



## Philippine Visit by Emperor Emeritus and Empress Emerita as the Culmination of Their Journey to Pay Tribute to the War Dead

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NIDS コメンタリー

No. 98, December 23, 2019

### Introduction

Japan's Emperor Emeritus Akihito and Empress Emerita Michiko visited the Philippines in January 2016, when they were still serving as emperor and empress, as a final overseas destination of their lifelong journey to pay tribute to the war dead. They visited the Southeast Asian country for the first time as the sitting emperor and empress to promote goodwill and honor the dead as the two nations marked their 60th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations.

About 518,000 Japanese nationals (of whom 498,600 were soldiers) died during World War II in the Philippines, a country that exceeded China as the single largest battlefield in terms of the number of Japanese casualties. Filipino casualties are said to have numbered 1.1 million, or about 7% of the nation's population.

Both Japan and the Philippines sustained a great number of war casualties. For this reason, people in the Philippines extremely resented Japan immediately after the war. Actually, the situation in the Philippines was entirely different from that of Saipan or Palau so much so that there were also criticisms that the imperial couple, in choosing destinations for their journey, might have cherry-picked the locations that had been friendly to Japan all along (such as Saipan and Palau).

The Philippines was the final country among the five original ASEAN nations that the imperial couple visited. Court attendants were initially cautious about the couple's plan to visit the country in late January, immediately following the busy year-end and New-Year

season, because their schedule was tight. Nevertheless, it is said that the couple overruled the attendants' objections.<sup>1</sup> According to one imperial court attendant, they were eager to accomplish the unfinished task of visiting the Philippines, the only ASEAN nation that they had not visited in their capacity as emperor and empress.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, this article discusses the significance of the imperial couple's visit to the Philippines as part of their journey to pay tribute to the war dead through the remarks made and the behaviors exhibited by the previous two Japanese emperors, as well as the remarks made and the behaviors exhibited by past Philippine presidents.

### 1 Emperor Showa's agony: fierce anti-Japan sentiments in the Philippines

In December 1958, Philippine President Carlos Garcia visited Japan with his wife. This marked the first visit to Japan by a head of state of the Philippines in the postwar period. Emperor Showa told the president and his wife at the court banquet that it was truly regrettable that the tragic war had interrupted the relationship between the two countries.<sup>3</sup> Since then, Emperor Showa never again referred to the war during court banquets for Philippine presidents. (President Ferdinand Marcos visited Japan in September 1966 and April 1977, and President Corazon Aquino visited Japan in November 1986.)

However, a problem arose following Emperor Showa's meeting with President Corazon Aquino in November 1986, when a Philippine government press officer made a statement that the Emperor had repeatedly

apologized to Aquino during the meeting. Japan's then Chief Cabinet Secretary Masaharu Gotoda flatly denied the statement, while those who acknowledged that the Emperor did apologize were divided over exactly what he said.

Isao Abe, the then grand master of ceremonies and the only Japanese official present at the meeting, explained that the apology was made to the family of Benigno Aquino, President Aquino's father-in-law who served as the speaker of the National Assembly during the war, and that it was not directed at the entire people of the Philippines.<sup>4</sup> However, Hideki Masaki, who served as an interpreter, said that Emperor Showa repeatedly apologized for the trouble the Japanese military caused to the people of the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

*Showatenno jitsuroku* (An account of Emperor Showa), an Imperial Household Agency publication, describes the incident as follows: "It was reported that a Philippine government press officer made a statement that the Emperor had apologized to the president several times regarding World War II at the meeting that day. However, the Japanese side denied this statement."<sup>6</sup>

Filipino people were full of hatred toward Japan immediately after the war because of the great casualties the Japanese military caused. Therefore, trials for BC-Class war criminals in the Philippines were extremely harsh, with 137 of the 151 defendants (more than 90%) found guilty. The death sentence was handed down to seventy-nine people (about 60%).

