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# World War II Archaeology in Fiji: Assessing the Material Record

Allison Young

*Abstract: World War II was a global conflict that dramatically changed societies and landscapes around the world. It also left behind a vast and diverse material record. Although the battles of the conflict never reached Fiji, a British colony in the South Pacific, the War's impact on the island group is clear. Through 1942 and part of 1943, while under threat of Japanese invasion, defensive installations and occupation facilities were built on the island. In the later years of the war, Fiji became a forward base for the Allied forces. This resulted in the construction of transportation infrastructure, and an influx of Allied troops and supplies. This paper presents an inventory of the significant World War II heritage sites on the main island of Fiji, Viti Levu. The study also discusses how the war impacted Fiji and laid the groundwork for aspects of modern life in the island nation.*

## *Introduction*

Throughout historical discussions on World War II in the Pacific, Fiji is not a location that is frequently mentioned. The island nation was never invaded or occupied by the Japanese, and the landscape was never devastated by a major battle. Despite a lack of large scale involvement in the broader history of the Pacific Theater, Fiji still played a part in the war and was greatly affected by the global conflict. Fiji was directly threatened by Japanese invasion for a period of time in 1942-1943 and was later used as a forward base for United States forces. A military force was established initially for defense of the country, but eventually served overseas in the Solomon Islands. The landscape was altered by the construction of defensive installations, medical facilities, airfields, and other industrial infrastructure. These physical changes to the country represent a transformation in Fijian society and culture. A historical archaeological perspective on the remains of the Second World War in Fiji could provide valuable insight on the way that Fiji was impacted during the by the Second World War.

Conflict archaeology is a more recent sub-field of historical archaeology. It studies archaeological sites of conflict such as battlefields, fortifications, prisoner of war camps, and defensive installations. This study expands on previous research conducted in the spring of 2009 that compiled a historical archaeological inventory of World War II heritage sites. Beyond gaining knowledge of military strategy, this study will theoretically analyze selected data inventory in an attempt to better understand Fiji's role during the Second World War.

Conflict archaeology at sites of modern warfare is still a relatively young practice and is still in development. Recently, conflict archaeologists have begun to develop theoretical models with terms and concepts from the field of military science. Military theoreticians have developed numerous concepts and terms to understand how to successfully conduct war. An example of one of these concepts is the levels of war. Scott and Bleed (2011) have employed this concept to analyze Indian Wars conflict sites in Nebraska. Application of these theoretical tools will demonstrate the potential for these models at World War II sites. Ideally this study will provide a starting point for further discourse on the use of this theory at World War II sites and demonstrate the potential for further research in Fiji.

The sites discussed in this study are threatened by contemporary intrusions and land development. It is important to record their locations and state of preservation for future research projects. The use of military science theoretical models will demonstrate their broad range of application. A deeper understanding of how global wars transformed indigenous colonized societies could shed light on the contemporary conditions of many developing countries around the world.

### *Review of Literature*

A synthesis of several types of World War II archaeology in the Pacific is provided to better acquaint the reader with conflict archaeology in the region. This review will also help the reader gauge where this study fits into the available literature. Raymond Wood (1991) compiled a number of articles on fieldwork. The purpose of this compilation is to exhibit the early results of World War II archaeology before a wider audience of archaeologists. Russell and Fleming (1991) discuss the excavation of a Japanese mass grave that is possibly related to a massive suicide charge during the battle of Saipan. Butler and Snyder (1991) explain the archaeology of the Japanese occupation and defense of Palau Island. Features include larger fixed installations such

as air strips and bases, small hardened defensive positions like bunkers and pill boxes, and hastily erected earthwork defenses like trenches and foxholes. This diverse collection of articles shares the common theme of the great research potential of World War II archaeology.

State commissioned field reports are also an excellent example of World War II fieldwork being done in the Pacific. Several countries around the Pacific have commissioned surveys of the World War II remains on the islands. Henrik Christiansen (1994) produced a series of reports on the WWII remains on the Marshall Islands. Two field reports from Saipan and Palau are also relevant to battlefield archaeology in the Pacific. Denfeld and Russell (1984) discuss a survey of the B-29 bomber base on Saipan. Denfeld (1998) discusses the historical background of the battle for Peleliu and presents the archaeological survey of remains. These field reports are excellent examples of fieldwork being done in the Pacific and provide valuable insights into the conflict archaeology of the region.

