

住友コンフェレンス 2025 :

アジアの日本研究 (3) : アジアの中の日本・再訪

Sumitomo Conference 2025:

Japan Studies in Asia (3): Japan in Asia Revisited

園田 茂人 (Shigeto Sonoda)
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はじめに

—— 園田 茂人（東京大学教授）

本ブックレットは、2023 年、2024 年に続き、Sumitomo Conference として実施されたオンライン研究会での報告・コメントを収録したものです。2023 年度は、Zoom で実施された研究会の録画情報から文字起こしをし、報告者・討論者に確認する形でブックレットを作成しましたが、2024 年度はレポートを事前に提出いただき、これをもとに討論者にも文章を作っていたいただき、これらを収録する形でブックレットを刊行しました。今年度も 2024 年のやり方に倣っていますが（もっとも、黄智慧さんの報告については、多忙ゆえに事前にレポートを提出できなかったため、当日の口頭での報告を文章に起こしたものを収録しています。また総括とリプライの記事も録画情報から起こされた情報を収録しています）、口頭での視覚的資料が多い口語での報告と、推敲された文章での報告とでは、与える印象が異なります。討論者をお引き受けいただいた川島先生、西野先生も大変だったかと思います。

*

今年、私は住友財団から委嘱されて、「アジアにおける日本研究——住友財団「アジア諸国における日本関連研究助成」の申請・採択情報に見る特徴とその歴史の変遷——」と題するレポートを作成しました（https://www.sumitomo.or.jp/pdf/jare/report2025/JapaneseStudiesinAsia_Report_ja.pdf）。1992 年から 2024 年までの「アジア諸国における日本関連研究助成」への 11,833 件に及ぶ申請情報、及び 1,947 件に及ぶ採択情報を分析したのですが、そこでの知見の一つに、地域性の違いがあります。東アジアでは日本語を用いた、どちらかというと日本との関係を歴史的に深掘りした人文学的研究が多いのに対し、東南アジアでは英語を用いた、実践的な問いに基づく社会科学や学際研究からのアプローチが多いといった特徴が見られたので

すが、今回の Sumitomo Conference のラインアップからも、こうした特徴の一端を見て取ることができます。英語セッションは東南アジアの研究者、日本語セッションは東アジアの研究者でそれぞれ占められていたのですが、この両者を今後とも、うまく対話する機会を提供することができれば、双方にとって裨益するところが大きいのではないかと思います。その意味でも、もともと助成金採択者による報告機会の提供を目的に実施された Sumitomo Conference も、より高次の目的を追求してもよいのではないかと思います。

＊

今回は5名の報告者が都合のつく日がなかったため、英語セッションと日本語セッションを別日程で実施せざるをえませんでした。ICT の発展により研究者をオンラインで繋げて研究会を組織することは徐々に容易になっていますが、他方で、コロナ禍が明けた現在にあって、研究者は再び国境を越えて動き回る、忙しい日々を過ごすようになりました。このような状況の中で、助成金受給者が集まって成果を報告し、意見交換をする貴重な機会を持てたことは大変にありがたいことだと思います。住友吉左衛門理事長や日野孝俊常務理事を始め、住友財団のスタッフの支援に心から感謝いたします。

Introduction

— Shigeto Sonoda (Professor, University of Tokyo)

This booklet compiles the reports and comments from the online workshops held as part of the Sumitomo Conference 2025, following those held in 2023 and 2024. In 2023, we transcribed the recordings of the workshops held on Zoom and confirmed them with the presenters and discussants to create the booklet. In 2024, however, we asked the discussants to submit their reports in advance, and compiled these into a booklet to shorten the time for editing. This year, we followed the same approach as in 2024 (however, due to Prof. Huang Chih-huei's busy schedule, she was unable to submit her report in advance, so we included a written transcript of her oral presentation. The reply and wrap-up articles also included information transcribed from the recordings), but the impression given is different between oral presentations with a lot of visual material and polished written presentations. We imagine that Professors Kawashima and Nishino, who kindly served as discussants, must have had a difficult time.

This year, I was commissioned by the Sumitomo Foundation to write a report titled *Japanese Studies in Asia: An Analysis of Applications for the Sumitomo Foundation's "Grant for Japan-Related Research Projects" 1992-2024* (https://www.sumitomo.or.jp/pdf/jare/report2025/JapaneseStudiesinAsia_Report_en.pdf). I processed information on 11,833 applications and 1,947 accepted grants for the Japan-Related Research Projects from 1992 to 2024. One of the main findings was regional differences between East Asia and Southeast Asia. In East Asia, Japanese-language-based humanities research tends to focus on historical ties with Japan, while in Southeast Asia, English-language-based research tends to focus on practical questions and approaches from social sciences and interdisciplinary research. The lineup for this

year's Sumitomo Conference also provided a glimpse of these differences. I believe that providing opportunities for continued dialogue between these two groups would be of great benefit to both parties. In that sense, I believe that the Sumitomo Conference, which was originally held with the aim of providing grant recipients with an opportunity to give presentations, could also pursue a higher purpose to promote dialogue among them.

This time, five presenters were unable to attend on any of the days available, so we had to hold the English and Japanese sessions on separate dates. While advances in ICT have made it increasingly easier to connect researchers online and organize workshops, now that the COVID-19 pandemic has ended, researchers are once again leading busy lives, traveling across borders. Given these circumstances, we are extremely grateful for the valuable opportunity grant recipients had to get together to report on their findings and exchange opinions. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the staff of the Sumitomo Foundation, including Chairman Kichizaemon Sumitomo and Executive Director Takatoshi Hino, for their support.

1

Greetings

— Takatoshi Hino
(Executive Director, The Sumitomo Foundation)

Welcome to the Sumitomo Conference 2025. I'm Hino, Executive Director of the Sumitomo Foundation. It is my pleasure to host this conference in collaboration with the University of Tokyo.



The Foundation has several grant programs. One of them is the “Grant for Japan-related Research Projects” in Asian countries. It provides grant with Asian researchers who are researching on Japan. The primary purpose of this grant is to deepen the understanding of Japan in Asian countries, which, in turn, will promote mutual understanding between Asian countries and Japan.

Last year, we received 891 applications from 21 countries. The number of applications was largest among the 34-year history of the Foundation, and the competition is tougher every year. As the result of selection, 66 grants with 50 million yen were awarded. Over the past 34 years, the Foundation has received more than 11,000 applications, and provided grants of totally 10 million dollars with about 2,000 recipients.

However, the Foundation has not had any ceremony, such as grant presentation ceremony. As a result, we do not know the cases of the recipients, and consequently they do not know each other. We had a hope to create an opportunity for the 2,000 recipients to interact each other. Two years ago, Prof. Sonoda proposed to hold an online meeting, which led to the today's conference.

Today we'll have the third conference. We have selected five outstanding

grantees from the year 2022 grantees to present their research. Three are in today's English session, and the other two will present on October 4th in a Japanese session. Discussants are set up respectively, so we'd like to make this conference not just presentation but the forum for discussion. We hope that the research will develop after the discussion and our mutual understanding will deepen.

I hope you'll enjoy the presentation and discussion. Thank you.

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Session 1 “Japan” in Southeast Asia during War Period (English)

(1) Japanese Heritage in Bukit Besi Iron Ore Mining and Its Potential in The Terengganu Tourism Industry¹ **Wan Mohd Yusof Bin Wan Chik (Associate Professor, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin)**



1. Introduction

According to Gordon (2022), heritage tourism involves visits to locations, artefacts, or activities associated with past events and occurrences. It encompasses two main categories: natural heritage sites and cultural and historical human heritage. Heritage tourism serves as a vital mechanism for fostering awareness of heritage preservation, values, and practices at both local and global levels. It is recognized as a benchmark, reference point, and identity marker for nations or states.

Poria et al. (2004) segmented visits to heritage sites into three factors: (i) heritage experience, (ii) learning experience, and (iii) recreational experience. The study also highlights the significance of tourists' perceptions of sites related to their own heritage, as tourists seek emotionally enriching experiences. Furthermore, heritage tourism presents a harmonious approach to managing conflicts between the need to preserve history and current economic development.

Many of the world's major tourist attractions are heritage cities recognized as

1 This paper was cowritten with Profs. Ahmad Faizal Ramli, Wan Rosli Wan Ngah, Abdul Wahab Md Ali, Fadzli Adam, Fadzil Abdul Kadir, and Ahmad Iqbal Mohd Fadzli.

UNESCO World Heritage Sites (Mohd Zaki Ahmad et al., 2014). Examples include Bali in Indonesia, Luxor in Egypt, Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Oxford in England, and Florence in Italy, which have been proven to significantly contribute to national income (Che Rose & Khalid, 2017).

As of now, Malaysia has been recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with three World Heritage Sites, namely Melaka, George Town, and the Lembah Lenggong archaeological site in Perak. Statistics indicate that most foreign tourists have visited George Town and Melaka (Ramli et al., 2015). Several other cities such as Kota Bharu, Kuala Terengganu, Pekan, Sungai Lembing, Kuala Lipis, and Bukit Besi also hold potential with their ‘cultural kaleidoscope’ depicting the lifestyles of indigenous inhabitants alongside migrants and colonizers (Ibrahim & Ahmad, 2012).

Therefore, this study aims to highlight Bukit Besi’s potential as a heritage tourism product on the international stage. Apart from possessing iron ore mining artefacts, Bukit Besi also boasts attractive natural elements and good infrastructure. However, tourist visits to the Bukit Besi Museum have yet to reach the initial target of 36,500 visitors per year. Tourists are more inclined to visit Melaka and George Town, which are closely associated with European colonization history. Other locations, including Bukit Besi, seem to still lag behind.

2. Literature Review

The conflict between the preservation of natural and historical heritage and economic development has become a global issue. Various discussions have been undertaken to find approaches to balance the conflict between the need for heritage preservation and the requirements of economic development. From these discussions emerged the concept of ‘heritage tourism’. It is defined as an economic activity involving the utilization of inherited assets and socio-cultural aspects to attract tourists

to a particular area (Fyall & Garrod, 1998). Therefore, it represents an effort to commercialize the past as a means of preserving heritage and tourism products.

Several studies have been conducted regarding cultural and historical heritage tourism in Malaysia. For instance, Masdey's (2018) explored the potential for heritage tourism development in Bandar Hilir, Melaka. The SWOT analysis method (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) was utilized to assess the area's potential as a heritage and archaeological tourism destination. The study found that the heritage elements in Bandar Hilir have significant potential to become archaeological heritage tourism sites. However, irresponsible development activities risk erasing the area's heritage identity. Such studies are warranted in tourist locations like Bukit Besi.

In the context of Terengganu state, several studies have explored heritage tourism. For example, attempts have been made to adapt the 'heartware' concept developed around the Kyoto and Sigha regions to the tourism context in Terengganu (Harashina, 1996; Nakamura, 2010; Wan Mohd Yusof, 2019). 'Heartware' tourism is proposed as a holistic tourism concept not solely focused on economic generation. Instead, it emphasizes human well-being, the environment, cultural and historical heritage, religion and spirituality, as well as knowledge and research. In essence, the study suggests that the people of Terengganu to preserve the harmony of life values and historical heritage for enjoyment of present and future generations of tourists.

Sarman et al. (2019) also highlighted the uniqueness of Bukit Besi as a rich geo-tourism destination replete with mining artefacts, rock formations, and iron mineralization. They also mentioned the existence of an old rail transit system, the beauty of the surrounding nature, and its connection to the local community, adding an intriguing historical dimension. The study affirms that geology-based tourism development can enhance awareness of the country's geological heritage while making Bukit Besi a focal point for tourists. The focus of this study is to depict the unique-

ness of Bukit Besi as a heritage tourism destination.

3. Methodology

The qualitative data for this study were obtained through primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary data were gathered through several visits to the Historical Town of Bukit Besi, involving exploration of museums, artefacts, lakes, golf resorts, and other relevant sites. Interviews were conducted with several officials from the Bukit Besi Museum. Meanwhile, secondary data were collected through various literature sources, including books, journals, and government documents related to Bukit Besi specifically and tourism input for the state of Terengganu in general. Additionally, valuable information was accessed from the Central Terengganu Development Authority (KETENGAH) website (2024). The town of Bukit Besi was selected as the study location due to the significant potential of artefacts left behind by the iron mining industry, which could be promoted globally. Bukit Besi Town is situated approximately 77 km from Kuala Terengganu, covering an area of 1618 hectares and located in the Besut sub-district, Dungun. Administratively, it falls under the purview of KETENGAH.

4. Findings

4.1. Bukit Besi: Location and Climate

Bukit Besi is situated in the Besol sub-district of the Dungun district, with coordinates of approximately 4°45' north latitude and 103°10' east longitude. It is located approximately 77 kilometers from Kuala Terengganu and 33 kilometers from Dungun. The terrain features hills characterized by minerals and metals. Surrounded by dense rainforests, hills, and marshy land covered by continuous tropical rainforests extending into the Besol Permanent Forest Reserve. Its primary river is the Seri Bangun River, which connects directly to the Paka River. Several small lakes are scattered throughout the area, with Lake Puteri being the largest, covering an area of

131 hectares. Presently, the village of Bukit Besi is a small town within the Dungun district, under the administration of KETENGAH. Agriculture and farming are the predominant activities here, alongside mining, forestry, industry, and tourism. There are three main roads leading to Bukit Besi, accessible by land from Kuantan, Kuala Terengganu, and Kuala Dungun.

4.2. Bukit Besi: An Internationalization of a Mining Zone

From historical perspective, the village of Bukit Besi was originally known as the Seri Bangun village. N. Suzuki, a Japanese researcher, initiated research activities by collecting river stones along the Dungun River up to the Chemuak River, sending them back to laboratories in Japan for analysis (Abu Bakar, 2022). Preliminary findings indicated the presence of high-grade iron ore with significant ore deposits suitable for commercial exploitation.

In 1923, the Kuhara Mining Company (KMC) successfully obtained a mining license from the Terengganu government. The railway track was constructed in 1928. In May 1930, the Nippon Mining Company (NMC), formerly known as KMC, commenced mining operations involving 130 Japanese workers and 1500 local residents (Abu Bakar, 2022). This workforce later increased to 3000 within a short period of time. The iron ore was then transported to Kuala Dungun for export to Japan.

Mining operations were disrupted during the era of World War II. Tin ore had to be processed into iron ingots for exchange with the Siamese government for rice. After the war, in 1948, it was acquired by the British company known as EMMCO (Eastern Mining and Metal Company). EMMCO revolutionized mining operations in Bukit Besi with the utilization of modern machinery from Western countries. The production of iron ore increased annually, along with the workforce comprising various ethnicities such as Malays, Chinese, Indians, and Europeans. During its heyday, Bukit Besi was recognized as the third most advanced metropolis in Malaya after Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, with an advanced railway system. In 1971, mining

operations were halted by EMMCO itself due to several factors such as ore depletion, labor union disputes, and bureaucratic issues. The cessation of these mining activities had a significant impact on the administration and people of Terengganu.

In March 1972, Tun Abdul Razak, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, during his visit to Terengganu, announced several projects that eventually led to the establishment of KETENGAH. In March 1978, KETENGAH began planning and revitalizing Bukit Besi with various facilities and basic infrastructure. By 1982, most of the old settlements and buildings were demolished and replaced with new structures. This had a profound impact on the physical structure of Bukit Besi as a mining town. The most noticeable change was the disappearance of company residences, offices, schools, business facilities, and recreational centers that had distinct characteristics.

Some remnants of the iron ore mining and railway routes are still preserved in Bukit Besi and Dungun to this day. This preservation is a result of awareness of the historical value, diplomacy, industry, and integration of various ethnicities that were once traversed by Bukit Besi in the past. In addition to preserving various artefacts of the mining industry dating back to the Japanese era, KETENGAH also developed various facilities such as Tourist Galleries, Esplanade Lake, Museums, and Heritage Trails.