*The Philippines Free Press*, a weekly magazine, carried an editorial on January 17, 1948, saying that the invasion and the subsequent occupation by the Japanese military were frightening. After three years of Japan's occupation, and after experiencing the mass tortures, mass executions, plunders, burnings, and rapes, the Filipino people no longer regarded the Japanese as human beings. The Japanese were viewed as those who had to be killed and wiped out from the face of the earth, the magazine said.<sup>7</sup>

President Garcia, mentioned earlier in this article, also referred to the past when he visited Japan, saying at the court banquet that some vestiges of the war were difficult to remove and that it was equally true that some psychological reservation remained. Garcia stated further during his speech in Japan's parliament that, even after 12 years, the scars created by the catastrophic event had not completely healed and the ill feelings had not disappeared. Emperor Showa, facing Garcia's stern demeanor, wrote a poem expressing the sadness of spending an evening with a foreign president whose country had been hurt in a war.<sup>8</sup>

A Japanese newspaper editorial commented on the matter as follows: "The Philippines sustained a great deal of damage during the war. For this reason, people's nightmares are still alive and well even to this day. Such a national sentiment has not been healed after all these years. This is truly regrettable from our standpoint since we feel as though we were completely reborn."<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, there were some signs, even immediately after the war, that the feeling of hatred was giving way to an attitude of forgiveness. In July 1953, President Elpidio Quirino pardoned all 105 war criminals, including 56 individuals who had been sentenced to death even though the Japanese military killed his wife and three children in the Battle of Manila. Quirino said that the people of the Philippines could not hold the feeling of hatred or bitterness, or negative sentiments against their neighbor, forever. Many Japanese people were greatly moved by this magnanimous gesture.<sup>10</sup>

## 2 Philippine visit in 1962

Subsequently, the feelings of Filipino people toward Japan gradually turned from hatred to forgiveness. This was accelerated further when Emperor Emeritus Akihito and Empress Emerita Michiko, when they were still crown prince and princess, visited the Philippines in November 1962 on behalf of Emperor Showa. This was

a major turning point for the bilateral relationship between the two countries.

Upon their departure, a Japanese newspaper carried the following editorial and held out hope for a better relationship between the two nations: “(While the Emperor and Empress do not have any war responsibilities), in their official capacity they cannot avoid the baggage from the nation’s past, and the baggage is heavy. The Japanese people are pinning their hope on this young couple and praying for a better future relationship between Japan and the Philippines.”<sup>11</sup>

It was also pointed out, regarding the sentiment held by people overseas toward Japan, that the people of the Philippines had held ill feelings toward Japan longer than the people of any other countries had, and that the then crown prince and princess probably felt heavy in their hearts for this reason.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, there were concerns about strong anti-Japan sentiments, but the couple was received far more warmly than expected. About 100,000 citizens were on the streets to welcome the couple, similar to the way in which they welcomed U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower and General Douglas MacArthur. Local newspapers wrote that the relationship between the two nations would enter a new phase (the Manila Daily Bulletin) and that a new era of friendship would certainly begin between Japan and the Philippines (the Philippine Herald).<sup>13</sup>

The couple laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the monument of Jose Rizal, the father of the independence of the Philippines. The then crown prince, at a welcoming dinner at the Malacanang Palace, said that it was truly sad that the amicable relationship between the two countries was interrupted during World War II.<sup>14</sup>

The couple met with war widows, war orphans, and mixed-race children born to Japanese and Filipino parents. According to the chair of the association of war widows, the couple had expressed their compassion, and that the widows had forgiven Japan for everything done

to them during the war.<sup>15</sup>

The couple later reminisced that they had been concerned about how they would be received considering the hardship that the Filipino people experienced in the war, and said that the warm welcome they had received from the president and his wife, as well as from the people of the Philippines, was etched deeply in their mind.<sup>16</sup>