Bulgrin (2005) interprets the artifact distributional data from a residential complex to discuss infantry combat during the invasion of Saipan. His analysis provides detail of the violent exchange that were absent from the historical narrative of the battle. This article illustrates how valuable details about the battle and combat can be learned from the artifact distribution at a seemingly insignificant site of a small group action. Bulgrin's research represents some of the more recent academic endeavors to analyze the material remains of World War II.

### *Methodology*

The goal of this study is to discuss and analyze a selection of sites from an archaeological inventory of significant World War II heritage sites on Viti Levu. A number of different research methods were necessary to achieve this goal. The study focuses on the main island of Viti Levu because that is where the majority of defenses and structures are concentrated. Lowry (2006) explains the military reasoning in the placement of defenses: "The capital and most of the colony's infrastructure was on the main island, Viti Levu, making it the most critical point in the archipelago. Seizing any of the other islands would leave attacking forces vulnerable to air forces operating from Viti Levu" (Lowry 2006:4). World War II sites on Viti Levu were placed on the inventory based on designations by the National Trust, recommendations from the Fiji Museum, as well as the personal judgment of the author. They are all representative features of a crucial historical period in the nation's history. A variety of the sites meet other aspects of the list's values, but that point was the most applicable.



Historical research was conducted in order to find both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources provide relevant background information about Fiji during World War II. During the initial fieldwork, I made an effort to perform a first-hand examination of as many sites on the list as possible. At each location, I examined the primary features of the site and took notes about its condition of preservation. I also photographed these sites in detail. Temporal and financial constraints hindered me from visiting every site on the island. However, I did obtain information about sites I was not able to visit from the Fiji Museum and secondary sources. I focused my research around Suva because there is a representative concentration of sites around the city. Inaccessibility either because of distance or by law hindered the development of the project. Several locations were not open to the public and their assessment is based on secondary research. The research methods employed in this study were satisfactory tools for completion of academic goals. They allowed the author to complete the fieldwork in a severely limited time frame.

### *Theory*

As an emerging field, conflict archaeology has worked towards developing its own theoretical models. Recently, conflict archaeologists have begun to employ military models of conflict analysis to better understand archaeological remains. Theoreticians in military science have developed numerous concepts and terms that help military commanders conduct war more effectively. Bleed and Scott (2011) have introduced a unifying model known as the Levels of War. The levels of war are a set of concepts that clarify the link between strategic objectives and tactical actions. This military concept can be applied to the World War II sites in Fiji. Their successful use in the analysis of World War II sites in the Pacific will demonstrate the broad range of applicability for the models throughout space and time.

The levels of war are a broad concept that places all warfare behavior into three main levels; strategic, operational, and tactical. It is introduced in the Operations manual that is issued by the army (2003). This model is both conceptual and concrete. The strategic level is the broadest category; it is the level at which leaders of a nation determine long term objectives in terms of security. It involves designing ways to use force to achieve communal objectives. The operational level involves turning strategic policy into specific action. It is critical to archaeology because it anchors strategic goals to specific points in time and space. The tactical level is defined by the use of force in combat, i.e. the realm of direct and close fighting (2003).

The levels of war are fairly broad categories of behavior. Military theorists defined a number of conceptual terms for spatial aspects of operational actions so they may be discussed in more detail. Many of these terms fall under the main concept of the operational framework, which is defined as “the arrangement of friendly forces and resources in time, space, and purpose with respect to each other and the enemy or situation” (2003). The main components are the area of operations, battlespace, and the battlefield organization. The area of operations is an area occupied by a combat force. It is the space where land and naval force commanders synchronize operations and support systems. Battlespace is a conceptual term for the environment, factors, and conditions commanders must understand to successfully apply combat power, protect the force, or complete the mission. Within battlespace, the area of influence is a critical component. The area of influence is a geographical area in which a commander can directly influence operations. One type of location found in the area of influence is the force projection base, which is an intermediate staging area between a home station and the area of operations (2003). Battlefield organization is the allocation of forces in the area of operations and influence by purpose. It consists of several types of operations: decisive, shaping, and sustaining. Decisive and sustaining operations both apply to Fiji during the Second World War. Decisive operations are those that directly accomplish the task assigned by commanders. Sustaining operations enable other types of operations by providing service support, rear area security, movement control, terrain management, and infrastructure development.