4.3. Bukit Besi: A Heritage Tourism Town

Bukit Besi was once the largest iron ore mining site in Southeast Asia. This fact justifies its recognition as a historical town. The mining operations were complex and involved multiple stages and facilities, including a railway network (Marilah Sarman et al., 2019). This extensive infrastructure has given Bukit Besi and Dungun a rich collection of historical artefacts and tourist attractions. The mining heritage of Bukit Besi, initially developed by Japanese settlers, has left various architectural remains scattered across several sites in Bukit Besi and along the railway line leading to Teluk Lipat beach in Dungun. Among the artefacts found in Kampung Bukit Besi

are the following:

Artefacts		
		
Chimney 1	Chimney 2	Conveyor Belt Tunnel
		
Mining Site (Currently Reactivated)	House No. 1	Crushing Plant
		
Pool	Opal Station	Underground Wagon Tunnel
		
Stockpile 1	Stockpile 2	Dynamite Storage
		
Crushing Plant Site	Washing / Tin Plant	Some of the mining artefacts

Figure 1. Bukit Besi On-Site Artefacts

In addition to the preservation of the aforementioned historical areas, the heritage of iron ore mining in Bukit Besi was further enhanced by the establishment of the Bukit Besi Museum on October 15, 2021, through the initiative of KETENGAH, historical associations, and the support of the local community. Various information, documents, mining equipment, and depictions of the socio-cultural impacts are showcased here. The museum is located in close proximity to the mining artefacts' sites.

4.4. Destination and Tourism Segments Around Bukit Besi

The Historic Town of Bukit Besi offers variety of attractions that encompass aspects of eco-tourism, exploration, culture, and theme parks. Some of the attractions are:

Tasik Puteri. A man-made lake spanning 131 hectares, a testament to the legacy of the iron ore mining industry. Surrounded by forested landscapes and undulating hills, the area boasts amenities such as restaurants, prayer rooms, restrooms, and more. It serves as an ideal setting for hiking and cycling activities. Additionally, a renowned waterfall known for its pristine blue waters adds to the allure. Tasik Puteri also provides a jungle park for rugged sports activities, including ATV rides.



Tasik Puteri & Waterfall of Bukit Besi
Source: Author's own collection

Bukit Besi Golf Club (KGBB). Adjacent to Tasik Puteri lies another attraction, the Golf Resort. Spanning an area of 74 hectares, this facility features a golf course, clubhouses, driving ranges, and chalets. Surrounded by the serene backdrop of the man-made lake against the natural greenery, the golf course area covers 300 acres with 18 holes (72 pars), offering a unique and challenging experience for golf enthusiasts.



Figure 2. Bukit Besi Golf Club
Source: Author's own collection

Bukit Besi Agro Exotic Farm. It serves as an agricultural area showcasing various exotic animals such as deer and mouse deer. Additionally, it doubles as a recreational destination offering a “Mini Zoo,” fishing ponds, and a Water Theme Park with a “village and forest edge atmosphere.” Various exciting activities are available, catering to travelers of all ages, allowing them to enjoy a fulfilling experience.



Figure 3. Bukit Besi Agro Exotic Farm
Source: Tourism KETENGAH Gallery (2025)

Bukit Besi Community. At Bukit Besi, cultural tourism enthusiasts have the opportunity to immerse themselves in the traditional way of life of the Terengganu community amidst various mining artefacts. Surrounded by Malay villages, forests, and oil palm plantations, Bukit Besi also offers a variety of traditional dishes such as Nasi Dagang, Gulai Tempoyak Ikan Baung, and various traditional desserts. Life here portrays simplicity balanced with quality infrastructure.

5. Discussion

5.1. *The Japanese Factor in Bukit Besi's Heritage Tourism*

The historical connection between Bukit Besi and Japan offers a unique dimension for heritage tourism. Japanese companies such as the Kuhara Mining Company and the Nippon Mining Company pioneered iron ore extraction in the 1920s, accompanied by the presence of Japanese engineers and workers. Their involvement left behind numerous artefacts and buildings, many of which remain intact to this day. This legacy positions Bukit Besi as an integral part of Japan's industrial history in Southeast Asia.

This historical connection could draw Japanese tourists who feel a sentimental

attachment to the site. Such interest relates with the concept of nostalgic tourism, which has become more popular among Japanese travelers (Ono, 2009). Japanese tourists frequently visit locations linked to their nation's history abroad, such as cemeteries, war memorials, and former industrial sites.

Bukit Besi can also be framed as a shared historical space between Malaysia and Japan. Both nations experienced the adversities of war, which collectively shaped the political and social landscape of the region (Pew Research Center, 2015). By presenting this narrative with sensitivity, Bukit Besi could serve as a site of mutual remembrance that underscores the values of peace and regional cooperation. Such an approach would not only enhance international tourist arrivals to Terengganu but also strengthen Malaysia–Japan diplomatic relations through heritage tourism.

The intellectual framework of *Nihonjinron*, which emphasizes the uniqueness of Japanese identity, may further be harnessed to promote Bukit Besi as part of Japan's broader historical narrative in Southeast Asia (Befu, 2001; Ong, 2019). By highlighting elements of Japaneseness, promotional strategies can emphasize Bukit Besi's role not only in shaping local history but also in contributing to the formation of modern Japanese identity. This approach is consistent with cultural diplomacy and Malaysia's "Look East Policy" (LEP) which recognizes Japan's cultural and economic leadership in the region.

Furthermore, Malaysia has become a preferred destination for Japanese tourists and retirees under the Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) programme. Studies indicate that many Japanese nationals choose Malaysia for its lower cost of living, tropical climate, local hospitality, and opportunities to reconnect with cultural and historical values (Ono, 2009).

In addition, several general factors that motivate Japanese tourists to visit Malaysia can be strategically leveraged to promote Bukit Besi:

- a. Cultural ties and family memory – Studies indicate that some Japanese visitors seek locations associated with their ancestors, following the practice of pilgrimage tourism. This potential could improve with the establishment of a Japanese Heritage Trail in Bukit Besi, connecting important sites from the Japanese mining era.
- b. Educational experiences – Japanese tourists often focus on visits that are academic and informative, such as museums, archaeological sites, and guided tours. This trend could be supported by creating a special exhibition at the Bukit Besi Museum, showcasing documents, photographs, and artefacts from the Japanese mining period.
- c. Interest in nature – Malaysia is already renowned as a tropical eco-destination. Bukit Besi, with its attractions such as Tasik Puteri, waterfalls, and tropical forests, could complement existing tourism packages with natural recreational experiences.
- d. Safety and hospitality – Malaysia is generally regarded as a tourist-friendly destination for Japanese visitors, offering reliable transportation, diverse halal cuisine that appeals to Japanese preferences, and a welcoming local community.

In sum, Bukit Besi can be developed as part of a lifestyle-oriented tourism model by offering packages that include heritage exploration, natural activities, lifestyle amenities, and facilities for the elderly, especially for Japanese tourists. This approach aligns with the Japanese idea of *ikigai*, which focuses on finding meaning in life through experiences, learning, and cultural connections (Ono, 2009).

5.2. Bukit Besi: Potentials, Challenges, Strategies, and Complementary Segments Towards Redefining an Iron Heritopolis in Asia

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) emphasizes that tourism is a major driver of socio-economic development, particularly through job creation and the improvement of community well-being (Bayih & Singh, 2023). In this context, heritage tourism functions not only as a means of preserving historical values but also as a balance between economic growth and cultural sustainability.

Malaysia, with its rich natural, cultural, and historical heritage, has significant potential to strengthen its heritage tourism segment, which continues to gain international attention. Among the many heritage destinations, Bukit Besi in Dungun, Terengganu stands out as an exceptional site of industrial heritage. Once a major iron ore mining hub in the early 20th century, Bukit Besi contributed greatly to the nation's economy and still preserves remarkable mining artefacts today.

Terengganu itself is recognized as one of Malaysia's leading heritage and cultural tourism destinations (Nur Qurratu' Ain Razi, 2023). In 2020, it ranked fourth among domestic tourist destinations, a significant improvement from eleventh place in 2019. According to the Socio-Economic Report of Terengganu 2022, domestic tourism recorded an increase of 175% compared to the previous year, making Terengganu the second most visited domestic destination in Malaysia. The tourism industry generated an estimated RM3.9 billion in economic contributions that year. By 2024, Terengganu once again exceeded expectations by welcoming 7.8 million visitors, compared to the initial forecast of only 3.5 million. Interestingly, Terengganu not only attracts visitors from other states such as Selangor and Pahang, but it also remains a preferred choice for its own residents (TSIS, 2023; National Security Council, 2025).

Studies further highlight that domestic tourists view Kuala Terengganu as a highly appealing destination due to its diverse tourism activities such as cultural festivals, water sports, and travel packages, supported by comfortable and high-quality accommodation. Its attractiveness is further enhanced by well-developed infrastructure, including convenient transport access, travel information services, cultural and natural attractions, Islamic tourism elements, and the newly built iconic Terengganu bridge. Overall, its recreational appeal, accessibility, and unique features reinforce Kuala Terengganu's brand image as a competitive and repeatedly chosen domestic destination (Ghani et al., 2021).

However, the same cannot be said for Bukit Besi as a mining heritage town. Despite its low entrance fees, visitor numbers remain relatively small compared to other destinations. The following table presents the ticket sales statistics at the Bukit Besi Museum.

Table 1. Number of Bukit Besi Museum Visitors Based on Ticket Collection Records

Bil.	Year	Adult Tickets	Child Tickets	Senior Citizen Tickets	Student Tickets	Non-Citizen Tickets	Total Tickets Sold	Total Ticket Revenue (RM)
1	2022	2078	769	265	1134	9	4255	15,850.00
2	2023	1914	791	341	1140	30	4216	15,509.00
3	2024	2099	814	325	1007	118	4363	17,019.00
4	2025	1112	459	149	603	60	2383	9,244.00
Total		7203	2833	1080	3884	217	15217	57,622.00

Source: Annual Ticket Collection Records of Bukit Besi Museum, Dungun, Terengganu (June 2022 – July 2025).

These figures remain very small compared to the actual potential of Bukit Besi, especially when contrasted with the rapid growth of tourist arrivals recorded across Terengganu. This phenomenon indicates that the promotion strategy and heritage tourism product development in Bukit Besi need to be carried out more aggressively. There is therefore an urgent need to elevate Bukit Besi into a world-class heritage destination. This requires not only the preservation of artefacts but also a redefinition of mining heritage tourism into a more comprehensive and integrated concept.

Uniqueness is a strength in the tourism industry. In the case of Bukit Besi, the history of iron ore mining represents a distinctive element. In Malaysia, mining tourism is often associated with tin mining, such as in Sungai Lembing (Pahang) and Perak. However, unlike tin mining, these sites do not preserve as many structures and artefacts as Bukit Besi. Within Terengganu itself, heritage tourism has usually focused on Islamic legacies such as the Batu Bersurat (Inscribed Stone), mosques, and tombs of Islamic scholars. While the state also has old tin and wolfram (tungsten) mines in Kemaman and Dungun, none have left behind as many tangible artefacts as

Bukit Besi.

Bukit Besi is rich in valuable mining artefacts, such as the Crushing Plant, Washing Plant, Chimney, and others. Many of these structures remain standing, though they require further attention and conservation. KETENGAH has shown strong commitment to preserving these artefacts, particularly through the establishment of the Bukit Besi Museum. However, some artefacts, such as underground tunnels, have collapsed or become buried. Thus, preservation efforts must be intensified to ensure that such strong commitments produce significant returns both in terms of heritage conservation and contemporary economic value.

Historically, Bukit Besi was one of the largest contributors to Terengganu's economy before the discovery of petroleum. It was once a metropolitan hub and a meeting point for diverse communities while leading the iron ore industry in South-east Asia. From the 1930s to the 1970s, the community of Bukit Besi and Dungun enjoyed the prosperity of the mining industry. The town had an advanced railway network, and Dungun Port emerged as the third largest port in Malaysia after Port Klang and Penang Port.

Such a glorious past carries strong sentimental value (Tomczewska-Popowycz et al., 2023) for former miners and their families from around the world. For example, two Australians, the children of former mining officers who were born in Bukit Besi, have returned to visit the site. Similarly, several Chinese visitors acknowledged that their fathers or grandfathers once worked there. This illustrates the importance of nostalgia (Fortuna, 2013) in positioning Bukit Besi as a historic town of international significance, further strengthened by the presence of the Bukit Besi Museum.

Today, Bukit Besi also offers attractions for multiple generations. Natural sites such as Tasik Puteri Recreational Park, Tasik Puteri Waterfall, Tasik Puteri Forest Park, and Bukit Besi Golf Club provide opportunities for outdoor activities includ-

ing jogging, cycling, swimming, boating, and adventure sports. In addition, nearby attractions such as Cemerong Waterfall, Berdebu Waterfall, and Lubuk Kain in Hulu Dungun further enhance the area’s natural appeal.

The establishment of the Bukit Besi Agro Exotic Farm also makes Bukit Besi a suitable edu-tourism destination for families and educational institutions. Visitors can experience agriculture and livestock activities directly, providing a valuable learning opportunity for younger generations who often grow up in digital environments with limited exposure to rural life.

The diversity of tourism segments and attractions around Bukit Besi clearly demonstrates its versatile potential as a heritage destination. This includes not only the artefacts within the Bukit Besi mining town but also related heritage sites across Dungun, such as Bukit Tebuk, the old loading platforms along the Dungun River, and the remnants of the jetties at Teluk Lipat, which once formed part of the iron ore export facilities.

Based on its diverse attractions, Bukit Besi’s heritage tourism can be strengthened through six complementary segments, each contributing unique dimensions collectively referred to as the concept of Heritopolis. The following table outlines these segments.

Table 2. Complementary Segments of Bukit Besi’s Heritopolis

No.	Segment	Value	Example
1	Agro (Agro-Edu Tourism)	Enriches family experiences through direct interaction with agriculture and livestock, while supporting the local community’s economy.	Agro Exotic Farm – opportunities to interact with animals and agricultural products offered as souvenirs.
2	Arts and Culture (Community Identity & Creativity)	Connects visitors with local identity through arts, festivals, and cultural exhibitions, thereby strengthening heritage values.	Dramatic re-enactments of miners’ stories, handicraft exhibitions, Malay-Japanese-British cultural showcases at Bukit Besi Museum.
3	Exploration (Engagement with Historical Sites)	Provides authentic experiences by linking visitors directly with historical narratives through interactive activities.	Guided tours of underground tunnels, exploration of former mining lakes, hiking and cycling activities.
4	Nostalgia (Memory & Sentimental Value)	Evokes emotional connections between current generations and the memories of past industries.	Digital storytelling, visual exhibitions of Japanese and British history, nostalgic guided tours at Bukit Besi Museum.
5	Eco (Nature as a Complementary Heritage Asset)	Integrates industrial heritage with natural beauty to create a holistic and sustainable tourism experience.	Tasik Puteri Recreational Park, Tasik Puteri Waterfall, and geotourism concepts at former mining lakes.
6	Village (Community Inclusion & Local Economy)	Ensures social legitimacy by involving local communities directly and generating local income.	Homestays and community-based tourism around Bukit Besi, including the Bukit Tebuk heritage trail, Dungun River loading platforms, and old jetty at Teluk Lipat.

Heritopolis refers to a city or region in which historical heritage forms the central axis of development, identity, and tourism appeal. It emphasizes the preservation and conservation of historical assets—such as old buildings, heritage sites, and museums—so that their authenticity is maintained. Within this framework, heritage is not merely a treasure of the past; rather, it becomes the heartbeat of modern development, inspiring visitors while making significant contributions to the social and economic well-being of local communities.

In the case of Bukit Besi, the concept of Heritopolis is particularly relevant because of its distinctive history of iron ore mining, which sets it apart from other heritage destinations in Malaysia. Structures such as the Crushing Plant, Washing Plant, Chimney, underground tunnels, and Rumah No. 1 are not merely physical artefacts but also symbols of collective memory. They reflect the peak of Bukit Besi’s international mining activities in the 20th century. With the establishment of the Bukit Besi

Museum by KETENGAH, initial steps toward safeguarding this legacy have been taken. However, further recognition is needed by positioning Bukit Besi as a competitive global mining heritage city—an Iron Heritopolis.

Moreover, the strengthening of this concept must be supported by six complementary tourism segments in its surrounding areas, as outlined earlier. The synergy between mining heritage and these tourism dimensions would create a holistic visitor experience, connecting tourists not only with industrial history but also with culture, nature, and the local community. Thus, under the vision of “Bukit Besi: The Iron Heritopolis of Asia”, the town should be seen as a heritage city that transforms its unique mining past into a sustainable global identity grounded in industrial heritage.