Filipino people’s strong sentiments against Japan began to change gradually after the couple’s visit. Consequently, a memorial to Japanese war dead – the first outside Japan – was erected in March 1973 in Caliraya. In January 1976, President Marcos spoke at the opening ceremony of the garden where the memorial was built, saying that the people of the Philippines would broaden their historical perspective, have a tolerant heart, and understand the things that would otherwise be difficult to evaluate. Marcos said that the Filipino people would be able to develop a tolerant heart through the difficulty that they had endured.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, a professor at a university in the Philippines in 1978 published a collection of testimonies demonstrating that not all the Japanese officers and soldiers were cruel. In the introductory section, the book acknowledges the cruelty of the Japanese military. However, it adds the following remarks: “I believe it is better to say the good things about a nation than to advertise its negative side. Though the Japanese committed many atrocities in the Philippines during World War II, their cruel acts were understandable because they were acts that happened in the height of passion and hatred, and their effects were not permanent. There is not a wound or bitterness that time cannot heal. . . . I believe that the time has come for a reunion for peace between the Filipinos and the Japanese.”<sup>18</sup>

### 3 President Benigno Aquino III visits Japan in June 2015

Subsequently, through a virtuous cycle of forgiveness

and apologies, Japan and the Philippines built an amicable relationship by overcoming the strong anti-Japan sentiments that emerged immediately after the war.<sup>19</sup>In June 2015, President Benigno Aquino III visited Japan and made this statement at the court banquet: “The pain and tragedy of the past have been healed by Japan’s commitment to a relationship based on mutual respect, dignity, and solidarity.” He also spoke at a joint session of the lower house and upper house of Japan’s parliament and went so far as to say that Japan had “gone beyond fulfilling the obligation to heal the wounds of the past, and acted with truly altruistic intentions.”

China, which also sustained great damage in the war, seemed to have been surprised by the Philippines’ stance toward Japan. For example, on June 10, following the summit meeting between Japan and the Philippines, China’s SINA News carried an editorial questioning why the Philippines was not condemning Japan for the conduct of its military during World War II.<sup>20</sup> Such a response speaks volumes about the radical nature of President Aquino’s statement.

The then Emperor responded as follows at the court banquet: “During World War II, however, fierce battles between Japan and the United States took place on Philippine soil, resulting in the loss of many Filipino lives. This is something we Japanese must long remember with a profound sense of remorse. In particular, in this year of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II, I offer my deepest condolences to all those who lost their lives then.”

This was the first time that then Emperor Akihito referred to the war at a banquet for a Philippine president. He never made such a reference at the previous two banquets (for President Fidel Ramos in March 1993 and for President Gloria Arroyo in December 2002). It was commonly held that once an emperor referred to the war, such a reference would not have to be repeated by the same emperor or succeeding emperors. For this reason, it was believed that some within the Imperial Household

Agency had opposed the then Emperor’s plan to refer to the war. Even so, he went ahead and did so as the nation marked the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war. This was the first time that an emperor referred to the war since Emperor Showa did during President Garcia’s visit. Thus, the statement of the then Emperor Akihito was highly unusual.<sup>21</sup>

In making such a reference, the then Emperor Akihito used a strong expression, “with a profound sense of remorse.” This language was stronger than the expression that Emperor Showa used when President Garcia visited Japan, and stronger than the expression that the then Emperor Akihito himself used in Manila when he visited there as crown prince.

#### 4 Philippine visit in 2016: retrospection and the handing down of memories

In January 2016, the then Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko visited the Philippines. While departing from the Tokyo International Airport, the Emperor referred to the Battle of Manila, saying, “A great many innocent Filipino civilians became casualties of the fierce battles fought in the city of Manila. This history will always be in our hearts as we make this visit to the Philippines.” His reference to the Battle of Manila was unusual in that an emperor specifically referred to a particular incident while visiting overseas.<sup>22</sup>

The Battle of Manila broke out in February 1945 between Japan and the U.S. The incident was described with the imagery of “a horrible death by sword and fire”<sup>23</sup> (with “sword” referring to the swords of the Japanese military and “fire” indiscriminate shelling by the U.S.). It is estimated that about 100,000 citizens died in the battle.

