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Japan and the Philippines

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Shinzo Hayase



The fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1995 has been the occasion of renewed discussion of the question of War Guilt, especially atrocities in the conduct of the war like massacres, treatment of prisoners of war and comfort women. Most Japanese today accept the idea of War Guilt, but see it as a collective responsibility of the nation as a whole. Individual Japanese or Japanese corporations which were involved in the Japanese war effort are very quiet and will not accept any responsibility or feel any guilt.

The Japanese should recognize the responsibility of individuals for their actions in support of "national policy" in the past, and not be prepared to follow "national policy" blindly in the future. The Japanese who have accepted that "national policy" is the responsibility of the government which does not concern them as individuals have generally been ill-informed about the details of what has been done in the past in the name of "national policy" including the role of individuals and corporations which have played a significant part in determining the "national policy" goals of government. However, the intellectuals who developed the "Southward Advance" school of nationalist thought in the Meiji period (1868–1912), in which we can find some of the intellectual roots of "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," planned to incorporate the Philippines into "Greater Japan."

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This article will show how Japanese as private individuals contributed to the development of an expansionist "national policy" during the Meiji period and with their silence participated in the war.

The Philippines and the "Southward Advance"

Generally speaking the protagonists of the "Southward Advance" school in the Meiji period were ideological romantics strongly attracted to the exoticism of the South Seas. Later, in the Taisho period (1912–26), they became more interested in practical questions of national economic development, such as trade, migration and the exploitation of natural resources. During 1935–44, when advocates of "the advance in the north school of thought" were involved in military action in Northeast Asia, the "Southward Advance" school of thought also began to consider Japan's interests in the Southern region in politico-military terms. In fact, some "Southward Advance" protagonists had advocated military intervention in the Philippines on the side of the Philippine nationalists as early as the Meiji 20s (1887–96) (Yano 1991).

There are five reasons for this early focus on the Philippines as a sphere of Japanese interest in Southeast Asia. Firstly, the Philippines became a close neighbor to Japan as a result of Sino-Japan War (1894–95). Japan gained Taiwan which provided a base for further movement towards the south. Acquisition of the Philippines seemed to be the logical next step for expansionist Japanese looking south. Secondly, when the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896 the Filipino revolutionaries asked the Japanese military authorities to help. While their requests for arms and munitions were refused by the Japanese Government, some Japanese pan-Asianists and some military officers became interested and watched for an opportunity to intervene in the Philippine Revolution.

Pan-Asianism is a concept which stresses the alleged uniqueness of a certain geographical or ethnic entity. According to pan-Asianist thinking, there are distinguishing characteristics that separate Asia from the rest of the world. But it is not always clear what these characteristics are, or what constitutes Asia. In most instances, the exponents of this idea have defined Asia as meaning non-Western or anti-Western, and it is in this sense that pan-Asianist thought has played an important role in modern Japanese history. This idea made its first appearance in the late nineteenth century, when Japanese

politics, economics and cultural developments, and education, all emphasized Westernization. Then, pan-Asianism became bound up with a policy debate on other Asian countries and areas, especially China, which was also going through the initial stages of modernization. Furthermore, pan-Asianism provided the ideological justification for Japanese military expansionism during the 1930s.

Thirdly, at that time many Asian nationalists like Sun Wen (Sun Yat-sen, 1866–1925) were seeking refuge in Japan. Some Japanese nationalists built up a closer connection with them and tried to use them for Japanese expansion. Fourthly, Japan was finding it necessary to seek overseas markets as a result of her rapid economic development in the Meiji period. The Philippines was regarded as a likely Japanese economic colony in the future, because of the politico-economic weakness of Spain. Fifthly, there was a historical background of the Japanese scheme of conquest and settlement of the Philippines which dated back to the Toyotomi and the early Tokugawa periods (late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries). Many Japanese “Southward Advance” protagonists pointed to these schemes as evidence of a historical connection between the destinies of Japan and the Philippines. In the following discussion the ideas and actions of the “Southward Advance” protagonists will be considered under three headings: politico-military, economic expansion, and migration and colonization.