This diverse assortment of terms and concepts can be unified into a theoretical model to better understand sites of conflict. The levels of war are excellent conceptual tools to better understand the objectives and subsequent actions of military forces. The operational framework explains the logistics of implementing the levels of war in time and space. These theoretical tools can be seen in the historical and material record of World War II. They can be used to better understand the role of Fiji during the global conflict.

### *Fiji and the Second World War: A General Overview*

Some relevant background history of Fiji and the Second World War will provide valuable context for this study. Fiji was named a British crown colony in 1874 through the Deed of Cession, which was signed by the Fijian chiefs. Indentured labor from India was brought to Fiji for the sugar cane industry in the late 19th century. From that point on, Fiji became a multi-ethnic nation of three principal

groups: indigenous Fijians, Europeans, and Indo-Fijians. Fiji first began establishing a military during World War I.

The Fiji Defense Force (FDF) was established in 1914 at battalion strength to help protect the islands from German raiders (Ravuvu 1988:5). Many European-Fijians volunteered for service with British Empire forces. Ratu Lala Sukuna was the only ethnic Fijian to see combat during the First World War by joining the French Foreign Legion. A Fijian labor detachment of approximately 100 men was sent to Italy (Lowry 2006:2). Fiji's involvement in the First World War was fairly minimal and the islands remained mostly untouched by the conflict. This was not to be the case during World War II.

At the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the FDF consisted of a headquarters, a signal unit, and only one territorial battalion. The colonial government made an effort to expand the country's defenses as well as contribute to the British war effort in Europe. Fund raising efforts were undertaken to finance the purchase of aircrafts for the British cause (Lowry 2006:3). For the first two years of the war, 1939-1941, the main threat in the Pacific region were armed German merchant cruisers that were attempting to capture supplies from New Zealand and Australia that were going to the UK via the Panama Canal. The trans-Pacific submarine telegraph cable that ran via Norfolk Island, Suva, and Fanning Island was also threatened. The threat to Fiji was significantly elevated with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and Southeast Asia. Governor of Fiji, Sir Harry Luke addressed the legislative council, "The war, which in its earlier stages seemed so remote from our shores that the full measure of its menace may have been at times difficult to realize, has now been carried most treacherously into the very heart of the Pacific...we must be prepared for other 'incidents' in this ocean whose name is now not only climatically but politically a misnomer" (Lowry 2006:6). This excerpt illustrates that Luke knew of the immense potential of the Japanese threat.

Japan's desire to increase its empire had led it to attack Pearl Harbor and several other Pacific locations in early December, 1941. Japanese leadership hoped that by securing a chain of island bases in Southeast Asia as well as crippling the US fleet, they would be able to protect themselves from an American counter offensive and negotiate a quick treaty of surrender with the Americans. The surprise attack in Hawaii, the Philippines, Malaya, and the Netherlands East Indies all resulted in victories. They later went on to seize American possession of Guam, the Australia mandated territory of New Guinea, and the British possessions of the Solomon Islands, and Gilbert Islands (Lowry 2006:9).



After their initial successes, they were forced to reassess their strategy which ultimately led to a difference of opinion between Japanese leadership. One side argued for the complete capture of New Guinea, followed by the invasion of New Caledonia, Fiji, and Samoa. The opposition argued for luring the US Navy into a decisive battle at Midway Island in order to completely destroy their fleet. The compromise reached is best summed up by Van der Vat. He states, "The Navy was to capture Midway, the US outpost in the middle of the Pacific, to extend the perimeter and force a decisive battle with the US fleet...and afterwards the New Caledonia, Fiji, and Samoa were to be occupied to cut off Australia as the new rearward base for an allied counter attack" (Van der Vat 1995:163). Fiji and its surrounding island groups were crucial to the Allied protection of Australia because they acted as a vital link in the lines of communication and supply between Australia and the Americas.

