

From Pride to Humiliation and Redemption: The Expulsion of Japanese Residents and Seizure of Japanese Properties in the Manila Area, 1945-1947

Augusto DE VIANA

University of Santo Tomas
MANILA

ABSTRACT


Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Philippines hosted a significant Japanese presence. The city of Manila hosted the second largest Japanese community in the islands after the Davao region. Japanese residents numbered around 5,000 compared to Davao's 25,000. The Japanese came to the Philippines because of economic opportunities the islands presented under the American administration. Originally they came as temporary workers and businessmen later some of them settled as more permanent residents. After establishing small businesses the local Japanese were joined by branches of big Japanese corporations. Some of the small businesses even grew to become large and profitable establishments. The Japanese commercial presence in the islands diversified the cultural makeup of cities like Manila. The Japanese businessmen studied Filipino buying habits and preferences and learned from them. As a result their establishments became progressive, rivaling even the more established Chinese businessmen. The Japanese community faced the challenges to their presence in the islands. They endured discrimination and outright hostility from the Chinese following the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. They also adjusted to the wave of economic nationalism from the Filipinos following the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth. The Japanese community and their enterprises became a significant element in Philippine society in less than fifty years. However the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 changed all that. Following the Japanese occupation of the islands, Japanese residents were required to assist and serve the invaders. Many of the residents served out of pride and others because of duty. The war automatically made the Japanese enemy aliens that by the end of the war the Japanese community was expelled from the Philippines and their properties were seized by the Philippine government. The expulsion of the Japanese community changed forever the cultural and commercial make-up of Manila. Anti-Japanese sentiment remained strong and this was reflective of the country's foreign policy towards Japan. The Japanese community

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eventually returned but not to the same vibrancy as in the pre-war years.

Keywords: *Japanese community, Japanese residents, growth, expulsion, return*

Introduction: Building up Pride and Reputation

ne of the consequences of the defeat of Japan at the end of the Second World War was the mass deportation of Japanese residents and the seizure of Japanese properties. Before the Japanese invasion and occupation, the Philippines hosted more than 30,000 Japanese residents. Manila had around 5,000 Japanese residents at the start of the war which was the second largest community of Japanese after Davao which had 25,000 residents. The rest were scattered all around the country such as Cebu, Baguio, and Iloilo. Many of the resident Japanese had stayed in the Philippines for several decades, and some of whom arrived as early as the beginning of the 20th century to start life as construction workers in projects such as the Benguet road (now Kennon Road) and the Halsema Mountain Highway.¹ Many became entrepreneurs and small businessmen while others were officials of big Japanese firms doing business in the Philippines.

The Philippines attracted many Japanese who decided to live in the country mainly for economic reasons. During the early part of the century many Japanese would work or manage a business for a certain period of time, and after earning a certain amount, they would return to Japan. Often they worked in trades that the Filipinos themselves could not perform such as building the mountain roads in the Cordilleras and other construction work.

There were some who decided to stay on a more permanent basis, and a number of them established various businesses. Through perseverance and hard work such businesses prospered. There were around 250 registered Japanese businesses in Manila alone with many others which were unregistered.² The Japanese commercial community was so vibrant that parts

¹ Kaoru Watanabe, *Philippine-Japan Yearbook and Business Directory* (Manila: 1935): 323.

² Based on the entries of the Commonwealth Encyclopedic Directory of the Philippines Manila had as of October 31, 1935 44 Japanese bazaars, two bakeries, two candy factories, six shirt factories, two cake factories, five drugstores, three furniture stores, seven charcoal dealers, one glassware store, one tattoo parlor, three dry goods stores, one tinsmith shop, one box factory, one textile store, one fertilizer store, one lumber yard, five building contractors, 22 fish dealers, two egg and poultry dealers, twelve hotels, 104 refreshment

