A NEW PERIODIZATION OF PHILIPPINE HISTORY : ITS IMPLICATION ON THE STUDY OF JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY

by

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This paper presents a new periodization of Philippine history and examines its' implication on the study of Japanese participation in Philippine history. The approach of this paper is to compare the old, commonly used periodization, with the new one, explaining in effect, the rationale for the new perspective, and giving its' main features. With the new perspective as basis, Japanese participation in Philippine history is then re-examined based on a schema of events drawn primarily from available English language sources.

The two periodizations in Philippine history are here presented for ease of study and comparison, the colonial oriented one to be referred to as periodization I, and the new one as periodization II.

I. COMMONLY USED COLONIAL-ORIENTED PERIODIZATION:

1. Pre-Spanish Period (150,000 B.C.-1521 A.D.)
   A. Prehistory (150,000 B.C. - A.D.1)
   B. Proto-History (A.D.1-A.D 1521)

2. Spanish Period (1521-1898)

A. Changes brought by the Spaniards

B. Development of Philippine Nationalism

1.) The Propaganda (Reform) Movement

2.) The Philippine Revolution

3. American Period (1898-1946)

A. The Philippine-American War

B. Changes brought by the Americans

C. Philippine nationalism and campaigns for independence

D. The Philippine Commonwealth

4. Japanese Period (1941-1945)

5. Independence Period (1946-present)

II. NEW PERIODIZATION/PERSPECTIVE:

1. The Early Filipinos: Environment and culture during the Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods (250,000 B.C.-800 B.C.)

2. Early Philippine culture (800 B.C. - 1280 A.D.)

3. The Filipino communities in response to changes (1280-1565)

4. The Filipino communities and the Spanish colonial system (1565-1663)

5. Center and Periphery: Philippine society and colonial consolidation (1663-1745)

6. Movement Towards a national society (1745-1861)

7. The building of national consciousness and unity (1861-1913)

8. Unity under the shadow of American and Japanese imperialisms (1913-1946)

9. Independence and Nationhood: The challenge of neo-colonialism (1946-1972)

10. Authoritarianism and neocolonialism (1972-1986)

The two periodizations presented deal with the general history of the Philippines and cover textbook presentation rather than specialized studies. The periodizations, however, represent stages in the development of Philippine historiography.

Periodization I clearly show the colonial orientation of the history, reckoning the main periods according to the three colonial powers that governed the Philippines. While there are references to Philippine nationalism and the independence movements, the perspective is not Filipino in orientation.

The main features of the new periodization reflect the evolution of Philippine historical writing.

Obviously, the new periodization does away with the colonial framework which has dominated the writing of Philippine history since earliest contacts with the Spanish. Philippine colonial history is unique in

the sense that it involves conquest by not one, but two Western Powers, in addition to the short Japanese interlude. Spain kept the Philippines for 333 years, from 1565, making the Philippines the first country in Asia to be completely colonized when most of Asia was still free and independent, despite some European enclaves found here and there. Likewise, the Philippines is a special case in that it staged the first armed revolution against western colonialism in the late 19th century.

America's less than fifty years of colonization, more humane than the European colonizers, likewise influenced the westernized orientation of the Filipino elites,creating an image of the Philippines as a Christianized, westernized Asian nation.

Academically, the over-all effect of Spanish and American colonizations was the dominance of the "Euro-centric" approach to the study of Philippine history. The Spanish writers, many of them priests and colonial officials, were primarily concerned with their respective activities and naturally wrote on the activities of the Spaniards in the Philippines. The early American writers were likewise colonial officials, missionaries, travelers and the like who advocated U.S. retention of the Philippines by trying to show how backward the Filipinos were. There were American academicians who contributed to the growth of Philippine historiography, but the colonial domination persisted.[1]

In the post-colonial era, decolonization brought with it a "Filipino-centric" approach, but this came two decades after independence was restored by the Americans. Earlier textbooks written by Filipino historians like Eufronio Alip,and Gregorio Zaide were done in a chronological fashion

without the Filipino bias.

Teodoro A. Agoncillo, who published *A History of the Filipino People* in 1960, pioneered in the use of a Filipino-centric approach. Veering towards a more subjective interpretation of Philippine history, Agoncillo dismissed events in the Philippines before 1872, and argued that Philippine history only started with the development of Philippine nationalism. His controversial approach came at an appropriate time since by the early sixties, Philippine nationalism was being re-kindled, and student activism was slowly developing in Philippine society. Though subjectivist, it was nationalist in orientation and was a landmark in Philippine historiography.

In 1978, Renato Constantino published a two-volume textbook, *The Past Revisited,* and *The Continuing Past*, following a Marxist perspective. Constantino emphasized the history of the masses of people, focusing on the theme of the struggle of the Filipino people against imperialism. By introducing the "history from below" perspective, Constantino departed from the elite oriented perspective, thereby presenting a fresh approach to the history of the Filipino people. Markedly subjective and nationalist like Agoncillo, Constantino's books became bibles for activist college students who were constantly looking for ways to fight the Marcos dictatorship.

Despite the nationalist Filipino perspective, neither Agoncillo nor Constantino radically departed from the colonially oriented periodization. There are still overtones of the Spanish, American,and Japanese colonial presence in their works.

