

**AN EXPERIMENT IN WARTIME
INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS: PHILIPPINE
STUDENTS IN JAPAN, 1943-1945**

Grant K. Goodman



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THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

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PREFACE

Professor Grant K. Goodman is a member of the Department of History, State University of New York, College of Education, Fredonia, New York. In 1959-60, Professor Goodman served as Fulbright Program lecturer in Far Eastern History at the University of the Philippines. During his stay in the Philippines Professor Goodman found time to undertake the extensive interview-questionnaire schedule necessary to his study, as well as to complete the library research which supports his account, of the initial efforts of the Japanese to recruit and train a select group of young Filipinos for service as administrators in the government of the Philippines, as it was to evolve within the "Co-prosperity Sphere".

Goodman has approached his research with detachment and objectivity. The result is a penetrating account of a "successful program in the broad sense of achieving a significant intercultural exchange." The reader will be grateful for the appendix in which is recorded relevant biographical data for each of the Filipino trainees.

Frank H. Golay

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
Summer, 1962

In July of 1942, the Kokusai Gakuyūkai (variously translated as the International Students Institute and the International Friends Association) was moved to the former American School in Meguro, Tokyo,¹ and the jurisdiction over the Kokusai Gakuyūkai passed from the Foreign Ministry to the Greater East Asia Ministry.² At the beginning of February, 1943, the staff of the Kokusai Gakuyūkai was called to a meeting in the office of the Cultural Affairs Section of the Southern Areas Affairs Bureau of the Greater East Asia Ministry.³ According to the head of the Cultural Affairs Section, in the Southern Areas where the occupation administration was being conducted by means of military administrative districts under the Army and the Navy, both services agreed that there was a need for trained local young men who could assist the Japanese occupation forces. Therefore, the Army and Navy Ministries had requested the Greater East Asia Ministry to plan for such youths a training program in Japan of approximately one year's duration, and the Greater East Asia Ministry had in turn selected the Kokusai Gakuyūkai, which was already under its control, as ideally suited for this task.

Stunned by this sudden recommendation, the authorities of the Kokusai Gakuyūkai raised a number of objections. They said that one year was far too short a space of time, that at least two and a half and preferably three years would be needed for such a program. They said that they could not possibly handle more than 100 students from all the areas then being administered by the Army and Navy. They complained that the budget of the Kokusai Gakuyūkai was obviously insufficient. They urged that careful planning be undertaken and that April of 1944 be set as a target date for beginning the program. The Greater East Asia Ministry conveyed to the Ministries of the Army and the Navy the feelings of the Kokusai Gakuyūkai, but, after inspecting the facilities at the former American School, the military overrode the protests of the Kokusai Gakuyūkai and decided that the first students

1. Kanazawa Kin 金沢謹 "Recollections," International Students Institute Monthly Bulletin, June, 1959, p. 2.
2. The research for this paper was done in the Philippines where the writer served during academic 1959-60 as a Fulbright lecturer in Far Eastern History at the University of the Philippines. Wherever, in the body of this study, reference is made to comments on the nature of the experiences and reactions of the Philippine students, the information has been derived from two sources: (1) Diaries kept by the Philippine pensionados during their stay in Japan and (2) Questionnaire-style personal interviews in which the former grantees were asked to recall and to evaluate their several experiences. One might perhaps question the validity of the observations of these men some fifteen or more years later, but on the other hand there is also much to be said for the mature reevaluation by these men of events which transpired during their formative years and under the duress of very difficult wartime circumstances.
3. Loc. cit. The Cultural Affairs Section handled cultural relations with occupied East Asian countries.

from overseas would begin arriving in about June of that same year, 1943.

Meanwhile the Japanese occupation authorities began the process of selection of the students in their respective administrative areas. In the Philippines the first public announcement of the program was in an article in the occupation-controlled English language Manila Tribune on May 1, 1943. Headlined "Twenty Filipino Youths to be Sent to Japan for Advanced Study", the story described an examination to be held that same day on the basis of which "about 20" youths would be chosen to be sent to undergo training as "future leaders" of the Philippines.⁴ The paper proceeded, perhaps somewhat euphemistically, to say that "the dispatch of the youths is based on the Japanese Government's policy of giving the representatives of the younger generation in different areas of Greater East Asia a chance for higher education in Japan with a view to enlisting their service in the future for the promotion of the construction of the Co-Prosperity Sphere."⁵ The apparent philosophy of the occupation military administration, as reflected in the instructions of the Greater East Asia Ministry and relayed to the Kokusai Gakuyukai, is more evident in the second sentence of the article referred to above which stated that these students were ultimately to assist the occupation forces. Nevertheless, none of the former pensionados themselves used this kind of terminology in describing the aim of their studies as they understood it.

The actual process of selection was a most interesting one. The Philippine group consisted of two separate and distinct elements. The first was composed of those who did take an examination and who were described by the Manila Tribune as being "honor graduates of high schools and other higher educational institutes."⁶ The second was made up of former USAFFE officers, later enrolled in the Japanese-controlled Philippine Constabulary (PC),⁷ some of whom were also given an examination. However, it is quite clear that for the most part both groups were very carefully selected by the Japanese Military Administration with the assistance of Jorge B. Vargas, in 1943, Chairman of the occupation-sponsored Philippine Executive Commission and former secretary to Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon. Any study of the ten PC candidates and the seventeen so-called general students, who sailed for Japan on July 9, 1943, reveals an obviously hand-picked group, and the interviews indicate clearly that the boys themselves recognized this, both then and now.

All of the candidates were given personal interviews by the Japanese authorities in addition to physical examinations. Previous scholastic records were scrutinized. There is no doubt that security

4. The Tribune, May 1, 1943, p. 1. The actual number was to be twenty-seven.

5. Loc. cit.

6. Loc. cit.

7. Under the Japanese occupation this was known as the Bureau of Constabulary.

checks were made by Japanese intelligence agencies. The ten PC selectees were all unmarried college graduates (some were lawyers) and at the time of selection were instructors at the Japanese-organized PC Academies. They ranged in age from twenty-one to twenty-nine.⁸ Among the general students three were fifteen years old, one was sixteen, three were seventeen, five were eighteen, four were nineteen and the oldest was twenty-one.⁹ But in this latter group, one finds some of the most prominent names among upper-class Filipinos including two sons of Chairman Vargas, one son of puppet President-to-be Laurel, etc., even including the scions of two of the most powerful families of the Muslim provinces of Cotabato and Sulu. Most of the "name" interviewees among this general student group expressed the opinion that they had been chosen by the Japanese as hostages.¹⁰ Certainly one cannot deny the possibility of this factor in their selection. Nevertheless, it is evident that on the one hand these students did combine excellent past academic records with their distinguished family names, and that on the other hand many of those interviewed mentioned that their families encouraged them to go,

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8. Domingo D. Sison, 21
Leocadio de Asis, 23
Avelino Cruz, 24
Florentino de la Pena, 25
Jesus Quiambao, 26
Amado T. David, 27
Alfonso Sirilan, 27
Jose B. Velarde, 27
Mariano S. Villarín, 28
Elpidio Duque, 29

For biographical data see Appendix A.

9. Benjamin Sanvictores, 15
Mama Sinsuat, 15
Ramon Yulo Vargas, 15
Virgilio de los Santos, 16
Rodolfo Alba, 17
Alberto Lavides, 17
Eduardo M. Vargas, 17
Caesar Y. Alzona, 18
Jose O. Desiderio, Jr., 18
Manuel R. Dominguez, 18
Dionisio de Leon, Jr., 18
Jose de Ungria, 18
Halim Abubakar, 19
Jose V. Mapa, 19
Benjamin C. Osias, 19
Pedromilo V. Vallejo, Jr., 19
Mariano Laurel, 21

For biographical data see Appendix B.

10. Among the general student group, most of the interviewees reported some contact by Japanese officials, both civilian and military, with their families prior to the actual examination date. Strong "suggestions" were made that these young men should take the examination, and that favorable action (in terms of selection) might be anticipated.

believing that they might be safer in Japan than in the Philippines. Given the desire of the Japanese to train personnel who would be valuable to the future functioning of the occupation, it seems extremely logical for them to have chosen members of influential families, especially in a society like that of the Philippines where sociologists have repeatedly stressed the significance of family ties and family prestige.

The written examination, given in English, lasted one hour and covered mathematics, general science, literature, world history, Philippine History, current events, and the Japanese language. It seems obvious that the Japanese language portion of the test was largely a formality since most of the candidates knew little or no Japanese and since Japanese language training was to be the major endeavor of at least the first part of their scholarly careers.¹¹ Background, education, and aptitude were obviously far more important criteria for selection than the results of a hastily organized and administered one-hour written examination, especially when the candidates might purposely feign failure which some of the interviewees admitted having attempted.