To achieve this aspiration, six strategic segments are proposed for the comprehensive development of Bukit Besi as a Heritopolis. These pillars go beyond constructing physical infrastructure; they articulate a long-term vision, especially as Bukit Besi’s mining history approaches its centennial milestone. Such a moment should serve as a catalyst to elevate Bukit Besi to international recognition as a global iron-mining heritage city. This study therefore recommends several initial measures to empower Bukit Besi’s potential as a distinctive hub for heritage tourism:

- a. Policy and planning form the first pillar, serving as the strategic umbrella for all other initiatives in developing Bukit Besi as a Heritopolis. This requires a collective vision that sees Bukit Besi not merely as a former iron mining site, but as a global heritage landmark rich in historical value, community identity, and the collective memory of the industrial world. At present, Terengganu’s tourism direction remains largely focused on eco-tourism and coastal culture. Even the official Tourism Terengganu website places heritage tourism only as a subcategory under other sectors. This reality highlights the urgent need to strengthen historical heritage tourism policies at both the state level and within agencies such as KETENGAH.

In this context, stronger collaboration is required among KETENGAH, the state government, academic institutions, and heritage NGOs to establish sustainable conservation policies. KETENGAH has already taken proactive steps by positioning historical and heritage tourism on par with other flagship attractions such as Kenyir Lake and eco-tourism. The next step should focus on securing official recognition as a national heritage site, followed by efforts toward international acknowledgment through UNESCO.

With robust policies in place, the vision of making Bukit Besi a Heritopolis can be realized. This will not only strengthen long-term financial support but also create a community-based development framework. Ultimately, this strategy has the potential to transform Bukit Besi into a new landmark of Malaysian heritage tourism, expanding Terengganu's image beyond beaches and coastal culture to that of a globally recognized industrial heritage hub.

- b. Preservation is the core of heritage legitimacy. The conservation of mining remains such as underground tunnels, railway tracks, Japanese workers' quarters, and colonial buildings is fundamental to maintaining the identity of Bukit Besi within the framework of a Heritopolis. Preservation efforts should extend beyond the town itself to include the old railway line leading to Dungun, thereby strengthening an integrated network of industrial heritage (Fauzi & Ghani, 2022; W. Ariffin et al., 2023).

More than safeguarding physical structures, the authenticity of heritage is determined by effective site security systems, the provision of guided pathways, and the establishment of digital heritage information centers. Documentation through digital archives, photography, and oral histories is equally vital to sustaining authentic narratives while avoiding excessive commercialization that may diminish the site's original value (Fauzi & Ghani, 2022).

A further strategic step is to obtain official recognition as a National Heritage Site, with the long-term goal of inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage network. Such recognition would not only strengthen Malaysia's heritage legacy but also position Bukit Besi alongside internationally recognized mining heritage sites such as the Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine in Japan (UNESCO, 2007).

- c. Infrastructure and accessibility form a critical pillar in realizing Bukit Besi as a Heritopolis. Its strategic location along the Jerangau–Jabor Highway has long served as a vital land route, while Kuala Terengganu and Kerteh airports function as important air gateways. Enhancements to these systems must be integrated with the East Coast Rail Link (ECRL) mega project, which is expected to connect Terengganu with major cities in the East Coast and the Klang Valley by 2026. With a travel speed of 160 km/h, the ECRL will significantly reduce journey times and increase the flow of both domestic and international tourists (MIDA, 2025). Combined with existing services such as mini-bus transfers to the former mining site, as well as supporting facilities including homestays and tourist information centers, Bukit Besi holds strong potential to become a central hub for industrial heritage tourism on the East Coast of Malaysia.
- d. The promotion of Bukit Besi as a Historic Town must be strengthened both physically and digitally. This responsibility should not rest solely on KETENGAH, but rather be implemented in an integrated manner involving government agencies, non-governmental organizations, private sector actors, and local communities. For example, promotional billboards for the Historic Town of Bukit Besi should be intensified along all three major access routes. Special festivals commemorating the 100th anniversary of iron ore mining and the 50th anniversary of KETENGAH could serve as effective platforms for promotion. Such initiatives may also attract participation from Japanese corporations historically linked to the Kuhara Mining Company and its pioneers, as seen in the case of Tawau. At the same time, advanced advertising technologies should be fully utilized to amplify outreach.

Digital media promotion, interactive exhibitions, storytelling through virtual reality, and the concept of nostalgic tourism can help connect visitors with the living memory of the industrial past. These strategies will reinforce Bukit Besi's position as a global brand in industrial heritage tourism. Furthermore, the nearby ECRL station and the planned Bukit Besi Rest and Recreation (R&R) area can be developed as effective hubs for mining heritage promotion. These facilities would not only serve as transit points but also as exhibition spaces, information centers, and marketplaces for local community products.

Finally, global marketing can be enhanced by positioning Bukit Besi as a Japanese heritage destination in Southeast Asia. Collaboration with institutions such as the Japan Foundation and Japanese universities could expand academic networks, while a Japan–Malaysia Heritage Festival would attract international tourists and strengthen cultural diplomacy.

- e. The dimension of heartware and volunteerism forms a vital foundation in realizing the concept of a heritopolis, as it emphasizes the emotional, cultural, and communal sense of belonging to history. Without the active participation of the local community, heritage conservation strategies are unlikely to achieve social legitimacy. It is within this context that volunteer spirit becomes essential, allowing the community to present their heritage to the outside world. For residents, Bukit Besi should not be seen merely as remnants of an abandoned mine, but rather as part of their collective memory and a symbol of local identity. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009: 116) highlight that social legitimacy in heritage tourism can only be achieved when communities are entrusted with the role of owners and guardians of heritage.

Hospitality further enhances the tourist experience through facilities such as visitor centers, cafés, souvenir shops, and trained local tour guides. These elements not only increase visitor satisfaction but also generate economic benefits for the com-

munity. The example of George Town demonstrates how high-quality hospitality can extend the length of stay and spending of tourists (Othman, 2018: 94; Henderson, 2009: 222).

Finally, voluntourism serves as a meaningful bridge between tourists and the community (McLennan & Thomas-Maude, 2023). Programs such as photographic documentation, guided volunteer tours, and heritage education activities foster emotional connections while preserving local narratives. In this way, Bukit Besi is transformed from being merely a destination into a living, shared space of memory and appreciation.

- f. The appreciation of heritage and history does not arise spontaneously; rather, it is the outcome of continuous education instilled from an early stage. Therefore, the spirit of preserving Bukit Besi as a Heritopolis should begin in schools, through collaboration with the Terengganu State Education Department. This can take the form of local history curricula, field trips, and co-curricular activities. Such initiatives align with the concept of ‘Heartware Tourism’, which emphasizes nurturing local community awareness and appreciation of their own heritage before sharing it with outside visitors (Wan Mohd Yusof et al., 2023: 77).

At the higher education level, the involvement of institutions such as UiTM Bukit Besi Campus, KETENGAH College, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin, and Universiti Malaysia Terengganu is crucial. Universities not only serve as centers of research and documentation but also as platforms to engage international students who can expand Bukit Besi’s visibility abroad (Tomasi et al., 2020: 142). In addition, visits by families of students studying at UiTM Bukit Besi or KETENGAH College can be strategically positioned as domestic promotional assets, combining academic activities with heritage tourism experiences.



Figure 4. Synergies of Strategies and Complementary Segments for Developing Bukit Besi as a Heritopolis

6. Conclusion

Bukit Besi Historic Town represents a unique heritage site within Malaysia’s industrial tourism landscape. Its special value lies in the legacy of iron mining that began during the Japanese and British colonial eras. Today, this history remains visible through preserved landmarks such as Rumah No. 1, the Crushing Plant, Washing Plant, Stockpile, Chimney, and the railway and port system connecting Bukit Besi to Dungun. These structures are more than silent witnesses of the iron mining era; they also symbolize the resilience of the mining community that shaped Bukit Besi as an “industrial town” in the twentieth century.

The establishment of the Bukit Besi Museum by KETENGAH reflects a strong commitment to preserving this collective memory. However, transforming Bukit Besi into a global destination requires a more strategic approach. The long-term vision should be guided by the concept of heritopolis—a heritage city that integrates preservation, education, community participation, and modern tourism. Under this

vision, Bukit Besi would serve not only as a tourist destination but also as a center of knowledge, research, and education on Southeast Asian mining heritage.

In an international context, the Japanese heritage at Bukit Besi offers a valuable opportunity for cultural diplomacy. The Kuhara Mining Company once played a central role in the town's mining history. For this reason, Malaysia–Japan cooperation could be further strengthened through integrated tourism programs, academic research, and joint conservation projects. Partnerships with institutions such as the Japan Foundation Kuala Lumpur or Japanese universities could support initiatives in historical documentation, joint exhibitions, and heritage festivals. For example, the 100th anniversary of Bukit Besi mining could become a major platform to showcase Japanese–Malaysian heritage, attracting regional and international visitors.

Digital promotion and multimedia technology also hold great potential. Interactive tools such as augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) could recreate the mining narrative, allowing visitors to experience underground tunnels or mining activities as if they were present in the past. Such strategies not only enhance tourism appeal but also position Bukit Besi as an innovative destination that merges heritage with modern technology.

Equally important is the role of the local community. Former mine workers and their descendants remain the most authentic guardians of memory. Programs such as oral history projects, community-guided tours, and voluntourism can empower local residents to contribute to heritage tourism, while ensuring that they also benefit economically. Most importantly, this involvement sustains the “heartware”—the emotional identity and spirit of the community that gives meaning to preservation efforts.

Finally, the revitalization of Bukit Besi requires synergy between tourism and industry. The Japanese mining legacy is not only a reflection of historical ties between Malaysia and Japan but also a potential foundation for future industrial col-

laboration in fields such as rare earth element (REE) mining and green technology. By uniting history, tourism, and industry, Bukit Besi can emerge as a world-class heritopolis—an industrial heritage city that is both remembered and actively utilized for economic growth, education, and international diplomacy.

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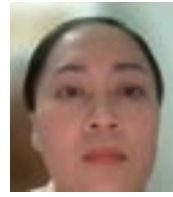
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**(2) Becoming New Citizens or Excluding from Society:
A Study of a Postcolonial History of Japanese Soldiers in
North Vietnam, 1945-1960**

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1. Introduction

The collapse of the Japanese Empire in August 1945 triggered a wave of geopolitical transformation across Asia, marked by the rapid unraveling of European colonial systems and the emergence of new nationalist movements. In the sixteen months following the end of World War II in Asia, from September 1945 to December 1946, the Allied military forces repatriated over 5 million Japanese nationals to Japan². However, the Japanese presence in Southeast Asia did not completely disappear with Tokyo's surrender to the Allies in that same month. Because several thousand Japanese soldiers refused to give themselves up at the end of the Pacific War. They deserted throughout the territories the Japanese had occupied during the war in Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, and Indochina. Even in China, many joined the ranks of Mao Zedong and his adversary Chiang Kai-shek³.

In Vietnam, Việt Minh under the leadership of Hồ Chí Minh launched the August Revolution and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) on September 2, 1945. Yet the chaos of transition also left behind remnants of the old imperial world. Thousands of Japanese soldiers had been stationed in the region during Japanese Empire's occupation of French Indochina (1940-1945). At the time of the Japanese surrender, it was estimated that 97,000 Japanese troops and civilians

2 Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, Harvard University Asia Center, 2009, p.1.

3 Ibid., p.37.

were still in Indochina⁴. From April to August 1946, groups of Japanese soldiers stationed from the 16th parallel northward returned to Japan from Haiphong (in North Vietnam). About 30,500 Japanese soldiers were repatriated through Hai Phong on April 29, 1946, and 1,500 civilians were deported shortly thereafter, and another 3,000 escaped to Hainan island⁵. At the same time, groups south of the 16th parallel under British military control left Vietnam from the Vung Tau (in South Vietnam). The number of Japanese soldiers remaining in Vietnam as of December 1946 was also not accurate because of the turbulent context at that time, but of the possible maximum of 4,000 deserters in northern Vietnam⁶.

Taking advantage of the negligence of Chiang Kai-shek and British troops, many Japanese soldiers defected from the concentration camp and did not leave Vietnam. It is estimated that between 600 and 800 Japanese soldiers opted to remain in Vietnam⁷. These soldiers, many of whom found themselves disarmed, disoriented, and unable to return to Japan immediately, occupied a peculiar position in the early postwar Vietnamese political landscape. Some were detained by Allied forces; others defected, were captured, or simply melted into rural areas. There are numerous reasons that could explain why these Japanese soldiers did not return to their homeland after the war ended, however, it can details their main motivations: ideological anti-colonialism, fear of prosecution as war criminals, romantic ties with Vietnamese women, or be pessimistic about the future of Japan amid Japan's postwar devastation.

Not all Japanese deserters joined the Viet Minh nor were they ready to join

4 Ibid., p.42.

5 Ibid., p.42.

6 Ibid., p.43.

7 Hoang Hong (2008), *Cống hiến của những người Nhật "Việt Nam mới" với cuộc kháng chiến chống Pháp của nhân dân Việt Nam (1945-1954)* [The contribution of the "new Vietnam" Japanese to the Vietnamese people's resistance war against the French (1945-1954)], The 3rd International Conference on Vietnamese Studies (ICVNS2008) (in Vietnam), p.477.

the Việt Minh immediately after defecting. It is estimated about 160 Japanese soldiers joined the Việt Minh and had great contributions to Vietnamese people's resistance war against the French⁸. These individuals, often referred to as Japanese "New Vietnamese" (or "Việt Nam mới" in Vietnamese language), contributed to the anti-colonial struggle against the returning French rulers. They served as military instructors, weapons specialists, and even combatants in Việt Minh units. Their stories complicate conventional narratives of decolonization, which typically presume a clean break between the colonizers and the colonized, between imperial soldiers and anti-colonial revolutionaries. Through this lens, the paper contributes to broader debates in postcolonial and memory studies by highlighting a forgotten transnational history that complicates simplistic binaries of colonizer and colonized.

2. Becoming Japanese "New Vietnamese"

The establishment of the DRV on September 2, 1945, marked a pivotal turning point in Vietnamese history. Yet the nascent government immediately confronted a series of formidable challenges. The Great Famine of 1945 had already devastated the northern region, claiming between one and two million lives⁹. In August of that year, catastrophic flooding breached dikes in nine northern provinces, destroying roughly one-third of the cultivated land, while in the north-central provinces half of the crops were lost. The situation worsened when, in the aftermath of the flood, a prolonged drought left 50 percent of North Vietnam's arable land uncultivated¹⁰. Financially, the revolutionary government inherited an almost empty treasury¹¹.

8 Ibid., p.478.

9 Văn Tạo and Furuta Motoo (eds) (2005), *Nạn đói năm 1945 ở Việt Nam: Những chứng cứ lịch sử* [The 1945 famine in Vietnam: The Historical Evidences], Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House.

10 The Government of Vietnam (2008), *Lịch sử chính phủ Việt Nam* [History of the Government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam], Vol.1 (1945-1954), National Political Publishing House, p.48-49.

11 The State Bank of Vietnam (2016), *Lịch sử ngân hàng Việt Nam, 1951-2016* [History of the State Bank of Vietnam 1951-2016], Hanoi: Labour Publishing House, p.15.

Meanwhile, the Việt Minh had no formal control over the military infrastructure of the country and faced serious threats from multiple directions. French forces sought to re-establish colonial control. While in the North, Chiang Kai-shek's troops entered to disarm the Japanese surrender, and in the South, British-Indian forces facilitated the return of French troops. Amid this critical moment, the disarmed Japanese soldiers remained in Vietnam posed both a security risk and a potential resource for the fledgling DRV. The immediate post-surrender situation forced the Việt Minh to take a nuanced position regarding Japanese soldiers. On the one hand, these men represented the militarized agents of a recently defeated imperial regime. On the other, they possessed critical military expertise that the fledgling DRV sorely needed. The presence of Japanese soldiers presented an unprecedented dilemma. Rather than treating the soldiers purely as prisoners of war, the DRV offered them the choice to return to Japan or remain and contribute to the anti-colonial struggle¹². Initial local responses varied, with some officials unsure whether to intern, expel, or employ them. In December 1945, Lê Văn Hiến, then special representative of the DRV in the central and southern regions (later Minister of Finance), proposed that willing Japanese be integrated into the new administration and military¹³. This policy, approved by the DRV leadership, transformed hundreds of Japanese into collaborators in nation-building. Following that, the government accepted Japanese soldiers who remained in Vietnam and desired to use their technical knowledge and skills to contribute to the newly established regime. Hundreds of Japanese, instead of being indiscriminately handled by local officials, lived and worked equally in military units and government agencies of the DRV with the common name “new Vietnamese,” as coined by President Hồ Chí Minh.