of Manila such as the stretch of Rizal Avenue in Santa Cruz district were called "Little Tokyo," because of the presence of many Japanese shops and businesses. There were also clusters of Japanese businesses in Echague Street in Quiapo and Dasmariñas Street in Binondo. Escolta Street which is known for its high-end shops also had some Japanese businesses such as the Ogawa Watch Store which was one of the most prestigious enterprises in the area. The Japanese stores and shops in Escolta were dubbed as Mania's Ginza, in reference to that famous place in Tokyo where articles of Japan's high fashion were sold. Even Manila's uptown which comprised Plaza Cervantes and Plaza Goiti the Japanese were also prominent there. According to Japanese resident, Kiyoshi Osawa himself was the owner of two bazaars in Santa Cruz, the Japanese bazaars of Manila impressed tourists and visitors from Japan. They were referred to as Japanese stores and were considered reputable because of their honest personnel. The Japanese stores treated their Filipino clientele with great courtesy. If these stores were to be removed, there would be only two attractive spots that will be left. These would be the establishments of the occidentals and the Chinese wholesalers at Rosario Street whose stores lined the street. Without these commercial areas, Manila would be bleak and deserted although the establishments of the Chinese businessmen can still be seen everywhere.³

In the 1930s the Japanese established big businesses requiring substantial capital. The most significant investment was the Balintawak Beer Brewery which was created in 1937. The brewery which was located at Barrio Torres Bugallon in Polo, Bulacan was the biggest Japanese investment at the time. The investment was worth 1.4 million yen which was provided by Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Osaka Boeki Kaisha, the Japanese beer producer Dai Nihon, and some Filipino and Chinese investors as minor partners. The BBB as it was called had a modern factory complex with a fleet of delivery trucks. Aside from the BBB, another prominent investor was the O' Racca Confectionary Company which was the biggest candy factory in the Philippines. Other big-ticket investors were three shirt factories; the Toyo Shirt Factory at 1044 Azcarraga, Binondo, Manila which was capitalized at 20,000; the Oriental Industrial Company which became the Kinkwa Meriyasu Company and the Rex Shirt Company which was located at 551 Rizal Avenue and 341 Palma Street, both in Santa Cruz, Manila. The Kinkwa Meriyasu Company had two factories, one at 113-117 Muelle de Industria in Binondo and another in

parlors, 2 rubber shoe factories, four tailor shops, 12 furniture factories, two radio stores and repair shops, two beauty preparations stores, and two bicycle store and repair shops.

³ Kiyoshi Osawa, *The Japanese Community in the Philippines, Before, During and After the War*, Trans. Marivi Jugo-Nañagas (Manila: Joshu Bunko Library, 1994): 18.

Novaliches, Rizal which is now part of Quezon City. The company was associated with Mitsui Bussan Kaisha. Other shirt factories were the Tomonaga Shirt Factory located at 230 Legarda Street in Sampaloc; the Noguchi Shirt Factory in Gardenia Street also in Sampaloc, the Noguchi Shirt Factory in Binondo. The factories were established as a response to the need to avoid high tariffs on imported yarn, and since there were no mills in the Philippines to manufacture cotton yarn, the Japanese textile firms would be vulnerable as they will be at the mercy of American suppliers.⁴

The anticipation of the imposition of high tariffs and discriminatory measures led the Japanese to establish a factory for manufacturing rubber shoes. As of 1934, there were five companies manufacturing rubber shoes of which two of them were Japanese. These were the National Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company and the Health Rubber Factory. The first company which manufactured the Olympian brand was capitalized at half a million pesos. Its principal owners were Seitaro Kanegae, owner of the Nippon Bazar, O Takahara of the Osaka Boeki Kaisha, Leopoldo Aguinaldo, Pedro Bella, Wu Sun-lai and other investors. The Health Rubber Factory was owned by the operators of the Taisho Bazar. It had its factory in Cebu City.⁵