After the war, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the U.S.-led occupational forces provided a series of articles on the history of World War II to the nation’s newspapers. The Battle of Manila was written about as a “mad massacre.” (One such article appeared in the Asahi

Shimbun on December 14, 1945.) These articles described Japanese soldiers, who were about to be totally defeated, as madmen indiscriminately slashing and slaughtering everyone in sight – Americans and Filipinos, men and women, adults and children.

However, no history textbook or other reference material has covered the incident. For this reason, many Japanese people may be unaware of the Battle of Manila even if they have heard about the Nanjing Massacre. Against such a backdrop, the statement made by the then Emperor before his departure to the Philippines was of great significance. Actually, this statement was directed at the Japanese people, urging them not to forget the Battle of Manila.

The son of the founder of the civic group that erected Memorare – Manila 1945, a monument to the Battle of Manila (the group was established in 1995), commented on the then Emperor's reference to the war, saying that the statement was a step in the right direction for raising people's interest in the Battle of Manila.<sup>24</sup>

The then Emperor made the following remarks at a banquet in Manila: "During this war, fierce battles between Japan and the United States took place on Philippine soil, resulting in the loss of many Filipino lives and leaving many Filipinos injured. This is something we Japanese must never forget and we intend to keep engraved in our hearts throughout our visit."

These remarks were a departure from the previous statements he had made at banquets in other ASEAN countries (Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia). These previous statements focused on the future, only emphasizing Japan's postwar pacifism. Here is a portion of one such statement: "Japan has made a resolution that it would live as a nation of peace so that it should never repeat the horrors of that most unfortunate war. Based on this new resolution, Japan has made unremitting efforts since the end of the war to build a new friendship with the Southeast Asian nations." However, in Manila, he referred to the past in his remarks.<sup>25</sup>

In other words, the then Emperor's journey to pay tribute to the war dead was a retrospective act, making many people aware of the war that took place in the Philippines. Similarly various other former battle fields, such as Iwo Jima Island and Peleliu, became well-known after the then Emperor and then Empress visited them.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe visited Iwo Jima, where efforts to recover the remains of soldiers began. "Letters from Iwo Jima," a movie directed by Clint Eastwood, was also released, increasing the name recognition of the island among the public.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere, Peleliu, an island in the Palau archipelago, was called a "forgotten battlefield" in the postwar period. The public had mostly been unaware of the island, although it was known among war historians. However, a serial cartoon entitled "Peleliu Rakuen no Guernica" (Guernica of Paradise Peleliu) began to appear in a magazine, drawing people's attention to the island.

The then Emperor Akihito, in addition to retrospection, also called for the handing down of memories, saying that people must never forget history. Filipinos often say that they can forgive but they cannot forget. The response of the then Emperor was that we must never forget, and never presume upon the magnanimity that the Philippines has shown in the postwar era.

The then Emperor has always been concerned that history might be forgotten. In June 2006, he said: "I believe that we should never forget this history, . . . This is indeed a matter that weighs heavily on my mind, given that today, 60 years after the Second World War, there are more and more people who did not experience this conflict." (He made these remarks at a news conference prior to his visit to Singapore and Thailand.)

The media pointed out that such a sincere attitude of the then Emperor and Empress would gain the empathy of the Filipino people, and that not forgetting meant learning from the past in order to explore the future.<sup>27</sup>

In August 1995, the then Emperor issued his thoughts regarding the journey to pay tribute to the war dead,

saying that he was praying for the souls of all people who had died in the war. How to honor people who died in war – people with different nationalities and personalities – would be a difficult challenge for any country. However, the then Emperor and Empress cared for all people regardless of whether they were friends or foes. In Saipan, they paid tribute to the souls of local people such as the Chamorro, as well as the souls of immigrants from Okinawa and those from the Korean Peninsula who were drafted and killed during the war. In Palau, they paid tribute to the U.S. Army 81st Infantry Division Memorial.

In the Philippines, they laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown at the Libingan ng mga Bayani in Taguig City, which honors Filipinos who died in World War II, as well as the monument dedicated to Japanese soldiers who died in the Philippines during the Second World War. Thus, they paid their respects to the Filipino people who died in the war, including those who lost their lives in the Battle of Manila, and reflected on their sacrifices.