Many political controversialists in the Meiji period were fervent nationalists who were anxious to ensure that Japan should not undergo excessive Westernization. Their idea of nationalism (*kokumin-shugi*) was connected with the idea of Japanese expansion into regions where the power of Western imperialist nations was not firmly established.

For example, Soho Tokutomi, a journalist and historian, described in the preface of *Hiripin Gunto* (The Philippine Islands) edited by Min'yu-sha (Society of the People's Friend), was active as a social commentator and spokesman for popular and national ideals for modern Japan from the 1880s to the end of World War II. He was one of Japan's most prolific writers and publishers. In 1887 he founded a publishing house, the Min'yu-sha, which from 1887 to 1898 put out *Kokumin no Tomo* (The Nation's Friend), a political, economic, social and literary review. This review was the most influential of the nineteenth century. It also published and edited, from 1890 to 1929, the *Kokumin Shimbun*, one of the most important Japanese newspapers of the period. He called his view *heimin-shugi* grounded on the romantic, idealized view of Western industrial democracies. From

the early 1890s he began to realize and alter his views of how modern Japan should progress and developed new collectivist and state-oriented principles for the nation to make Japan a strong imperialist power, capable of military securing and defending the national interests. He adhered to his conservative and militant nationalistic principles in the 1920s and 1930s, when Japan faced severe difficulties in foreign affairs. He was arrested as a class A war criminal suspect by the Allied Occupation authorities in December 1945, because of his prominence as a nationalist.

Some became keenly interested in the Philippines as a sphere of Japanese expansionism (see Yu-Jose 1992.) Among the most important protagonists of the "Southward Advance" on the Philippines in the Meiji period were: Shigetake Sugiura, Sadakaze Suganuma and Nichinan Fukumoto.

Shigetake Sugiura (alias Jugo, 1855–1924) was a leading member of *Seikyo-sha* (Society for Political Education), which achieved considerable importance as a society of nationalists between 1887–96.

Shigetake Sugiura was an educator and thinker of the Meiji and Taisho periods. He was born into the family of a Confucian scholar of the Zeze domain in Omi Province (now Shiga Prefecture). Sugiura joined in publishing the periodical *Nihonjin* (The Japanese) in 1888. This was followed by the tabloid *Nippon Shimbun* (Japan News) in 1889. While using these publications to promote nationalist ideology, Sugiura applied the principles of physics in his work to "explain human affairs and to interpret life." In his later years, the conservative educator Sugiura lectured the then crown prince and princess (Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako) as an imperial household official, a position he held from 1914 to 1921.

Seikyo-sha was established as a cultural and political association in 1888. It opposed the government's acceptance of the Unequal Treaties imposed by the Western powers and its advocacy of the Westernization of Japanese culture. In their magazine, *Nihonjin* (Japanese People), early members of *Seikyo-sha* advocated not a narrow nationalism, but a pluralistic world culture in which Japanese culture would play an active role. However, they failed to reach a common understanding of Japanese culture. The *Seikyo-sha* was reorganized in 1923 and it espoused a militaristic pan-Asianism consonant with Japan's nationalism.

In 1886 Sugiura published a small booklet *Hankai Yume-monogatari* (Dream of Hankai, A Chinese Warrior) which put forward a plan for the colonization of the Philippines by members of the *shin-heimin*

(former outcast people) within Japanese society (Hisaki 1983, 1004). The *shin-heimin* (new common people) or *burakumin* (outcast village people) is Japan's largest minority group. They have the same racial, cultural and national origin as the rest of their fellow Japanese. As a people physically not distinguishable from any other Japanese, they intermingle with the rest of the populace, but when identified as burakumin, they are subject to prejudice and discrimination. It is not clearly known when and why this group became differentiated from the rest of Japanese society. In 1871 the new Meiji government issued an edict legally abolishing the derogatory names and stipulating that they be treated as shin-heimin. The *koseki* (household register) system, as well as the existence of special hamlets, made the burakumin, now officially known as shin-heimin, liable to ready identification.