As a community, the Japanese made a name for themselves as they were known to the Filipinos for their excellent services and products. The best photographic shop was the Sun Studio owned by Mr. T. Yamamoto⁶; fine jewelry and watches (Ogawa Watch Store, Nakamura Bazar and Tajima Bazar); beauty products (Hollywood Bazar); sporting goods (Mizuno Sports shop); bicycles (Mori Bicycle Company), pharmaceuticals (S. Nakashima Drugstore, Japanese Pharmacy, Nakatsutaka Drug Store), bottles and glassware (Daymon Glass); building contractors (S. Yamashita, Mochizuki), military supplies (Yokohama Bazar) and grocery supplies and Japanese goods (Osaka Bazar, Nippon Bazar). Probably the most unique of the Japanese enterprises was the Miyazaki Nursery owned by Shinichi Miyazaki which bred its own orchids of which some of these were exported. Compared to the Chinese-owned stores where the customer had to haggle with the shop owners the Japanese bazaars always had the price tags for their goods. Since in Chinese shops it was suspected that the initial price given by the store staff

⁴ Yoko Yoshikawa, "Jose M. Tagawa and the Japanese Commercial Sector in Manila," *Philippine Studies*, 43, (April-June 1995): 176.

⁵ Lydia Yu-Jose and Aileen San Pedro-Baviera, *Philippine External Relations A Centennial Vista* (Pasay City: Foreign Service Institute, 1998): 293-294.

⁶ Others were Triangulo Studio, Rialto Studio, Mikado Photo Shop, Collegian Photo Studio, and Modern Photo.

was double the actual price thus the customer had to haggle starting at half the price. The customers believed that with the price tags indicating the cost of the goods, the Japanese storeowners were seen as more honest than the Chinese.⁷

The Japanese were also known for their service enterprises such as barbershops, massage parlors, as well as refreshment parlors and hotels. The establishments were noted for their quaintness and cleanliness.

Aside from the small and medium Japanese businesses, the Philippines had representative offices of big Japanese firms such as the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha which occupied the entire second floor of the City Bank Building. This building was considered the most luxurious structure in the Philippines. When the Japanese Imperial forces seized the building in 1942, the building was valued at \$7.5 million. Another office in the City Bank Building was the representative Office of the Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha. At the El Hogar Building which was adjacent to the City Bank Building was the Ohta Development Company which was the developer and owner of the extensive Japanese plantations in Davao. The company was founded by Kyozauro Ohta who started the first Japanese plantation in Davao in 1903. Mr. Ohta was considered as the architect of Davao's progress.

At the fifth floor of the Hong Kong Shanghai Building at San Juan Street were the offices of the Daido Boeki Kaisha. Its Philippine offices were the trading offices of the Marubeni Company which was based in Kyoto. The company served as the importer and dealer of general merchandise which were sold at retail by the smaller Japanese bazaars as well as the Chinese stores. Mr. Osawa imported the beauty products and the goods he sold through the Daido Boeki Kaisha. The company played an essential part in the wholesale-retail business by guaranteeing the importation of Japanese goods. On a personal basis, the company guaranteed the importation of Mr. Osawa's Ford Roadster which was the only one then in the Philippines. When the Chinese launched a boycott of Japanese goods as a retaliation for Japan's undeclared war with China in 1937, Daido Boeki Kaisha did not pressure its Japanese clients to pay up on their obligation but instead practiced flexible leniency which allowed the Japanese businessmen to survive the crisis and make a comeback.⁸

⁷ Yu-Jose and Pedro-Baviera, *Philippine External Relations A Centennial Vista*, 99.

⁸ Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines*, 123.

At Plaza Cervantes the Japanese owned Yokohama Specie Bank and the Japanese-controlled Bank of Taiwan jostled with the Philippine National Bank and the Bank of the Philippine Islands.

The Japanese in Manila never had a "Japan Town" as the Chinese community had a Chinatown, Japanese residents in Manila tended to cluster. Japanese residents and offices were found in along Lepanto Street in Sampaloc and Azcarraga near Santa Cruz, and in San Miguel district. Japanese residents had organizations such as the Japanese Association of Manila and the Japanese Young Men's Association. As the main organization of Japanese in Manila, the objective of the Association was to manage the Manila Japanese School, publish the organization's newspaper the Commercial and Industrial News and run its office. The Commercial and Industrial News was the Japanese community's only newspaper. It was managed by Mr. Ginsaburo Tamada and distributed by Mr. Genkuro Inoue. Both organizations aimed to promote solidarity and camaraderie among the Japanese residents by organizing cultural and sports activities as well as field trips. The Japanese community had two temples in Manila, the Hongaji Temple and the Nantenji Temple, an elementary school even a cemetery. The officials and employees of the big Japanese firms like Mitsui Bussan and Osaka Boeki Kaisha maintained the Nippon Club which was originally called the Miitano club from the first syllables of Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Ito Chu, Tagawa Shoten, Nagasaki Bazar, and Ohta Development Company and Ogura Trading Company. It had a large hall for welcoming crews of visiting Japanese warships. Later the Miitano Club became the Nippon Club.⁹