A Japanese newspaper editorial applauded this attitude, which stressed the importance of knowing history by caring for all the war dead. It would be natural for people to mourn for their own people who have sacrificed their lives for the country. However, if people only mourn for their fellow citizens, they would be able to understand that war only partially, the editorial said. To understand the war fully, one must transcend various category distinctions, such as those between friends and foes, soldiers and citizens, and Japanese and foreigners, it said further.<sup>28</sup>

## 5 Philippine visit in 2016: reconciliation and gratitude

The then President Aquino expressed his gratitude at a banquet held for the then Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko, saying: “It is, however, upon this history that we have built a far more enduring relationship. Japan has been a consistent, able, and trustworthy partner, who has

helped advance our people’s progress.”

Empress Emerita Michiko has recently said that Emperor Emeritus Akihito wanted to contribute to a better future between Japan and other countries, such as the Philippines, South Korea, and China, through their journey to pay tribute to the war dead, in addition to communicating the horrors of war to the future generations. Thus, they must have hoped to accomplish something truly profound: reconciliation through an act of paying tribute to the war dead.<sup>29</sup>

A Japanese newspaper commented that the then Emperor and Empress, who had communicated to younger Japanese people the history that they should never forget, were journeying to pay tribute to the war dead and pray for the souls of all people who died in war, and that the hope was this would strengthen the trust between the couple and the Japanese people.<sup>30</sup>

Japan and the Philippines, by overcoming their bitter war experience and establishing a new partnership, have thereby presented to the rest of the world a model of reconciliation. When the then President Aquino visited Japan, as discussed earlier, the two countries adopted the Japan-Philippine Joint Declaration, dated June 4, 2015. The document states: “This 70-year history demonstrates to the world that through their relentless efforts, peoples of two countries can attain a remarkable achievement in overcoming issues of the past and establishing strong friendship.”

A survey recently conducted by Singapore’s Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) among ASEAN regional experts shows that Japan is viewed most favorably among all the major nations of the world, with 65.9% of the respondents saying that they are either “confident” or “very confident” that Japan will “do the right thing” in global affairs. (The figures were 41.3% for the EU and 27.3% for the U.S.) The level of trust in Japan is the second highest in the Philippines at 82.7%. (Cambodia has the highest level of trust in Japan at 87.5%.) Regarding the Philippines, the report states that



the war memories are no longer the Achilles' heel in the Philippines-Japan relations.<sup>31</sup>

The then Emperor and Empress, during their stay in the Philippines, met with two granddaughters of the late Elpidio Quirino, a former president mentioned earlier in this article, at a reception. The imperial couple requested the meeting. The then Emperor told the granddaughters that the Japanese people were so grateful that Quirino was kind to them. He said that he was glad that he was able to convey the thoughts of the Japanese people to them. The granddaughters responded by saying that Japan and the Philippines had built a relationship more amicable than ever before in the two nations' history.<sup>32</sup>

The then Empress Michiko wrote a poem as part of the traditional New Year celebration of the Imperial Court, with great reverence and affection for Quirino, who pardoned Japanese war criminals detained in the Muntinlupa prison.

Waka poem by Her Majesty the Empress:

The one who forgave  
The unforgivable  
Along with his name  
I etch deeply in my heart  
The name Muntinlupa

On her birthday that year, she stated: "During the war, I was an elementary school pupil, but even as a child, the word "Muntinlupa" left a strong impression in my mind. Our recent trip gave me the opportunity to reflect anew on the deeds of President Elpidio Quirino who, despite his own indescribably cruel wartime experience, released 105 Japanese war criminals who were imprisoned in Muntinlupa at the time, and returned them to their families in Japan, in the hope of breaking the chain of hatred."

After seven decades, the imperial couple finally expressed their gratitude for the then President Quirino's forgiveness and pardon.