Sugiura argued that 90,000 people should emigrate to the Philippines, establish friendly relations with the indigenous people, and wait for an opportunity to rise in revolt against Spanish colonial rule. Subsequently Sugiura participated in a scheme for the illegal export of arms and ammunition to supply the Philippine revolutionary army (Ishii 1942, 42). Although nothing had come of Sugiura's plan for colonizing the Philippines with Japanese former outcasts, it is noteworthy that his little booklet was reprinted in March 1943 in an obvious ploy to link the wartime aims of the Japanese Empire with the ideals of respected nationalists of the Meiji period. It is also worth noting that in the different conditions of postwar Japan, Sugiura's ideas became the subject of some criticism on the ground that they sought to deport the former outcasts of Japanese society under the guise of a patriotic movement to spread Japanese influence abroad (Hisaki 1983, 1024-26).

Another prominent "Southward Advance" protagonist of the Meiji period was Sadakaze Suganuma (1865-89). According to *Kokushi Dai-jiten* (The Encyclopedia of National History), the given name of Suganuma is Tadakaze, but also he was called Sadakaze or Teifu. However, his tomb in Manila mentioned "SUGANUMA SADAKAZE." Suganuma was born in Nagasaki Prefecture. Suganuma completed a survey of the history of trade in Hirado, Japan's foreign trade center until the early seventeenth century. He entered Tokyo University in 1884 and became a professor at the Tokyo Higher Commercial School (now Hitotsubashi University) in 1888. Shortly after the publication of Sugiura's *Hankai Yume-monogatari*, probably around 1888, Suganuma wrote an article "*Shin-Nippon no Tonan no Yume* (A Dream

towards the South of New Japan)" in which he urged that, since the Spanish were "the least progressive race in Europe," Spain rather than Korea, China, Britain, Russia, Germany or France should be the first target of Japanese expansionist activity. Following the line taken by Sugiura, and quoting from Sugiura, he suggested that 90,000 Japanese should emigrate to the island of Luzon, where, having settled down as farmers, growing sugarcane, hemp and tobacco, they should ally themselves with the indigenous people to drive out the Spaniards and establish an independent kingdom of Luzon which could later be offered to the Japanese Emperor (Suganuma 1940, 680-83, 698).

Although it has been suggested that Suganuma was in some respects critical of Sugiura's little book, it is nevertheless certain that he was also influenced by Sugiura, and it was on the advice of Sugiura that he went to the Philippines in April 1889 (Eguchi 1942, 96-97). During his brief stay in Manila Suganuma collected materials on the geography, ethnology and culture of the Philippines and looked into the possibilities for Japanese commercial enterprise in the region. The results of his research were sent back to Japan to be published in a newspaper *Nihon*. *Nihon* was an influential newspaper in Meiji. *Nihon* was launched in 1889 on the day the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was promulgated. It championed *Nihon-shugi* (literally "Japanism"), the term for a kind of Japanese nationalism that sprang up in the nineteenth century in reaction to the growing tide of Westernization that followed the Meiji Restoration. Stressing the importance of native Japanese traditions, it advocated democracy by means of a people-oriented constitutional system. More than twenty issues of the paper were judged unfit for publication and suppressed by the authorities. Suganuma was making preparations for the establishment of a cordage company in Manila when he suddenly died of cholera, at the early age of twenty-four, having been in the Philippines for a little more than two months (Eguchi 1942, 103-12).

The newspaper, *Nihon*, which published Suganuma's articles on the Philippines was owned by Katsunan Kuga (1857-1907) and Nichinan Fukumoto. Katsunan Kuga is a journalist in Meiji. He was born Minoru Nakada, the son of a Confucian scholar in the Tsugaru domain (now Aomori Prefecture) and was adopted into the Kuga family. He became an official in the Meiji government in 1881. In 1888 he resigned in opposition to what he saw as the indiscriminate Westernization policy of government leaders eager to secure revision