The new periodization, a product of the collective mind of members

of the Department of History, University of the Philippines, Diliman campus, with representatives from the three other autonomous campuses of the University of the Philippines System, keeps abreast with historiographic changes taking place in the leading academic centers of the world. The old emphasis on political history has given way to more specialized studies on social history, ethno-history, economic history, history of science, and of late, intellectual history. Constantino's "history from below" or the "history of the inarticulate" provided a starting point for research on the history of the masses. Other historians have followed suit, like Reynaldo Ileto whose book, *Pasyon and Revolution* relates the frame of mind of the Filipino masses and the development of their nationalism to their ritual/religious use of the *Pasyon*. Literature is therefore used to explain a historical phenomenon, and is indeed instrumental in the development of political attitudes.

The new periodization is open to these new directions in historical writing, and incorporates and encourages inter-disciplinary studies. It likewise opens the way for the incorporation of new social science research being done on such topics as diseases, transportation, food, pestilence, etc. With due respect to the scholarship of Teodoro Agoncillo, historians now see that even colonial documents can yield the Filipino perspective.[2]

A third major feature of the new periodization is that it emphasizes history written in the Filipino language. More than the nationalist orientation of writing in Filipino, the new periodization follows the *Pantayo* in contrast to the *Pangkami* perspective.[3] The *Pangkami* perspective is an outgrowth of colonialism: to the charges of the Spaniards that the Filipinos were backwards and uncivilized, the Filipino educated elites (*Ilustrados*) tended to be apologetic and defensive in their

writings. Products of the Spanish educational institutions, these Filipinos naturally wrote in Spanish, and their audience was the outside world. The coming of America, and the introduction of the public school system using English as medium of instruction spurred later Filipino academicians to write in English, with a similar orientation to the outside world. The effect of the popularity of English is reflected in the works of Agoncillo and Constantino, which are written in English.

The *Pantayo* perspective is the brainchild of a Filipino historian, Zeus A. Salazar, who argues that writing in Filipino addresses the Filipino people directly. The discourse is Filipino to Filipino, without pretensions to addressing the outside world. It is not exclusivistic nor narrow-minded. Rather, it encourages foreign scholars to join the discourse, using the Filipino language.

Furthermore, this new periodization has stimulated the search for new and appropriate landmarks and symbols in dealing with the growth of the Filipino nation. The new landmarks have been identified in research recently completed or being done by scholars. The periodization mentions a number of dates to mark the themes being developed. There are more detailed sub-periods in the actual periodization as formulated by the Department of History, but since this paper is addressed to a Japanese audience, only the following landmarks need be discussed:

1. 250,000 B.C. - Recent archaeological studies push Philippine prehistory to this date.

2. 800 B.C. - This is the start of the metal age and the rise of neolithic communities.

3. 1280 A.D. - This advances the date of contact with Islam in the Sulu archipelago with the discovery of a tombstone bearing the name of a Chinese Muslim. The date is also associated with the introduction of Islam in Sumatra, apparently by Indian Muslims.

4. 1565 - Miguel Lopez de Legaspi successfully conquered Cebu in Central Visayas, marking the start of the Spanish colonial rule. This date departs from 1521 (the coming of Ferdinand Magellan to the Philippines, referred to Euro-centrically as the "discovery of the Philippines") as the beginning of the Spanish Period.

5. 1663 - This marks the founding of Zamboanga in Mindanao, southern Philippines. The significance of Zamboanga lay in its proximity to the Muslim areas, and the attempts of the Spaniards to conquer the Muslim south.

6. 1745 - Agrarian revolts took place in different parts of the country symbolizing peasant discontentment with friar control of agricultural lands.

7. 1861 - This is the birth of the national hero, Dr. Jose P. Rizal. It symbolically shows the beginning of national consciousness with rapid changes taking place following the opening of Philippine ports to international trade.

8. 1913 - Battle of *Bud Bagsak* in Sulu symbolizes the last armed resistance by Filipino Muslims against the Americans. Use of this

date incorporates an event in Filipino Muslim history into general Philippine history.

The above landmark dates are therefore part of the attempt to write a more comprehensive general history of the Philippines, incorporating new dates following the changes in perspectives so far discussed.

There is a final feature of the new periodization : it departs from the Manila-centered Christian perspective by paying attention to the existence of several communities, grouped into the (A) "Pagan"[4]; (B) Muslim; and (C) Christianized communities.

Given the new periodization/perspective with its main features, it is clear that the Philippine history being written today departs from traditional political history; that it incorporates recent trends in national as well as international historiographic studies; that it is a history for the Filipinos and of the Filipinos written in the Filipino language; and finally, that it is bereft of colonial overtones in studying the growth and development of the Filipino nation.

How and where does the study of Japanese participation in Philippine history come into the picture? A beginning point is to look at the known events in Philippine history in which the Japanese are involved. Having presented two periodizations in Philippine history, it becomes necessary to draw as well a schema of events involving Japan and the Japanese.