For the DRV, these soldiers offered a tactical advantage. Lacking experienced

12 Võ Minh Vũ (2019), “Quá trình hồi hương của người Nhật Bản ở Việt Nam sau Chiến tranh thế giới lần thứ II”, *Tạp chí Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn*, Tập 5, số 1B, pp.75-87.

13 Ministry of Finance (2010), *Bộ trưởng Lê Văn Hiến* [Minster Le Van Hien], Financial Publishing House.

officers, modern weapons training, and access to advanced logistics, the nascent revolutionary army looked to former Japanese military personnel as potential instructors and advisors. A small but significant number of Japanese soldiers were persuaded-through political sympathy, personal conviction, or simple survival-to cooperate with the revolutionary movement. This initial period of collaboration laid the foundation for a deeper, if ultimately unstable, relationship between the two groups.

Several hundred of them joined the Vietminh's ranks and played important roles in officers' training schools, elite combat units, as well as in mining and pharmaceutical posts. Many of them brought valuable expertise as advisors, not only in matters of military science, but also in monetary and scientific techniques¹⁴. In several notable cases, Japanese soldiers directly participated in combat operations against the French between 1946 and 1949¹⁵.

The most visible role of these Japanese "new Vietnamese" was in the military sphere. They provided instruction at the Infantry Academy in Quảng Ngãi which was one of the first regular military officer schools in Vietnam. They brought with them experience from the Imperial Japanese Army, adapting Japanese military manuals for Viet Minh use. The Infantry Academy had eleven Japanese military training teachers including four military instructors for four companies, namely, Tanimoto Kikuo-Dong Hung, Mitsunobu Nakahara-Minh Ngoc, Igari Kazumasa-Phan Lai, and Kamo Tokuji-Phan Hue. There were four teaching assistants, namely, Aoyama Hiroshi, Onishi Suegami, Namada Suegami, and Minegishi Sadai. The training team had two Japanese: Ishii Taku - Nguyen Van Thong and Sato - Minh Tam. The military doctor was Kisei Fujio - Le Trung¹⁶. The Japanese teachers' lectures were

14 Christopher E. Goscha (2002), "Belated Asian Allies: The Technical and Military Contributions of Japanese Deserters, (1945-50)", in *A Companion to the Vietnam war*, Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (edited), Blackwell Publishing, p.38.

15 Ibid., pp.156-58.

16 Please remind that all Japanese names appear in Vietnamese archival documents might be incorrect because they were translated into Vietnamese language.

compiled according to Japanese military books¹⁷ Of the 46 Japanese officers joining Viet Minh in the southern part of central Vietnam in 1948, there were 36 working as military instructors, which accounts for 78% of the total¹⁸. Their training enhanced the operational capacity of the Việt Minh, especially in the formative years of the resistance war against the French. The Japanese “new Vietnamese” thus contributed considerably to the training of 400 junior officers in the Quảng Ngãi school¹⁹.

Some Japanese “new Vietnamese” also directly participated in major campaigns and fought on the frontlines. Prominent figures like Ishii Takuo and Colonel Mukayama exemplified the depth of this integration. Ishii Takuo became a colonel in the Vietnam People’s Army. He served as the leader of the Infantry of Academy of Quang Ngai and later served as “chief advisor” of the Viet Minh armed forces in South Vietnam. Colonel Mukayama became an advisor to General Vo Nguyen Giap. There were at least 41 Japanese who participated in major campaigns or fought on local frontlines such as the Viet Bac Campaign, Border Campaign, and 14th Street Campaign²⁰.

While their military role has received the most scholarly attention, archival evidence shows that “new Vietnamese” contributed significantly to civilian state-building. Japanese financial experts advised on banking and monetary policy, medicine,

17 Hoang Hong (2008), *Cống hiến của những người Nhật “Việt Nam mới” với cuộc kháng chiến chống Pháp của nhân dân Việt Nam (1945-1954)* [The contribution of the “new Vietnam” Japanese to the Vietnamese people’s resistance war against the French (1945-1954)], The 3rd International Conference on Vietnamese Studies (ICVNS2008) (in Vietnam), p.478-479.

18 Christopher E. Goscha (2002), “Belated Asian Allies: The Technical and Military Contributions of Japanese Deserters, (1945-50)”, in *A Companion to the Vietnam war*, Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (edited), Blackwell Publishing, p.49.

19 Hoang Hong and Pham Quang Minh (2017), “*The Japanese “New Vietnamese” in Vietnam’s anti-French war (1945-1954)*”, in “Vietnam - Indochina - Japan Relations during the Second World War: Document and Interpretations” edited by Masaya Shiraishi and Nguyen Van Khanh, WIAPS Tokyo, p.139.

20 Nguyen Vu Ky (2019), “*Hoạt động của người Nhật “Việt Nam mới” thời kỳ 1945-1954*” [Activities of the Japanese “New Vietnam” in the period 1945-1954], *Journal of Science and Technology Development*, Vol. 3(1), pp.59.

resource exploitation, printing, meteorology, etc. Their contribution was critical because at that time these sectors were the most pressing problems faced by the Viet Minh during wartime shortages. One notable individual was Fujita Isamu (Hoang Dinh Tung), formerly of Yokohama Bank in Hanoi, worked under Minister Lê Văn Hiến to develop banknote printing and financial system. Some other Japanese worked for Ministry of Finance, such as: Takazawa Tamiya - Cao Thanh Phuong; Kebayachi Misac - Nguyen Khac Lam; Kawataba Sakahichi - Le Chi Thanh; Thuan (no Japanese name in Vietnamese document), Vu Kim Hai (no Japanese name in Vietnamese document)²¹, Hayakawa Seiohiro - Tong Van Huan²².

Thanks to their merits in combat and other military duties, these Japanese “New Vietnamese” were awarded medals and orders of merits of different kinds from the DRV government and army. Notable examples include²³:

- Yumino Toshio (Nguyen Van Hien): veteran and be awarded Third-Class Order of Victory Medal and Resistance Commemorative Medal.

- Yosbida Tamiwo (Phan Tien Bo): Member of Vietnamese Workers’s Party since October 1950, Third-Class Order of Victory, Third-Class Order of Labor, Third-Class Soldier Medal, Resistance Commemorative Medal, Emulation Soldier Badge, and Lenin Badge.

- Shimoda Shichiro (Nguyen Van Tan): Third-Class Order of Victory, Resistance Commemorative Medal.

21 Dinh Quang Hai (2005), “Bước đầu tìm hiểu về Nhật kiều ở Liên khu Việt Bắc trong kháng chiến chống thực dân Pháp” [Initial research on Japanese expatriates in the Viet Bac zone during the resistance war against French colonialism], *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol.11, pp.52-58.

22 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Bản khai lý lịch ông Tổng Văn Huân, Hồ sơ Nhật kiều hồi hương năm 1958-1960* [Mr. Tong Van Huan’s resume, Records of Japanese expatriates returning home in 1958-1960], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

23 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Biên bản giao nhận ngày 12 tháng 3 năm 1959 những huân chương, huy chương và bằng khen của anh em Nhật kiều hồi hương tháng 3/1959 gửi lại Bộ Nội vụ* [Minutes of handover on March 12, 1959 of medals, badges, and certificates of merit from overseas Japanese returning home in March 1959 sent back to the Ministry of Home Affairs], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

- Ysao Nakano (Nguyen Van Loi): wounded veteran and be awarded First-Class Order of Victory, Resistance Commemorative Medal.

- Yutumi Suchio (Nguyen Duc Hong): Member of Vietnamese Workers's Party since August 1, 1949, Second-Class Order of Victory, Resistance Commemorative Medal, and Resistance Badge.

- Taketa Yosiro (Nguyen Van Phuoc): Third-Class Order of Victory, Third-Class Order of Soldier, and Resistance Commemorative Medal.

- Yasiwo Komori (Nguyen Nghi): Resistance Commemorative Medal.

Four Japanese were members of the Vietnamese Workers' Party (another name of the Vietnamese Communist Party): Yutumi Suchio - Nguyen Duc Hong (in 1949), Tsuchiyo Tuchitami - Nguyen Van Dong (in 1949), Yoshida Tamio - Phan Tien Bo (in 1950), and Iwai Koshiro - Nguyen Van Sau (in 1952)²⁴.

The end of the First Indochina War in 1954 marked a turning point for the small community of Japanese residents in northern Vietnam. Official records listed 112 individuals - 100 already residing in the North and 12 relocating from the South after the Geneva Accords²⁵. By 1955, following the initial repatriation of seventy-one individuals and the migration of four others to the South, only thirty-seven remained in the North. The Japanese group consisted of thirty-two men and one Japanese woman, alongside three individuals who self-identified as Taiwanese nationals under Japanese citizenship and one individual who self-identified as Korean with Japanese citizenship (born to a Korean father and a Japanese mother). Twenty-one Japanese were employed in state agencies, while sixteen pursued independent occupations

24 Hoang Hong (2008), *Cống hiến của những người Nhật "Việt Nam mới" với cuộc kháng chiến chống Pháp của nhân dân Việt Nam (1945-1954)* [The contribution of the "new Vietnam" Japanese to the Vietnamese people's resistance war against the French (1945-1954)], The 3rd International Conference on Vietnamese Studies (ICVNS2008) (in Vietnam), p.482-483.

25 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Hồ sơ về việc Nhật kiều hồi hương năm 1958-1960, tập I: Chủ trương ký kết chính sách và kết quả thực hiện*, [Dossier on Japanese repatriates in 1958-1960, volume I: Guidelines, policies, and implementation results], File No. 4071, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

across various provinces²⁶.

It is noticed that all of these Japanese soldiers took Vietnamese names. Many of these Japanese men married Vietnamese women and settled in rural communities. Twenty-two men married women in the North. One Japanese woman who known as Saito Hanako in Japanese and Nguyen Thi Thanh in Vietnamese - married a Vietnamese man in Hanoi and had two children. Three Japanese men had wives who remained in the South. Only five men remained unmarried²⁷.

3. The DRV's Policies

The DRV consistently appreciated the assistance and contributions of foreigners to its nation-building. As early as the first years of the resistance war against French colonial rulers, President Hồ Chí Minh signed Decree No. 215/SL on August 20, 1948, which stipulated special privileges for foreigners who supported Vietnamese resistance struggle. Under this decree, foreigners contributing to the resistance of the DRV were entitled to specific benefits. In addition to the rights accorded to all foreign residents, such as protection of property, life, and liberty within the bounds of the law. The foreigners were granted preferential policies when enlisting in the armed forces, working in government offices, applying for Vietnamese citizenship, or requesting repatriation. Those who desired to return to their homeland would receive government assistance for repatriation when conditions permitted. And depending on their service record, they were eligible for special monetary rewards²⁸.

26 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Báo cáo của Vụ Dân chính, Bộ Nội vụ số 7/DC-DS ngày 3/2/1959 gửi Thủ tướng Chính phủ* [Report of Department of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, No. 7/DC-DS dated February 3, 1959, sent to the Prime Minister], File No. 14421, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

27 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Hồ sơ về việc Nhật kiều hồi hương năm 1958-1960, tập I: Chủ trương ký kết chính sách và kết quả thực hiện*, [Dossier on Japanese repatriates in 1958-1960, volume I: Guidelines, policies, and implementation results], File No. 4071, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

28 Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1948), *Sắc lệnh số 215/SL ngày 20 tháng 8 năm 1948* [Decree No. 215/SL dated August 20, 1948], Hanoi.

For Japanese soldiers, Hanoi government affirmed that “these Japanese had expressed sympathy toward the DRV and Vietnamese people. They had made notable contributions to both Vietnamese resistance war and nation-building. Consequently, upon their return to Japan, they would be seeds for strengthening solidarity and friendship between Vietnamese and the Japanese people. They would likewise serve as active participants in the democratic and peace movements within Japan. For these reasons, the DRV sought to preserve and nurture the existing goodwill of these Japanese “new Vietnamese”, so that upon returning home, they would retain their affection for Vietnam and continue to support the Vietnamese revolution.”²⁹

To facilitate the repatriation process for holdout Japanese soldiers, the Vietnamese government stipulated that those possessing property which could not be taken abroad should receive assistance from local authorities and relevant agencies to sell such assets promptly and at reasonable prices. Japanese soldiers employed as officials were entitled to severance allowances and other benefits provided by their respective institutions. The government further instructed provincial authorities to ensure that all such matters were resolved prior to the departure of the Japanese soldiers for their homeland³⁰.

Each returning Japanese “new Vietnamese” would receive a severance allowance and a seniority allowance of at least 20,000 VND with a maximum of one million VND. However, compared to the average living standard in Japan at that time, this amount was not enough to ensure a stable life. Therefore, the Vietnamese government decided to provide an additional allowance of 500,000 VND for each Japanese expatriate who was an employee of a state agency. Particularly, for those

29 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Báo cáo của Vụ Dân chính, Bộ Nội vụ số 10/DC-T.Y ngày 7/2/1959 về việc chuẩn bị cho Nhật kiều hồi hương* [Report of Department of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, No. 10/DC-T.Y dated February 7, 1959, on the preparation for repatriation of Japanese expatriates], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

30 Ibid.

Japanese “new Vietnamese” who were members of the Vietnamese Workers’ Party, they would be given an additional 300,000 VND each. For Japanese expatriates who were commoners, they were given 250,000 VND each³¹

Many Japanese expatriates desired to bring their wives and children with them. However, at this time, Vietnam and Japan had not yet established direct diplomatic relations. Consequently, upon arriving in Japan, the wives of Japanese repatriates could not immediately obtain Japanese citizenship. The majority of these wives were women from rural backgrounds, therefore, upon following their husbands to Japan, they faced considerable difficulties due to language barriers and the inability to secure employment. Out of concern for the welfare of these women and children, the DRV adopted a flexible policy. In case the Japanese families earnestly requested that the wives and children accompany their husbands, and there were guarantees regarding their livelihood and safety, the DRV would authorize their departure together.

For the wives and children of Japanese who remained in Vietnam, the Ministry of Home Affairs instructed local authorities and organizations to assist in securing employment. Vietnamese Women’s Associations, in particular, were to support the wives and children of Japanese soldiers. The Associations had a duty to alleviate some of the hardships they faced after their husbands’ departure.

The Ministry of Home Affairs adopted the following policies for assistance³²:

- For the wives and children of Japanese who were state officials or employees: each wife (including cases where the wife herself was an official or employee) would receive 50,000 VND, while each child would receive 25,000 VND.

- For the wives and children of Japanese who were ordinary civilians: assistance would be determined according to actual circumstances, with a maximum of 30,000 VND for each wife and 15,000 VND for each child.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

The government required provincial administrative committees and agencies to review each case and distribute the funds promptly before their departure, ensuring peace of mind for the repatriates.

For those who had contributed to Vietnamese resistance war, additional benefits were granted beyond the standard provisions described above:

- Wounded veterans were entitled to six months of living allowances, a one-time payment equivalent to five years of disability and production subsidies, and cash in lieu of clothing and bedding when such items were due.

- Those with meritorious service in the resistance war were provided with essential items such as clothing and personal belongings before their departure. If a wounded veteran experienced hardship after five years in Japan, the DRV would, upon request, arrange to send additional financial assistance.

Comparing to other Southeast Asian countries where also had holdout Japanese soldiers, that only the DRV had these favourable policies toward them.

4. The Repatriations (1954-1960)

In the immediate aftermath of the end of the First Indochina War in 1954, and at the request of the World Peace Protection Committee, the Japanese Red Cross Society, as well as the wishes of Japanese “new Vietnamese” seeking to return to their homeland, the DRV organized repatriation missions for these individuals³³.