of the Unequal Treaties. He founded the newspaper *Tokyo Dempo* (Tokyo Telegram) in 1888 and in the following year he started another newspaper, *Nihon* (Japan). Kuga called for a nationalism based upon the united will of the Japanese people (*kokumin-shugi*). Fukumoto first met Suganuma in the middle of 1888. The two men were one in their nationalist fervor and in their dreams for the enhancement of national glory and the extension of Japanese influence through diplomacy and overseas trade. He followed Suganuma to Manila in May of 1889 shortly after the publication of a work by him entitled *Firippinu Gunto ni okeru Nippon-jin* (Japanese in the Philippine Islands). This was followed in 1892, on his return to Japan, by another work, *Kaikoku-seidan* (A Political Essay for the Maritime Nation) in which he advocated the development of Japanese maritime trade as a matter of national urgency.

Japanese Political Novels and Philippine Revolution

The "political novel" is a term that refers specifically to a rather large, heterogeneous group of novels written mainly during the 1880s in connection with the freedom and people's rights movement (*Jiyu Minken Undo*). The political novelists wanted the novel to serve only its own aims, which should be confined to the description of human emotions and manners. These convictions were doubtless colored by the defeat of the radical wing of the people's rights movement in 1884 and 1885. Some writers sought to combine the political message with elements of the new concept, the novel of manners. The political novels reached the height of popularity in the late 1880s. During the 1890s they gradually merged with the novel of manners, set in the world of politicians, and the popular adventure novel, with its nationalistic overtones. In general, the political novel mirrored the basic weakness of the people's rights movement it had served: an inability to reconcile ambitious concepts of state and nation with the actual subtleties of human thought and feeling.

In March of 1887 the Meiji Emperor issued a message to the nation in which he declared that "the coast defense should not be neglected even for a day." Japan's future as a maritime nation, with vital interests which could only be secured through the development of overseas trade and by means of an advance to the south, immediately became a subject of serious public discussion and patriotic propaganda. Novelists began to make use of the South Seas as an

exotic setting for stories which combined popular appeal with patriotic themes. In these "Sea Novels" the typical story was that of a Japanese who, either having been shipwrecked and drifting ashore or having visited the South Seas for trade, conquered the indigenous people to become their king and then offered the land to the Emperor. Such stories were very popular with Japanese readers in the Meiji period.

Wars between Japan and her neighbors and between Japan and the Western imperial powers was a frequent theme of these "Sea Novels" long before Japan actually became involved in war with other countries. In one of the most popular "Sea Novels" of the Meiji period, *Ukishiro-monogatari* (The Story of a Floating Castle) by Fumio Yano (alias Ryukei, 1850–1931) published in 1890, Japan is depicted as embarking on a war with both Holland and Britain in order to conquer their colonies in the East. Ryukei Yano is a writer and politician. In 1878 he joined the government along with Shigenobu Okuma, the liberal politician who was his patron. In 1883–84, with the intention of enlightening the public on the virtues of the proposed constitutional government, he published the political novel, *Keikoku Bidan* (A Noble Tale of Statesmanship). It inspired many young readers with notions of freedom and independence. The same theme runs through the stories of Harunami Oshikawa (alias Shunro, 1876–1914), a novelist who was much influenced by Yano. The popularity of these themes was already established before the Sino-Japan War of 1894–95 and the Russo-Japan War of 1904–5. Similarly the Pacific War was also begun in Japanese novels well before the actual war. The Philippines was often the scene of the action. The historical background of these novels focused on Japan's relations with the Philippines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Izumi Yanagida 1942).

Tetchō Suehiro (1849–96) was probably the man who first brought the Philippine nationalist movement to the notice of the Japanese public. Tetchō Suehiro is a politician, journalist, and novelist. His real name is Shigeyasu Suehiro. He joined the staff of the liberal newspaper *Chōya Shinpo*, and was jailed twice during the 1870s for his resistance to government oppression of freedom of speech. In 1881 he participated in founding the Jiyū-to (Liberal Party), Japan's first political party. In 1890, he was elected to the lower house of the newly-founded Diet. Suehiro happened to meet José Rizal (1861–96), the national hero of the Philippines, on a voyage by ship to the United States in 1888. Rizal stopped off in Japan on his way to Europe and stayed for one month and a half in Japan. Suehiro and Rizal

