

Demos, however, has taken this prosaic story and turned it into a tragedy in the classical sense. The protagonists, in this case the ABCFM, carried its fatal flaw within (racial hypocrisy), a flaw which ultimately led to the so-called betrayal. It is a gripping tragedy, but a dubious historical conclusion. Even the main title, *The Heathen School*, smacks of drama. This was a nickname used by some Cornwall residents. For the ABCFM, it was simply “The Cornwall School.”

The Heathen School has received numerous awards and positive reviews. Reviewer liked the book and so did I, but readers interested in Hawaiian history will do well to filter out some of Demos’ assertions of tragedy, betrayal, and even of American exceptionalism. The book does contain one shockingly tragic tale, the fate of two brilliant Cherokee scholars, but at the hands of their own people, not missionaries, and in Oklahoma, not Cornwall.

Kapali Lyon,
Assistant Professor of Religion
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai‘i and the Philippines. By Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. x + 284 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$89.95 cloth; \$24.95 paper

Imaginations of paradise long have worked to deny the legacies and persistence of the American empire in the Pacific, even as the U.S. military continues to maintain an active presence in its former colonies. In a critical study about the operations of militarism and tourism in Hawai‘i and the Philippines, Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez reveals how these two forces have remained deeply imbricated to sustain American imperial dominance in the Pacific. These are not just incidental overlaps, she argues, but a “strategic and symbiotic convergence” in which the U.S. military has laid the foundations for tourist itineraries and imaginations, and the economies of modern tourism continue to justify the necessity of American security in the region (p. 4). In so doing, *Securing Paradise* tells us far more than the interplay of militarism and tourism in the American tropics. Pushing beyond the binaries of “soft” and “hard” power, “colonial” and “postcolonial” that continue to frame cultural histories of the U.S. empire, this innovative study presents a critical genealogy of the U.S. empire that situates histories of violence squarely within the “liberating” narratives and practices of consumer freedom, multiculturalism, and neoliberal development.

The study spans a period from the turn of the twentieth century to the present, and draws on a range of materials to illustrate how militarism and tourism have converged at different historical moments. With each paired chapters in turn focusing on a U.S. war in the Pacific—the Philippine-American War, World War II, and the Vietnam War—Gonzalez shows how the technologies, infrastructure, and knowledge produced during these wars became instrumentalized for emerging tourist regimes. Beginning with the fiction writings of “embedded” journalists who traveled with American soldiers to the Philippines, Gonzalez shows how their narratives already sutured militaristic and touristic fantasies at the incipient moment of American colonization. These romantic fictions worked to justify conquest as a masculine voyage of adventure and discovery, a production of colonial knowledge that soon materialized in the constructions of “scenic highways.” Chapter two turns to the built infrastructures of Kennon Road in the Philippines and the H-3 Interstate on O‘ahu, to examine how the discourses and practices of mobility embedded in these construction projects linked military security to tourist experiences and ways of seeing. Both Kennon Road and the H-3, Gonzalez contends, created a transcendent experience of mobility that erased the ongoing realities of military occupation.

If scenic highways reinforced the U.S. as a modern power secured through the freedom of mobility, then World War II memorials emerged as the site where narratives of liberation and sacrifice serve to legitimize the ongoing functions of the U.S. military. Chapter three turns to the memorializations of Corregidor Island and Bataan, two famous battle sites that reproduce narratives of allied fraternity between Americans and Filipinos. These tourist destinations and the narratives they told, Gonzalez argues, were inextricably linked to the revitalization of Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Field as special economic zones after the departure of the U.S. military in 1991. What she calls “neoliberalization” thus entailed mobilizing narratives of martial heroism to sanctify tourism as the new savior of the Philippines’ postcolonial economy. In a similar vein, the spatial construction and designs of the USS *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor reinforce the U.S. military as a guarantor of freedom and multiculturalism while overwriting the history of Hawai‘i’s military overthrow with the more pressing imperative to “remember Pearl Harbor.”

Throughout the book, Gonzalez resists telling a chronological and linear story, opting to move back and forth in time and space to highlight the flexibility and durability of military and tourist regimes as they get enfolded into each other. The last two chapters accomplish this by examining the technologies and militarized knowledge of the Vietnam War that have been crucial to contemporary tourist itineraries. The helicopter tour in Kaua‘i, she demon-

strates, remobilized the helicopter—an enduring symbol of the “loss” of the Vietnam War—to make the “inaccessible” island finally viewable and discoverable. The domestication of this war technology, however, also reproduced and glossed over the violence enacted by the helicopter in Hawai‘i, notably the biological warfare testing and aerial bombardments waged over Kaua‘i and Kaho‘olawe during and after the war. A similar logic of “interoperability” of military technology was also at work at the Jungle Environment and Survival Training camp in Subic, where knowledge about “jungle survival” skills, first taught by indigenous Aeta men to American soldiers during the war, became commodified as tourist demonstrations since the 1990s, in some cases by the same men who had once served as instructors to the U.S. military.

In the end, it is the Aeta guides and their personal reflections that capture most profoundly the contradictions of the U.S. empire’s military-tourism complex. Through oral interviews, Gonzalez reveals how these indigenous men reflected fondly on the time of American occupation, when the U.S. military gave them job security, protected their environment, and accorded them respect for their indigenous knowledge (p. 199). Their recollections at once registered their violent dispossessions wrought by the government-private corporation partnership in the postbase era, and reaffirmed the U.S. military as a benevolent force. Indeed, Gonzalez’s analysis shines most compellingly at parts where the contradictions of military-tourism are articulated by the peoples most affected by them. Whether it is the Hawaiian feminist writers who countered the narratives of “embedded” journalists, the women activists who stood their ground against the H-3’s construction, Filipina/o dissidents who continue to resist against the violence of Philippine paramilitary forces, or the sovereignty activists working to preserve Kaho‘olawe—these are the resistant acts that constitute “alternative ways of seeing” and that hold the promise of a decolonized future in the Pacific (p. 222). Gonzalez has written an important book that makes concrete the lingering affective and material consequences of the U.S. empire’s projection of freedom with violence in the twentieth century. It has laid the groundwork for other scholars to examine similar processes of “decolonization” as they unfolded elsewhere—in Guam, Samoa, Okinawa, for example—that will deepen our understanding of the pernicious effects and persistence of the American empire in the Pacific.

Simeon Man
Assistant Professor of History
University of California, San Diego