The most well known aspect of Japanese participation in Philippine history is Japan's role in World War II and its occupation of the

Philippines for three years. Since the Pacific War, however, there have been more specialized studies on Philippine-Japan relations written in English. Josefa M.Saniel wrote a doctoral dissertation on *Japan and the Philippines, 1868-1898* and published a book based on the dissertation in 1963. Milagros C. Guerrero wrote a Master' thesis on "A Survey of Japanese Trade and Investments in the Philippines, with Special Reference to Phil-American Relations,1900-1941",published by the University of the Philippines in 1967. An earlier study on the Japanese Communities in Davao and in Manila was done by Serafin D. Quiason. A Japanese scholar at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Takushi Ohno did a Master's thesis on "War Reparations and Peace Settlement, Philippine-Japan Relations, 1945-1956". Another Japanese scholar at the University of the Philippines, and now Director of the Indo-Philippine Area Studies at Osaka Gaidai, Mamoru Tsuda, has written articles and edited monographs on Japanese business in the Philippines. Motoe Terami-Wada, a long time resident of the Philippines, has contributed a lot in expanding knowledge about Japanese activities in the Philippines, like the *Karayukis*, Japanese organizations and institutions in post-war Manila, the Japanese propaganda corps, etc., by using Japanese language sources. Her familiarity in Philippine historiography and Japanese materials, make her one of the leading Jaapanese scholars on the Philippines. Her latest work (1992) is a doctoral dissertation on the *Sakdalista* Movement submitted to the University of the Philippines.

Former Filipino Mombusho scholars have done their part in writing about Japan-Philippine relations. Elpidio Sta. Romana and Ricardo T.Jose wrote a paper (part of a worldwide project on Studies on the Diffusion and Change of Japanese Culture Overseas) "'Never Imagine Yourself to be Otherwise...' Filipino Image of Japan Over the Centuries",

an overview of the changing image of Japan in the various periods of Philippine history. The latest published work is Lydia N. Yu-Jose's *Japan Views the Philippines, 1900-1944.* There are other works in English not mentioned here, but the point is made: for the English reader, the examination of Japan's participation in Philippine History is based on scattered and scanty sources.

The following schema of events is therefore culled only from the above sources available in English, and is not in the least definitive. It is offered as a take-off point for further examining Japan's participation in Philippine history (to be referred to as periodization III):

1. The Philippines under Spain : Trade and Security (1565-1898)

    A. *Wakos* and *Goshuinsen*[5] (1500-1638)
        1) The Japanese Community in Dilao and San Miguel, Manila: Role of Ukon Takayama
        2) Minimal contact during the *Sakoku* period and the Meiji Restoration (1638-1868)

2. Rise of National Consciousness, Philippine Nationalism, and Japanese Connections: Aid and Alliance (1880's-1901)

    A. Resumption of trade in the 1870's with Spanish Philippines: Establishment of Japanese Consulate in Manila
    B. Propaganda Movement (1880's-1892)
    C. *Katipunan* and Revolution (1892-1898)
    D. The Philippine-American War and the *shishis*

(1899-1901)

E. American Policies on Emigration and Trade with Japan : Link to Emerging Japanese Imperialism

1) Immigration and "Permissive Imperialism"

(a) Laborers and Prostitutes (*Karayuki*)

3. Filipino Unity under American and Japanese Imperialisms (1913-1946)

A. Growth of Japanese economic interests in the 1920's and the 1930's

1) Manufacturing, retail trade, shipping, lumber, mining, fishing, import-export

B. The Japanese community in Davao

C. The Philippine Commonwealth: Prospects of Independence (1935-1946)

1) The "Japanese Question" and Philippine Independence

2) Economic nationalism and fears of Japanese presence

3) World War II and the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines (1941-1945)

(a) The Southeast Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

(b) Filipino responses to Japanese rule

4. Independence and Nationhood (1946-1972)

A. "Collaborating Imperialisms" : The U.S. and Japan

1) The Reparations Issue and the re-entry of Japanese business

5. Authoritarian Rule and neocolonialism (1972-1985)

A. "The Second Invasion"

B. Aid and the Official Development Assistance

It is necessary to explain the periods and main events mentioned above, especially for the Japanese audience with no background on Philippine history.

First of all, the schema conforms essentially to the new periodization, but with reference to Spanish, American, and Japanese colonialisms as these influenced the history of the Filipino people. This implies that in treating the early Philippine relations with Japan, Spain's economic and political policies relative to Japan may need re-examination to see their impact on Philippine life. Thus, the contacts made by the Spanish Government with the Ashikaga and early Tokugawa Shogunates relating to trade and security must be reviewed further.

Japanese merchant-buccaneers (pirates alternating as traders) came as early as in the 16th century and were assigned to live in Dilao[6] as their number grew and as fears of a possible attack by Hideyoshi were confronted by the Spaniards.[7] Some Japanese were, in fact,used as mercenenaries by the Spaniards, but these events do not really concern the Filipino communities then in existence when the Spaniards came. (See item #3 in periodization II.) What may have a relationship to Filipino history, in contrast to the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines, is the coming of Japanese Christian converts who came on their own or who later left Japan after the Tokugawa Shogunate started persecuting Christian missionaries and Japanese converts. There are two connecting links established by these contacts: (1)the establishment of a Christian

community in the greater Dilao area of Manila; and (2) the martyrdom in Japan of Lorenzo Ruiz, a Chinese-Filipino who is, so far, the only recognized Filipino saint.