The first large-scale repatriation followed almost immediately after the Geneva

33 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Hồ sơ về việc Nhật kiều hồi hương năm 1958-1960, tập I: Chủ trương ký kết chính sách và kết quả thực hiện*, [Dossier on Japanese repatriates in 1958-1960, volume I: Guidelines, policies, and implementation results], File No. 4071, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

Accords in 1954. At the World Peace Congress in Sweden (taking place from June 19-23, 1954), representatives of the Japan Peace Committee and the Vietnam Peace Committee attending the congress discussed this issue. The Chinese Red Cross Society agreed to help the Japanese soldiers in Vietnam return home through Chinese territory. In November 1954, the group of Japanese repatriates gathered in Thai Nguyen. After that, they moved to Sino-Vietnamese border, and then took a train to Nanning. From Nanning to Tianjin, Chinese officials arranged the schedule for them. The first Japanese repatriates returned to Japan on November 29, 1954. On this first trip, these Japanese were not allowed to bring their wives and children with them³⁴.

The second repatriation took place on March 4, 1959. The group included nine Japanese: Yosbida Tamio (Phan Tien Bo, born November 18, 1919); Yutumi Suchio (Nguyen Duc Hong, born December 2, 1917); Takeda Yoshiro (Nguyen Van Phuoc, born August 14, 1921); Yasiwo Komori (Nguyen Nghi, born July 1, 1920); Yumino Toshio (Nguyen Van Hien, born September 23, 1924); Shimoda Shichiro (Nguyen Van Tan, born January 2, 1922); Teruya Masaichi (born August 14, 1921); Shiro Shina (Nguyen Nhat Linh, born August 30, 1919); and Ysao Nakano (Nguyen Van Loi, born June 11, 1920)³⁵.

The third repatriation took place on July 26, 1959, including ten Japanese, seven wives, and fifteen children, who traveled aboard the vessel *Koan Mura*. The group of thirty-two individuals included³⁶:

- Mawaki Yashinto (Ho Tam), wife Vu Thi Tam, daughter Ho Thi Ha (10 years

34 Nguyen Vu Ky (2021), “Quan hệ ngoại giao nhân dân Nhật Bản-Việt Nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa (1954-1960)” [People-to-people diplomacy of Japan - Vietnam Democratic Republic (1954-1960)], *Tạp chí nghiên cứu lịch sử* [Journal of Historical Studies], Vol.4 (in Vietnam).

35 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Danh sách 09 Nhật kiều hồi hương theo chuyến tàu Yubari-maru ngày 4/3/1959* [List of nine overseas Japanese repatriated by Yubari-maru ship on March 4, 1959], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

36 Ministry of Home Affairs (1959), *Danh sách Nhật kiều hồi hương đợt 2 và vợ con cùng đi theo bằng tàu Koan Maru ngày 26/7/1959* [List of overseas Japanese and their spouses repatriated by Koan Mura ship on July 26, 1959], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

old);

- Tuchitani Isamu (Nguyen Van Dong), wife Kieu Thi Lang, daughter Nguyen Thi Xuan Ha (3 years old);

- Miashita Giichi (Pham Binh), wife Trinh Thi Nhat, son Pham Hoa (1 year old);

- Tuihigi Shiegi (Dien Trung Bao), wife Le The Hieu, son Dien Trung Loc (1 year old);

- Nakamura Ititaro (Tran Hoa), wife Duong Thi Tang, son Tran Thuan (5 years old), daughter Tran Thi Hung (2 years old);

- Ygari Katumasa (Phan Lai), wife Phan Thi Nguyen, son Phan Minh Phuong (8 years old), daughter Phan Minh Van (5 years old), son Phan The Binh (4 years old), son Phan The Vong (2 years old);

- Hayakawa Seiohiro (Tong Van Huan), wife Tong Thi Nguyet, son Tong Van Thang (14 years old), daughter Tong Bach Tuyet (9 years old), son Tong Viet Thu (7 years old), son Tong Toan Thinh (4 years old), son Tong Nhuong Dat (2 years old);

- Takahasi Makoto (Nguyen Minh Thanh), no wife or children accompanying;

- Yamazaki Zensaku (Tran Ha), no wife or children accompanying;

- Watanabe Turuki (Nguyen Van Trang), no wife or children accompanying.

The third repatriation trip was smaller but notable for the diversity of its participants. This was the first time that Japanese repatriated along with their family members. Some Japanese were awarded by the DRV, such as Tsuchitani Isamu (Nguyen Van Dong - Member of Vietnamese Workers' Party since February 30, 1949), Mawaki Yoshihir (Ho Tam), Hayakawa Seichiro (Tong Van Huan), and Takahasi Makoto (Nguyen Minh Thanh).

The fourth repatriation conducted on April 13, 1960, including twelve Japanese

residents, eleven wives, and forty-six children. The list included³⁷:

- Do Phuc Lai (Phucu Yama Eiguma) with his wife (Di Quay Lin) and four children (Do Van Mu, Do Thii Dinh, Do Van Thai, Do Thi Nguyen);

- Nguyen Minh Thai (Hariki Yashyzo) with his pregnant wife (Nguyen Thi Hao) and four children (Nguyen Minh Tien, Nguyen Thi Thanh, Nguyen Minh Tan, Nguyen Thi Huong);

- Vu Dinh Duong (Matuta Tune Kichi) with his pregnant wife (Nguyen Thi Hien) and six children (Vu Dinh Lang, Vu Dinh Rong, Vu Kim Dung, Vu Dinh Giao, Vu Dinh Giao);

- Nguyen Van Nam (Nagasima Hiroshi) with his wife (Nguyen Thi Duc) and six children (Nguyen Van Trinh, Nguyen Van Duc, Nguyen Van Hoa, Nguyen Van Binh, Nguyen Thi Minh, Nguyen Thi Tac);

- Nguyen Van Thanh (O Sacu Sinichi) with his wife (Nguyen Thi Hai) and two children (Nguyen Van Xuan, Nguyen Thi Thu);

- Hoang Van Hac (Motoyama Kyuzou) with his wife (Pham Thi Nguyet) and four children (Hoang Van Phuong, Hoang Thi Bich, Hoang Thi Van, Hoang Van Ngoc);

- Nguyen Van Nam (Kumagai Ziro) with his wife (Tran Thi Phuong) and five children (Nguyen Thi Cuc, Nguyen Van Cu, Nguyen Van Can, Nguyen Son Ha, Nguyen Van Hong);

- Hoang Trung (Hori Isao) with his wife (Bui Thi Hoa) and five children (Hoang Chieu Bao, Hoang Viet Toan, Hoang Thi Ngoc Minh, Hoang Thi Viet Phuong, Hoang Son Huy);

- Hanh Dien Hoang (Gio Da Sidosi) with his wife (Nguyen Thi Nguyet) and four children (Hanh Dien Cao, Hanh Thi Minh, Hanh Thi Ngoc, Hanh Dien Khanh);

- Tran Van Tu (Hy gô can xa cư) with his wife (Pham Thi Lan) and two children

37 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Danh sách Nhật kiều hồi hương đợt 3 và gia đình họ cùng đi theo về Nhật Bản ngày 13/4/1960* [List of Japanese expatriates and their families in the third repatriation backed to Japan on April 13, 1960], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

(Tran Thi Cuc, Tran Thi Duc);

- Luong Van Chung (Sakulada Taneo) with his wife (Hoang Thi Loi) and four children (Luong Thi Phuc, Luong Thi Loc, Luong Van Luru, Luong Thi Hanh);

- Ho Chi Thai (Honda Seiichi), no wife or children accompanying.

Among this group, many Japanese repatriates were recognized for their contributions to the DRV and received various commendations and awards, such as Hanh Dien Hoang (seven certificates of merit or decorations), Do Phuc Lai (eight certificates of merit or decorations), Ho Chi Thai (ten certificates of merit and decorations), Nguyen Van Nam (three medals of Third-Class Order of Labor, one Resistance Commemorative Badge, and eighteen certificates of merit or decorations), Tran Thi Phuong, wife of Nguyen Van Nam (five certificates of merit or decorations)³⁸.

The final repatriation took place on June 16, 1960, involving one Japanese resident, Amakaoa Keri (Le Tung), together with his wife (Truong Thi Van) and three children (Le Thi Huong, Le Van Hong, Le Thi Hoa)³⁹.

By the end of 1960, the last Japanese residents in northern Vietnam, together with their families, had returned to their homeland. There was no holdout Japanese soldiers remaining in North Vietnam. For many, repatriation meant an abrupt and painful separation from families they had built over the preceding decade. In the first and second repatriations, Vietnamese wives and children were left behind their husbands, and legal avenues for family reunification were virtually nonexistent many years after that.

38 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Biên bản giao nhận những huân chương, huy chương, bằng khen và huy hiệu của anh em Nhật kiều hồi hương tháng 4/1960* [Minutes of handover of medals, badges, and certificates of merit from overseas Japanese who returned home in April 1960], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

39 Ministry of Home Affairs (1960), *Hồi hương Nhật kiều ngày 16/6/1960, 1 Nhật kiều, 1 vợ và 3 con* [Repatriation of one Japanese expatriate, his wife and three children on June 16, 1960], File No. 4072, preserved at the National Archive No. 3 (in Vietnam).

5. Conclusion

The story of the Japanese soldiers who remained in North Vietnam between 1945 and 1960 marked an unique chapter in the history of decolonization. It is a critical case that unsettles our assumptions about who belongs in the narrative of anti-colonial revolution. This study has traced their shifting status across distinct phases. In the immediate aftermath of the Japanese Empire's surrender in 1945, the DRV adopted a pragmatic approach, incorporating former Japanese military personnel into its forces. During the First Indochina War (1946-1954), the Japanese soldiers provided valuable military expertise. Through a mixture of circumstance, these Japanese men who once were soldiers of an occupying imperial power, became a part of Vietnam's revolutionary experience. Japanese soldiers who had once been welcomed as comrades in the anti-colonial struggle, were "new Vietnamese". Some Japanese in the DRV even be member of Vietnamese Workers' Party. After the Geneva Accords and the onset of DRV state-building (1954-1960), these men were gradually repatriated. Their journey from wartime adversaries to temporary allies, and ultimately to social outsiders, reveals the limitations and contradictions of revolutionary citizenship in a postcolonial context. Japanese "new Vietnamese" thus remain a poignant reminder of the shifting boundaries of belonging in a revolutionary state navigating both postcolonial nation-building and Cold War geopolitics. This duality of inclusion and exclusion underscores the volatility of postcolonial nation-building, where revolutionary alliances could be swiftly redefined or erased under the pressures of geopolitical realignment.

The experiences of these Japanese soldiers challenge many of the conceptual binaries often found in postcolonial scholarship: colonizer/colonized, insider/outsider, revolutionary/collaborator. Their postwar lives demonstrate that such categories were not only unstable but were constantly negotiated by states, communities, and individuals in the wake of empire. The postcolonial nationalism often reproduces the exclusionary logics of colonial rule, even as it claims to liberate. In the Vietnamese

case, the revolutionary state's efforts to define who belonged -ideologically, ethnically, and historically - often led to the marginalization of those who did not fit neatly within its imagined national community.

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(3) The Japanese Community in Cebu in Peace and War, 1900-1945⁴⁰

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1. Introduction

The Japanese presence in Cebu, Central Philippines, did not commence in 1942 when Japanese troops finally invaded the island to begin three years of occupation. Japanese citizens were already living there for at least three decades before this. However, despite being the biggest city outside Manila, no information on this small but significant community has ever been conducted, much less published. This study therefore attempts to address this inadequacy by tracing its and inquiring on its activities prior to, during, and in the immediate aftermath of the Pacific War.

2. Literature Survey

A general and comprehensive overview of a significant part of the period covered in this paper is provided in the book entitled, *The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction* by Ikehata Setsuho and Ricardo Trota Jose (Ateneo Pres, 1999). Setsuho's and Jose's study provides a list of institutional sources and collections for the study of the Japanese Occupation but not prior to it. Understandably, their work does not provide an annotated bibliography as their project covered virtually the entire gamut of records kept at various libraries and archives in Australia, Japan, Philippines and the United States. The sheer volume of material was impossible to list down by individual titles given the breadth of the subject matter, the geographic reach and the timeframe to do this. This paper, fortunately, is not hampered by these factors since focuses only on Cebu and covers only published sources

40 This paper was cowritten with Dr. Taihei Ohira.

in the Philippines and Japan.

Two other published sources of the pre-war and WWII-era Japanese community help ground this paper. These are: *Halo-Halo, Hardware and Others: The Story of the Japanese Commercial Community of Manila, 1900-1945* (UST Publishing, 2008) by Augusto V. de Viana and *The Japanese in the Philippines, 1880s-1980s* by Motoe Terami-Wada (NHI, 2010). De Viana's work is based only on English-language sources and is focused solely on the Japanese commercial community of Manila. And while Terami-Wada's work covers the entire Philippines and even beyond the period tackled in this paper, she only makes passing reference to Cebu.

Of studies done outside the country, a particular important one is Ooi Keat Gin's *The Japanese Occupation of Borneo, 1941-45* (Routledge, 2011) and *Under the Rising Sun: The Japanese Occupation of Sarawak* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 1999), which use different published and unpublished sources, although focused largely on the war period and provides a glimpse of the pre-war period only as an introduction to the main theme of the books.

3. Methodology

3.1. Literature and Image Search

This phase constituted the main method of this study. A search of the existing literature and images on Japanese commercial, civilian and social life in Cebu during the pre-war and war periods, 1900-1945, was undertaken in archives and libraries of Japan and the Philippines. Those that were surveyed in the Philippines were: The National Library in Manila, the Cebuano Studies Center at the University of San Carlos, and the University of the Philippines Library in Diliman, Quezon City. In Japan the survey was carried out at the National Diet Library Constitutional Archives, the National Archives of Japan and at The University of Tokyo Library. This phase of the study involved both online and physical search for materials. Reproduction of

books and records were carried out where necessary in the drafting of an annotated bibliography. My collaborator in this study, Dr. Taihei Okada of the University of Tokyo, carried out the search in Japan

3.2. Translation and Annotation of Published Sources and Book Publication

All materials identified during the literature and image search were copied/digitized, with permission where necessary. The purpose was for these to be read and/or recorded so that a brief translation and annotation or summary of the literature sources could be made in the English language. At the same time all data pertinent to the period in this study were duly noted and then included in the book that was eventually published as a result of this study.

3.3. Publication of Results

A longer version of this paper was published by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in 2023 and distributed to local public libraries and presented also to local government officials as well as the Japanese community in Cebu.

4. The Japanese Community Before the War

4.1. Pre-war Japanese Population of Cebu

The 1903 Census⁴¹ lists only three Japanese nationals in Cebu, all of them male and all residing in Cebu City, out of a total city population of 31,709. In the 1918 census, the Japanese population in Cebu still had not grown significantly, with only 66 individuals, 55 of whom were males⁴². In contrast, Davao had reported by then the largest concentration of Japanese citizens at 4,235 males and 237 females. The same census indicated that the Japanese in Cebu were not concentrated in the capital

41 Joseph Prentiss, Henry Gannett, Victor Hugo Olmstead. 1904. *Census of the Philippine Islands*, Vol. 2. Washington, DC: Govt. Printing Office (1904), p. 282.

42 Felipe Buencamino and Epifanio de los Santos. 1921. *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken under the Direction of the Philippine Legislature in the Year 1918*, Vol. 2. Manila: Bureau of Printing (1921), pp. 352-353.

alone but were also found in another five of Cebu's 49 municipalities then. The location and number of these individuals are shown in the table below:

Table 1. Japanese population in Cebu by municipality and sex taken from the 1918 Census

Municipality	Male	Female
1. Argao	1	-
2. Balamban	-	1
3. Bogo	1	-
4. Cebu	34	6
5. Opon	1	-
6. Oslob	18	4
TOTAL	55	11

A significantly large number of Japanese nationals reported their residence as Oslob, near the southern tip of the island of Cebu. These were fishermen from Okinawa who eventually introduced the fishing method called “muro-ami”, later locally called “hinapon” or Japanese method⁴³. This fishing technology was eventually banned in 1989 due to its destructive impact on the marine environment and on humans. In the 1939 Census, the last taken before World War II, the Japanese population in Cebu totaled 623, also spread in some of the towns not just in the capital⁴⁴. By way of comparison, the Chinese population in Cebu more than tripled, reaching 6,117.