then went together to London. Rizal helped Suehiro considerably on this journey abroad because Suehiro could not speak any foreign language. In the following year Suehiro published a novel *Oshi no Ryoko* (A Travel of a Dumb Person) based on his travels with Rizal. Suehiro, who also regarded the Philippines as a future Japanese colony, also published a political novel, *Nanyo no Dai-haran* (A Great Disturbance in the South Seas) allegedly based on a tale told to him by Rizal in which the descendant of a Japanese named Takayama who emigrated to Manila in the early seventeenth century overthrows Spanish rule in the Philippines and offers the country to the Japanese Emperor (Yanagida 1942, 61–62; 1967, 465–76).

After the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in August 1896, more publications appeared in Japan on the subject of the Philippines. In 1901 a Japanese translation of a book by Mariano Ponce (1863–1918), who visited Japan in 1898 to negotiate a purchase of arms on behalf of the revolutionaries, appeared under the title of *Nanyo no Fuun: Hiripin Dokuritsu Mondai no Shinso* (The Situation of the South Seas: The Real Facts of Independence Problem of the Philippines). Bimyo Yamada (1868–1910) and Harunami Oshikawa both published a number of novels dealing with the Philippine Revolution between 1899 and 1903. Bimyo Yamada is a novelist and poet. His stories were the first in Japanese literary history to be written exclusively in the spoken language. He is remembered primarily for this contribution to the development of modern Japanese literature. He was also an early advocate of the new style poem (*shintaiishi*) which was introduced in 1882. Yamada was a member of Toyo Seinen-kai (The Youth Association of the East) which tried to intervene in the Philippine Revolution (Ryohei Shioda 1990, 271, 287). Novels about the Philippine Revolution became very popular among Japanese readers including a series of books of the “Sea Novel” type which appealed to children.

This literature served to implant the message of the “Southward Advance” protagonists in the consciousness of the Japanese people. The theme of Japan’s historic links with the South Seas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was emphasized, and much was made of the existence of descendants of Japanese settlers in the Philippines. Japan, the leader of Asia, was also the implicit message contained in these writings and in this sense the “Sea Novels” literature of the “Southward Advance” school prepared the public of Japan’s actions to establish “the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” during World War II.

Japanese Intervention in Philippine Revolution

After the Sino-Japan War of 1894–1895, nationalists in a number of Asian countries and areas, including the Philippines, began to look to Japan for aid in furthering the aims of their own reform or independence movements. A revolutionary society in the Philippines, Katipunan, sent several members to Japan to obtain weapons and military assistance. A number of Japanese military authorities, politicians and pan-Asianists were interested in this movement. As a result, some military assistance was offered by Japan. The Japanese warship *Kongo* arrived in Manila in May 1896. The captain of the *Kongo* met Andres Bonifacio (1863–97) and other Katipunan leaders through Moritaro Tagawa, a pioneer in the Japanese business community in Manila (Yoshikawa 1980). However, at this time Japan was principally concerned to secure a revision of Unequal Treaties with the European powers. This meant that Japan's first priority was to maintain harmonious relations with the West. To open a stand against any of the European colonial powers accordingly had to be avoided. For this reason negotiations with revolutionaries for the supply of weapons were handled quietly and discreetly. In the end, a consignment of arms and ammunition was despatched from Japan, but unfortunately for the Filipino revolutionaries, the ship *Nunobiki-maru* on which they were sent was lost off Shanghai by typhoon and no weapons actually reached their destination (Kimura 1944; Ishii 1942; Ikehata 1989, 1–36; Hatano 1988, 69–95).