Apropos the first point, Lord Ukon Takayama's exile to Manila in 1614 was a high point in the rise of a Japanese Christian community. Takayama, originally from Settsu Province, rose to become one of the retainers of Oda Nobunaga, and was given charge of a fiefdom, first in Takatsuki,Osaka; and later in Akashi,Harumi Province (now part of Hyogo Prefecture). He was to become one of the more famous Christian Daimyos, but his fame in converting his followers to Catholicism led to his downfall from power when Ieyasu Tokugawa began persecuting Japanese Christians. In his exile to Manila, he brought with him his family, 23 Jesuit priests, 15 seminarians, and his Christian followers, the number of whom was estimated to be about 100 to 300. They were given quarters by the Jesuits in San Miguel,outside of the Walled City, where they eventually settled down. San Miguel became identified with the Japanese Christian community, although there were also some Japanese converts in Dilao. Because of the proximity of San Miguel to Dilao, a contiguous Japanese "town" emerged, similar to, but not as large as the Chinese quarters called *Parian.*[8]

There is another side episode in the ensuing conflict between the Spanish authorities in Manila and the Tokugawa shoguns, when the latter, in a retaliatory mood after an order by Governor Fajardo expelling the Japanese from the Philippines in 1622 ,sent a vessel in 1624 with 130 Japanese lepers to Manila. The Spanish authorities accepted the lepers and put them in a hospital specially built for lepers. This was the San Lazaro hospital which became famous for the treatment of communicable

diseases.[9]

The resumption of trade with Japan in the 1870's was likewise the result of negotiations between the Spanish Government and the Meiji rulers. The Philippines had been opened to international trade in the 1830's , and this was a significant step in bringing about meaningful changes in the economic, political, and cultural life of the Filipinos. What needs to be examined on this point, is to what extent trade with the Japanese influenced the volume of trade as well as the effect of this trade on the changes taking place in the lives of the Filipinos. One significant result of the opening of the Philippines to international trade was the rise of a Filipino middle sector from whose ranks came the Filipino intellectual elites, referred to as *Ilustrados*. It was this group that sowed the seeds of nationalism, and led the fight for reforms in the 1880's. The leaders of the reform, and later, of the revolutionary struggles against Spain and the United States, were to have informal, indirect, and direct Japanese connections as they tried to get foreign support for their movements.

During the Propaganda (Reform) Movement, Jose P. Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines, noticed that Japanese students in Paris "were studying practical subjects such as engineering, artillery and medicine, while most Filipinos were studying the humanities or law". Fascination for the Japanese was reflected in the publication of articles on Japan, in the *La Solidaridad*, official newspaper of the Filipino Propagandists in Spain. Jose Ramos, who went to Japan in 1895 before he could be arrested in Manila for his reformist activities, sought Japanese financial support for the Propaganda Movement. His efforts however did not yield any positive result.[10]

When the Reform Movement failed, a mass-based organization, the

Katipunan was formed by Andres Bonifacio in 1892. A secret organization, it was able to have 30,000 membership by 1896, when the Philippine Revolution broke out.

The *Katipunan* had apparently some connections with Japanese residents in Manila who served as intermediaries for possible Japanese aid. There is reference to a Tagawa Moritaro who acted as interpreter for Andres Bonifacio in his meeting with Japanese officers on the ship Kongo in May 1896. It was apparently also Moritaro who was approached by Bonifacio to try to purchase Murata rifles from Japan. Another Japanese resident who helped the revolutionary leaders was Sakamoto Shiro, whose house was visited by Katipuneros to get information from Sakamoto. Sakamoto had access to Spanish offices and to foreign consuls. He was reported to have attended some meetings of the Katipunan.[11] An earlier claim that the first issue of the Katipunan newspaper, *Kalayaan* was printed in Yokohama was later belied by Teodoro Agoncillo who said that the newspaper was printed in Manila.

In 1898, the Americans became involved in Philippine affairs when the former declared war against Spain over Cuban affairs. An initial partnership took place between the Filipino revolutionary leaders and the Americans, which led to the resumption of the revolution against Spain in May 1898. Under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, a Philippine Republic was established, and Philippine independence was proclained on June 12,1898. Victory against the Spaniards was in sight, when the United States decided to keep the Philippines, reneging on an apparent pledge earlier made to Aguinaldo that the United States would recognize Philippine independence in exchange for the help of the Filipinos in fighting the Spaniards.[12]

In any case, America's involvement in the Philippines was officially viewed by the Japanese Government with interest. While there was apparent sympathy for the plight of the Filipinos, the Japanese Government officially proclaimed its neutrality in the Philippine Question.[13]

Official Japanese Government neutrality notwithstanding, the Filipino revolutionary leaders sought out the help of Japanese groups during the Philippine-American War which broke out on February 4,1899. On December 10,1898, Spain and the United States signed the Treaty of Paris, officially ending the Spanish-American War, and ceding the Philippines to the United States. It was therefore necessary for the Filipino leaders to seek out the recognition of Foreign Governments for the fledgling Philippine Republic. For this purpose, Mariano Ponce was sent as Philippine emissary to Japan to seek the help of the Japanese Government, and to gain the support of Japanese activists, referred to as *shishis*. The *shishis* were Pan-Asianists who were themselves identified with expansionist groups in Japan.[14]

With the help of the *shishis*, an agreement was reached to send the Philippine forces 10,000 murata rifles to be transported on the ship *Nunobiki Maru*, but unfortunately, the ship sank off Shanghai on the way to the Philippines. Another *shishi*, Capt. Hara Tei had recruited some men and actually fought with the revolutionary forces in Bataan.[15]

Sakamoto Shiro, earlier referred to, was one of civilian adventurers who became involved in the Philippine Revolution. Sakamoto was sent to the Philippines by the Taiwan General Staff (Taiwan had become Japanese territory in 1895) to observe the developments during the Revolution. He was to recommend Japanese intervention in the Philippines because of the

close racial similarity between the Filipinos and the Japanese.[16]