This imminent threat led to the development of more intense defenses and military forces in Fiji provided by New Zealand first and later the United States. The Japanese advance was stopped with the Battle of Midway in early June of 1942. In the Allied counter-offensive, Fiji served as a forward base for troops and supplies. It also contained medical facilities for recovering injured troops during the Solomons campaign. The Fiji Defense Force also developed and expanded to the point where it was known as the Fiji Military Forces. As the war progressed closer to Japan, Fiji's role became less significant. Despite the eventual phase out of Fiji's importance in the war, the effects of the War in Fiji, as well as, its physical would remain for many years after its conclusion.

### *Data*

This section will serve as a synthesis of the information gathered through fieldwork and historical research about each site. I will divide the chapter into sections based on the different categories of locations. For each site, the location, state of preservation, and all relevant historical information will be given from both primary and secondary sources.

#### Batteries

1. Veiuto Battery, also known as Suva Battery: located on the grounds of Parliament.
2. Nasosonini Battery, also known as the Flagstaff battery: located on the grounds of the forum. secretariat, associated with a radar station in Flagstaff.



### 3. Momi Battery: located in Nadi.

#### Hospitals

1. Tamavua Hospital Complex- contains underground features as well.
2. Fiji College of Advance Education: served as hospital during the war.

#### Tunnel Systems

1. Complex near the Fiji Museum.
2. Cunningham Tunnels.

#### Airports

1. Suva (Nausori).
2. Nadi.

#### Battery Complexes

Three of the six batteries on Viti Levu are discussed in this study. A battery is a parapet or fortification equipped with artillery. In Fiji's case, batteries were used as the primary method of coastal defense. The batteries locations are concentrated around Suva and Nadi, since those were the two most likely points for a coastal invasion from the Japanese.

The Suva Battery, also known as the Maukinau Battery, stands on the grounds of the Parliament. The guns have long since been removed, but the emplacements still remain. The battery complex also contains a bomb shelter, a search light station, the foundation of an unidentified structure, and a command post. The foundation of the unidentified structure now houses a cell phone tower. The searchlight station contains a rifle rack potentially from the war era. There was evidence of contemporary intrusion, mainly in the form of graffiti. The damage was not extensive.

Construction of the Suva Battery began in September of 1939 (Howlett 1948:18). Dummy guns were put in place until the real guns arrived in December of the same year. The Fiji Military Forces's history on their web page provides an account of the placement of the guns: "The first two 4.7" guns were brought into the country on board the HMS Leander. A blackout was observed within the Suva vicinity to allow the two guns to be conveyed to the Muanikau hill to avoid the enemy's knowledge of its location" (<http://www.rfmf.mil.fj/>). The barracks of the battery were completed in January of 1940. The first test shot from the 4.7" guns was fired in March of 1940. (Howlett

1948) In December of 1940, the search light was completed and twenty four hour manning of the battery began.

One of the key incidents in the history of the battery occurred on December 6, 1940. The Taka Chicha Maru, a Japanese cargo vessel, ignored a stop warning. The battery fired a warning shot and the vessel retreated. Howlett suspects that the incident was an intentional attempt to gain intelligence about the range of the battery. He states, "It was believed that this fire was deliberately drawn in order to plot the position of the battery. That the Japanese had definite information concerning the range and position of the guns is certain as it was no coincidence that when a Japanese submarine surfaced after firing two torpedoes at the "Monowai" early in 1942 it was just beyond the extreme range of the new heavy guns" (Howlett 1948: 18). This historical anecdote is a valuable piece of information relating to the battery.

Work was approved for two new batteries in early 1941. The two 4.7" inch guns were taken from the Suva Battery and taken to Bilo where they were mounted in August, 1941. Two new 6" guns were brought in and mounted in January 1941. The Suva Battery was operational from March 1940 to January 1941 with two 4.7" guns. It was then operational from February 1941 to February 1944 with two 6" guns. Its main purpose was the examination and seaward defense of the Suva peninsula.