The Japanese community in the country was vibrant and showed signs of expanding further. With many amenities from Japan and more Japanese coming in, that the President of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce commented in 1933, "to be in the Philippines does not seem to be a foreign country. To us Japanese it seems as if we were at home."¹⁰

The War and its Effects

Even before the outbreak of the Second World War, many Japanese believed that conflict was inevitable between the United States and Japan.

⁹ Yoshikawa, "Jose M. Tagawa and the Japanese Commercial Sector in Manila," 177.

¹⁰ Grant K. Goodman, "As if We were at Home: Japanese Economic Activity in the Philippines 1931-1941." Unpublished Manuscript, University of Kansas, 1.

Only a few Japanese like Seitaro Kanegae believed that war was very imminent in 1941 when he asked his fellow Japanese to "put their lives in his hands."¹¹

The Japanese residents of Manila believed that the United States could easily be defeated and like most people in Japan they were made to believe in Japan's invincibility. A few privately believed that Japan would be defeated, but they kept their views to themselves for fear of being denounced as unpatriotic and non-conformist. In late 1941 the Japanese community met at the Nippon club and decided that certain areas should be made as places of refuge and that all Japanese residents should have a knapsack with clothes and provisions ready at all times. When war actually broke out on December 8, armed Filipino soldiers arrested all Japanese residents. Osawa and others including officials of Japanese companies and leaders of the Japanese community in Manila were rounded up and taken to the Old Blabbed Prison. Among them were Tsuneo Yamamoto, the branch manager of the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Nag hide Mori of the Daido Boeki Kaisha. From the Old Blabbed Prison, they were taken to the New Bilibid Prison in Muntinlupa where they remained until December. On December 28, Osawa and the others were returned to Manila and taken to the Manila Japanese School. On January 2, 1942, they were liberated by Japanese troops.

Meanwhile, since Manila was declared an Open City, all policemen were disarmed, and all military equipment was pulled out from the city. As a result, the residents of Manila went into an orgy of destruction and looting. The mobs attacked privately owned warehouses and plundered shops and stores including those owned by the Japanese. Among those plundered was the O'Racca Confectionary Factory. Later the building that housed the factory became an *ianjo* or a comfort station for the Japanese military. Only a few establishments including those owned by Osawa were spared. When the Japanese troops entered Manila, they were awed by the magnificence of the various stores and shops. A few Japanese who escaped arrest by the Filipinos and Americans were on hand to welcome the Japanese troops.

Immediately after their release, the Japanese bazaar owners along Avenida Rizal quickly purchased new stock and reopened their shops. However, the old splendor of Little Tokyo and the Ginza of Manila was gone as the Japanese military required all Japanese residents to serve with the occupation authorities. Under Military Ordinance No. 1, all Japanese residents were required to support the war effort. A number of Japanese residents served as

¹¹ Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines, an Autobiography*, Trans. Tsunusuke Kawashima. Ruthie Aquino, Editor (*Tokyo: 1981*): 156.

interpreters and guides for the military. The residents were so valued by the Japanese military as the "experts" they brought along were useless. The Japanese residents were in high demand not only in Manila but also in the provinces.¹²

For the duration of the war, Japanese properties were unmolested even by the guerrillas. However, they were not tolerant when it comes to Filipino collaborators. Filipino guerillas assassinated Alejandro Roces, Jr. and his wife as he backed his car on his way to work. Roces owned the company which published the pro-Japanese Tribune newspaper. The guerrillas also seriously wounded Jose P. Laurel on June 5, 1943, while playing golf at the Wack-Wack Golf Course.