Thus, the Japanese connection during the nationalist and revolutionary period of Philippine history gets a more extended treatment, even if officially the Japanese Government declared a policy of non-intervention. There were intertwining interests between Philippine independence and the expansionist dreams of some Japanese. Until the end of the Spanish period, there was no evidence of Japanese aggressive interests in the Philippines, partly because Japan could not afford at that time to alienate the Western Powers.[17]

Japanese-Philippine links during the American period centered on immigration and trade. As in the Spanish Period, American colonial policies on immigration and trade with Japan did not have any Filipino participation. Yet the effect of these policies on Japanese activities in the Philippines was to have an influence on Filipino unity "under the shadow of American and Japanese Imperialisms[18] (1913-1935)". (See item #8 in periodization II). This is an important theme in the new periodization, which emphasizes the economic imperialist policy of the Americans in the Philippines following the introduction of full free trade under the Underwood-Simmons Act of 1913, which removed tariff duties on Philippine made goods entering the United States, and American goods entering the Philippines. Under the new periodization these economic policies are examined in relation to their effects on the growing unity of the Filipinos in response to these American vested economic interests. Later, the policies are examined in accordance with the growth of Japanese business interests, finally leading to the strong expansionist patterns of the 1930's.

Japanese immigration to the Philippines increased dramatically in 1903, when the American colonial government hired 1,215 Japanese

laborers, mostly from Okinawa,to build Kennon road in Baguio, because of the Japanese flair for building mountain roads. Earlier in 1899, there were some 200 Japanese prostitutes (*karayuki*) plying their trade in the Sampaloc area of Manila, but exclusively for American and Japanese residents. America's immigration policy towards the Japanese was "tolerant and hospitable", prompting the use of the words "permissive imperialism".[19] Two points explain this policy: (1) The Japanese were allowed to immigrate freely in the Philippines as American colonial officials did not implement the immigration laws against Asian immigrants passed in the U.S. mainland ; (2) the American colonial government followed a *laissez faire* policy on investment matters.[20]

Upon completion of the Kennon road in 1905, some of the laborers decided to stay in Baguio; others went to Manila, while the bulk decided to settle in Davao, upon the urging of Kyosaburo Ohta, then Philippine manager of the Japanese General Import Company in Manila. He settled in Davao in 1905, eventually starting a plantation, and becoming one of the pioneer Japanese groups who were able to acquire vast tracts of agricultural land planted to abaca. Davao soon became the biggest Japanese community in the Philippines, although the Japanese were to be found throughout the island, succesfully engaging in various business enterprises.

A look at the statistics on Japanese immigration shows the marked increase of immigrants in various periods. From 1,025 in 1903, the figure rose to 9,874 in 1919; 11,093 by 1927; and 21,468 in 1935. It is significant that of the 1927 and 1935 figures, Davao immigrants were 7,002 and 13,535 respectively. The increase in immigration corresponds to the growth of Japanese interests specially in the 1920's and the 1930's.[21]

Starting off with itinerant peddlers and hawkers selling *apas* (ice cream cones) in the early years of American rule, the Japanese peacefully penetrated the different aspects of Philippine economy. From the initial investment of Kyosaburo Ohta in Davao, Japanese interests diversified into manufacturing, fishing, lumber, shipping, import-export, and even retail trade. Even without the preferential treatment that the United States enjoyed by virtue of the Underwood-Simmons Act, Japan in 1914 was the third largest trading partner of the Philippines, with the United Kingdom coming in as second. By 1921, Japan had become the second largest trading partner of the Philippines.[22] Ten years later, Japan outranked the United States in buying Philippine exports.

It was largely the dramatic growth of Japanese investments which were estimated at P52,233,775.00 in 1937[23], that alarmed the American authorities and Filipino leaders concerned with the consequences of Japanese economic presence on the prospects of Philippine independence.

By the early 1930's Japan's overt militarism had become apparent at the time a Philippine independence bill was being discussed in the U.S. Congress. By that time,the passage of an independence bill looked more likely, as the Philippines had sent several independence missions to Washington, starting in 1921. The economic depression of 1929 helped the cause of Philippine independence as American agricultural, labor and patriotic lobby groups supported Philippine independence for their respective vested interests.

An anti-independence block in the United States congress brought in the fear of Japan as an issue arguing that an independent Philippines would not be able to hold its own against Japan. When the Hare-Hawes-

Cutting Independence bill was passed by the U.S. Congress, President Herbert Hoover vetoed the bill , and without directly referring to Japan, cited dangers for the Philippines from the fact that" many of these races are more devoted to commercial activities "and" infiltration is constant and fraught with friction".[24]

Hoover's veto was, however, overriden by the United States Congress, but the Philippine Legislature, under the leadership of Manuel L. Quezon, rejected the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill apparently over the issues of the military bases, immigration, tariff, and powers of the High Commissioner. The overriding reason for Quezon's rejection of the Bill was more personal in nature. The Independence Mission that obtained the Bill was led by Sergio Osmena, Quezon's rival for leadership. Quezon wanted to be remembered as the "Father of Philippine Independence", and because of his connections in the United States Congress, was able to get another independence bill, the Tydings-McDuffie Bill, in 1934.The Bill established the Philippine Commonwealth, a ten-year transition government to prepare for the granting of Philippine independence. The Bill promised independence on July 4,1946.