**Image 1: Suva Battery (Photo Courtesy of Author)**

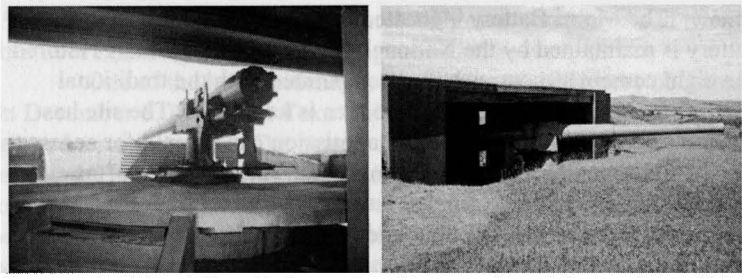
The Momi Battery is located outside of Nadi. The Momi Battery is maintained by the National Trust and is completely restored. The eight cement structures have been painted with the traditional camouflage and the grass around the area is kept short. The site has been developed as a tourist site and admission can be paid for access to the site and a small accompanying museum. There are two 6" naval guns, each in a separate defensive bunker. The structures around the site include an observation/command post, a fire control room, a rest room, two ammunition storage rooms, a ranger finder, and a magazine room. This is the best preserved and maintained battery site in Fiji.

The Momi Battery was operational from May 1941 until February 1944. It functioned as an examination battery and served for the seaward defense of Navula Passage. Navula Passage was the main access point for the West of the island that the Japanese would have used during a coastal invasion. Construction of the battery occurred from October 1940 through April 1941. A bulldozer was used to stabilize the foundation. The gun platforms were placed on key positions on the hill followed by the pedestal and cradle. Local labor was used during the construction. Supplies were transported on cane trains from Lautoka until a road was built to the Momi area by the New Zealand military. It was the first road ever built in the area.

The New Zealand Expeditionary Forces's 30th Battalion was responsible for the construction of the Momi Battery. It was later manned by the 14th battalion of the New Zealand Army. In August 1942, the United States 283 Coastal Artillery Battalion took over manning the battery. The 1st Heavy Regiment Fiji Artillery of the Fiji Military Forces was also involved with serving at the battery.

The Momi Battery fired towards a potential threat on one occasion in the recorded history of the site. It occurred in mid-November, 1943. Captain Andrew Grant of the US Army recounted the event. He described how the listening station at Momi was detecting an unidentified vessel approaching the entrance of the bay. Nothing was detected on the surface radar, which led personnel to believe that it was a potential enemy submarine. Grant states, "After some discussion, the battalion commander decided to fire a couple rounds in the area to see what developed. A gun crew of qualified gunners was broken out and two rounds were duly fired. No further sounds were reported by the listening station and that was the end of the incident." This one incident stands out as the main instance of use of the battery for Fiji's defense.





**Images 2: Momi Gun Point today (Images 2 and 3 courtesy of the author)**

The Nasonini Battery is accompanied with a separate radar station complex on a hill in Flagstaff. The battery is on the grounds of Secretariat for the Pacific Islands Forum. There are two emplacements still standing. A third one was destroyed for the construction of the home of the New Zealand High Commissioner. The guns have been removed the site with one exception. One gun has been cut into short pieces and lies at the lip of one of the emplacements. There is a small set of tunnels near the gun emplacements. This battery has been gazetted by the Fiji Museum. This declares it a significant historical site that should be preserved. This protection came into use when the Forum Secretariat attempted to build a tennis court on the land that holds the battery. The site is relatively well preserved, despite some graffiti damage. It is somewhat overgrown with vegetation. One of the emplacements has a very valuable historical feature. The illustrated directions for operating the battery are still on the cement walls behind the actual gun emplacement. These depictions are a valuable source of information about the operation of the battery.

The Flagstaff radar complex can be accessed from Rewa Street. There are two main buildings. Their specific functions are unknown, but one can hypothesize about potential functions. One probably housed the radar equipment. The other could be a searchlight station. There is also a small lookout post. The site is very difficult to access and is completely overgrown. There also seemed to be a small tunnel like shelter on the site. The tunnel contained several potentially historical bottles. The site was badly damaged by graffiti.