After this failure, however, Japan continued to take an interest in the course of the Philippine Revolution and later anti-American movements. Japanese military officers were stationed in Manila and gathered information from local Japanese agencies and pro-Japanese Filipinos. The Japanese consulate in Manila became the headquarters of these activities and the consul himself made inspection trips throughout the islands which provided a basis for first-hand contacts. Japanese storekeepers, peddlers and fishermen collected geographical and strategic information about various places in the islands, especially Lingayen and Lamon Bays, as possible landing places for Japanese invasion troops (Hayase 1989, 290–308 and 1990, 115–30; in press). Japanese warships conducted surveys of the Philippine archipelago. These intelligence-gathering activities were to stand Japan in good stead when the invasion of the Philippines was launched in December of 1941.

Revival of the "Southward Advance" School of Thought

In the 1930s, with the growth of extreme nationalism and the rise of the power of the military, a revival of interest in the writings of the "Southward Advance" protagonists of the Meiji period occurred. At the center of this revival was the figure of Sadakaze Suganuma. Suganuma's "Shin-Nippon no Tonan no Yume (A Dream towards the South of New Japan)" was a very typical example of the writings of this school of expansionary nationalists. It was hardly known to the Japanese public until it was published in 1940. Suganuma himself became famous only after 1935 as a result of the extensive publicity given to him and his writings at this time. For example,

- 1935 Interment of Suganuma's remains in the Japanese cemetery in Manila by the local Japanese Association
- 1937 Foundation of the Association for Publication of Suganuma by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry at Sasebo, Nagasaki, Japan
- 1940 Publication of Suganuma's *Dai-Nippon Shogyo-shi* (History of Commerce of the Great Japan) in Iwanami-shoten, with appendix articles "Hirado Boeki-shi (History of Trade in Hirado)" and "Shin-Nippon no Tonan no Yume"
- 1941 Publication of *Sadakaze SUGANUMA Ryaku-den* (Short Biography of Sadakaze SUGANUMA) by Higashi-hankyu Kyokai (The Eastern Hemisphere Association)
- 1941 Publication of the novel *Sadakaze SUGANUMA* by Saburo Akanuma in Hakubun-kan
- 1942 (February 5) Ceremony of reporting the Japanese occupation of the city at SUGANUMA's tomb in Manila
- 1942 Publication of *Nanshin-ron no Senku-sha: Sadakaze SUGANUMA* (A Pioneer of the Southward Advance School of Thought: Sadakaze SUGANUMA) by Kanesada Hanazono in Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai
- 1942 Publication of *Nanshin no Senku-sha: Sadakaze-den SUGANUMA* (A Pioneer of the Southward Advance: A Biography of Sadakaze SUGANUMA) by Reishiro Eguchi in Yakumo-shorin
- 1942 (July 6) Foundation of the Association in Honor of Sadakaze SUGANUMA with Nobutsune Okuma as the first President of the Association

Japanese Emigrants in the Philippines

The Japanese community in the Philippines consisted mainly of emigrants who, following the advice of SUGANUMA in the 1880s, took

up the cultivation of abaca (Manila hemp). The center of this industry was Davao, on the island of Mindanao (Hayase 1984; Yu-Jose 1996).

In October of 1940, on the eve of the Japanese invasion, the Japanese population in the Philippines amounted to 28,731, of whom 19,267 were residing in the area of the Japanese Consulate-Davao Annex. After the outbreak of war the Japanese population in Davao dropped slightly to 19,089 in January 1943, of whom 7,331 or 38.4 percent were females (Hayase 1995, 51).

On 11 April 1942, the keynote of military occupation in the South was issued. In this keynote there was nothing specifically mentioned about Japanese residents except that Japanese local enterprises should have priority for development in newly occupied areas (Kato 1942, 5–8). From this keynote it is understood that the Japanese residents were not recognized as an important strategic factor. The Japanese military government repeatedly requested them only to be “a model to the Filipinos” (Hayase 1996, 291–332).

There were several reasons why Japanese residents in the Philippines were not considered to have any importance in relation to the Japanese war effort. At first, the emigrants in general were considered to be “lesser Japanese” and were discriminated against by Japanese stationed in the Philippines after the outbreak of war. Under the influence of Sugiura’s booklet on the subject of Japanese migration, Japanese emigrants were thought to be descended from former outcast villages in Japan. Moreover, the ratio of Japanese emigrants from Okinawa was often exaggerated. Most Japanese came to have a prejudice against emigrants as a result of the erroneous notion between, on the one hand the problems of *shin-heimin* (former outcast people) and the annexation of the Ryukyus (Okinawa) in the early Meiji era and, on the other hand, the policies of migration and colonization.