The Philippine Commonwealth, inaugurated in 1935, was confronted by the "Japanese Question"[25] as it faced the problem of alien domination of the Philippine economy. Although the Chinese domination of the retail trade was part of the problem, the "Japanese Question" was more difficult to tackle because the Japanese Government was involved in protecting the interests of Japanese businessmen. Moreover, Japanese business groups had become more aggressive in protecting their interests using legal and illegal means. Japanese conduct of trade had created sore points between the Filipinos and the Japanese.

When the Chinese businessmen decided to boycott Japanese business after the Japanese military attacked Manchuria in 1936, the Japanese businessmen confronted the problem by going into retail business. To avoid paying heavy tariffs for their products coming from Japan, the Japanese manufactured their goods in the Philippines. To go around the Land Law of 1919 which prohibited aliens from owning land, the Japanese instituted the "Pakyaw" System.[26] When the Government declared the "Pakyaw" System illegal, Japanese planters sought the help of the Japanese Government. The latter actively approached Filipino politicians, thereby encroaching on Philippine domestic affairs.[27]

Given such tactics, it was therefore not surprising that the Philippine Legislature passed several nationalist laws. With political independence practically insured, Philippine nationalism now turned to economic nationalism .In accordance with a provision in the Constitution of 1935 limiting foreign investment to 40%, and in response to Japanese business practices earlier mentioned, the Commonwealth Government passed the Mining Act, Public Land Act, Fisheries Act and Forestry Act.In 1939, it passed an Anti-Dummy Law, and in 1940, the Immigration Law limiting entry of foreign nationals to 500 yearly. These pieces of nationalistic legislation unfortunately did not stop Japanese investments. There was too much to protect, on top of the fact that the Philippines, specially Davao was seen as a base for the southward expansion of the Japanese militarists. There is ample evidence to show that Japanese spies penetrated Japanese business concerns and used these as fronts to monitor American and Filipino military activities. The height of Japanese imperialism came with the occupation of the Philippines in late 1941.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion, the new periodization

no longer emphasizes the Japanese period. Rather, the occupation forms one part of the larger reality of American and Japanese imperialisms which contributed to Filipino unity. Thus the erstwhile Japanese period highlights the challenges posed by Japanese militarism, and the responses of the Filipinos. There are controversial aspects of the Japanese occupation, stemming mainly from negative images arising from the brutality of the Japanese soldiers. However, not everything about the Japanese presence was negative in nature.There is the positive influence of Japan on Filipino Pan-Asianists who were genuinely of the belief that Japanese leadership was better for the Philippines.[28] There is the *Sakdalista* Movement of Benigno Ramos, whose pro-Japanese sentiments spurred his mass movement against the Philippine Commonwealth.[29] There is the impetus given to the propagation of Tagalog. Even the more negative aspects can be re-examined on a joint research project between Japanese and Filipino academics. There is, in fact, a Japanese-Filipino research team re-examining the Japanese period. Fortunately, at this time there is a growing number of Japanese Filipinologists well versed in the Filipino language, and of Filipino Japanologists at home with Nihongo. From this core group,the re-examination of Japanese presence in Philippine history can be explored further, using Filipino, English, and Japanese language sources.[30]

The post World War II era focuses on nation-building and rehabilitation relating,first,to Phiippine-American relations,and second, to American-Japanese relations, and how these relations affected Philippine economic interests. America restored Philippine political independence on July 4,1946 as promised, but kept the Philippines on a neocolonial status on matters affecting the economy and military bases and related matters.

American business interests once again dominated American economic

policies in the Philippines when the Bell Trade Act of 1945 imposed parity rights for Americans in exchange for the granting of rehabilitation funds. Reeling from economic difficulties following the destruction of Philippine economy after the war, the Filipino leaders had no alternative except to amend the constitution to give parity rights to Americans. Under parity rights, Americans were given the same rights as Filipino citizens in the exploitation of the natural resources of the country.

Adding insult to injury was the meager economic and financial assistance given to the Philippines by the United States in comparison to the all out support it gave to the rehabilitation of the Japanese economy. Particularly galling to the Filipinos was how America treated the Philippines, a close ally in the war efforts, and how it treated a former enemy. It is in this light that the phrase,"collaborating imperialisms" appropriately describes American and Japanese neocolonial relations with the Philippines.[31]

The American policy to help Japan rehabilitate its economy and society must be seen in the light of the "cold war" between the democracies and totalitarianism. The collapse of the Republican regime in China and the victory of the communist forces under the leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung, prompted the United States to do what it could to contain communist expansion in Japan and other Asian countries. The "Domino Theory" espoused by John Foster Dulles postulated that unless steps were taken to contain communism, all of Asia was in danger of falling under communist rule.

Repercussions of America's all out support for Japan were the issues of Japanese reparations to the Philippines, resumption of Philippine trade

relations, and the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two nations.