Historically, the Flagstaff Battery and radar station was operational from July 1942 until February 1944. It originally held three 6" supercharged naval guns. It had a dual role of close defense and counter bombardment. Construction of the battery and radar station was undertaken in early 1942. Military historian Howell provides a valuable description of the battery construction: "A complete modern battery of



three 6 in. supercharged guns on Mark V mountings was sent out from England. The site chosen allowed for extensive underground tunneling and all magazines, shelters, power rooms and plotting rooms, were 50 or 60 feet below surface. The equipment was modern and the range of the guns almost doubles that of the other 6 in. guns. At the same time that his battery was being installed, radar stations were being built and the new battery was able to operate under radar direction" (Howell 1948). The Flagstaff battery was by far the most technologically advanced of all the coastal defenses on Viti Levu. Ironically, the threat to Fiji was significantly lessened before the completion of the more adequate defenses.



**Images 4 and 5: The Flagstaff Battery (courtesy of the author)**

### Tunnel Systems

Two tunnel systems are discussed in this study. Other tunnels were found near battery complexes and were thus discussed in accordance with those specific batteries. One tunnel set could not be visited due to temporal as well as safety constraints. The tunnels were blocked off after the war, but were reopened by the public at an unknown time. There was evidence of contemporary intrusion in the tunnel set. The tunnel set was much more extensive than I initially perceived. The network had different hallways, compartments, and blocked entry/exit points. There was evidence of contemporary intrusion in the form of alcohol bottles and other forms of refuse. However, there were also war era bottles in the tunnels, such as coke bottles. These bottles are valuable temporal indicators from the material culture because they can be dated by their model. Little is known about the wartime function or construction of the tunnels. They could have served as a bomb shelter, but the complexity of the network could suggest a different function.



**Image 6: Sealed Tunnel Entrance (photo courtesy of the author)**

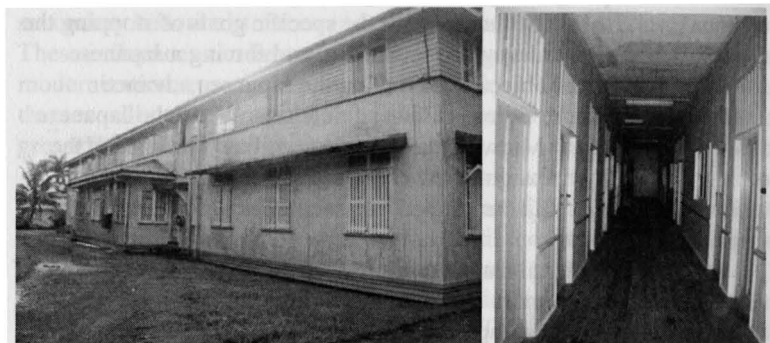
The set of tunnels along Cunningham road are bomb shelters that were built under the threat of Japanese air raids. There are nine separate tunnels. Each tunnel extends in a straight line about 50 yards into the rock face. These tunnels have been frequently entered in contemporary times. There was a great deal of refuse in each of the tunnels. The function of these tunnels during the war is very well known in the present community.



**Image 7: Cunningham Tunnels (courtesy of the author)**

## Hospitals

Two hospitals from the war era are discussed in this study. The Tamavua Hospital Complex is still used as a hospital today. The buildings have been updated with more modern medical technology, but the buildings are a decent example of war time hospital architecture and are suffering from deterioration. Over the course of the war it was used as the New Zealand Base Hospital, the 71st Station Hospital, and the 142nd General Hospital (Lowery 1948). The Tamavua hospital had a functional underground sector during the war to protect from bombing raids. Unfortunately, it could not be accessed within the limited time frame of this project. The Fiji College of Advance Education in Nasinu also housed a hospital during the war. Before the war it served as the Queen Victoria School for boys. The school was relocated so that a hospital could be housed in Nasinu. The US 18th General Hospital was the unit stationed there. The war time hospital received some casualties from the Solomons campaign. The unit was also very active in malaria research.