43 Harold Olofson, Bernie Cañizares and Farah de Jose. 2000. “A People on Travail I: Labor Relations History of Veteran *Muro-ami* Fisherfolk in the Central Philippines,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 29:2 (June 2000), p. 227.

44 Commission of the Census, *Census of the Philippines: Population*. Manila: Bureau of Printing (1940), pp. 13-14.

Table 2. Japanese nationals in Cebu by municipality and sex from the 1939 Census

Municipality	Male	Female
1. Argao	6	3
2. Bantayan	7	-
3. Bogó	1	-
4. Borbon	1	-
5. Cebu City	479	95
6. Daanbantayn	1	-
7. Danao	1	-
8. Dumanjug	1	-
9. Liloan	7	-
10. Medellin	3	1
11. Naga	3	-
12. Opon	2	-
13. Oslob	1	4
14. Talisay	8	1
15. Tabogon	1	-
16. Tuburan	1	1
TOTAL	522	101

4.2. Economic Activities

Japanese participation in local commerce and trade covered mainly four areas in the prewar period: retail trade, specialty trade, manufacturing, and services. These are detailed below based on advertisements placed in *Nueva Fuerza* and its Cebuano language counterpart, *Bag-ong Kusog* (hereafter, *NF* or *BK*), which ranged from 1/8 page to full-page in sizes. The data that follow, however, do not factor in the size nor frequency of the advertisements but rather approximately when they were first placed.

Table 3. Japanese Business Establishments in Cebu

Name of Store/ Shop/Company	Location	Type of Business	Owner/Proprietor
1. Bazar Konnichiwa (Bazar Buenos Dias)	171-173 Magallanes Street	General merchandise from Japan, Europe, US	No information
2. Daido Boeki Kaisha, Ltd (Cebu Branch, Main office: Manila)	118-122 Magallanes Street on the corner with Norte America (now D. Jakosalem) Street	Buyer of hemp (Aba- ca fiber) and maguey in bulk	No information
3. Honest Bazar	corner of Juan Luna and Colon streets Branch: T. Padilla Street	Dry goods, general merchandise	Y. Furusawa
4. Japanese Bazar	corner of Magallanes and Plaridel streets	Wholesale and retail	Masuguro Sakamoto Seitaro Kangae
5. Kyoto Bazar	450 A. Borromeo corner Nueva streets	General merchandise	
6. Nippon Bazar	corner of Magallanes and Manalili streets branch: A. Borromeo Street	Dry goods, general merchandise from Japan, US, Europe	Seitaro Kangae
7. Osaka Bazar	A. Borromeo Street	Dry goods, general merchandise from Japan, US, Europe rice, potatoes, onions Buyer of abaca, co- pra, tobacco	No information
8. Sakura Bazar	281-283 Magallanes Street	School supplies, men's and women's apparel, shoes, bags, umbrellas and all kinds of household items	No information
9. Sekai Bazar	103-105 Juan Luna Street	Dry goods, general merchandise	K. Uyebata
10. Taisho Bazar	59-63 Progreso Street 240-250 Magallanes Street	Dry goods, general merchandise from Japan, US, Europe	Eiichi Murata
11. Tokyo Bazar	A. Borromeo Street Branch: corner of Juan Luna and Colon streets	Dry goods, general merchandise from Japan, US, Europe	Shinichi Niki
12. Washington Ba- zar	corner of Magallanes and F. Calderon streets	Dry goods from Ja- pan, US and Europe	No information

13. M. Sunada Bicycle Store	109-115 A. Borromeo Street Bike repair shop: 74 A. Borromeo Street	Bicycles and parts Bicycle repair	Masanusoke Sunada
14. Mori Bicycle Store, Inc. (Cebu Branch) Main: Manila	356-362 Magallanes Street	Bicycles and parts Bicycle repair	N. Mori
15. Cebu Studio	286 Juan Luna Street 352 Juan Luna	Photography	S. Kuboki
16. San Studio	119 A. Borromeo Street	Photography	T. Nagata
17. Riuto Shoten	Unknown	Books, school supplies	No information
18. Fuji Bazar	Magallanes Street	General merchandise	No information
19. Kotaki Studio	Poblacion, Carcar	Photography	Kotaki
20. Health Rubber Factory	Mamabaling, Cebu City	Rubber shoes	Eichi Morata
21. Matsuo Carpintero Japones	126 Manalili corner Legazpi streets	Carpentry	Matsuo
22. Prof. T. Matsumoto	106 Colon Street	Physical therapy	T. Matsumoto
23. Prof. H. Kido	356 Magallanes Street	Physical therapy	
24. K. Shibata	No information	Building construction, carpentry	K. Shibata

4.3. Notable Events

a. The 1932 Anti-Japanese Boycott in Cebu

In the aftermath of the Japanese invasion of China in 1931 and the occupation of Manchuria, a movement to boycott Japanese goods and stores was carried out by Chinese communities abroad, including the Philippines, led largely by Chinese youths. The local Japanese community in Cebu was confronted with rallies outside their stores by late 1931, taunting customers to stop buying there. In mid-October 1931, *BK* conducted an interview with Chinese and Japanese leaders to get their opinion on the boycott which is instructive of the frayed relations between the two communities and their divergent views of the situation in China⁴⁵. E. Morata/Murata

45 "Aligato sa Gubat sa Tsina Miabut sa Sugbu" *BK* (16 October 1931), pp. 1, 20.

of Taisho Bazar, S. Niki of Tokyo Bazar and H. Sasahara of Daido Boeki Kaisha represented the Japanese community while Cebu Chinese consul Manuel Gotianuy and Tomas Liao Lamco, a general merchant, stood for the Chinese. Niki was quoted as saying that it was a mistake to think that the Japanese had intentions on Manchuria and that the Chinese youths should not add fuel to the situation in Cebu. Morata opined that he had nothing to say regarding the conflict in Manchuria and hoped that local news would be in Chinese language, not Cebuano, Tagalog or English, for better comprehension by the local Chinese youths. According to him, the events in Manchuria were petty and should not be exaggerated or bloated.

Sasahara, on the other hand, said he had nothing to say about Manchuria or the actions of Chinese youths as he wished harmony for everyone. Gotianuy, the wealthiest Chinese in Cebu at the time, feigned no knowledge about the plans of the Chinese youths except to say that he heard they were willing to leave their families to fight in China and offer their lives, if need be, to their motherland. Asked if the local Chinese business community would join their Manila counterparts in boycotting Japanese goods, Gotianuy replied that he could not say yes or no as only time would tell. Liao Lamco, for his part, had no comment but said that should war erupt in China he could not turn his back on his land of birth.

b. Establishment of the Japanese School

A sign of the growing number of Japanese children in Cebu, a Japanese School, comprising one building with seven classrooms and a cottage for the teachers and the principal, was inaugurated in Lahug in November 1935⁴⁶. N. Mori, owner of the Cebu branch of Mori Bicycle Store, led the program which included bowing before both US and Japanese flags. He and Eichi Morata of Taisho Bazar met the guests. Many businessmen of Cebu, not just the local Japanese community, were reported to have attended the event. According to one contemporary American observer, the

46 "Subo sa Bag-ong Tunghaan sa mga Haponanon Daku ug Madaugon, Ang mga Haponanon Nagpakita sa Iland Kamaabi-abuhon." *BK*, (29 November 1935), p. 29.

Japanese boys wore white shirts and blue pants to school while the girls wore white shirts and blue skirts⁴⁷. The Japanese School would later become the initial concentration camp of Japanese nationals at the start of World War II, before they were transferred days later to Basak Elementary School.

5. Japanese Civilian Community in Wartime Cebu

On the morning hours of 10 April 1942, the Imperial Japanese Navy landed on Cebu, first at Argao and then Talisay⁴⁸. The day before, American forces had lit fire on gasoline tanks that ended up burning down Cebu City's commercial section, about two-thirds of the city center⁴⁹. With the arrival of Japanese troops in the city, the interned Japanese, which numbered 283 being held at the Basak Elementary School, were liberated⁵⁰. Soon after they were let out, they formed a new Japanese association, the *Shin-Nihonjin Kai*. Unlike the old association, this new one was not separated by islands or major cities but covered the whole of the Visayas region. Its members were 200 from Negros, 450 from Panay, 50 from Leyte and Samar, and 300 from Cebu. It was headed by Kimura Kamejiro of Daido Boeki Kabushiki Kaisha, a publicly traded company (hereafter, Daido)⁵¹.

Before the war, there were 623 Japanese nationals in Cebu city, according to the

47 Pamela Brink, Robert A. Brink and John W. Brink. *Only by the Grace of God*. Bloomington, Indian, USA: Archway Publishing (2016), p. 30.

48 Hito Hakengun Hodobu, *Hito Senki* [Battle of the Philippines], Bungei Shunjusha (Tokyo), 1943, pp. 187-190.

49 Hito Hakengun Hodobu, *Hito Senki* [Battle of the Philippines], pp. 187-190; *Firipine Joho* (Philippine Information), 1 June 1942, Vol. 60, pp. 53-54; Mojares et al., *War in Cebu*, pp. 53; *Senshi Soshō, Dai 002 Kan, Hito Koryaku Sakusen* (War History Series, Vol. 002, Operations for Subduing the Philippines), Tokyo: Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1966, p. 518. One Japanese soldier's account claims that the US forces persuaded some of the Filipinos to burn down the central section of Cebu City (Yasuda Sadao, *Irana no Umi* (Irana's Sea), Tokyo: Bunmatsudo, 1944, p. 131). We do not know yet why the US forces burned the center of Cebu city.

50 Hito Hakengun Hodobu, *Hito Senki*, Bungei Shunjusha (Tokyo), 1943, pp. 187-190.

51 *Manila Shimbun*, 3 December 1942.

1939 census⁵². The 283 who were liberated were presumably part of those who were still in Cebu when the invasion happened, becoming part of the 300 members from Cebu in the new Japanese association. As for the Japanese school in Cebu, there were 48 students before the outbreak of the war but only about 30 of them were attending by 1943⁵³.

5.1. Commercial Activity

Under Japanese Occupation, the wartime economy was controlled and made to serve military needs over that of providing for civilian life. Bamboo fences were set up in Cebu City to check people coming in and going out of the city by December 1942⁵⁴. Transportation of essential goods was prohibited across the provincial boundaries⁵⁵. There was also strict price control⁵⁶. Amidst this situation, more Japanese companies came to Cebu. Even before the outbreak of war, there were three general trading companies operating in Cebu, the aforesaid Daido, Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha, and Mitsui Bussan K.K. In addition to these, a variety of Japanese companies also operated in wartime Cebu.

Some of the pre-war Japanese were active in this controlled economy as well. In a roundtable discussion published in *Visayan Shimibun* of early April 1943, four former and present ranking members of the Cebu *Nihonjin-kai* participated. Present were acting president Kimura Kamejiro (of Daido), and former presidents Kubodera Itsuo (also of Daido), Shinichi Niki (Tokyo Bazar) and Mori Giichiro⁵⁷. Other than above mentioned, Kimura was supposed to have been in the Philippines for more

52 *Census of the Philippines, 1939*, Population Volume I, Reports by Provinces, Part II Capiz to Lanao, pp. 13-16.

53 *Manila Shimibun*, 21 January 1943.

54 *Manila Shimibun*, 2 December 1942.

55 *Visayan Shimibun*, 28 September 1943, 2; 18 November 1943, 2.

56 *Visayan Shimibun*, 17 September 1943, 2.

57 *Visayan Shimibun*, 8 Apr. 1943, p. 4.

than 30 years⁵⁸. His affiliation with Daido Boeki was recorded as of 1938⁵⁹, but his life before this is unknown. Mori Giichiro was part of the *Seinen-bu* in 1939⁶⁰. In addition, Masanosuke Sunada was still in the Philippines in 1943. He was operating the Cebu Unsosya (Cebu Trucking), and was probably moving goods both for civilians and the military, as he published advertisements in *Visayan Shimbun*⁶¹. In 1941, the main office of his bicycle shop was on A. Borromeo Street while its second shop was on Pelaez Street⁶². The main office was probably burned down in the beginning part of the war, because Cebu Unsosya was at the latter location by 1943.

5.2. *Comfort Women*

In the Cebu hospitality industry, there was only one Japanese-owned hotel called Kinugasa Hotel before the war and a few cafes, including Zumoraya⁶³. By 1943, however, numerous Japanese-owned restaurants and hotels were established. Among the restaurants counted Naniwa (owned by Y. Nagano); Homare (Saito Kamshitsa); Army and Navy (Imuha Skururo); Miyaku [Miyako?] (M. Nakamura); Akebono (S. Kamishiro); Hiwa Sokorioti (S. Tamashiro); Homare (Hisaku Syoyu) and Midori (Oshiro). There were four thriving “comfort stations” in Cebu city in August 1944 [see Map]⁶⁴. One of them was “Iroha,” although this comfort station was not advertised in the *Visayan Shimbun*⁶⁵. The military itself was rather blatant when they recruited “comfort women.” There were advertisements in *Visayan Shimbun* such as: “Wanted 8 Girls To Serve as Attendants” posted by rather obscure “Japanese Army

58 *Manila Shimbun* 3 Dec.1942.

59 Otani, *Firipin Nenkan* [Philippine Annual Book], 1938, p. 701.

60 Otani, *Firipin Nenkan* [Philippine Annual Book], 1939, p. 504.

61 *Visayan Shimbun* 27 July 1943, 2.

62 Otani, *Firipin Nenkan* [Philippine Annual Book], 1940, p. 585; *Visayan Shimbun* 27 July 1943, p. 2.

63 Nakahara Zentoku, *Firipin Kiko* (Travelogue on the Philippines), p. 177-178; Watanabe Kaoru, *Firipin Zairyu Hojin Shogyo Hattenshi* [History of Japanese Commercial Activities in the Philippines], Tokyo: Ozorasha, 2011 [1936], p. 241.

64 Mizumoto, Mizumoto Sei, *Sebu To Kaiko* [Recollections on Cebu Island], by the author, p. 11.

65 Mizumoto, Mizumoto Sei, *Sebu To Kaiko* [Recollections on Cebu Island], p. 11. The fact that this popular place was not advertised seems to indicate that the comfort stations were considered rather unrespectable even under the Japanese occupation.

Unit Headquarters,” and “Girls: Who Like To Work” by military outfit called Akatsuki Unit⁶⁶. Records indicate that local “comfort station” operators were on good terms with local garrison units in Dumanjug and Danao⁶⁷. Visiting “comfort stations” was almost the only form of entertainment among the Japanese soldiers at the time⁶⁸.

5.3. *Deaths of Japanese Civilians*

As Japan’s defeat neared, Japanese deaths mounted in Cebu. The total headcount of Japanese civilians and military personnel combined at the time of the US landing in Talisay on 26 March 1945 was 14,500⁶⁹. Added to this were the forces that fled from Leyte, like the 57th Infantry Regiment under Maj. Gen. Yoshio Miyauchi⁷⁰. By the time the Japanese forces surrendered in the latter half of August, the headcount was 8000⁷¹. Following the US liberation landings, Japanese civilians were incorporated into the Japanese forces and many of the former faced violent death. At this late stage in the history of Cebu Japanese, in addition to the prewar Japanese civilians and company employees, there was another group composed of refugees from Palau and Saipan. Unlike the prewar Japanese in Cebu, these refugees

66 *Visayan Shimibun*, 7 Oct. 1943, 2; 1944.2.25, 2. The Akatsuki Unit was the 33rd Navy Station Defense Unit, which was stationed in Liloan.