## Conclusion

As discussed above, the journey to pay tribute to the war dead by Emperor Emeritus Akihito and Empress Emerita Michiko did not merely stop at "paying tribute," per se. Indeed, their journey was significant in various ways, involving retrospection, the passing down of memories, gratitude, and a reconciliation. The journey was a profound act resulting in a temporal and spatial expansion.

The imperial couple's Philippine visit has strengthened the reconciliation further, not only through their act of paying tribute to the war dead but also through retrospection, the passing down of memories, and mutual gratitude. Satoshi Nakano, who specializes in the history of the relationship between Japan and the Philippines, scored the couple's visit highly, saying that it served the important purpose of responding to criticisms in the Philippines regarding Japan's forgetfulness of its wartime past, and that the trip was instrumental as the two nations pursued reconciliation to take the relationship to a higher level.<sup>33</sup> The imperial couple visited the Philippines at a time when Japan was forgetting its past gradually following the two nations' reconciliation. The visit was intended to foster a more mature bilateral relationship through retrospection – by revisiting the past.

In the Philippines, there were views that the ties between the two countries would become even stronger now that the then Emperor had expressed the nation's deep remorse for the war.<sup>34</sup> Professor Ricardo Jose of the University of the Philippines called the visit a new step in the Japan-Philippine relationship because the dark side of history had to be revisited to build a relationship of equals.<sup>35</sup>

The then President Aquino of the Philippines, a nation that sustained a great deal of damage caused by Japan during the war, hosted a banquet for the imperial couple. At the banquet, he said: "In meeting Your Majesties, I am

held in awe, recognizing the burdens you have borne, as you have had to live with the weight of the decisions made by others during the dark episodes in the history of our nations.”

It is noteworthy that the president of the Philippines, which suffered a great deal of damage in the war, used the word “held in awe” to applaud a Japanese imperial

couple on a journey to pay tribute to the war dead. Therefore, the couple’s Philippine visit was truly the culmination of their lifelong journey.

<sup>1</sup> Chikao Kawai, Tenno kogo ryoheika firipin zuikoki (Accompanying the Emperor and Empress on their visit to the Philippines), *Bungei Shunju*, May 2016, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Koshitsu diary No. 323 hihomon yarinokoshita tsutome (Imperial Household Diary No. 323, a visit to the Philippines: duties left undone), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 25, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Hideaki Kase, (ed.), *Kyuchubansankai-okotoba to toji* (Imperial court banquet: the Emperor’s remarks and addresses), Nihon Kyobunsha, 1993, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Showajuku Jukuyukai, *Kaiso no showajuku* (Memories of Showajuku), Nishida Shoten, 1991, p. 180. Takao Iwami, *Heika no goshitsumon showatenno to sengo seiji* (His Majesty’s questions: Emperor Showa and post-war politics), The Mainichi Newspapers Co., 1992, pp. 139-143.

<sup>5</sup> Hideki Masaki, *Sokkin tsuyaku 25 nen- showatenno no omoide* (25 years as an attendant interpreter: Memories of Emperor Showa), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1992, pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> The Imperial Household Agency, *Showatenno jitsuroku dai 18* (An account of Emperor Showa, vol. 18), Tokyo Shoseki, 2018, p. 408.

<sup>7</sup> Hitoshi Nagai, *Firipin BC kyu senpan saiban*, (The Philippine BC-class war-criminal trials), Kodansha, 2013, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 232-233.

<sup>9</sup> Yoroku (side notes), *Mainichi Shimbun*, December 1, 1958.

<sup>10</sup> Nagai, *Firipin BC kyu senpan saiban* (The Philippine BC-class war-criminal trials), Chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> Shasetsu kotaishi gofusai no tabidachi ni yosete (Editorial: For the journey of Crown Prince and Princess), *Asahi Shimbun*, November 4, 1962.

<sup>12</sup> Tensei Jingo (Vox Populi, Vox Dei), *Asahi Shimbun*, November 6, 1962.

<sup>13</sup> *Mainichi Shimbun*, November 8; November 11, 1962.

<sup>14</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 6, 1962.

<sup>15</sup> *Mainichi Shimbun*, November 8, 1962.