**Images 8 and 9: Tamavua Hospital Complex (photos courtesy of the author)**

## Airports

Both major airports in Fiji, Nadi and Nausori, were developed during World War II. The Nadi airport was a base for several New Zealand and United States Army Air Force squadrons and a transit stop for bombers and transport aircraft enroute to and from Australia and other bases in the South Pacific. Most of the original airstrips built during the war have been built on, but several huts and a water tower used by the Royal New Zealand air force are still used today. Both



airports have been completely modernized, but their initial construction and a great deal of their starting equipment were products of the war in Fiji.

### *Analysis*

This section will utilize the theoretical tools from military science to analyze the historical and archaeological data. The levels of war place Fiji's wartime functions in the broader context of the Pacific Theater. Within the levels of war, the operational framework is able to show the changing function of Fiji throughout the war from a defensive operation to a staging base for other campaigns.

The levels of war can also be used to place Fiji in the much broader context of World War II. On the strategic level, Fiji was caught between the two superpowers, the United States and Japan. The conflicting strategic objectives of these two nations greatly impacted Fiji. Post December 7, 1941, the United States entered World War II with the objective of victory in both the European and Pacific theaters. Japan was attempting to expand its empire. Operationally, the United States entered the Pacific theater with the specific goals of stopping the Japanese advance, regaining lost territories, and forcing a Japanese surrender. This initial objective of halting the Japanese advance manifested itself in the Fijian buildup of defenses. When the Japanese advance was halted at Midway, the American military undertook the Solomons Islands campaign to take back a Japanese defended island. On the tactical level, Fiji functioned as a secure forward base for this campaign.

The operational framework presents the conceptual findings of the levels of war with more concrete detail. Chronologically, Fiji was initially under threat of a Japanese invasion. In the category of battlefield organization, Fiji was categorized as a decisive defensive operation. Specifically, it is classified as an area defense, which "concentrates on denying enemy forces access to designated terrain for a specific time rather than destroying the enemy outright" (2001). This area defense is visible in the material remains of the batteries and tunnels. The batteries functioned as defensive installations against a Japanese invasion. The tunnels were in place to provide cover and safety for both the military and civilian populations.

As the threat to Fiji lessened, its role in the war, and the operational framework, changed. The battlefield organization switched from a decisive operation to a sustaining operation. The traits of combat service support and infrastructure development are seen in the material record. The term battlespace also applied to Fiji during that



phase of the war. In the area of influence, Fiji functioned as a force projection base, or a forward base for the advancing Allied forces. The airports and hospitals represent Fiji's function as a force projection base for the Solomons campaign. Road systems were developed and many other aspects of modern life were developed so that Viti Levu could effectively function as a forward base for the Allied forces.

This analysis demonstrates the value of military science as a theoretical framework for sites of conflict. The concepts and terms like the levels of war and the operational framework allow for a theoretical analysis that is both conceptual and concrete. The concepts are all interrelated so they allow for a more complete understanding of the sites and their broader context. Lastly the military science analytical tools were able to account for the changing role of Fiji over the course of the war, and how those changes were seen in the material record. These theoretical tools are able to analyze the historical and material record to better understand Fiji during the Pacific War. The analysis provides a more complete picture of Fiji's role during the conflict. This in turn allows for a better understanding of how World War II impacted Fiji. The influence of World War II is evident in examination of secondary historical sources and observation of the current society. These influences can be seen in four main ways: militarization, modernization, economics, and ethnic relations. Discussion of these themes will demonstrate the impact of the war as well as lay the groundwork for future research.

The Pacific War brought about a militarization of Fijian society that has affected the nation to this day. Fiji had not truly needed a modern military for industrial warfare until the threat of Japanese invasion. In 1939, the Fiji Defense Force was a minimal organization. As a response to the outbreak of war, colonial leadership decided to increase the size and scope of the military. This increase corresponded with the construction of the defensive batteries and tunnels. Once the threat to Fiji had passed, the units from the Fiji Military Forces served abroad elsewhere in the Pacific. The Fiji Military Forces remained a strong organization after the war and lasted through independence from the British. The FMF has played a major role in the politics of the nation in the past twenty years. A "coup culture" began in 1987 by a military takeover of the elected government. Today, an interim regime controlled by the military is in power.