The oral personal interviews were conducted in English by a panel consisting of Gen. Wachi, commander of the Japanese Army in the Philippines, Col. Utsunomiya, Director-General of the Japanese Military Administration, a Col. Urabe, Consul Kihara, and a civilian interpreter named Hamamoto. The questioning lasted about fifteen minutes per candidate and generally consisted of from five to seven questions of a random nature. Some of the questions recalled by the interviewees included the following:

"Who is the Mayor of Manila?"

"Who is the Chief of Police?"

"Would you help Japan?"

"Would you help the co-prosperity sphere?"

"What would you do if you were cornered by your enemy at a precipice and you have vital information?"

(The respondent said that he answered, "Jump in the precipice," which pleased his Japanese interrogators no end.)

"What group have a hold on the economic life of the people?"

(Answer given: "In the Philippines it is the Chinese." Answer wanted by the Japanese: "The Jews, e.g. in the United States.")

11. Some of the general students had studied Japanese at a Japanese language school operated in Manila by a Buddhist priest, Rev. Nakashima. Others had studied briefly with Dr. Paul Verzosa, a scholar and journalist, who had established a record as an apologist for Japan in the pre-war years. Several of the Constabulary group had studied Japanese in POW camps after the fall of the Philippines. All of them had had some language training in the Japanese-sponsored Constabulary Academy.

On May 10, 1943, at 9 a.m., in front of the office of the Japanese Military Administration the names of the successful candidates were announced by Col. Utsunomiya.¹² Those selected were told to report to Malacañan (Presidential residence and Executive Office) at 4 p.m. that same day, and opening exercises of the Preparatory Institute for Government Scholars to Japan were held the very next morning, May 11, in Malacañan Park where the Institute was to be established. The future pensionados were told further to consider themselves "out of the country and departed for Japan" the moment they had reported to Malacañan. The announcement of the selections for the program and the commencement of the actual program followed so swiftly, one after the other, that the selectees scarcely had time to consider the new career on which they suddenly found themselves embarked. Nevertheless, the pensionados-to-be did react and most interestingly. The great majority of the younger general students reacted enthusiastically. Some typical comments were:

"I was eager to see other places and eager to go."¹³

"It was all adventure."

"It was challenging."

"It was exciting."

"There was personal self-satisfaction and pride to have been selected from many other applicants and examinees. Personally I felt the task ahead was a challenge worthwhile exploring. I was young and was conscious of the fact that I had plenty of time for adventure."

Perhaps the most negative responses in this group were from those who simply described themselves as "indifferent" or from one who looked upon study in Japan as a "good way to get out of being forced to work for the Japanese."

The reactions among the Constabulary group were more varied and perhaps demonstrate the greater maturity of these older and more experienced men.

"Being young and single, it would be nice for the experience."

"I didn't like it. Most Filipinos had no love for the Japanese."

12. Tribune, May 10, 1943, p. 1.

13. The sources of this and subsequent direct quotations have not been specifically identified in order to maintain the confidential nature of the interviews and the anonymity of the interviewees. In every case the actual words, however, were those of one of the former pensionados and have been taken from the questionnaires used in the author's research.

Mother was trying to marry me off in a hurry.¹⁴

"I couldn't say anything. I thought I had no choice. If I was given a choice, I would have refused to go. I had the intention of joining the guerrillas."

"I was completely against it. I was sick with malaria which was recurring and tried to allege this as an excuse, but we had to be very careful."

More than one of the Constabulary group claimed that they had gone into the pensionado program with the encouragement of the guerrillas who needed Japanese language experts and who were eager for information on the internal situation of Japan, the idea apparently being that the PC students would go to Japan, learn the language, learn as much as they could about conditions within Japan, and on returning to the Philippines would slip away and join the guerrillas.

The preliminary training program at Malacañan, Manila, lasted from May 11, 1943 to June 27, 1943. This was a wholly Japanese-operated undertaking and seems to have had a number of purposes. Psychologically, the Preparatory Institute was viewed as necessary to introduce the younger boys to a military-type regimen which anticipated their controlled existence as students in Japan and which stressed again and again group spirit and group responsibility.

Physically the 45 days at Malacañan emphasized every possible kind of bodily toughening as preparation for the climatic and dietary changes to be encountered in Japan.

Educationally the Manila program naturally centered around preliminary intensive training in the Japanese language and included introductory orientation to Japan's culture, traditions, and customs.

Instructional lectures at the opening of the Preparatory Training Institute were made to the pensionados by both Chairman Vargas and Col. Utsunomiya. Said Mr. Vargas:

"As I look upon you today I am filled with the hope that from your ranks will come the builders and future leaders of the new Philippines. You have been chosen to undergo special training to fit you for this vital and historic role after rigorous and impartial tests of your physical and mental fitness. You enjoy all the advantages that environment and instruction can give and within a short time you will be given the added opportunity of expanding your mental outlook and developing your faculties and skill in a wider field than is available in our own country. I am confident that you will live up to the trust which has been reposed in you."

14. This man, a veteran of the fighting on Bataan, also stated that he had deliberately failed the qualifying examination, but that the Japanese suspected this ruse and selected him anyway.

I ask you, therefore, always and everywhere to be guided by a consuming desire to do your utmost to serve our country in its march towards spiritual and material renovation.

"You should draw inspiration and encouragement from the marvelous rise of Japan from her position as a modest and isolated hermit Empire to her present place as one of the most powerful nations in the world and as the undisputed leader of Oriental peoples, a rise which was made possible by the zealous and unflagging search for knowledge and improvement which was conducted by the young builders of modern Japan...."¹⁵

Mr. Vargas next extolled the processes and results of Japan's modernization from the Meiji Restoration onward, and he urged the future scholars to take full advantage of their forthcoming opportunities in Japan but warned that they "not repeat the fatal mistake that was committed four decades ago when, seeking the modernization of our country, other young men went as pensionados to the United States and on their return sought to establish here, not a new Philippines, but a Little and Imitation America."¹⁶ In this regard Chairman Vargas stated: "Always remember, therefore, that you are Filipinos. Learn all that you can from Japan. Profit as much as you can from your unequalled opportunities. But always strive to incorporate and absorb your knowledge into the body of a genuine Filipino culture"¹⁷

Perhaps the most interesting section of Mr. Vargas's address was the following:

"Your trip to Japan is a pilgrimage to the shrines of Orientalism, of which Japan is the zealous custodian. You who have been nurtured through no fault of your own, on the culture of the West, should now strive earnestly to recapture the treasures of Eastern civilization that have been preserved by Japan through centuries of change and progress. You will be impressed in Japan by the material manifestations of the cultural heritage to which the peoples of the Orient are heirs. Then you will surely realize that the Great East, which Japan so gloriously personifies in its consummate splendor today, is not and has never been a decadent world fit to be desecrated by Occidental adventurers and exploiters, but has in truth an ancient civilization built on imperishable institutions and immemorial traditions. Side by side with these, you will see the majesty of modern science and industry fortifying and enriching that civilization without destroying it..i.

"Apart from these, you will have ample opportunities to observe the beauty and harmony of Japanese home life. Herein lies also a great part of the secret of Japan's strength. From a study of the qualities of the Japanese as evidenced in their everyday life, you may well draw sterling virtues to impregnate your own character.

15. Republic of the Philippines, Official Gazette, Vol. 2, No. 6, June, 1943, pp. 615-617.

16. Loc. cit.

17. Loc. cit.

Their admirable traits of unselfishness, honesty, courtesy, industry, devotion to duty, simplicity and frugality, deserve to be incorporated into our stock of native virtues."¹⁸

In a far shorter and a much less propagandistic statement, Col. Utsunomiya confined himself to the mission of the Preparatory Institute. He advised his listeners to "study and improve yourselves to the best of your capacity and, above all else, that you do everything in your power to live up at all times to the great honor and prestige that are inherently yours as representatives of one of the great peoples of the East."¹⁹

Classes were conducted in the Malacañan Social Hall, and the gymnasium and swimming pool at Malacañan were utilized in the physical training program. The faculty of the Preparatory Institute consisted of three Japanese: Lt. S. Hirose, in charge of discipline and physical training, Mr. H. Tanaka, instructor in the Japanese language, and Mr. M. Hamamoto, lecturer (in English) on Japanese history, culture, and ethics. Reveille was at 6 a.m. From 6 to 6:30 beds were made, and quarters were cleaned. At 6:30 came morning roll call and flag (Japanese) raising followed by mass calisthenics and breakfast²⁰ at 7. After breakfast the boys were free until 8. From 8 to 8:30 they policed the premises of the Institute. Classes in Japanese language and "things Japanese" lasted from 8:40 to 10. Then from 10 until noon the trainees marched and drilled and engaged in gymnastics and sports of every description. Lunch was served at 12, after which the boys could relax until 3 p.m. From 3 to 6 there were more physical exercises and additional military-type training; 6 p.m. was bath time, and at 7 p.m. flag lowering ceremonies were held. Dinner was followed by a study period and free time until lights out at 10 p.m.