Secondly, although the “Southward Advance” was officially recognized for the first time in “the Fundamentals of National Policy” approved on 7 August 1936 by the Five Ministers’ Conference, “to develop nationally and economically, vis-a-vis the southern area,” for the Japanese military, especially the army, the basic national policy was still the “Northward Advance.” In that keynote it was mentioned that “the foundation of national defense was always in Japan, Manchuria and China” (Kato 1942, 9). Among the countries and areas in the South, the Philippines was given little attention because it had few natural resources and was under strong American influence.

After the outbreak of war with America, the Philippines was occupied and administered by the Fourteenth Japanese Imperial Army,

except for Davao which became the Thirty-Second Naval Base for Japanese fleets in the Pacific. During the occupation some of the Japanese farmers settled in the Davao area were employed in vegetable plantations managed by the Japanese Navy, while the others contributed money and labor to the Japanese war effort. Nevertheless, the Japanese immigrant community continued to be spurned as "lesser Japanese" by newly arrived Japanese from Japan (*The Dabao Shimbun*, 21 May 1943; *The Manira Shimbun*, 7 March 1944).

A document entitled "Summary of Military Administration in the Philippines" which was presented by Major Keiryo Inuzuka to the Bureau of Demobilization in July 1946 gives some information on the character of the Japanese community in the Philippines at this time:

Apart from Japanese in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or big business firms, most Japanese in the Philippines were fishermen, abaca cultivators, carpenters and so on, and from Okinawa. Generally, they were uneducated and lacking in propriety, especially those of Japanese-mestizo descent. There were some Japanese residents and newcomers after the outbreak of war who furthered their own interests through unfair means. Such Japanese had a bad influence upon Filipinos. Each branch of the military administration appointed a person of noble character as the president of Japanese association, and tried to educate and train them. The military government requested the Japanese associations to practice self-control. Where necessary, the military government directed the associations to take action against Japanese who misbehaved (at that time several Japanese, who were a disgrace to the Japanese nation, were deported to Japan). (Otsuka Volume I, 17-18)

From this report it appears that the estimation of Japanese residents in the Philippines did not change during the war. The men appointed as presidents of Japanese associations were usually ex-servicemen brought in from Japan, since the local Japanese were not trusted. There is no reference to the role of Japanese residents in support of the war effort in the Philippines. On the contrary, the report dwells on the embarrassment which their activities caused to the military administration. The main aims of the Japanese military administration were the maintenance of public order, the acquisition of natural resources for mainland Japan, and the security of self-support for local Japanese forces in the Philippines. There was no thought that Japan would build a new Philippine society in cooperation with Filipinos. Consequently, there was no place in the administration for Japanese residents who might have good relations with the Filipino

population. The military administration concentrated on communication with the elite Filipinos, who kept company with Japanese diplomats and elite businessmen.

Japan's alleged war aims included the liberation of Asia from Western domination and the rescue of Asian societies from the corrupting influences of Western materialism and the construction of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" based on spiritual strength and self-sacrifice. In the Philippines slogans like "Asia for the Asians" and "the Philippines for the Filipinos" were initially attractive to Filipinos who felt that Americans practiced discrimination against nonwhite people.

However, Filipinos soon noticed that the Japanese "liberators" also practiced discrimination, and not only against all foreign peoples but against their own countrymen as well. Japanese feelings of superiority over the indigenous peoples of the South were inculcated in the Japanese education system, as witnessed by the schoolbook introduced in 1918 which taught that the Japanese were the "leading people" in Asia in relation to the "Nanyo no dojin (indigenous people in the South Seas)." The Ministry of the Navy classified countries and areas in "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" into five categories: 1) the leading state, that is, Japan, 2) independent states, 3) protected states, 4) direct control colonies, and 5) colonies outside of "Sphere" (Kawamura 1993, 107-36; Goto 1994, 38-39). Classification was also by race, class, birthplace and so on. Japanese classified themselves into people from the mainland, people from Okinawa, and Ainu. While the old system of the Tokugawa (Edo) period (1603-1867) in which people were classified as warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesmen was abolished by the Meiji government, a new system of ranking based on schooling and occupation gave order to Japan's hierarchical society in the post-Tokugawa period.