While they were not molested by the guerillas for cooperating with the invaders, Japanese residents felt isolated from their neighbors. One of the tasks of the Japanese residents was to convince Filipino politicians to cooperate with the Japanese military administration. Among Mr. Osawa's tasks was to help confiscate American and Filipino property as part of the Enemy Property Confiscating and Utilization Committee. Osawa helped the Japanese Military Administration in seizing the facilities of the Manila Electric Company, the San Miguel Brewery, the Bank of the Philippine Islands, the Philippine National Bank, the Crystal Arcade and the Manila Hotel.¹³ Osawa also served in the Liquid Fuel Distribution Union which was tasked to secure fuel supplies for the military. During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese community who served with the military authorities lived comfortably while most of the Filipino populace starved. The Japanese authorities tried their best to preserve the good relations between the Filipinos and themselves. A Civilian Information Center was established to report the abuses of the Japanese military against the civilian. Such office had little effect in stopping the excesses of the Japanese soldiers which became very common as the war wore on.

After the first American air raids on September 21, 1944, the Japanese residents began to worry about their fate. They still believed in their hearts that Japan would remain victorious and that Japan had secret weapons to defeat the Americans. They also praised the heroism of the Kamikaze pilots whom they believed would somehow turn back the tide of the war. After the Americans had landed on Leyte, all able-bodied Japanese male residents were conscripted into the Army and Navy. Only a few like Mr. Osawa was spared

¹² Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines*, p. 161.

¹³ Osawa, *The Japanese Community*, 756-757.

because he was needed at the Fuel Distribution Union. When the battle for Manila was imminent Osawa was handed a rifle and was given the same instructions as the other Japanese soldiers and marines "Defend the city to the last and never to allow themselves to be captured."

By January 1945 Japanese residents including women and children began evacuating Manila. They moved to the mountains east of the city and to northern Luzon. Some of the Japanese civilians were killed by American artillery or bombs or by Filipino guerrillas and civilians. Among them was Kaoru Watanabe who was a journalist and agent for the Japanese Ministry of Commerce and Industry before the war. Watanabe was last seen walking in Central Luzon with a knapsack on his back. He was never heard from since. Other Japanese were Arata Tsutsui and Shigeru Murase who disappeared in the mountains east of Manila. Dr. Yonekichi Amano and his son also escaped to the mountains of Luzon.¹⁴ The elder man failed to return after fleeing to the mountains while his son managed to return to Japan and become a professor at the Keio University in Tokyo.¹⁵ One person in the Japanese community committed suicide. While escaping with his colleagues to Northern Luzon, Mr. Tanaka the branch manager of the Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha shot himself in the head with a pistol¹⁶.

Some Japanese assisted the Americans in the reconquest of the Philippines. Susumu Kajita, son of Japanese building contractor Yonezo Kajita served as an interpreter of the US forces. He and his father were able to return safely to Japan. Mr. Taga who was the owner of the Sakura restaurant was drafted into the Japanese Army. He was never heard from since while his wife was repatriated to Tokyo.¹⁷ Most of the employees of the Daido Boeki Kaisha survived and war and returned to Japan.¹⁸

Some Japanese committed suicide upon learning about Japan's defeat in the war. As for Mr. Osawa he was seriously injured when he was run over by his own trucks while escaping to Northern Luzon. His Filipino friends passed him off as a Chinese to avoid him being arrested by the Americans or threatened with death by Filipino guerillas. Finally, the Americans captured him inside Philippine General Hospital. At the end of the war, the surviving

¹⁴ Osawa, *The Japanese Community*, 117.

¹⁵ Osawa, *The Japanese Community*, 117.

¹⁶ Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines*, 75

¹⁷ Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines, an Autobiography*, 56.

¹⁸ Osawa, *A Japanese Miraculous Life 70 Years with Filipinos* (Quezon City: Kalayaan Press, 1996): 176.