All of the pensionados including the ten Constabulary officers followed the same routine, and strong emphasis was placed by the Japanese instructors on the concept of group responsibility. One impressive incident in this latter regard was recalled by several of the interviewees. For an infraction of the rules one of the students was to be punished by having to run around the track until he keeled over with fatigue, but Lt. Hirose, who ordered the punitive measure, ran with him the entire time

18. Loc. cit. This last statement echoes sentiments expressed frequently during the 1930's by Manuel L. Quezon and other Philippine leaders in which the Filipinos were exhorted to acquire these several traits attributed to the Japanese.

19. Republic of the Philippines, Official Gazette, Vol. 2, No. 5, May, 1943, p. 519.

20. Special attention was paid by the Japanese to the quality of the food and to the preparation of the meals. All of those interviewed expressed the view that the food served at the Preparatory Institute was superior to anything any Filipino obtained at any time during the Japanese occupation. The cook was a Chinese, the former personal chef of President Quezon.

in order to demonstrate that two were in effect suffering because of the failure of one

The general consensus of reactions to the Preparatory Institute at Malacañan was that it served its purpose extremely well. A real esprit de corps and cohesiveness developed among the group, and a kind of older brother-younger brother relationship appeared between the two groups. The Filipino students admired the educational caliber, especially the proficiency in English, and the outstanding character of the three Japanese who conducted the training. The only mild criticisms offered by any of the pensionados were that for some among the Constabulary group the training program seemed a bit childish and that the lectures on Japanese culture seemed to some to be propagandistic in nature.²¹ However, these pallidly negative comments were more than tempered by unstinting praise for the preparatory program on the part of the overwhelming majority of the trainees. The whole group developed an excited expectancy about their forthcoming Japanese adventure, and the language lessons plus the lectures on the Japanese way of life aroused a genuine interest in Japan and its people. Perhaps the success of this orientation period was best summarized by the former pensionado who said quite succinctly: "We could not have asked for anything better."

On Sunday, June 27, 1943, at 11 o'clock in the morning, graduation exercises were held in the patio adjoining the Malacañan Social Hall. Present were the ranking officials of the Japanese Military Administration, members of the Philippine Executive Commission, the Director General of the Kalibapi,²² and the parents and relatives of the graduates. Addresses were again given by Chairman Vargas and Col. Utsunomiya. The latter reminded the pensionados that they were the future leaders of the "New Philippines" and urged them to work and study in harmony with each other. "Because in unity there is strength and only through the complete self-effacement of the individual can there be a strong and united country."²³ After congratulating the parents for their sacrifice and the trainees for their success, Col. Utsunomiya requested the group to see for themselves the spirit motivating Japan under wartime conditions because "that is what we want you to see and that is what we want you to learn."

Following a one week vacation furlough, the group reassembled on July 3 at Malacañan to await the departure for Japan. After a farewell reception on the night of July 7th at the residence of Chairman Vargas,

21. Even this reaction only reflected the general Philippine resentment against the excesses of the Japanese occupation forces. Remarked one interviewee with reference to the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, "Frankly I think their program was very valid but it was lost in its implementation, especially by the treatment of the Filipinos."

22. Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas or National Service Association of the New Philippines, the totalitarian party organized at the instance of the Japanese.

23. Tribune, June 29, 1943, p. 1.

on the afternoon of July 8th the pensionados boarded the 13,200 ton steamship Miike Maru, and in secrecy at 3:21 p.m., July 9, 1943, the vessel slipped out of Manila Harbor. On the morning of July 11, the ship reached Takao (Kaohsiung), Taiwan, where there was a layover until the morning of the 13th, when the Miike Maru set sail for the Pescadores Islands, where an 8-ship convoy was formed with accompanying destroyer and fighter plane escort. After an appropriately zigzag trip, on the evening of July 16, the ship reached the strait between Kyushu and Honshu and arrived at Moji harbor with the tide at 10:30 a.m. on the 17th. Aboard ship the "future leaders" were given the wartime equivalent of first-class accommodations with four men to a cabin²⁴. They had embarked without the usual rigorous customs examination, and on shipboard they were exempted from all duties. The pensionados were accompanied by two of their Malacañan mentors, Lt. Hirose and Mr. Tanaka, and en route to Japan orientation lectures continued on such subjects as Taiwan, Korea, and the Russo-Japanese War.

The two major problems for the students during the sea voyage were seasickness and meals. For almost all of them this was their first real ocean journey. Unfortunately the sea was quite rough most of the way, and many among the group spent most of the trip lying in their bunks. For most of the trainees, too, the fare aboard ship was their introduction to an entirely Japanese diet and cuisine, and from the viewpoint of the Filipinos the results were not very satisfactory. Some said that they simply skipped meals and either lived on bananas or went hungry. One man even claimed that the food on the Miike Maru gave him a bad stomach for the next three months. Yet the conclusion must again be that the treatment was as good as it could have been under the circumstances and that the pensionados realized this and were generally appreciative and favorably impressed.

At 3:30 p.m. on July 17th, 1943, the pensionados disembarked in Moji, ("a beautiful, typical Japanese town... a very picturesque town, something like Baguio, hilly and cool and thick with trees"), where they were met by "kind and courteous" civilian representatives of the Greater East Asia Ministry,²⁵ the Kokusai Gakuyukai, the Philippine Society of Japan, and the Government Tourist Bureau. After an overnight stay at the Maruyama Hotel, Moji, the students crossed the Straits of Shimonoseki by ferry and at 11:30 a.m. July 18, boarded a "special first class train" for Tokyo. Despite the discomfort of having to sit up all night in coach seats and despite the ban on cameras and the frequent lowering of window shades when the train passed through areas of military security, the trip was a memorable one for the new arrivals because of the elegant mealtime fare available to them. Such pre-war luxury delectables as steak, ham, bread and butter, fried potatoes, mayonnaise, and even coffee were served aboard the train, and many of the interviewees

24d One interviewee noted that the Japanese officers aboard ship complained that the Filipino accommodations were superior to theirs.

25d This official spoke Spanish, a language which has become a mark of prestige in the Philippines. Most of the pensionados being from upper class families were fluent Spanish speakers.

noted that these were perhaps the most sumptuous meals which they enjoyed during their entire stay in Japan

At 9:30 a.m., July 19, the train rolled into Tokyo Central Station where it was met by reporters, cameramen, and a huge crowd of well wishers. At noon a luncheon and reception at the station hotel were tendered to the pensionados by the Greater East Asia Ministry, the War Ministry, the Kokusai Gakuyūkai, and the Philippine Society of Japan. After a short walk to the Imperial Palace grounds where homage was rendered to the Emperor by bowing in the direction of the palace, trainees were assigned to two separate dormitories. The Constabulary group was housed in Higashi Ōkubo, Shinjuku-ku, in an old two-story building with twenty rooms that had survived the great earthquake, and the general students were quartered in a newly built structure at Hongo-chō, Meguro-ku.²⁶ Each student was assigned an individual Japanese-style room. Breakfasts and dinners were to be eaten at the respective dormitories and lunches at school. An allowance of ¥100 per month was to be provided for each pensionado, but ¥70 of this was needed to pay for room and board, laundry, clothing, etc., leaving only ¥30 for pocket money.²⁸

On the morning of July 20th, the whole group was taken to pay a visit to the Meiji Shrine, and in the afternoon they went first to St. Luke's International Medical Center, where one of their number was confined on suspicion of paratyphoid, and then on a shopping expedition to the Ginza. On July 21st, the students were taken to the Greater East Asia Ministry where Minister Aoki Kazuo ("in formal morning cutaway") received them and urged them to grasp the significance of the Japanese spirit. Next they were whisked to the War Ministry where they were addressed by Vice-Minister Lt. Gen. Tominaga Kyōji, who asked them to exert their maximum efforts for the establishment of the "New Philippines" and then gave each one a black fountain pen with a Japanese inscription which read: "Gift from Premier and War Minister Tōjō"

The next two days the pensionados were given a breathing spell during which they exchanged visits between their two dormitories and began to get accustomed to their new surroundings and circumstances. Already, one of the problems which was to be uppermost in their minds during their stay in Japan was causing them grave concern: food. The unfamiliarity with and general distaste for Japanese cooking plus the

26. Malayan and Indonesian students also occupied this dormitory. The location, a five minute walk from the Daiichi Shihan Station on the Tōyokosen, was convenient to classes at the one-time American School, near the Naka Meguro Station, also on the Tōyokodend. These dormitories were furnished, staffed, and supervised by the Philippine Society of Japan.

27. "The place is specially prepared for us, and one of the first things I noticed in the house was a picture of the 'Mater Dolorosa' and a map of the P.I."