The initial demand of the Philippines for reparations claim was eight hundred million dollars, the claim to be settled within ten years, with partial reparations being paid before the approval of the reparations agreement and the ratification of a peace treaty. The background support of the United States for Japan whittled down the claim, and it took several years before a final agreement was reached. Meanwhile, a Philippine Mission was established in Tokyo after the San Francisco Peace Conference in 1951, slowly relaxing the entry of Japanese visitors to the Philippines. Successive Philippine administrations took a hard stand on the conclusion of a peace treaty even as an agreement on reparations was finally met.[32] The United States again encouraged Southeast Asian trade with Japan which she considered to be the "offshore defense perimeter in the Pacific-Asian nations".[33]

The double-edged American action of convincing the Philippines to lower its claim, and to open its market to Japan led to a final agreement on reparations on May 9, 1956, and finally to facilitate the re-entry of Japanese business into the Philippines. This era of Philippine-Japan relations is well known,with Japan eventually coming out as the major trading partner of the Philippines. The rules of the game have changed with Japanese militarism replaced by economic might. There are no more small business concerns but partnership with Filipinos remain, and the scenario of how Japan gradually came to dominate the Philippine economy before the war, was again re-enacted. Neocolonial ties have been strengthened relative to Philippine economic ventures, with formal and informal pressures being made on the Philippine Government.

Japanese connection with the Philippines became stronger during the

Marcos Martial Rule era (1972-1986). Marcos,realizing the importance of Japan as a trading partner,issued a presidential decree ratifying the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, which was put on the "freezer" by the Philippine Congress for 13 years. In exchange, the Japanese Government, through its Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.) Program and its implementing arm, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (J.I.C.A.), extended aid and Yen loans to the Marcos Government for infrastructure and other projects. Japanese corporations and business groups were, in turn, extended privileges in the free trade zones , and in other areas of investment. The inter-connections between the Marcos Government and Japanese corporations yielded corrupt practices which benefitted Marcos and his cronies.

The title of a 1989 book of Renato Constantino, *The Second Invasion, Japan in the Philippines*, appropriately captures the feelings of some Japan "watchers" in the Philippines. Constantino examined Philippine-Japan relations since World War II where he centered on such issues as economic exploitation and multilateral companies; reparations and Japanese re-entry in the Philippines; the possibility of Japan becoming a military power in the Pacific region; and Japan's responses to Philippine nationalist issues like the U.S. Military Bases.

The issues raised by Constantino, and other aspects of contemporary Philippine-Japan relations ,have been , and are the continuing focus of studies of Filipino and Japanese scholars. Studies on the O.D.A .[34]; on Japanese business in the Philippines and investment opportunities [35]; and on the Japanese connections to corruptions during the Marcos regime[36], are important contributions to recent scholarship on vital political and economic matters. On the cultural field, a translation project funded by

Toyota Foundation is making available, in the Filipino language, Japanese writings in different fields. More and more Filipinos are availing of Mom busho scholarships, and many of them have earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Their research studies are contributing to the expansion of knowledge between the two countries. These different developments augur well in expanding knowledge on Philippine-Japan relations,and in the final analysis, in further re-examining the participation of Japan in Philippine history, given the new perspective proposed in this paper.

NOTES

(1) There were Filipinos who pioneered in writing Philippine history both in English and in Spanish, like Epifanio de los Santos, now more popularly known by his acronym, EDSA, after whom was named the famous highway where the February "People Power" Revolution of 1986 took place; Mariano Ponce; Trinidad Pardo de Tavera; Ignacio Villamor; Teodoro Kalaw; and Jaime C. De Veyra. However, these writers only wrote on selected facets of Philippine history.

(2) William Henry Scott has done studies on 16th century Philippines using Spanish documents. He wrote an article on how Spanish documents on slavery provide a glimpse of Filipino reactions by reading through the lines.

(3) *Pangkami* in Tagalog can be likened to an *outer circle*, while *Pantayo* to an *inner circle*. *Kami* and *Tayo* both mean *us* in English, but its usage in Tagalog denotes a difference in terms of relationships. See Jaime B.Veneracion, *Ang Kasaysayan sa Kasalukuyang Panahon* (History for the Present Period), *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XXVII-XXVIII, 1983-1984,pp. 13-- 27, for a fuller explanation of the two perspectives.

(4) Refers to the ethnic beliefs of cultural communities like the Igorots, Manobos, Bagobos, etc.

(5) *Goshuinsen* refers to Red Seal Vessels which were given Red Sealed Charters by the Tokugawa Shogunate, allowing these vessels to participate in the lucrative China-Southeast Asia trade. Hideyoshi was supposed to have started the practice, but was officially enforced by Ieyasu Tokugawa in 1600, and accepted by the Spanish Government. The practice went on for a few years.

(6) Dilao was previously located near the Chinese Quarters (*Parian*) outside the walled city of Manila (*Intramuros*). According to Ernie de Pedro's article ,"Lord Ukon Takayama: The Christian 'Daimyo'",*Unitas*,pp.497-498,the site may have been transferred in three sites of what is now the area of Paco, Manila. What is now called Plaza Dilao, where a statue of Lord Takayama stands, is but a small part of the original Dilao. Nearby was San Miguel, where Takayama and his Christian followers settled down.

(7) There were already Japanese settlers in Manila when the Spaniards arrivedthere in 1571. Spanish authorities refer to places in Cagayan; Agoo,La Union;and Bolinao,Pangasinan in northern Philippines as "Japanese ports" showingthat Japanese settlers were actively involved in trade in these places.

(8) De Pedro,*op.cit.*,pp.489-490.

(9) Milagros C. Guerrero, "A Survey of Japanese Trade and Investment, with Special Reference to Phil-American Relations,1900-1941", *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, 1967. See also Josefa M. Saniel, "The Origins of San Lazaro Hospital, *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*,Vol. XXVIII, nos. 2-5, June-December,1958.