<sup>16</sup> From the addresses and remarks of the then-Emperor and then-Philippine President Benigno Aquino III at the welcoming banquet held at the time of the then-Emperor’s and Empress’s visit to the Philippines.

<sup>17</sup> *Luzon*, vol. 12, September 1988, pp. 54-55.

<sup>18</sup> Alfonso P. Santos (ed.), *PHILIPPINE —NIPPON TALES: A Collection of Incidents Showing the Sunny*

*Side of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*, (National Book Store Inc., 1978), ix. This book was translated into Japanese as “*Firipin sensen no nipponhei*” (Japanese soldiers on the Philippine front) by Miyoko Uriya and published by Pan Research Institute in 1978.

<sup>19</sup> For the history of settlements between Japan and the Philippines after WWII, refer to Satoshi Nakano, *Tsuito no seiji-senbotsusha irei o meguru dainijisekaitaisengo no nihon firipin kankeishi* (Politics of mourning: The history of the relationship between Japan and the Philippines after WWII involving tributes to the WWII dead), Setsuho Ikehata and Lydia N. Yu-Jose (eds.), *Kingendai nihon firipin kankeishi* (The modern history of the relationship between Japan and the Philippines), Iwanami Shoten, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> <http://news.sina.com.cn/w/zg/gjzt/2015-06-10/19111128.html>

<sup>21</sup> Katsumi Iwai, *Gekisenchi sandai no en tsumuida yuko chinkon to kansha* (Fierce battlefield, three-generation relations, a friendship nurtured, the repose of the souls, and gratitude), *Asahi Shimbun*, January 30, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Satoshi Nakano, Tenno firipin homon ga imi shita koto (The meaning of the Emperor’s visit to the Philippines), *Sekai*, April 2016, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Satoshi Nakano, Wakai to bokyaku-senso no kioku to nihon firipin kankei (Reconciliation and forgetting: Memories of the war and the Japan-Philippine relations), Heiwa to Wakai no Kenkyu Center (ed.), *Heiwa to wakai no shiso o tazunete* (Visiting the thought on peace and reconciliation), Otsuki Shoten, 2010, p. 257.

<sup>24</sup> *Asahi Shimbun*, January 31, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> However, when he visited Singapore (in June 2006), where overseas Chinese were killed, he made a statement that was somewhat more in depth: “We cannot forget, however, that during the last world war there were people in your country who lost their precious lives or suffered various hardships.”

<sup>26</sup> For the then-Emperor’s and then-Empress’s visit to Iwo Jima, refer to Junichiro Shoji, *Ryo heika irei no tabi no genten to shite no iojima gyokokei* (The Emperor’s and Empress’s visit to Iwo Jima as the starting point of their journey to pay tribute to the dead), *Chuokoron*, April 2019.



<sup>27</sup> Shasetsu ryo heika no hihomon wasurenai ketsui aratani (Editorial: The Emperor's and Empress's visit to the Philippines; renewing their determination not to forget), *Mainichi Shimbun*, January 27, 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Shasetsu tenno irei no tabi rekishi o shiru koto no omomi (Editorial: The Emperor's journey to pay tribute to the dead: The weight of knowing history), *Asahi Shimbun*, January 29, 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Masayuki Koike, *Kogo ga watashi ni akashita shocho no arikata* (What a symbol should be as revealed to me by the Empress), *Bungei Shunju*, February 2018, pp.145-146.

<sup>30</sup> Yoroku (side notes), *Mainichi Shimbun*, January 27, 2016.

<sup>31</sup> "Survey Report: "State of Southeast Asia: 2019," *ASEAN FOCUS* 26 (January 2019), pp. 6-16, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/aseanfocus>

<sup>32</sup> *Tokyo Shimbun*, January 30, 2016; *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, January 29, 2016.

<sup>33</sup> Nakano, *Tenno firipin homon ga imi shita koto* (The meaning of the Emperor's visit to the Philippines), pp. 29-32.

<sup>34</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 31, 2016.

<sup>35</sup> *Asahi Shimbun*, January 26, 2016.

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