28. This monthly stipend was, according to the Japanese, a gift from the Emperor, and therefore, they said, the regular morning bow in the direction of the Imperial Palace was an act of "Thanksgiving" for the "Imperial Benevolence." The stipend was paid by the Kokusai Gakuyūkai with funds provided by the Greater East Asia Ministry.

restrictions imposed by wartime rationing resulted in a good deal of the trainees' free time and practically all of their pocket money being spent in "raiding" restaurants and refreshment parlors. Even though the pensionados were, as they themselves realized, better fed than the average Japanese, perhaps the general attitude was best summed up by one interviewee who said, "We were always hungry."

At 9:30 a.m., Saturday, July 24, 1943, opening ceremonies for the Philippine contingent of Nampō tokubetsu ryūgakusei (special students from the southern areas) were held at the Kokusai Gakuyūkai on the site of the pre-war American School. Among the distinguished staff and faculty were the Director, a former Ambassador to Thailand,²⁹ the principal, a former Minister Plenipotentiary, and one faculty member who had studied in England for six years and also spoke excellent Spanish.

On July 29, after two days of placement examinations and one day of class scheduling and textbook distribution, regular classes got under way. The schedule (which later was subject to various modifications) provided for Japanese language from 9 a.m. to noon, Japanese history and culture from 2 to 3, and physical training from 3 to 4. In the evenings at the dormitories there were regular study periods during which the pensionados were given a series of lectures on such topics as emperor worship, democracy and totalitarianism, psychology, theology, Christianity in Japan, etc.³⁰ Visits to the "holy places" of Japan which had begun on their first day in Tokyo with the Imperial Palace continued. On July 31, the group was escorted to the Togo Shrine and on August 1, to Yasukuni Shrine. At these and subsequent occasions their Japanese hosts were not satisfied simply to let the Filipinos view such structures but consistently had the students themselves participate in rites of worship.³¹ This was a gross error in the eyes of the students since not only were most of them devout Catholics, but the Japanese authorities had made it possible for them to attend regular masses and, in so doing, had stressed Japan's commitment to the principle of religious freedom. Yet the following was a typically disturbing experience:

"We entered the shrine proper and participated in a short ceremony led by a Shinto priest in full regalia. The ceremony consisted of offering a branch with leaves on an altar, clapping hands a few times, and bowing low more times. I did not understand the ceremony, but it seems it was a solemn thing in honor of the spirit of Admiral Tōgō."

The same dilemma was apparent in exchanges between the pensionados and their evening lecturer, Fri Sakurai:

29. He was later (October 1943) replaced by Lt. Gen. Takeuchi, Chief of Staff during the Arakan campaign in Burma.

30. The lecturer was an Anglican priest, Father Sakurai, who had studied for two years in the United States and who was Professor of Christian Apologetics and New Testament at Tokyo Anglican Seminary.

31. They also had to bow each morning in the direction of the Imperial Palace.

"We asked him (Fr. Sakurai) many interesting questions on this subject and requested him to reconcile Christianity and Shintoism. He said Japanese Christians do not and cannot believe in sectarian Shintoism which regards the Emperor as God because such doctrine is diametrically opposed to Christianity. However, Japanese Christians retain extreme loyalty and love for the Emperor and consider him as a special man endowed by God with very fine moral qualities. He stated further that freedom of religious worship is guaranteed under the Japanese constitution. (This is what he thinks.)"

On Friday, August 27, after just a month of classes, the Philippine students left for a two week vacation in the Karuizawa area. After leaving the train at Kutsukake station, the group hiked to a wooded area in the vicinity of Sengataki where they were housed in large log cabins with Japanese-style interiors. Their vacation period was well occupied with language classes continuing from 8 to 11 each morning, hikes and other forms of physical exercises in the afternoons, and campfires with appropriate songs and dances in the evenings. There were also two side trips of interest. One was a visit to the famous Zenkoji,³² in Nagano City, where a lavish civic luncheon-reception was given for the students after which they repaired to the Seifuen Hotel at the hot spring resort of Kami-Yamada to spend the night. Another excursion was an all day climb of Mount Asama on September 7. On Friday, September 10, laden with fresh fruit they had obtained in the country, the trainees returned to Tokyo and their full schedule at the Kokusai Gakuyukai.

On October 9th, the pensionados were issued fall and winter clothing: heavy underwear and socks, gloves and mufflers.³³ October 17th, the several contingents of foreign students of the Kokusai Gakuyukai held a competitive athletic meet in which the Filipinos won places in most events and garnered the most total points. Commented one diarist:

"I can safely say that the Filipino group decidedly stole the show today ... we even had a cheering squad and attracted a lot of attention, and before the day was over, we had the crowd cheering for us.... During the 'Pass in Review,' too, ours was the snappiest group."

Sunday, October 24, several members of the group visited the Ueno Park Museum to see the Autumn Art Exhibit of the Ministry of Education, and afterward the Scientific Museum.

"I noticed the interest of the Japanese students in art and science. Both at the Art Gallery and the Scientific Museum, I could see the Japanese young students going about interestedly taking down notes."

The following Sunday, the 31st of October, was also a day of sightseeing: the planetarium on the top floor of the Mainichi Shimbun building,

³² One of the most popular Buddhist temples in Japan
³³ Winter overcoats were issued a month later

the Imperial Diet building and the Meiji Stadium.

A twelve-day educational tour in and around Tokyo began on November 11. One must necessarily be impressed by the organization and scope of this tour, especially in the midst of an increasingly dangerous war situation. Visits were made to nine schools: Tokyo Army Preparatory School, Toyama Army School, Naval Flight School, Tokyo Nautical School, Naval Gunner's School, Imperial Military Academy, Academy for Leaders of Settlers in Manchuria and Mongolia, Academy for Young Settlers to Manchuria and Mongolia, and the Ueno Art School; five factories: Japan Iron and Steel Works, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries (Tank) Company, Ishikawajima Shipbuilding Works, Tachikawa Airplane Factory, and the Morinaga Biscuit and Candy Factory; and one national shrine: The Mausoleum of Emperor Taishō. At each factory and school visited, the Filipinos were freely given figures on the numbers of persons employed or studying, and the pensionados generally believe that almost nothing was withheld from their inspection. The thoroughness of the tour and the latitude demonstrated by the Japanese in what they not only permitted but encouraged the students to have knowledge of were extremely impressive. Wrote one diarist

"Visiting factories and schools and seeing Japanese workers and students in actual daily life, I have gained an insight into a phase of Nippon spirit. I have seen how the Japanese--laborer as well as student--puts his heart and soul in his work, closes his eyes to all other considerations, and literally loses himself for his country."

Nevertheless, the same diarist maintained a perspective that perhaps reflected his own American-inspired schooling, for after seeing the Academy for Young Settlers to Manchuria and Mongolia, he commented

"We left the academy ... with deep admiration and at the same time a feeling of pity for those young boys who, leaving behind their home and country, are determined to dedicate their lives tilling the cold fields of Manchuria. Trained from their early years, I saw in these young boys veritable cogs in the huge wheel of the state, the course of whose lives have been already traced by their country."

On November 24, classes resumed at Kokusai Gakuyūkai, and the regular schedule was maintained until December 29, when a one-week winter vacation began. On January 6, 1944, classes again were in session, and on January 10, two new subjects, Seimongo (Technical Language) and calligraphy, were added to the curriculum. On February 3, special evening classes began as graduation neared, and on February 9, a once weekly lecture series on Japanese history, under a professor from the Tokyo First Higher School, was introduced. The afternoon of March 10th the general student group took a series of examinations³⁴ preparatory to entering their respective schools and universities. March 14 was the last regular

34. The examinations covered Japanese language, Japanese history, mathematics and physics.

class day, and on March 15 there commenced a three-day tour of Tokyo for the Constabulary group, including visits to the Meiji Memorial Art Gallery, the Railroad Scientific Museum, Station JOAK (Radio Tokyo), a district court, the Mainichi newspaper plant, and the Tamagawa-en,³⁵ where a "Trophies of War" exhibit was being held.

March 20, the final week of classes commenced and a new schedule was in force: in the morning, one hour of Japanese language with the rest of the time devoted to lectures and instruction in preparation for graduation, and in the afternoons, group sports. On Tuesday, March 28, 1944, the "27 of Tokyo" completed 18 months of study with their graduation from the Kokusai Gakuyukai.³⁶ Immediately following the ceremonies, the group was dispersed with the ten constabulary officers remaining in Tokyo as a group to receive a one-month post-graduate course in technical Japanese and then a three-month course at the Officers' School of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Force. The younger general students were enrolled at several different institutions of higher learning, depending on their interests and their abilities as determined by the tests administered earlier in the month. Three went to the Yokohama Police School, three to the Hiroshima University Higher School, one to Kumamoto Medical University, five to the Kurume Higher Technical School, three to the Azabu Middle School in Tokyo, one to the First Higher School in Tokyo, and one to the Tokyo Technical College.