The militarization of Fiji is a related category to the development of ethnic relations during and after the war. Fiji's three main ethnic groups, Indo-Fijians, Indigenous Fijians, and Europeans, were all impacted in different ways by WWII. The Indo-Fijian response to the war effort was somewhat impassive. There are several reasons

behind the indifferent response of the Indian population in Fiji. Indians did not want to participate in the war effort if they would not receive the same treatment as European; their stance was a platform for equal rights. Lal writes, "They would, of course, fight to defend Fiji if it were attacked, but their people were unwilling to fight for the empire in other parts of the world unless the government acknowledged the principal of equality between Europeans and non-Europeans" (Lal 1992:121). The lack of Indian participation in the war effort was a source of conflict in the nation, especially compared to the enthusiastic response of the indigenous Fijian population

World War II also brought about a modernization process in its five years much more extensively than Colonialism had since 1870. The use of Fiji as a forward base brought in many troops and vast quantities of supplies. The facilities and infrastructure put in to accommodate these people brought forth many modern amenities. Douglass describes this phenomenon in the Pacific region, "They brought with them vast quantities of material goods and with the precision expected of military operations, immediately established roads, hospitals, airstrips, harbours and prefabricated "cities" with all the necessary infrastructure" (Douglas 1996:111). This quote is from a source that discusses the development of tourism in Melanesia, but many of its discussions are applicable to the situation in Fiji. The Nadi airport was developed by the New Zealand military during the war years. It now serves as the main international airport in Fiji. Lal discusses the development of Nadi during the war: "Nadi was home for a large number of infantrymen, a fighter aerodrome, a trans-Pacific airport, and a command station, as well as the base for the coast, field, and anti-aircraft artillery units" (Lal 1992:113). Modern features such as hospitals, roads, and airports, are all features of the material record that helped modernize the nation and are utilized to this day.

World War II also had a major economic impact on Fiji. This impact can be seen in two major ways. Firstly, it greatly increased the reliance on a cash economy in the nation. Secondly, the war was essential in jumpstarting the tourism industry. This industry has become a crucial source of income for the nation in the decades following the Second World War. The use of Fiji as a forward base brought about thousands of troops with money to spend as well as a variety of jobs for locals that paid cash. A Fijian labor corps was formed in order to handle all the necessary jobs such as construction and supply loading. Douglas states, "Many Melanesians found they had access to more rewarding forms of labor with the armed forces compared to plantation labor, until then practically their only entry into the cash economy" (Douglas 1996:117). World War II also helped

develop the tourism industry in Fiji. The thousands of soldiers who entered Fiji could technically be classified as tourists. They created a new market for handicrafts and souvenirs. Besides the souvenir trade, World War II also left behind a great deal of transportation technology that allowed for tourism to take place after the war. In Fiji, the airports, boats, and roads developed by the military made transportation around the islands much easier.

### *Conclusion*

When one first thinks about Fiji during the Second World War, it would seem that the islands remained untouched by the global conflict. The Japanese advance was stopped before they could invade, and a major battle never occurred there. Despite the lack of a violent clash on the islands, the global conflict greatly impacted the islands and ultimately developed many aspects of modern life in Fiji. This study examined a selection of World War II heritage sites from a historical archaeological inventory. The selected sites came from the categories of batteries, tunnels, hospitals, and airports. The selected sites were analyzed with theoretical tools from a military framework for successfully conducting warfare. This emic approach to sites of conflict has recently been pioneered in the field of conflict archaeology and shows great potential. The successful application of these principles at World War II sites in the Pacific demonstrates their broad range of applicability in time and space.

This study is significant in that it demonstrates the value of conflict archaeology beyond famous battlefields. The methods and techniques of the discipline can be applied to a location like Fiji, a set of islands that was on the periphery of the main conflict. Fiji was still transformed by the powerful influence of a global war. This transformation is reflected in the material remains of the war on the island, in the historical records of the period and beyond, and in many aspects of life and society in modern Fiji.

There is immense potential for future research in Fiji and in many nations like it. The initial fieldwork was severely limited in a number of ways. With more time and funding, one could gather a more complete data set that is better tailored to the pre-existing theoretical tools. Many of the sites in this study are damaged, destroyed, or rapidly deteriorating. Research must be undertaken on these sites while it is still possible.



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