Japanese civilians were confined at the Old Bilibid Prison in Manila. Later they were transferred to a camp in Barrio Banlig in Cabuyao, Laguna. Many of the Japanese civilians were emaciated from lack of food, and a number of them died from overeating when food was made available to them by the Americans. From time to time the Military Police would come and pick up some of the detainees. They were later transferred to other prisons to be tried as war criminals. Those who could speak English served as translators for the Americans.

In November 1945, the detainees were informed that all Japanese residents would be shipped back to Japan. If the Japanese men had Filipino wives and children under the age of 16 the women and the children will be allowed to remain in the Philippines. Children over the age of 16 will be repatriated to Japan. Around a hundred Japanese civilians begged the authorities to allow them to stay in the Philippines saying they had no relatives in Japan. They filed petitions asking the Americans not to deport them. All the petitions, however, were denied, and the Americans said that once the Japanese were freed from the camp and allowed to live with the Filipinos, the Filipinos would likely kill them.

When Osawa and the other Japanese were told to leave the camp, they boarded open trucks that took them to the harbor of Manila. On the way, they were stoned at or hit by sticks by angry Filipinos who called them *dorobo* (thieves), *bakaryo* (fools) and *kutabare* (sons of bitches). They were also threatened with death.¹⁹

Osawa and his fellow Japanese wondered what made the Filipinos with whom they lived in harmony before the war are now trying to kill them. Osawa thought that these Filipinos might be victims of Japanese cruelties or had a relative killed by the Japanese. Osawa and his companions felt humiliated and covered their faces in shame. Many of them vowed never to return to the Philippines. Upon arrival at the pier, the Japanese deportees were taken to a US Navy transport which sailed for Japan in January 1946. Of the 30,000 Japanese residents in the Philippines, only half managed to survive the war. Upon arrival in Japan, the deportees were given a 1,000 yen note, some clothes, a few chocolate bars and were set free to return to their homes.

¹⁹ Osawa, *A Japanese in the Philippines*, 238-239.

The Seized Japanese Properties

Under the Trading with the Enemy Act, the properties of Japanese residents are now considered spoils of war. The American government confiscated all properties of Japanese residents including their businesses. All properties owned by the Japanese including the civilians before 1941 were to seized. Included here were 130 buildings, 67,000 square meters of residential and commercial land within and outside Manila, 125 sunken ships, 4,100 pieces of machinery and personal properties. Other seized properties was an extensive law library with 12,822 volumes of books, 11,000,000 shares of mining stocks consisting mostly from the Lepanto Mining Corporation at 10,666,666 shares. There was also P5,210,860 in cash. The properties were placed in the custody of the Alien Property Custodian of the United States government. When the Philippines became a Republic on July 4, 1946, the properties were transferred to the Philippine government.²⁰

The value of the seized properties could have been substantially higher, but a significant portion of these properties was in a ruined or neglected state since many of them were destroyed by the mobs early in the war. The money left behind in the banks was cleaned out by their owners by the time it was vested by the American authorities. The more valuable properties were the real estate properties such as BBB brewery and factory in Polo, Bulacan and various properties along Rosario and Dasmariñas Streets in Binondo.

The seizure of enemy properties was done only after the investigation was conducted showing that these properties actually belonged to the Japanese and other Axis nationals. Vesting orders or orders of confiscation filled the pages of the Official Gazette of the Philippines from 1947 to the 1950s. These contained properties like real estate, buildings, equipment, personal insurance policies, and bank accounts.

Most of the properties were auctioned off to pay for war damages and the postwar rehabilitation of the country. With the liquidation of Japanese properties, especially those of Japanese firms, the commercial landscape of Manila changed drastically. The old Ginza of Manila in Escolta, as well as the Little Tokyo along Quiapo and Santa Cruz, were gone; also gone were the Japanese businesses along Rosario and Dasmariñas Streets. The sites of the former Japanese businesses were taken over by Chinese businessmen. Among them were the former sites of Mitsui Bussan offices and the Daido Boeki

²⁰ Quiason, Serafin, D. "The Japanese Community of Manila, 1900-1941." *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review* 23.1 (1968): 199-200.