67 For Dumanjug, see the court proceedings of USA vs. Seiichi Onishi, Hajime Kawahara and Tsugiharū Ogata. Especially, the testimonies of the “comfort station” owner and a witness for the defense Agnes Bascon clarifies this point. (USA vs. Seiichi Onishi, Box No. 1570, LS 24968-24981, pp. 343-384). For Danao, Manda Kunisaburo’s autobiographical novel describes the Japanese soldiers’ relations to the “comfort women” (Mandamura Jun, *Saraba Sebu To no Rakujitsu* [Good-bye, the Sun Set of Cebu], Tokyo: Okoku-sha, 1977). Over one “comfort woman,” a Japanese Kempei arrested, tortured and killed a Filipino collaborator named Inocencio Romero. This incident is recorded in Manila Case No. 253 (Box No. ??, LS 39908-39909). The Manila Cases (or Reports) are the pre-trial investigation documents.

68 Even Mizoguchi Jiro, who had good relations with local Filipino residents and was commuted from death sentence due to their petition, boastfully claimed that he established a “comfort station” in Talisay as a long-needed place of recreation for the foot soldiers in his unit (Mizoguchi Jiro, *Yogenbutai Cho* [Foretelling Commander], Dainihon Kodokai, 1959, p. 86).

69 *Senshi Soshō, Dai 041 Shōgō Rikugun Sakusen <2> Ruson Kessen* [War History Series, Vol. 041, Shōgō Rikugun Operation <2> Battle of Luzon], p. 621.

70 Miyauchi Yoshio’s diary can be found Kaiko Bunko, Yasukuni Shrine.

71 *Senshi Soshō, Dai 041 Shōgō Rikugun Sakusen <2> Ruson Kessen* [War History Series, Vol. 041, Shōgō Rikugun Operation <2> Battle of Luzon], p. 621.

included a number of Okinawans. As men were mobilized in Palau and Saipan, many of the refugees were women, mostly married with children. This group also included “comfort women,” who were sometimes disguised as “Special Volunteer Nurses.”⁷² This group was looked down upon by Cebu Japanese. This was especially the case with the regular medical nurses and doctors⁷³. On the other hand, some of military officers like Lt. Col. Seiichi Onishi of the Onishi Butai kept a “comfort woman” from this group by his side even during the retreat in the mountains of Cebu⁷⁴.

72 Mizumoto, *Sebu To Kaiko* [Recollections on Cebu Island], p. 102.

73 Mizoguchi Jiro, *Yogen Butai Cho* [Foretelling Commander], pp. 205-206.

74 Mizoguchi Shin, *Yogen Butai Cho* [Foretelling Commander], pp. 39-43, 249.

MAP OF CEBU TOWNSHIP, CEBU ISLAND

To Cebu Gov't Office

Army Hospital

S. of S. barracks

"RANIDA" (T.F. Presumably area of barracks or auto)

To RAILWAY

To SALAYAT

Cebu District

Cebu Harbor

NOTE: The symbols in this map are not to be used for any other purpose than for the purpose of this report only.

(T.F. Report number 100-400000-100000)

70

The first kind of violent death happened when the Japanese Military Administration in Cebu decided to evacuate civilians by sea. Under the direction of the Japanese Consul, the civilians were evacuated from Cebu starting mid-1944. About 120 women and aged left Cebu in this way⁷⁵. On January 30, 1945, however, tragedy struck. Several ships with civilians onboard were leaving the port of Cebu for Borneo when they were soon discovered and sunk off the coast of Bohol by US airplanes. According to the official history⁷⁶, this incident killed most of the Japanese civilians, leaving only about 200 still in Cebu⁷⁷. Shinichi Niki, owner of Tokyo Bazar, may have perished during this incident⁷⁸.

On 18 February 1945, a unit called Cebu Japanese Resident Volunteers was formed⁷⁹. It was composed of three platoons which had 52 enlists and 123 civilians and an Aged and Youth Labor Unit, headed by Shin Nambu, consisting of 205 people, most of whom were “unable to do heavy work.” Of the names mentioned, only two could be ascertained as pre-war Japanese living in Cebu. These were Hirose Shigeyoshi, the Cebu Japanese School principal, and his wife, Ko Hirose, who was also a teacher at the said school. The unit they belonged to consisted of 28 men and 58 women. Being headed by the old-time school principal and a female teacher,

75 Sakai, *Kairai Butai* [Puppet Unit], pp. 24-25.

76 Official history here means *War History Series*, which is called “Kokan Senshi.” This phrase means “Published war history for wide publics.” This series was the research outcome of National Institute for Defense Studies on a comprehensive project on the Asia Pacific War in the 1960s and 1970s.

77 *Senshi Shosho, Dai 041 Shogo Rikugun Sakusen* <2> *Ruson Kessen* [War History Series, Vol. 041, Shogo Rikugun Operation <2> Battle of Luzon], pp., 613, 621. Although this incident is not described in any of the recollection I investigated, it is cited by Yamazaki, *Yashi wa Miteita* [The Coconut was Watching], p. 232.

78 Kanegae, *Aruite Kita Michi*, p. 379.

79 ATIS 50-B-655. The description of this unit is mostly from this source. As for the general account of civilian volunteer units, see Saito Toshihiko, *Kokumin Giyu Sento Tai to Gakuto Hei—Impei Sareta Ichioku Sotokko* [National Volunteer Forces and Student Army—Concealed Special Operations for 100 Million Nationals], Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Shuppan, 2021. Saito’s research focuses on mainland Japan and reveals that this mobilization took place in 1945. It appears that mobilization of the Japanese civilians became a regular practice in the occupied areas first. This point should be investigated.

this unit probably included former students of the Cebu Japanese School⁸⁰. By July 1945, this entire group was reduced to little over 100 members. They were somewhere in the mountains between Catmon in the East and Tuburan in the West when two Lockheed airplanes flew over and attacked them. Instead of dropping bombs, these airplanes sprayed gasoline and lit it on fire. In the resulting carnage, only 22 survived. By the time the group reached Tuburan near the northern tip of Cebu, only 19 members were alive, stricken with malaria. Convinced of Japan's defeat by the notification flyer dropped by US airplanes, the survivors surrendered to US forces on 16 August 1945.

5.4. Murder of Japanese Babies and Children

In December 1945, a certain Haru Chibana, aged 29, gave a rather incendiary testimony upon her return to Naha, Okinawa⁸¹. She was a refugee from Palau and landed in Cebu in 1943. In mid-April 1945, civilians consisting of both Cebu Japanese and refugees from other places wanted to follow a depot unit consisting of 300 Japanese soldiers. Upon seeing this, the commander of this unit, Lieutenant Colonel Kunichika Aoki asked a certain Katsuyo Negoro to gather the women. Aoki then told them to “dispose of” their children under the age of 10 as well as aged men and women. As a result, children were gathered and fed poisoned milk, the aged with rice wine laced with potassium cyanide. Eleven children, one aged woman and two aged men were killed this way⁸². The mothers were prevented from seeing their children at their death, some of them not even seeing their graves and merely given the clothes the children had worn. However, according to one testimony of a mother, some of the children below 10 years of age—one child for each family—were allowed to survive at this time⁸³.

80 It is not known when the Japanese school terminated its operation.

81 Press Translation, Manila Report No. 241.

82 Statement of Sasaki Saka, Manila Report No. 241.

83 Statement of Sasaki Saka, Manila Report No. 241.

As they marched north afterward, they were joined by Major General Asama Yoshio who then took command of their unit⁸⁴. Food became scarcer and their defensive positions more vulnerable with children crying and running about⁸⁵. On 28 May 1945, Asama ordered Aoki to gather all children below 13 years had to be killed. While some were poisoned, others were bayoneted. None of the testimonies positively state the exact number of children who died. Asama died of natural causes after the war. It is not clear what happened to Aoki but he was arrested by US forces in Leyte.

6. Aftermath

Following the surrender of Japan in September 1945, all surviving Japanese were repatriated to Japan. Their Filipina wives, if they had, were given the option to join them or not, but if they chose to go to Japan, their offspring below the age of 18 were automatically forbidden from staying behind. Unfortunately, we have not encountered any official records detailing the names of Japanese nationals, or those of Cebuana wives and their children who were deported to Japan. What we found, instead, are records in the *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines* concerning the fate of properties and bank accounts left behind by Japanese nationals who were in Cebu before or during the war. Nine Japanese names are mentioned as those who “control” the corporation and business.

84 The statements in the Manila Report reveal only his family name as Asama, and one of the most detailed accounts on the Cebu Japanese as fugitives intentionally uses a pseudonym and calls this general “Fukama” not Asama (Sakai, *Kairai Butai* [Puppet Unit]). After cross checking with the directory of officers in the South, I found out his first name was Yoshio as his description matched with the rank and location as well as Sakai’s description (Hata Ikuhiko ed., *Nanpo Gunsei no Kiko Kanbu Gunseikan Ichiran* [Japanese Military Administration of South East Asia 1941-45—Organization and Personnel], Tokyo: Nanpo Gunseishi Kenkyu Forum, (1998), p. 77). Googling Asama Yoshio reveals that his involvement in this baby and child killing is disclosed at a few different sites, although their descriptions of the incident do not correctly reflect the Manila Report [Accessed October 10, 2022].

85 Press Translation, Testimonies of Kunichika Aoki, Nobuo Hayashi, and Shizumi Maeda.

7. Summary and Conclusion

There was a Japanese community in Cebu that reached up to 623 members immediately before the start of World War II. Majority of them were in the capital city of Cebu but some were also in the towns, especially in Oslob comprised of Okinawan fishermen. Those living in the city were actively involved in commerce and trade. We know of at least 24 establishments including photo studios and at least one shoe factory in existence in Cebu between 1900 and 1942. Majority of these were merchandise stores selling products from Japan, Europe and the United States.

After the Japanese invaded Cebu in April 1942, some of these pre-war Japanese were still active in their businesses but most were conscripted to act as interpreters and serve other jobs in the military. Following the American landings in March 1945, some 200 Japanese civilians still living in Cebu joined the Japanese forces as they retreated north. Many of these civilians soon lost their lives with only about 19 able to surrender to US forces in August 1945. The most tragic incident during this harrowing period concerns the murder of Japanese children on orders of a high Japanese general.

It is clear that what started as a vibrant expatriate community whose stores and services were patronized by Cebuanos had ended tragically in the aftermath of the Japanese occupation of Cebu. As Japan began its expansionist ambitions in the 1930s, the Japanese in prewar Cebu were eventually antagonized and treated with suspicion, moreso during the war years. Today, of course, one does not need to be a scientist to perceive the positive results that came, albeit gradually, after the normalization of relations between Japan and the Philippines in 1956.

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(4) Comments

Midori Kawashima (Professor Emeritus, Sophia University)



Congratulations on successfully completing your research projects, and thank you for your presentations! It was a pleasure and an honor to read and comment on your papers. I will provide feedback on each paper and ask a few questions.

1. “Japanese Heritage in Bukit Besi Iron Ore Mining and Its Potential in the Terengganu Tourism Industry,” Wan Mohd Yusof Wan Chik, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abiding

This is a practical, policy-oriented study of how to promote industrial heritage tourism. It highlights unique local resources that have been overlooked by outsiders and re-evaluates their value. It proposes ways to utilize these resources for tourism through local initiative. Specifically, it focuses on the Bukit Besi iron ore mine in the state of Terengganu, which was first mined by the Japanese in the 1920s. This study redefines the iron ore mine and its surroundings as industrial heritage, and calls for existing efforts by local stakeholders, including state government agencies, universities, non-profit organizations and the local community, to be strengthened in order to utilize the Bukit Besi mine more effectively for tourism. It also calls for collaboration with Japan to attract Japanese tourists with a sense of nostalgia for the past.

The researcher draws on literature regarding industrial and cultural heritage tourism and emphasizes the importance of achieving social legitimacy by entrusting owners and guardians to the local community (p. **). The researcher also argues for rediscovering and maintaining local identity by preserving the Bukit Besi industrial heritage and pursuing sustainable regional development.

The paper submitted for this conference does not provide much information about the history of Bukit Besi, its current preservation status, or the collection of related materials. However, I found this information, along with many images, in a coffee table book titled *Bukit Besi: Menjejaki Heritopolis Besi Asia*, edited by a researcher and published last year with support from the Sumitomo Foundation. The book is available online. Based on the paper and the above-mentioned book, I found this study to be an ambitious research effort addressing critical challenges in today's world. The study discusses the current state, challenges, and prospects of promoting industrial heritage for tourism using the example of Bukit Besi.

Admitting these contributions, I have two questions for the researcher. The first is: For whom in the future generation are you preserving the industrial heritage of Bukit Besi? What do you think is the most important aspect of Bukit Besi's industrial heritage? In other words, what aspects do you want to preserve, and what message do you want to convey through them? To whom do you want to convey this message? I would like to hear your thoughts on these questions. I ask this question because cultural and industrial heritage can be interpreted in many ways. The way it is represented depends on which aspect is considered the most important. Therefore, it is important to establish a consensus on basic principles and policies for representing heritage. Without consistent policies, heritage may be represented opportunistically to suit tourists' expectations and preferences. For instance, if you cater to Japanese tourists who are nostalgic for the past, there is a risk of romanticizing the past rather than depicting life in a mining town as it was. This could turn your own culture into a tourist commodity.

This relates to the second question. Modern industrial development has brought not only prosperity and well-being to people, but also social issues and suffering. These include colonialism, labor exploitation, pollution, and industrial accidents. However, I found no mention of these issues in your paper. Will you not include these issues in your representation of industrial heritage? Are these issues not worth

remembering and preserving? These issues and how people dealt with them are an integral part of local history and industrial heritage. Including them would make a visit to the industrial heritage more inspiring, educational, and interesting. What do you think?

Lastly, I would like to offer some advice. The Bukit Besi Mine was referred to in Japan as the “Zungun” Mine (pronounced “zu-n-gu-n”), and many Japanese documents mention it. A steamship operated from Dungun to a port in northern Kyushu, transporting iron ore to the government-run Yawata Steel Works. With the cooperation of Japanese researchers or someone proficient in Japanese who are interested in the topic, you can collect more information about the mine that would expand our knowledge of Bukit Besi’s iron ore mining.

2. “Becoming New Citizens or Excluding from Society: A Study of a Post-colonial History of Japanese Soldiers in North Vietnam, 1945-1960,” Luong Thi Hong, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences

The existence of Japanese soldiers who chose to remain in Vietnam after World War II is fairly well known in Japan because several memoirs and interview records have featured it. Some research has been conducted based on these memoirs, as well as French and British sources. However, there has been a lack of detailed studies based on primary sources from Vietnam. This study stands out because it uses previously untapped Vietnamese official documents, particularly those from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Based on these documents, the study clarifies how the Vietnamese responded to the former Japanese soldiers who remained in Vietnam. Initially, Vietnam welcomed these Japanese soldiers as “New Vietnamese” because the government sought to utilize their specialized knowledge and skills. Following the signing of the Geneva Accords in 1954 and the division of Vietnam into North and South in 1955, howev-

er, the Vietnamese government changed its policy and promoted the repatriation of these Japanese soldiers. The author clarifies details of their repatriation, such as the timing and number of returnees, whether they were accompanied by their Vietnamese spouses and children, and the preferential measures for those spouses and children who remained in Vietnam. Thus, this study clarifies the basic facts concerning this issue, laying the foundation for further research.

While acknowledging this achievement, there are some points which are unclear to me. Will you answer the following two questions?

1) According to your research, all the Japanese who remained in Vietnam returned following their wishes. But did these former Japanese soldiers have the option not to return to Japan and to stay in Vietnam? The Vietnam's policy towards these Japanese seems to have shifted from initial integration to exclusion. Do you think this understanding accurate?

2) What prompted Vietnam's policy shift towards promoting repatriation? Regarding this point, Motoo Furuta, a Japanese historian specializing in the Vietnamese history, explains as follows: The Vietnam Workers' Party, founded in 1951, was organized on the principle of being a Communist Party for the Vietnamese Revolution by the Vietnamese people, unlike its predecessor, the Indochinese Communist Party, which was more open to all nationalities. Under the nationalistic ideology of the Vietnam Workers' Party, there was no place for the Japanese within it. This shift in the organizational principle of Vietnam's communist party distanced the Japanese from the Vietnam Workers' Party, which culminated in their repatriation (Furuta, p.224). Did you find any official documents which support this? Are there any sources which explains the reason for the shift of Vietnamese attitudes towards the Japanese? What are your thoughts on the reason why Vietnamese leaders changed their policy towards the Japanese?