(10) Elpidio Sta. Romana and Ricardo T. Jose,"'Never Imagine Yourself Otherwise...',Filipino Image of Japan Over the Centuries", *Asian Studies*,

Vol.XXIX,1991,p.71. Saniel also mentions the activities of Jose Ramos in *Japan and the Philippines, op.cit.*,pp.171-172.

(11) Saniel, *ibid.*,pp.222-235.

(12) This is a controversial point as Aguinaldo in his memoirs recalled that Admiral George Dewey had promised to help the Philippines obtain its independence, a claim denied by Dewey and the American authorities.

(13) Saniel,*op. cit.* p.274.

(14) Sta. Romana, *op. cit.*, pp.72-73.

(15) *Ibid.*, p.73.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) Saniel, *op. cit.*,pp.226-227.

(18) I have chosen the Concise Oxford Dictionary(1990) definition of im perialism:"a policy of acquiring dependent territories or extending a country's influencethrough trade, diplomacy, etc",for this paper.

(19) The words used were coined by Prof. Grant Goodman as cited in Sta. Romana, *op. cit.*.

(20) Ibid., p.74. See also Guerrero, *op. cit.*,p.83.

(21) Lydia Yu-Jose, *op. cit.*pp. 13;66-67.

(22) Guerrero, *op. cit.*,p.16.

(23) *Ibid.*, p.19.

(24) *Ibid.*, p.90.

(25) The terms, "Japanese Question" referred to any matter involving Japanese activities which posed problems for the Commonwealth Government.

(26) Under the "Pakyaw" system, a Filipino with the necessary qualification filed a public land application either on sales, lease, homestead or free patent basis. A contract was then entered into between the applicant and the Japanese planter who took care of clearing the land, planting it to abaca, administering the land, all expenses being shouldered by the Japanese planter. The contract was for 15 years and included a proviso that once the abaca was stripped, the Filipino would reimburse the Japanese for all the expenses, the failure of which would allow the Japanese to continue possessing the land after paying the Filipino about 10 or 15 percent of the proceeds.See Guerrero,*op. cit.* p. 75.

(27) Yu-Jose,*op. cit.*,p.157. Chapter 8 mentions instances of how the Japanese Government interceded in behalf of Japanese businessmen.

(28) There were "Japanophiles" like Modesto Farolan, Francisco Icasiano, and Aurelio Alvero. Benigno Aquino,Sr. was sympathetic to Japan, while former University of the Philippines President Jorge Bocobo praised the virtues of the *Bushido*. See Sta.Romana, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

(29) As mentioned earlier, Motoe Terami-Wada completed in 1992 a doctoral dissertation for the University of the Philippines, on the *Sakdal* Movement.

(30) Some of the English language sources on Philippine-Japan relations written by Filipinos and Japanese have been mentioned at the beginning of this paper. I wish to take note of the increase in the number of books on the Japanese Occupation written in the English language in the 70's and 80's when a better perspective of Japan's image emerged. While a number of these

books were memoirs, it is a healthy sign that more participants in the war are publishing their experiences. The earlier classic works were Teodoro Agoncillo's 2 volume work, *The Fateful Years, Japan's Adventure in the Philippines,1941-1945*; and A.V.H. Hartendorp's *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*, vol. I and II.

(31) I am also using the Concise Oxford Dictionary definition of neocolonialism as "use of economic, political, or other pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former dependencies". It is in this context that I view American and Japanese neocolonial relations with the Philippines.

(32) Takushi Ohno's study on the reparations, previously mentioned, has a full discussion on the politics of the negotiations involving the United States, the Philippines, and Japan. The compromise formula was for Japan to pay the Philippines a total of U.S. 550 million dollars as reparation. See also Alejandro M. Fernandez, *The Philippines and the United States, The Forging of New Relations*,1977, pp. 223-227.

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(34) There are recent critical studies on the O.D.A. written by Japanese and Filipino researchers. *AMPO,Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*'s 1990 (vol.21,no.4) issue was on the O.D.A.,amply titled "Japanese *O*fficial *D*estruction and *A* lienation.The articles covered countries in the Asia-Pacific region which were recipients of O.D.A. grants. Three of the articles were on the Philippines:on dragging the Philippines further into debt; on Japanese high technology and the renovation of the Philippine General Hospital; and on agricultural development aid. *Kasarinlan*, the quarterly publication of the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines carried four articles on the same subject in its 1990 (vol.5,no.4) issue : Masaki Yokoyama's, "Marcos Yen for Corruption"; Akio Takayanagi's "Why Japanese Aid is Ineffective in Reducing Poverty"; Eduardo Tadem's "Japan, The United States and O.D.A."; and Ed Villegas' "Japanese Trade and Investment in the

Philippines".

(35) A good example of collaborative studies on the business sector is the linkage between the Japan Institute of Developing Economies, and the School of Economics of the University of the Philippines. The former published a monogram in 1988 on *National Development Policies and the Business Sector in the Philippines* based on a study made by two Japanese and four Filipino researchers.

(36) Mamoru Tsuda and Masaki Yokoyama edited a book, *Japan Inc. in Asia, A Documentation on Its' Operations Through the Philippine Polity*, which was published last year (1992). It carries a number of documents/ papers on Marcos' web of corruption involving Japanese groups.