In the Philippines under Japanese occupation the hierarchy ran as follows: Japanese military officers, Japanese civilian officers, Japanese businessmen of big companies from mainland Japan, Japanese residents who arrived before the war (from the mainland, from Okinawa, Japanese married with Filipinas, and mestizos), Christian Filipinos (Spanish mestizos, Chinese mestizos, Malays), overseas Chinese, Muslims, and tribal peoples. These categories were further subdivided. For example, the newspapermen originally from the Mainichi Shimbun-sha (Mainichi Newspaper Company) were ranked in descending order as follows: press corps member, Manila branch employee of the *Mainichi Shimbun* and employee of *Manira Shimbun*

(managed by the *Mainichi Shimbun*) (Nanjo 1995, 182). In these classifications the lower class people more actively collaborated in the Japanese military government to promote a higher status, that is, to be seen as "a good Japanese."

On the other hand, pro-Japanese Filipinos were not utilized by the Japanese military administration in the Philippines. Pro-Japanese Filipinos were mostly former members of the anti-American Sakdal and Ganap parties led by Benigno Ramos (1893–1945), whose members were organized into a body called Makapili (Katipunang Makabayan ng mga Pilipino) in December 1944. In the last stages of the war the Makapili were given a military role by the Japanese Army, and many members were killed in the field of battle. However, they were never given important positions in the Japanese military administration during the occupation.

Thus the Japanese military administration was reluctant to give a significant political or administrative role to either pro-Japanese Filipinos or members of the resident Japanese community in the country during the occupation. The Japanese military government required Japanese residents to be just "good Japanese" and the pro-Japanese Filipinos to simply follow the Japanese Army without expecting to receive any position of real authority in the new order. This contemptuous attitude of the Japanese military towards the Filipinos and Japanese residents in the Philippines did not jibe with Suganuma's ideas for the expansion of Japanese power by means of migration. The fifty-sixth anniversary of Suganuma's death in 1944 was scrupulously observed at the Japanese cemetery in Manila by the Central Luzon Japanese Association and the Philippine Branch of the Association in Honor of Sadakaze Suganuma, but the military authorities showed an interest in Suganuma's dream of genuine Japanese-Filipino alliance to drive out the Westerners (*The Manira Shimbun*, 7 July 1944).

Conclusion

Japanese trade with the Philippines was developed vigorously in the period of American rule in the Philippines. Japan took tenth place among trading partners with the Philippines in 1909, third in 1919 and the second in 1929. However, so complete was the American domination of the external trade of its colony that Japan's share amounted to no more than 10 percent of the total. The "Southward Advance" protagonists scheme for the growth of a settled Japanese community in the Philippines was indeed realized in this period with

the establishment of a Japanese town at Davao. But the Japanese colonists generally did not mingle with Filipino society and excluded Filipinos from their economic activities (Hayase 1996).

The "Southward Advance" school of thought on the Philippines during the Meiji period had a strong politico-military aspect which was purveyed to the general public through the medium of romantic fiction and was accepted quite naturally by most people. The politico-military goals of the "Southward Advance" school of thought were achieved with the Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II. At that time the ideas of the "Southward Advance" publicists of the Meiji period were revived to support the current scheme for a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." So far as the Philippines was concerned, however, these ideas were too self-centeredly Japanese to appeal to the Filipino public, and the behavior both of the Japanese residents towards the Filipino population and of the Japanese military administration towards all local inhabitants, whether Japanese or Filipino, was too contemptuous for the dream which "Southward Advance" protagonists of the Meiji period had of a Filipino-Japanese alliance to drive out the Westerners to come to fruition.

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