Kaisha. The sites of Japanese refreshment parlors which once proliferated along Herran Street in Malate were taken over by Filipinos. The Filipinos also occupied the sites once occupied by Japanese residents such as those in Sulucan and Lepanto Streets in Sampaloc. The BBB brewery site is now the main brewery of the San Miguel Corporation which bought the property in 1953. The sites where the Japanese used to gather as clusters such as the fishermen's villages in Quiapo, Tondo and San Miguel also disappeared.

Some former Japanese properties remained in government hands. The imposing building of the O'Racca Confectionery factory was occupied by the National Mapping and Resource Information Authority (NAMRIA) of the Department of Natural Resources. Another building owned by the O'Racca Confectionary along Azcarraga was sold to a private buyer. Both buildings exist until today.

With the removal of the Japanese from Manila, the city became a shell of its former self. Returning to the Philippines in 1959, Osawa noted²¹

The place (Manila) is so dirty that you will feel nauseous for a while. With hardly any space on the sidewalk once you step out of your automobile, you will be greeted by filthiness which envelopes the disorderliness and confusion abounding on the street (referring to Rosario Street, now renamed Senator Quintin Paredes Street). In addition to this the air is suffused with suffocating and harmful clouds of smoke. I wonder how it became so messy and chaotic. At times I find myself resigned to the fact that there is no hope for the city of Manila to recapture its former glory to once more be the gay and immaculate city it used to be in the past.

However despite the removal of the Japanese businesses some businesses that were reestablished retained their names like when they were under Japanese management. This was perhaps the result of the reputation given to them by their former owners. Among these was the Rialto Photo Studio, now functioning under its new owners; the Kokken's Barbershop and the Day Mon Glass Store. Until today the San Miguel Brewery site in Polo is called BBB, and this could be seen in the signboards of jeepneys passing along the MacArthur Highway in Polo (now Valenzuela).

²¹ Osawa, *The Japanese Community, Before, During and After the War*, 18.

Exodus Manila From to Elsewhere

On July 23, 1951, the San Francisco Treaty ended the state of war between the Philippines and Japan. However, the relations between the Philippines and Japan were far from average. The treaty had to be ratified by the Philippine Senate which was realized only in 1956. Even with ratification by the Senate Philippine-Japan relations remained lukewarm. There were still the issues of Japanese war reparations and the fear of the reestablishment of Japanese dominance in the Philippine economy. Though the Japanese slowly began to return to the Philippines, they were prohibited from working in the country. The Japanese who came here were athletes and delegates attending conferences. In Manila, there were only around 30 Japanese residents in Manila. Only Japanese liaison officers were allowed to work as anti-Japanese sentiment remained high. Around that time a few Japanese gathered in an old building near Luneta; later being arrested by the police for forming an association. The Manila police also raided a Japanese liaison office for the suspicion that it was engaging in business activities. The mayor of Manila did not issue business permits for Japanese companies in the city.

Though Japanese capital began to reenter as investments, there was no clear-cut policy on the activity of Japanese companies. The first joint venture between the Japanese and the Filipinos was the Union-Ajinomoto company which makes food additives. Even as the government allowed joint ventures with Japanese businessmen, the government turned down the applications for such businesses. On April 19, 1967, President Ferdinand Marcos allowed the Japanese to do business in the Philippines reversing the stand of previous presidents who resisted the entry of Japanese capital. Economic ties between the Philippines and Japan became fully normalized. A year later sixteen Japanese companies reestablished their offices in Manila. These were Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nichimen, Marubeni, Sumitomo, Nissho, Toyo Menka, Ateka, Kanematsu-gosho, Iwai, Chori, Itoh, Nippi Boeki, Kowa, Nomura Trading and Japan Airlines.²²

At that time the hostility of the Filipinos towards the Japanese had receded. However, the Japanese cannot reestablish their ubiquitous businesses such as the bazaars, halo-halo and hardware stores of the prewar era because of the provisions of the Philippine Constitution prohibiting foreigners in retail trade and the exploitation of natural resources. The Parity Rights provision only allowed the Americans to engage in the exploitation of natural resources

²² Osawa, *The Japanese Community, Before, During and After the War*, 274.

and engaging in public utilities until 1974. Also with the movement of the business offices from Manila many Japanese companies joined the bandwagon and moved outside of the city to other areas such as the burgeoning business district in Makati.