For the Constabulary group who remained in Tokyo, a number of interesting experiences ensued including a personal encounter with Premier Tōjō, reserved seats at the Tōyōgi Parade Grounds for the pass-in-review on the Emperor's birthday, and a dinner with the conqueror of Bataan, Gen. Masaharu Homma, who came to the Constabulary dormitory carrying a copy of Gen. Carlos Romulo's book, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines.³⁷

On May 7, 1944, the anniversary of the fall of Corregidor, there took place in the offices of the Mainichi Shimbun a most memorable personal interview between Gen. Homma and the Constabulary pensionados.³⁸ Gen. Homma's questions included the following: "Before the outbreak of the war of Great East Asia, what did you think about it? What was the Philippine impression of Japan before the war? What was the estimate of the military authorities regarding the strength of the Japanese Army? What were the effects of the first bombing in the Philippines? Was there racial or other discrimination on Bataan by the Americans? What did you think was the strength of the Japanese Army in the Philippine campaign? What was the total of casualties on the Philippine side? What did you think Japanese casualties were? How did you take the departure of

35d A recreation park maintained by Tōkyō Electric Express Railway on the bank of the Tama River.

36. In June, 1944, a second group of twenty-four Filipino pensionados arrived in Japan.

37. Since this was April 29, 1944, Gen. Homma's source for the Romulo volume remains a mystery.

38. Four among the Constabulary group were veterans of the fighting on Bataan.

General MacArthur for Australia? How do you view the whole thing now?"

In answering these searching queries, the pensionados replied that while rumors circulated and tensions grew, no one had expected war to break out as early as December 8, 1941. Before the war, the Filipinos looked at Japan with extreme suspicion, regarding her as a menace in the Pacific and as a threat to the Philippines. Thus when war did begin, Filipino youth eagerly volunteered in what they thought of as a defense of Philippine territorial integrity. Military authorities had indeed underestimated Japan's ability to wage a major war. The first bombings were so effective that there was a general belief that the Japanese planes were manned by German pilots. On Bataan there was discrimination in food rationing in favor of the Americans, but this was due to the different standards of allowance between the Americans and the Filipinos. However, the Americans tried to be careful in their treatment of the Philippine soldiers who were very conscious that they were bearing practically the whole brunt of the Japanese assaults. The Japanese forces were estimated at 500,000 and Japanese casualties at about 100,000. (General Homma gave the figures of 100,000 and 5,000 respectively.) Filipino deaths in battle and in the camps were believed to have been in the neighborhood of 50,000. The Constabulary group told Gen. Homma that the departure of Gen. MacArthur had actually raised morale since MacArthur issued a memo to all officers to the effect that he was leaving at the command of the President in order to assume a more important post for the successful prosecution of the war. To the question, "How do you view the whole thing now?" the Filipinos replied with apparent sincerity, but with inward cynicism, that now that they understood the "high ideals" of Japan they could not but "be grateful" for the opportunity to study in Japan and to work for Greater East Asia.

The program for the Constabulary officers at the Police Officers' School lasted from May 1, 1944 to July 31, 1944. The courses in such subjects as police administration, investigation, crime detection, and police judo were conducted entirely in Japanese, the instructors knowing no English. Techniques of surveillance and infiltration were emphasized, and one interviewee recalled being taught the homey maxim: "Never trust a waiter or a bellboy." All the Constabulary pensionados were very much impressed by the modern and efficient methods employed by the Tokyo Police, but many of them were critical of the overweening authoritarianism implicit in the Japanese police system. One interviewee, for example, recalled the pleasure with which a Japanese instructor showed his Filipino pupils some empty prison cells, the idea being that there were few violators of laws in a society where police control was thorough.

During the three months of study at the Police Officers' School, the policy of sightseeing tours continued for the Constabulary students. They visited the Police Academy at Shiba, the offices of the Metropolitan Police Board, the Special Fire Brigade at Hibiya Park, the Tokyo Detention House,³⁹ Imperial University, the Japan Textbook Publishing Company, Waseda University, the Tokyo Water Police Station, the Ueno National Library, the Tokyo Central Wholesale Market, Tsuda Technical School for

39. On all these visits, as in the past, the Japanese were extremely free with statistical information, e.g. Tokyo's population was put at 7,596,717 with 91 police stations and 16,318 policemen.

Girls, and the Great Japan Beer Company.

Immediately following completion of the course at the Police Academy, a new series of sightseeing tours began for the Constabulary group and the three general students who had had a similar three-month training program at the Yokohama Police Academy. On August 1, there was a trip to Kamakura with visits to the Daibutsu and the Hachimangu and a swim at Kamakura beach with later stops at the Kanagawa Prefectural Police Department and the Isezakid (Yokohama) Police Station. On August 4, the group went to Akagi Shrine in Gunma Prefecture and spent the night at the Chūjikan atop Mt. Akagi where the local inhabitants performed folk dances for their foreign visitors. August 7 and 8 were set aside for a trip to Nikko, where the pensionados were housed in the fashionable Western-style Kanaya Hotel and where they toured the shrines and temples, Lake Chūzenji, and the Kegon Falls.

On August 10^d 1944, under the guidance of Gen. Sato of the Philippine Society of Japan and a representative of the government's Tourist Bureau, the Constabulary group left Tokyo to begin a far ranging ten-day tour. The trip began at Nagoya where, as everywhere else en route, the Philippine visitors received red carpet V.I.P. treatment with official receptions and official banquets, where, incidentally, such rare items in wartime Japan as steak, fresh eggs and fresh milk were regular fare, and many souvenirs. The students were lodged in the excellent Nagoya Kankō Hotel⁴⁰ and saw the Higashiyama Zoological Park and Botanical Garden, the Nagoya Castle, the Detached Palace, a model poultry farm and an agricultural experiment station. On August 12, the Filipino trainees moved on to the Ise Shrines where, once again, the problem of the Shinto-Catholic conflict was clear:

"I liked this visit of the Grand Shrine of Ise only insofar as the place is concerned. While I respect Japanese customs, traditions and religion, I did not like the idea of having to undergo their religious rites which as a Christian and a Catholic I do not believe. Of course, as a tourist, I wanted to see how it is done, but to do it myself is out of the question. It is like bringing a Japanese friend to the historic churches in Intramuros to have him see the beauty inside and at the same time letting him go to confession, hear mass and receive communion, which would be ridiculous."

The night of the 12th was spent at the Kyūkan Ryokan at Futamigaura where they watched the sun rise on August 13^d. Remarkd the diarist:

"Personally, I do not think there is anything exceptionally beautiful in this sunrise between the rocks. That the sun rises exactly between the two 'Wedded Rocks' is nothing exceptional. They are just a pair of ordinary rocks close to each other with a 'torii' built on top of one and a straw roped binding it to the other. It is only tradition and folklore connected with them that

40. I have tried to include the names of the hotels in order to demonstrate the kind of treatment afforded to the Filipinos.

make Futamigaura famous."

August 13, the group toured Nara (Kasuga Shrine, Mt. Wakakusa, Daibutsu, Sarusawa, Gojū no tō) and spent the night at the Nara Hotel. The next two days were spent in Kyōto, where all the most renowned shrines and temples were seen plus the Nijō Detached Palace, Imperial University, and the Daimaru Department Store. August 16 found the pensionados in Osaka ensconced at the New Osaka Hotel. Sightseeing in Osaka included the offices of the Osaka Mainichi, the Osaka Electric Science Museum, the Osaka Central Market, the Mint of Japan, and the Nishinomiya Baseball Stadium, and there was a lavish banquet tendered by the Kansai Branch of the Philippine Society of Japan. At 5 p.m. on the 17th, the group moved on to Kobe and the Oriental Hotel where they were entertained by city officials and the Kobe Chamber of Commerce. The following day in Kobe there were visits to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Daimaru Department Store (where the students were permitted to buy material without ration points), the Minatogawa Shrine and the Maikod Villa near Akashi Beach where there was another banquet, this one given by the South Seas Association. On August 19, the group proceeded via a 12 hour train trip to Tōgura Spa in Nagano prefecture. August 20, after a visit to the Ueda Fiber Technological School in Ueda City, the travelers returned to Tokyo by special train.

The very next day a round of farewell appearances began for the Constabulary group which, having completed its training, was now scheduled to return to the Philippines. The new preoccupation for the soon-to-be returnees was shopping:

"... our shopping craze came by stages. First, it was the book craze, when we hunted for all types of books at Kanda, Maruzen, Kyōbunkan, Teidai, etc.; then it was a craze for dress materials for girls; then pearls and jewelry; now it is medicines. I have already bought aspirin, sulfathiazole, calcium, vitamins, hypodermic needles, etc."

The major obstacle to be overcome (with regard to shopping) was the lack of funds. Early in August the Philippine Embassy by special request had loaned each pensionado ¥500 which was, however, only about one-fourth of what each Constabulary officer spent before returning to the Philippines. It seems that the "future leaders" demonstrated their shrewd business acumen by a number of "deals" which somehow netted them the additional desired cash.

