of the story become understandable given the unique sociological and psychological pressures of wartime.

One of the references that helps explain the Palauan view toward the Japanese in the prewar period was the Japanese educational policy stated in *Nan'yo Gunto Kyoiku-shi* (History of Education in the South Sea Islands, 1938). It said that "education for the Islanders will be given importance, especially educability of their spirit building, and they will be taught moral principles in accordance with the Imperial Wish of its Rescript." This historical document also stated that the Japanese on the islands were instructed to make supreme efforts to maintain and improve the dignity of being a Japanese and were encouraged to be models for the benefit of the Islanders. However, as recognition of the worsening war situation increased, the Japanese (mainly the military) began demonstrating their *honne* (instinctive reaction to a situation). Although all soldiers were taught *tatemaie* (character, as it exists in principle), the instinctive side of them became

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prevalent. This behavioral change was caused mainly by food shortages and the unbelievable hardships of jungle life. Contrary to the norm, Morikawa, who served as a mediator between the Japanese and the Islanders, acted with fortitude and kindness. His attitude and behavior sparked the Islanders' imagination of the other power--"strong America." Morikawa drew a sharp distinction between himself and the other Japanese. Ashio, the Islander, was very disappointed in the troops' behavior. She related her experience by explaining, the people had been repeatedly told of Japan's immortality, but when they saw the soldiers' animalistic behavior they began to hope that the Japanese would be defeated by the Americans. The contrasting concepts of Japanese vs American, and the reality of the general Japanese soldier's behavior, as opposed to Morikawa's, mingled in the Islanders' mind. Born from within this paradox, was a light of hope--the mythical "Morikawa."

A fitting conclusion to Morikawa's story comes from Morikawa himself: "It may be interesting to know whether I was a spy or not. However, the more important fact of the story is that this is how the Palauans psychologically interpreted their wartime history. They created a 'story of a man' and have been believing it for over forty years."

NOTE: This paper is based on two previous papers of mine: "Micronesians and the Pacific War: The Palauans," Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1986; and "Micronesia Under the Japanese Administration: Interviews with Former South Sea Bureau and Military Officials," Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1987.