Conclusion

Manila had a small but vibrant Japanese community before the outbreak of the Second World War. This community was a revival of an earlier one during the early Spanish period, but it practically vanished when Japan closed its doors to the outside world in the 18th century. Japan was reopened to the world in the latter part of the 19th century, but it was during the American period a new Japanese community reemerged. The main factor for this reemergence was the presence of economic opportunities in the Philippines under American rule. From a handful of Japanese residents who were mostly transients, the community grew to more than 25,000 individuals. Often these Japanese were more or less permanent residents, and they manage various businesses. As a community, the Japanese provided a cultural diversity to the city of Manila thus giving names to its parts as Little Tokyo and Ginza of Manila. The Japanese business community developed a reputation which became part of the memory of the city's residents.

The outbreak of the war destroyed everything the Japanese community has built. It even lost its reputation as many Japanese residents served the invaders. Some resident Japanese served as intermediaries between the Filipinos and the occupying powers. They cannot lessen their involvement with the Japanese authorities. Either out of patriotic duty, social pressure or as an official requirement, the Japanese residents had to cast their lot with their military. Many Japanese residents served as guides, advisers, interpreters and conscripts of the hated occupation forces. And before the battle for Manila rifles were handed out to all able-bodied male Japanese to defend Manila to the last man.

The consequence of Japan's defeat was wholesale. Even Japanese civilians paid a heavy price. Though only a few Japanese civilians actually perished in the American effort to retake the Philippines all their properties were confiscated. As civilians of an enemy power, they were arrested and interned. Later Japanese residents would become deportees. Some families would be split up as Filipino wives of Japanese residents and children below 17 would have to remain in the Philippines while Japanese men, women, and children above 17 would be deported to Japan. All of the properties of the Japanese

were seized were seized in preparation for auctioning to pay for wartime damages.

With the seizure and eventual disposal of Japanese properties, Manila's character changed. The war resulted in the loss of character of the city as a clean and well-managed city. What was left was a city in ruins and even after years after the war, the city would be disorderly and unclean.

Even as the Philippines and Japan normalized relations, the old Japanese community of Manila can never be restored. This was due to fear of the reestablishment of Japanese dominance, anti-Japanese sentiment among the Filipinos and the nationalist legal matters such as provisions of the Philippine Constitution prohibiting the involvement of aliens in foreign trade. When Philippines commercial relations were finally normalized, Japanese firms and individuals avoided Manila and went elsewhere to establish their residences and businesses. The old bazaars, shops and other businesses of Manila's Little Tokyo and the Ginza of Manila can never be restored. Instead, Japanese offices and businesses had moved outside of the city.

Recommendation for Further Studies

With the discussion of the expulsion of resident Japanese and the liquidation of their properties, it is recommended that further studies be conducted on the following topics:

1. What happened to other Japanese properties outside of Manila? Certainly, other Japanese properties need to be reported on. What happened to these properties? Were these acquired by other people or retained by the Philippine government?
2. What happened to the Japanese-Filipinos who remained here after the war. It was reported that many such Filipinos born of Japanese fathers changed their names. This would be the lost generation of Filipino-Japanese. One such person that was reputed to be a Japanese Filipino was former Police General Romeo Acop who was said to be a son of a Japanese. Some Japanese organizations like the Philippine Nikkei Jin Kai that is based in Davao.
3. How did the Filipino perception of the Japanese change years after the war? In the past there was marked hatred for the Japanese. There used to be some persons who swore never to buy Japanese products. Now Japanese products are the preferred items. During the last Araw ng Kagitingan no other than President Aquino said that the Japanese are

- now our closest friends and allies. He said this in the context of the dispute of the Philippines with China over the West Philippine Sea. Japan is also contesting Chinese assertiveness in its neighboring seas.
4. Finally, there is a need to study how many Japanese are now staying in the Philippines, what are their composition and how did they view the Filipinos. Perhaps this is a topic not only for historians but also for sociologists and anthropologists.

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