On September 7, 1944, the last formal group activity was a visit to the Imperial Diet, then convened in extraordinary session to hear the speech of newly-installed Premier Koiso. September 15 and September 18-21, there were trips to Tachikawa and to Toyono and Yudanaka in Nagano Prefecture, respectively, in order to bring back pears and apples to Tokyo. Then by air from Tokyo, via Fukuoka and Taiwan, the first week in October, 1944, the ten Constabulary officers and the three graduates of the Yokohama Police School returned to Manila, already under American air attack.

The general student pensionados meanwhile continued their studies.

at their several institutions right up to the surrender of Japan.^{41d} In October, 1944, word came from the Philippine Embassy that the Imperial Military Academy (Teikoku Rikugun Shikan Gakkō) would consider applicants from among the Filipino studentad After a series of special examinations⁴² and interviews given by the staff of the Academy in Tokyo, six students were accepted. Following a short period of intensive tutoring by a retired Major General, these six entered the Academy in January, 1945, and were placed in a special three-year officer training programtogether with 35 Indians, recruited from occupied Malaya and Burma.d To the Philippine candidates the courses, given entirely in Japanese; plus the general regimen characterized by harsh discipline, meager food, and poor accommodations seemed extremely difficultd But the interviewees generally commented that the treatment which they received was in reality relatively lenient when comparedwith that meted out to the Japanese trainees.d While at the Military Academy, the Filipino students there were also taken on several trips to see military installations and factoriese As one interviewee phrased it, since this was alreadye1945, "They were trying to impress us with the might of the Japanese to go on." As the war situation worsened, two things happened: the course of training was greatly speeded up and intensified and the purpose of the training, formerly stated as being preparation for leadingthe army of the "new" Philippines, now became the retaking of the islands from the American "imperialist aggressors." And when the surrender came, graduation maneuvers were just about to be held.

Those pensionados who remained outside the Tokyo area in such places as Kumamoto, Kurume, Fukuoka, Hiroshima, or Gifu had of course a variety of experiences; but certain common elements emerge in an examination of their recollectionsd With the termination of the language course at the Kokusai Gakuyūkai and the subsequent dispersal of the original group of 27, for the first time the younger Filipinos found themselves not only separated from the older Constabulary officers but from each other as well. That is, in their several outlying academic institutions they were in a distinctly minority position, and they were away from the spotlight atmosphere of Tokyo where they had consistently led a kind of celebrity-like existenced These latter factors only tended to accentuateethe continuing problems of food and shelter and certain cyclical difficulties such as relations with Japanese students, Japanese supervisors, local civilians or with other foreign studentsd Differences in background, outlook, attitude, etcd, which had been relatively dormant duringdthe "togetherness" days at the Kokusai Gakuyūkai nowfairly burst into the open. Complaints, fist fights, even strikes became commonpdace incidents at the various schools in which these younger pensionados found themselvesd Proudly, several of the interviewees remarked that the Filipinos were, among all the Asian students, the most difficult for the Japanese to control. Almost all of them commented that they felt little or no antipathy toward the Americana of the

41. By special request of his father, Mariano Laurel returned to Manila in November, 1944, only to go again to Japan when the Laurel family was evacuated from the Philippines as the Japanese retreated.

42. These examinations were in Japanese, and the six who were chosen all expressed doubt that they had really passed.

kind evidenced by the Indians, Burmese or Malaysians toward the British or by the Javanese or Sumatrans toward the Dutch. And this distinction was reflected accordingly in their attitude toward the Japanese who were generally viewed by the other Southeast Asians as liberators, an attitude evidenced in the cooperativeness and even docility of the students from these areas.

Commented one Filipino interviewee, "We felt nothing in common with Japanese students who were boring fanatics." Apparently the reaction of the Japanese students to the Filipinos was little better. Said another former pensionado, "They (the Japanese) thought we were a bad influence." Given the militaristic regimentation of the Japanese, one might almost agree with the last remark, for many of the Philippine students proved increasingly to be disciplinary problems. For example, strikes proved to be effective weapons both at Kurume and Kumamoto. At Kurume the five students struck (by refusing to attend classes) to obtain separate living quarters, better food and the right to elect courses of their own choosing. During the strike the pensionados used the arguments that they were guests of the Japanese government and should be treated as such and that certainly the Kurume authorities would not want to bear the responsibility for their having a poor impression of Japan when they returned home. The strike was completely successful. A former geisha home was taken over and converted into a separate dormitory for the Filipinos; special rations were provided; fewer and more diverse courses were made available. About Kumamoto, one interviewee recalled:

"It was not long before I found out that living in a smaller and remote city was not very comfortable. The people were not as broadminded as those of a metropolis like Tokyo. The school was adequate for my purpose, but we individually missed the protective strength that we had together as a group. I was the lone Filipino in that school.... I vehemently objected to the course on Japanese ethics and finally led a sit-down strike to have the course eliminated from the curriculum."

Ironically, it was attitudes such as these -- independence, outspokenness, even rebelliousness -- which perhaps in the long run enabled the Philippine pensionados to derive lasting benefits from their Japanese experiences. For the very components of the Philippine makeup which most disturbed the Japanese in wartime were those very elements which actually contributed to what this writer would judge to have been a surprisingly successful example of intercultural penetration. I refer to such items as the students' Christian (Catholic) religion, their knowledge of and proficiency in the English language, in Western sports such as basketball and baseball, in Western dances and popular music, and in particular their almost "American" extraversion. These were the qualities which made it possible for the Filipinos to make friends wherever they went, to have a full and fruitful social life and thus to be in many Japanese homes and to make abiding friendships. And it was such associations which encouraged the students to draw remarkably balanced conclusions about Japan and the Japanese.

Over and over the interviewees stressed the difference in the behavior

of the Japanese at home and the Japanese abroad, i.e. in the Philippines, and similarly the marked difference between Japanese civilians ("very nice, very sincere, very helpful") and the military ("entirely different"). Two groups in particular, upper class Japanese Catholic families and American Nisei trapped in Japan by the war, stand out favorably in the recollections of all the pensionados. Catholic women, whom they met through regular attendance at Sunday masses, entertained the students consistently and well.

"This has been indeed the best day so far in Tokyo in every respect! The lunch was simply superb and our hosts were very kind and so hospitable we really felt at home! The atmosphere, especially, was so Catholic, that although our hosts were Japanese, we felt so close to them, so at home."

After a party at Baron and Baroness Masuda's home, one diarist noted, "It was the most enjoyable party we have attended since we arrived in Japan." Three days later a party at the Sawadas was particularly enjoyable because the Sawada boys sang "a lot of American songs!" The next night was at the Nagasakis, also Catholic like the Masudas and Sawadas!

"We enjoyed the exquisite dinner and the very kind hospitality of this Japanese family whom I shall never forget. Whenever I drop in at their home, I always feel at home and their family life reminds me of my own home and those of my friends in Manila."

At a still later occasion at the home of Mrs. Ito, president of Yamato Gakuin, a Catholic girls' college,

"I delivered a short speech in English, sincerely mentioning our relation with the Japanese Catholic ladies as being the best memory we are going to bring home to the Philippines!"

Much the same kind of reaction was evident in regard to the American Nisei. Often meeting somewhat clandestinely behind closed doors and drawn drapes the Filipinos were genuinely appreciative of the opportunity to relax completely and to enjoy the companionship, especially female, of persons whose orientation was in effect as American as their own. Happy hours rushed by consumed by conversations in English, of course, about American movie stars (someone had once met Shirley Temple), American radio programs (e.g. Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy), American songs, American dance steps, American baseball heroes, etc. Typical phrases used by the interviewees to express these feelings of compatibility were that "their (Nisei) customs were like ours" and that "they had an identical temperament." Thus with the social and psychological outlet provided by these contacts with the English-speaking, internationally-minded upper-class Japanese Catholics and the Americanized Nisei, it was possible for the Philippine pensionados to derive more from their Japanese experience in terms of cultural appreciation and to make a more objective evaluation of what quite often was a rather trying situation!

That this is patently true is clear when one recognizes the mellowness and positive enthusiasm with which the former students responded to the question, "In retrospect how would you evaluate your time spent in

"Japan?" Here is a selection of typical answers:

"I am not sorry about it."

"A useful experience...."

"Quite fruitful ... time well spent."

"On the whole quite valuable ... a unique experience."

"Quite an opportunity...."

"Enriching ... broadened my outlook...."

"Our stay in Japan has given us something good."

"A profitable experience ... nothing unprofitable."

"Good experienced good training, taught me to act independently."

"... more than two liberal arts courses."

"I think it was well spent, and I think it was equivalent to a four year liberal arts course"

"My experience has made me a rich man ... it can not be had in books."

All of the interviewees expressed similar approbation of the discipline and patriotism of the Japanese people, of the high level of Japan's agricultural and industrial techniques, of the seeming honesty and efficiency of the Japanese bureaucracy, and of the advanced methods of education in Japan, particularly those employed in the language training program of the Kokusai Gakuyukai.

Problems of climate, clothing, housing, food, money or supervision, which in the years 1943-45 were almost preoccupations of the students, have quite obviously receded into the dim past, and, when they are recalled, as they were in these interviews, they are now generally recognized by the former pensionados as having been unavoidable concomitants of a difficult period in the histories of both Japan and the Philippines.

It is also interesting to remember that the purpose of this program was stated by the Japanese at the outset to be the training of "future leaders" of the Philippines. Now, over a decade and a half later, among the twenty-two who have made their careers in the Philippines,⁴³ the following occupational distribution is of interest: business executive (7), lawyer-politician (6), government service (4), Philippine Army (3), educator (1), bank executive (1).⁴⁴ All of these have been uniformly

⁴³d One of the original twenty-seven is deceased and four are living in the United States.

⁴⁴. See Appendices A and B.

successful in their chosen professions, and all of them must be considered among the "power elite" of the contemporary Philippines⁴⁵ And since the oldest of the group is now only 47 and the youngest just 33, it is obvious that their full potential has by no means been realized. Therefore, not only was this a successful program in the broad sense of achieving a significant intercultural exchange, but it was remarkable in terms of the selection of the participants as evidenced by their respective records to date.

45. When asked whether they felt that their Japanese interlude had helped, hindered or had been of no importance in their subsequent careers, none of the interviewees thought it had been any kind of obstacle, some said it had made no difference, but the majority viewed it as valuable both directly and indirectly.

APPENDIX A

1. Domingo D. Sison
b. 1921.10.16

When Sison was called up by the USAFFE, he was in his second year at the University of the Philippines College of Law where he ranked first in his class. He escaped from the Death March on Bataan to Pampanga Province where one year later he was picked up by the Japanese, brought to Manila and assigned to Constabulary Academy Number One. After the war Sison resumed his law studies at the University of the Philippines and has been practicing law since his graduation in 1949. Domingo Sison is the nephew of Teofilo Sison, a former close associate of the first Philippine president, Manuel L. Quezon. During the Japanese occupation Teofilo Sison served successively as Director of the Budget, Auditor General, Commissioner of Justice and Minister of the Interior.

2. Leocadio de Asis
b. 1919.11.1

de Asis was valedictorian at both San Beda High School and San Beda College and graduated with honors from the University of Santo Tomas College of Law. After being captured with the Second Infantry, USAFFE, de Asis was sent to a PC Academy prior to his selection as a pensionado. After the war he served as a Second Lieutenant in the Philippine Army during 1945-46. From 1946 to 1950, de Asis practiced law as a member of the firm Roxas, Lichauco, Mejia while simultaneously teaching law at both the University of the East and San Beda College. Since 1950 de Asis has been employed at Delgado Brothers, where he has been General Manager since 1957.

3. Avelino Cruz
b. 1919.8.1

Cruz received the B. Sci. Commerce degree from Far Eastern University in 1941. As a POW he spent time at both Camp O'Donnell and Ft. Stotsenberg before being sent to the PC Academy. Since 1945, Cruz has served as a commissioned officer in the Philippine Army. He spent the years 1947-48 in the United States and in 1957 was sent to Japan on detached service for four months with a diplomatic mission.

4. Florentino de la Peña
b. 1917.3.23

de la Peña had joined a guerrilla unit in northern Luzon but surrendered after the fall of Corregidor. After the war as a graduate lawyer he served in the claims service of AFWESPAC until

1947. Since 1947 de la Peña has practiced law in various parts of the islands (La Union, Cotabato) and has been active in politics. Since 1956, de la Peña has been living in Manila.

5. Jesus Quiambao
b. 1917.3.26

Quiambao was valedictorian of his elementary school, finished high school in three years and is a law graduate of the University of Santo Tomas. After the war he taught criminal law at the Central Luzon Police Academy and at the University of Manila. In 1949, he ran for Congress from the 2nd District of Tarlac and lost "by fraud." Since that time Quiambao has devoted himself to business and estimates his holdings to be in "seven figures." His interest in politics continues and during 1960 he was serving as a Technical Assistant to the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Quiambao is a relative of Benigno S. Aquino, who during the Japanese occupation served successively as Commissioner of the Interior, Vice-President and Director General of the Kalibapi (Vide infra footnote 22) and Speaker of the National Assembly, the unicameral legislative body, organized under the constitution of the Japanese sponsored republic.

6. Amado T. David
b. 1915.4.3

David finished a premedical course at the University of Santo Tomas and was an honor graduate of the Philippine Law School. He has practiced law in Manila since the war. David's father was a friend of Gen. Jose de los Reyes, who had retired from active service in 1938 but came out of retirement during the Japanese occupation to head the Bureau of Constabulary.

7. Alfonso Sirilan
b. 1915.8.1

Sirilan is a practicing attorney.

8. Jose B. Velarde
b. 1916.12.1

Velarde took a pre-law course at the University of the Philippines and began law studies at the Far Eastern University. During 1939-40 he served as a Sergeant on the Quezon City police force. After the war Velarde remained in the Philippine Army as a Second Lieutenant in the Infantry and finished his law degree at Far Eastern University in 1946. In 1947, he transferred to the Judge Advocate General Department. From 1948 to 1950 he served as a Captain with the Philippine Constabulary in Camarines Sur and also in 1950 fought against the Hukbalahaps in Bulacan. In August of 1953, Velarde was transferred to the Judge Advocate General, Philippine Air Force

and taught military law at the Philippine Air Force School. In 1957 he was assigned to the Office of the Secretary of National Defense as Chief of Legal Research in the Information Branch of the Legislative Affairs Division. In May, 1958, Velarde was assigned to the Presidential Fact Finding Commission.

9. Mariano S. Villarín
b. 1914.4.3

10. Elpidio P. Duque
b. 1913.11.16

Duque was valedictorian of the Santo Domingo, Nueva Ecija, Elementary School and graduated valedictorian of Nueva Ecija High School. He was number one in the entrance examinations for the University of the Philippines given in March, 1931, and graduated cum laude at the head of the class of 1935 of the College of Engineering of the University of the Philippines. Duque also holds a Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering from the FEATI Institute of Technology. In 1932, he took the examination for entrance into West Point and received the highest rating but was disqualified for being underweight. In 1935, Duque obtained the highest rating on his board examination for mechanical engineering. From 1937 to December, 1941, he was on the faculty of the Philippine Military Academy at Baguio, and he has remained in the Army ever since. From 1947 to 1949, Duque served as a member of the Technical Staff of the Reparations Advisory Committee. He has been on detached service in the United States twice, in 1950-51 and again in 1956. In 1956, he was number one of six who passed out of 47 examinees for the board examination for Professional Mechanical Engineers. Col. Duque is currently G-4 of the Philippine Army.

APPENDIX B

1. Benjamin Sanvictores
b. 1927.10.9

Sanvictores was born in Bukidnon on Mindanao where his father, Jose Sanvictores, had been Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and later had engaged in cattle ranching. Jose Sanvictores subsequently represented Mindanao and Sulu (1928-1931) and Agusan and Bukidnon (1931-1934) in the Lower House of the Philippine Legislature and was the Bukidnon delegate to the Constitutional Convention. During the Japanese occupation he served as Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture and Commerce, Acting Executive Secretary at Malacañan, Member of the National Planning Board and Food Administrator. Benjamin Sanvictores was a student at the University of Manila when he was selected as a pensionado. After the war he returned to high school and graduated from the Far Eastern University Boys High School in 1946. In 1950, he graduated with a degree in chemistry from the University of Santo Tomas. Since 1950, Benjamin Sanvictores and his father have been in the business of exporting lumber to Japan (Aras-Lumber Co.).

2. Mama Sinsuat
b. 1927.5.1

Sinsuat is a member of perhaps the most prominent Muslim family of Cotabato. He is the son of the late Senator Sinsuat and is the brother of the present Secretary of General Services, Duma Sinsuat.

3. Ramon Yulo Vargas
b. 1927.5.16

Ramon Vargas is the son of Jorge B. Vargas, who before the war had been Chairman of the Philippine National Bank, Chairman of the Insular Refining Corporation, Chairman of the Philippine Exposition Commission and, most importantly, Secretary to the President of the Philippines. During the Japanese occupation Vargas was, together with José P. Laurel, one of the two most significant Filipino officials. Vargas served variously as Chairman of the Philippine Executive Commission, founder and first president of the Kalibapi, member of the Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence and Ambassador to Japan. Ramon Vargas studied at the Ateneo de Manila and since the war has served on the staff of the Philippine Embassy in Japan.

4. Virgilio de los Santos
b. 1927.1.15

de los Santos is the son of the late Drd Mariano de los Santos,

prominent educator and founder of the University of Manila. Before the war Dr. de los Santos had been Vice President of the Philippine-Japan Society and had established close connections with Japanese educators. During the occupation Oshima Masanaru, whom Dr. de los Santos had known as Executive Secretary of the Japanese Educational Association, became supreme adviser to the Japanese military in the Philippines. It was at Oshima's behest that Dr. de los Santos served during the occupation, first as Director of the Bureau of Private Schools, and later as Director of Oriental Culture, a post which the Japanese insisted Laurel establish. When Virgilio de los Santos was selected as a pensionado, he was in his fourth year at the University of Manila High School, where he had never been lower than fourth in his class. In 1948, he received his A.B. degree cum laude from the University of Manila and in 1953, as salutatorian, was awarded an LL.B. by the same institution. In 1955, Virgilio de los Santos obtained a Master of Laws from Harvard and during 1956, took additional work in law at Boston University. In 1956, he was appointed Executive Secretary and Assistant to the President of the University of Manila, where he teaches courses in International Law and Philippine Law. de los Santos is also a member of the Board of Trustees of Bulacan Junior College (a branch of the University of Manila), President of Santal Agricultural Corporation (family business) and Director of Provident Insurance Co. (family business).

5. Rodolfo Alba
b. 1925.9.12

Alba's father was Vice President of the University of Manila and thus a close associate of Mariano de los Santos. Alba had been valedictorian of his class at the University of Manila High School and was in his first year of an engineering course at the University of the Philippines when he was selected as a pensionado. He was appointed leader of the general students because of his proficiency in the Japanese language, as a result of prior study for one year at the University of Manila. After the war Alba spent one semester at National University and then went to the United States where in 1950 he graduated from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute with a B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering. Alba taught at the University of Manila until 1953, and since 1953 has been employed by Caltex.

6. Alberto Lavidés
b. 1925.8.7

Lavidés is the son of the lawyer and politician Francisco Lavidés who before the war represented Tayabas Province in the Legislature for three consecutive terms. Prior to the Japanese occupation, Francisco Lavidés had studied the Japanese language at the Japanese School on Lepanto Street, Sampaloc, Manila, and during the occupation he served successively as a member of the Council of State, as Secretary of the Philippine Executive Commission, as

a Justice of the Court of Appeals appointed by Laurel, as organizer of the Nippongo Fukyūkai (Society for the Propagation of the Japanese Language) and as Technical Adviser to Ambassador Vargas in Japan. Alberto Lavides studied at De La Salle College and is an accountant practicing in Lucena, Quezon (former Tayabas).

7. Eduardo M. Vargas
b. 1925.9.27

Vargas is another son of Jorge B. Vargas and also studied at the Ateneo de Manila

8. Caesar Y. Alzona
b. 1925.9.15

Alzona graduated from Mapa High School in Manila and had just begun a pre-medical course at the University of the Philippines when he was sent to Japan. After the war, while attending the Far Eastern University, he worked for the Foreign Liquidation Commission, the Philippine Alien Property Administration and the United States War Crimes Commission. At Far Eastern University, where Alzona received his pre-law and English literature degrees, he was ROTC Corps Commander and Sword Fraternity Commander and graduated as outstanding cadet and recipient of the Leadership Sword Award. Alzona was student body commander and topnotcher in the Counter Intelligence course at the Military Intelligence School of the Philippine Armed Forces. He also graduated as number one student and class president at the Philippine Ground Forces School and was commissioned Second Lieutenant, Infantry. After serving ROTC units at Far Eastern University and Southeastern College during 1950, Alzona transferred to the Philippine Navy, graduating in the upper third of the Navy General Line Officers School and served in the Navy and Marines from 1951 to 1956. In September, 1954, he was selected to attend the U.S. Marine Corps School, Infantry Officers Course at Quantico, Virginia, where he graduated in May, 1955, as outstanding student officer. From July to December, 1955, Alzona was Commandant, Division of Military Science and Tactics, Philippine Navy Training Center, Cavite, Philippines. In December, 1955, Alzona was assigned to the Office of Armed Forces Attaché at the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. Since resigning from the military service in April, 1956, Alzona has been employed at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington where he is now Front Office Manager. He received a Master's degree in International Law and Relations from Georgetown University in 1958 and is currently enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Catholic University. He has also been twice awarded Sheraton Summer Scholarships to the School of Hotel Administration at Cornell University and a Sheraton Scholarship to the American Hotel Institute of Michigan State University. His wife, the former Esperanza Cornejo, was honored during the Japanese occupation as the number one Filipina student of the Japanese language. Her father, Miguel Cornejo, was the founder of the Fascist Party of the Philippines.

9. Jose O. Desiderio, Jr.
b. 1924.8.15

Desiderio, Sr. had been the Chief of Detectives of the Manila Police Force. Desiderio, Jr. was an "above average" student at the University of the Philippines High School. He completed his law degree at the University of the Philippines in 1951 and has been in the Recto Law Office ever since.

- 101 Manuel R. Dominguez
b. 1925.12.22

Dominguez's father, a physician, was a high level medical supervisor in the Department of Health. Dominguez is a graduate of Arellano High School, Manila where he had been in the top section since his first year. After the war Dominguez was employed as a Japanese language expert by both the United States Alien Property Custodian and the Philippine War Crimes Commission. In 1949, he received simultaneously the degrees of B.S. in Civil Engineering from the Mapua Institute of Technology and a B.S. in Sanitary Engineering from National University. From 1951 to 1953, Dominguez served as an officer in the Philippine Navy. Since 1954, he has been employed by the Department of Health, and during 1955-56, on an ICA Fellowship, he attended the University of North Carolina, where he received a Master's degree in Public Health.

11. Dionisio de Leon, Jr.

de Leon is the son of the distinguished jurist, Dionisio de Leon, Sr., who is a Justice of the Court of Appeals. At the occasion of the graduation ceremonies of the pensionados from the Preparatory Institute for Government Scholars to Japan, Judge de Leon said: "This is a wonderful opportunity for Filipino boys. I am very proud of my son for being in the first group of pensionados to study in Japan." (The Tribune (Manila), June 29, 1943) de Leon, Jr. studied at Mapua Institute of Technology and is a commissioned officer in the Philippine Armed Forces.

12. Jose de Ungria
b. 1925.1.30

de Ungria studied at the University of the Philippines and is currently in business in New York City.

13. Halim Abubakar
b. 1923.3.31

Abubakar is the scion of one of the most distinguished families (Muslim) of Jolo, Sulu. He has served with the Philippine Reparations Mission in Japan.

14. Jose V. Mapa
b. 1923.9.2

Mapa is the grandson of Senator Quintin Paredes, who served during the Japanese occupation as Minister of Public Works. Mapa graduated from high school in Iloilo, number 3 in his class. In 1949, he was awarded an engineering degree by the University of Santo Tomas. From 1949 to 1959 Mapa worked for the Philippine Air Lines and since 1959, has been with a private travel agency in Manila. Mapa is married to the daughter of Modesto Farolan who before the war had many close associations with the Japanese community in the Philippines and is the author of Japand at a Glance (1934) and The Davao Problem (1935). During the Japanese occupation Farolan was appointed by Laurel as Governor of Ilocos Norte.

- 15d Benjamin C. Osias
b. 1924.2.7

Osias is the son of Camilo Osias, the distinguished writer, educator and politician, who is currently a member of the Philippine Senate. Camilo Osias served variously during the Japanese occupation as Assistant Commissioner of Education, Health and Public Welfare, Vice-Director of Kalibapi and Minister of Education. Benjamin Osias studied at Mapua Institute of Technology. During the Korean War he covered the fighting as a reporter for the Manila Times. Benjamin Osias is Public Relations Director for Shell Oil Co. in the Philippines.

- 16d Pedromilo V. Vallejo, Jr.
Deceased

- 17d Mariano Laurel
b. 1922.1.17

Laurel is the son of the late Jose P. Laurel, distinguished jurist, educator and politician. Before the war Jose P. Laurel had served as Secretary of the Interior, Senator, Senate majority leader, Justice of the Supreme Court and Acting Secretary of Justice. He held a Doctor of Civil Law degree from Yale (1920) and an honorary LL.D. from Tokyo Imperial University (1938). During the Japanese occupation Laurel occupied the positions of Commissioner of Justice, Commissioner of the Interior, President of the Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence and President of the Japanese-sponsored Republic. Before his selection as a pensionado, Mariano Laurel had graduated from the Ateneo de Manila high school and had completed the first two years of college at the same institution. In 1948, Mariano Laurel was awarded the B.A. degree magna cum laude from the University of Santo Tomas, and in 1949 the LL.B. degree also from the University of Santo Tomas. In 1951, he received a Doctorate of Civil Law from the University of Madrid, summa cum laude. From 1952-1955, Mariano Laurel was engaged in the private practice of law and was

simultaneously teaching law courses at both the University of Santo Tomas and the Lyceum of the Philippines, a Laurel family owned enterprise. From 1955 to 1959, he was a Director of the Philippine National Bank and since 1959, he has served in an executive capacity at the Philippine Banking Corporation of which he is one of the founders.