Reference:

Motoo Furuta, "Zanryu nihonjin no nihon kikoku no haikei (Background of

the return of the Japanese who remained in Vietnam to Japan)", Ii Miyuki Komatsu, *Ugokidashita Tokei: Betonamu zanryu nihonhei to sono Kkzoku (The watch that started ticking: Japanese soldiers who remained in Vietnam and their families)*. Tokyo: Mekon, 2020.

3. "The Japanese Community in Cebu in Peace and War, 1900-1945," Jose Eleazar Reynes Bersales, University of San Carlos

This study is significant because it is the first to explain how the Japanese community in Cebu formed, developed, and collapsed from the early 20th century to the post-World War II period. The study draws on Philippine and Japanese sources. Notably, the author uses primary materials from the Cebuano Studies Center at the University of San Carlos, including articles from local newspapers and advertisements from Japanese-run stores. Since previous research has focused on pre-war Japanese residents in Manila and Davao, this study is important in providing an example of Japanese communities in other regions and cities.

This study is a collaboration with Dr. Taihei Okada, a Japanese historian who specializes in modern Philippine history. A key strength of this study is its extensive use of Japanese-language materials from libraries and archives in Japan, which was made possible by the collaboration with Okada. While these Japanese sources are often indispensable for Japan-related research, they are difficult for most non-Japanese researchers to use due to the language barrier. This study demonstrates how collaborating with a capable Japanese scholar who shares the same interest can overcome this barrier.

Some details remain unclear, which is unavoidable since this topic has not been researched before. It is hoped that the findings revealed in this study will serve as a foundation for further research by these two researchers or other scholars.

Another noteworthy aspect of this study is its portrayal of the Japanese as both

perpetrators and victims during World War II. Memoirs of Japanese soldiers and civilians often portray the Japanese as victims. On the other hand, Philippine accounts of the war often depict Japanese soldiers as solely the perpetrators. This research demonstrates the ambivalence of the Japanese people, who played both roles during the war. This kind of research is more persuasive and may resonate with more people in Japan and the Philippines.

The researcher uses the 1903, 1918, and 1939 censuses to compile statistics on pre-war Japanese residents in Cebu. I recommend that the researcher also utilize contemporary statistics from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding Japanese nationals living abroad. These statistics provide the number of Japanese residents by occupation from 1903 to 1916 and a list of Japanese businessmen in Cebu before World War II. This data is compiled in Shinzo Hayase's book, *Comprehensive Study of the Pre-War Japanese Population in the Philippines*, published last year (see below). Referencing this source will yield more detailed information about the Japanese community in Cebu.

Reference:

早瀬晋三『戦前期フィリピン在住日本人職業別人口の総合的研究』（研究資料シリーズ No.10）、早稲田大学アジア太平洋研究センター、2024 年。
(Hayase Shihzo, *Senzenki Firipin zaiju nihonjin shokugyobetsu jinko no sogoteki kenkyu*, Kenkyushiryō shirizu No. 10. Tokyo: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, 2024.)

Thank you, and I look forward to hearing your responses during the discussion.

(5) Reply and Wrap-up

Sonoda: Thank you for your comprehensive as well as detailed comments on three presentations, Prof. Kawashima. As time is limited, I'd like three presenters to make quick responses to the comments and questions of Prof. Kawashima by using three minutes. Wan Chik-san, you are the first.

Wan Chik: Thank you.

When it comes to the first question, preserving Bukit Besi must begin with the community as a basis of heartware tourism. From the heritopolis perspectives, it is not the issue of only culture and history, but also technology and economy. This prevents romanticism and ensures it used for the future socially, physically, and intellectually. This process is inclusive of scholars, the public, and the policy makers, who will shape it into a blueprint guided by the blue-ocean strategy.

Second, there is no history without reconciliation. Labor exploitation and environmental damage should be remembered as a lesson for the future. We should collaborate wisely and write the bright picture of Terengganu. This process must be balanced with economy, sovereignty, and society. The lesson we learned from Kyoto and Lake Biwa was that we can keep our canal in Terengganu as Lake Biwa and maintain Bukit Besi like Kyoto as heritopolis model. Thank you so much.

Sonoda: Next, Luong-san, please.

Luong: Thank you so much Prof. Kawashima for the comments and interesting three questions.

First of all, based on the archival evidence, it is clear that many Japanese former soldiers did not immediately return to Japan after 1945 similarly to the other parts in Asia. But they insisted integration in Vietnamese society through military service,

technical work, and marriage with Vietnamese women. They were able to remain in Vietnam during 1940s and early 1950s, and in some cases, they were actively welcomed by Democratic Republic of Vietnam. To fully understand the repatriation of Japanese soldiers after 1945, especially after the end of First Indochina War, it is necessary to look at the situation in the broader context of intensified cold war and the emergence of ideological divide between communism and capitalism at that time. By that time, Vietnam became allies with socialist bloc while Japan became close allies with the United States and the US's intervention with Vietnam became intensified. In such a context, whether or not the personal wish to stay, the former Japanese soldiers faced a growing suspicion, and their inclusion into the Vietnamese society became increasingly difficult with the impact of communist allies like China and the Soviet Union. But it was not equal to simple rejection. It was a narrowing of political and social space.

For the explanation by Prof. Furuta, it is a useful explanation. However, the archival documents suggest another perspective. Because I could identify four Japanese soldiers being members of the Vietnamese Worker Party and even one Japanese former soldier was a party member in 1951, more than ten years after the declaration of the foundation of party in 1941. Thus, the party's policy was not so strict. The intensified cold war pressure of ideology and politics played a decisive role. It was precisely the climate of growing tensions that made Japanese soldiers' integration into Vietnamese society difficult.

As to the third point, thank you for your suggestion. I tried to read some Japanese documents, but I'll compare Vietnamese documents with Japanese soldier's memoirs in the future project. Thank you very much.

Sonoda: Finally, Bersales-san.

Bersales: Thank you for the wonderful comments. They were really encouraging.

I'm starting a fellowship at Kyoto University next month, so I'll look for Dr. Hayase again and talk to him. We met in 2014, a long time back. There are a lot of materials like the Philippines Yearbook in Japan, but I'm sorry to say that I cannot read kanji. It's difficult for Filipino to read it. But I hope that the fellowship will help me to understand that period. Thank you, Sumitomo Foundation, for supporting us.

Sonoda: Thank you.

Even though the three presentations picked up different cases from different countries, all of them consciously or unconsciously put an emphasis on the importance of “hearing different voices” whether they are in written forms or from real people.

When it comes to the first presentation, I think it better if I could hear the voices from Japanese potential tourists whether they see the sightseeing venue as a socially meaningful site or whether they really evoke the feeling of nostalgia or not. If the presentation would have included these pieces of information, I think it would have been more appealing and convincing.

When it comes to the second and third presentation, I realized that it's quite challenging for one historian to read multiple archives in different languages. As Prof. Kawashima mentioned, it's crucial to nurture the sense of trust with the partners not only in terms of collecting materials and archives but also in terms of getting more agreeable understanding and interpretation. I think it quite important for us to encourage researchers in Asia to work together in a variety of forms for a variety of missions. This sort of intellectual conversation is necessary not only to deliver intellectual message to the people but to dig in what happened in Cebu, Vietnam, and Malaysia so that we will get more insights.

As an audience, I really enjoyed three presentations today, and I hope you join again in the next session on next Saturday.

3

セッション2： 東アジアの文化的コネク ション(日本語)

(6) 18世紀日朝文人ネットワークと雅集 — デジタル 人文学の観点から

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1. はじめに

中国に起源をもち、朝鮮・日本へと伝播した文人は、東アジアにおける共通の文化的基盤を形成した。主に科挙を通じて士大夫層が文人となった中国や朝鮮に対し、近世日本では科挙制度や士大夫を持たない社会のなかで、町人・医者・儒者など多様な人々が文人として生きていた。本研究は、文人を東アジアにおける共通の「文化コード」としてとらえ、比較文化史的に検討してきた成果を報告するものである。とりわけ、本研究は、文人が集い、詩作・遊山・飲酒を媒介に交遊した場である「雅集」に注目した。雅集は単なる余技ではなく、知を体得し、文人としての生き方を実践する場であり、日朝文人のありようを比較する上で重要な切り口となる。しかし、その交遊の実態を捉えることは容易ではない。日記や交遊録、書簡には交流の断片が記録されているものの、文人ネットワークの全体像を従来の手法で把握することは困難であるからだ。こうした問題意識から、本研究では文人研究に「デジタル人文学」(digital humanities、以下、DH)の手法を導入し、日本の文人、とりわけ大坂の町人文人・木村兼葭堂(1736-1802)を対象に、その交遊ネットワークを分析するモデル構築を試みた。本報告書では、その内容と成果を述べ、今後の展望を示す。

2. 18 世紀日本・朝鮮の文人

18 世紀の東アジアには、中国の文人文化を共通の基盤としながらも、それぞれの社会構造を反映した文人たちの交遊ネットワークが併存していた。ここからは 18 世紀の大坂と朝鮮の事例の比較を通じて、東アジアの「文化コード」としての文人の共通性と多様性について考える。

2-1. 日本・京坂のネットワーク — 都市空間における知の共同体

18 世紀の日本、特に大坂を中心とする京坂地域では、身分を超えて知的好奇心に基づく開放的な文人ネットワークが形成されていた。その中核を担った人物の一人が、大坂・北堀江で酒造業を営んでいた町人文人・木村兼葭堂（以下、兼葭堂）である。彼の主宰した詩社「兼葭堂会」には、儒学の師である片山北海（1723-1790）や、医師の葛子琴（1739-1784）など、多様な身分や職業を持つ人々が集っていたが、京坂における文人ネットワークの基盤となったのは、荻生徂徠の学問的影響を受けた儒学塾であった。18 世紀前半、菅甘谷（1691-1764）をはじめとする徂徠門下の儒者が大坂で塾を開くと、その門下には学問を志す人々が集い、儒学的素養を身につけていった。このように、近世日本社会における文人とは、特定の階級や職業を指す語ではない。中村幸彦が指摘するように、それは「職業でもなく、階級身分を示すものでもなく、文学者の生活や自己の作品に対する態度に基づく称呼」（中村幸彦：1958, p.3）であり、一種の「生き方」の様式であった。したがって、18 世紀の大坂文人たちは、立身出世ではなく、知的探求や詩作・書画・煎茶といった風雅の実践を目的として、雅集に集っていた。文人詩社・兼葭堂会がその会約において「最も恬淡を主とし、省事を専務と為す」（野間光辰：1973, pp.14-15）と掲げていたように、大坂の文人たちは世俗的な名利を退け、「恬淡」を重んじる交わりを理想としていたことがわかる。

2-2. 朝鮮・漢陽のネットワーク — 社会的制約下における知の継承

一方、同時期の朝鮮には、血縁と学縁を基盤とする強固な文人ネットワークが存在していた。その核となったのは、一家に受け継がれる学問「家学」と、

家の名誉を重んじる「家門意識」であった。朝鮮社会において、個人のアイデンティティは宗族や功績ある祖先（顕祖）と密接に結びついており、学問は家門の名声を維持・継承するための重要な手段とされていた。

朝鮮社会においても文人とは、科挙に合格し、政治や行政に参画する士大夫（両班）を指すが、その周縁には「庶孽（ソオル）」と呼ばれる文人層も存在した。庶孽は士大夫の家に生まれながらも妾の子孫であるという理由で、朝鮮王朝 500 年のあいだ「庶孽禁錮」と呼ばれる法的差別を受けた特殊な階層である。1764 年に朝鮮通信使の書記として来日した成大中（1732-1809）も、この庶孽に属する文人であった。国内では要職に就くことができず周縁的な存在であったものの、彼らの文才は国際交流の現場では重用され、通信使における製述官や書記として重要な役割を担った。しかし、彼らにとって優れた文才は、自己の存在を証明し、家学の継承に資する手段でもあったため、多くの庶孽文人が家門を軸として詩社を結成し、知的な交わりを通じて科挙合格という現実的な目標を追求していた。その典型が、成大中が故郷・抱川で主宰した「青城詩社」である。この詩社は後進を育てて科挙合格者を輩出することを目的とし、「輔仁（仁を助ける）」という儒教的価値観を理念として掲げていた。

こうした庶孽文人のネットワークは、社会的制約を抱えながらも知的連帯によってそれを乗り越えようとする性格を強く帯びていた。すなわち、庶孽文人ネットワークは、家門の維持と立身出世という現実的課題と結びつきながらも、越境的な知の実践を支える基盤として独自の意義を有していた。

3. 日朝文人の交差点 —《兼葭雅集図》

出自も社会的立場も異なる日朝両国の文人たちは、1764 年の朝鮮通信使来日の際、大坂の地で筆談を介して交流を行った。注目すべきは、この出会いが単なる外交儀礼としての詩文唱和にとどまらず、《兼葭雅集図》という文化的成果の共創へと発展した点である。この絵巻の制作は、通信使の書記を務めた成大中による、木村兼葭堂とその詩社・兼葭堂会への強い関心から始まった。科挙合格と家門の維持という責務を担う朝鮮の文人にとって、多

様な身分の者が知的探求を目的に集う兼葭堂会の存在は、印象深いものであった。その関心の深さは、僧・大典顕常（1719-1801）が記した筆談集『萍遇録』からもうかがえる。

龍淵（成大中）曰く、「以前の書簡にて、世肅（兼葭堂）に浪華春曉および兼葭雅集の絵を、師（大典）や麗王（細合半斎）、承明（福原承明）たちには、詩あるいは跋を絵巻の末に書き記していただけるようお願いしました。（中略）西に帰った後も遠地よりその面影を偲びたく、何度もこうして願い出ているのです。」（『萍遇録』、1764年4月20日）

この記録が示すとおり、成大中の目的は、兼葭堂会の雅集の様子を絵巻に記録し、朝鮮に持ち帰ることにあった。これを受けて兼葭堂が自ら筆を執り、大典が後序を、片山北海、細合斗南、福原承明、葛子琴、岡魯庵ら兼葭堂会の主要成員が詩文を寄せ、《兼葭雅集図》は通信使一行が大坂を離れる前日に完成した。



図1. 『兼葭雅集図』
（出典）韓国国立中央博物館所蔵（32.5cm×413.5cm）

絵巻はその後、成家の家伝として保存され、彼の文人仲間のからも高い評価を得た。とりわけ、同時代を代表する実学者であり、同じく庶孽の身分であった李徳懋(1741-1793)は、成大中宛の書簡において雅集図を「天下之宝」「千古勝絶の風景」と讃えた(「成士執大中」『雅亭遺稿』巻八)。庶孽文人たちにとって《蒹葭雅集図》は、単なる美術作品ではなく、海を越えた文人交流の象徴的成果であったと言える。

4. デジタル人文学の手法を用いた文人ネットワーク研究

冒頭で述べたように、従来の文献精読は個々の文人を論じるうえで有効である一方で、彼らが織りなすネットワークの全体像や変化を捉えることには限界があった。本研究ではこの課題を克服するため、比較文学者フランコ・モレッティが提唱した「遠読 (distant reading)」の概念を導入し、デジタル人文学 (DH) の分析手法を適用した。その目的は、文献を単なる物語や思想の集積としてではなく、構造化された「データ」として再解釈し、俯瞰的視点から文人雅集を捉える新たな方法論を構築することにある。具体的には、蒹葭堂を中心とする文人ネットワークを対象とし、「意味的構造」と「動的構造」という異なる二つの側面に光を当てた。前者は文人たちの交遊や共通する文化的関心のあり方、後者は時間的・空間的な変化を示すものである。これらの分析を通じて、流動的かつ関係性に基づく文人ネットワークを描き出す試みを行った。分析結果は学術論文として韓国の学会誌で公表している。

4-1. 成果①：デジタルアーカイブの設計と構築 — 関係性の意味的構造化

本研究の成果の一つ目は、論文「18世紀日本「文人」詩社におけるデジタルアーカイブ設計・構築をめぐる試論」(鄭敬珍・金バロ、2022)である。本論文の目的は、18世紀大坂を代表する詩社・混沌社を対象に、文人同士の間には存在する複雑な関係性を体系化し、知識の再構成を行うことにあった。そのために採用したのが、オントロジー (ontology) 設計と Wikimedia による構築である。オントロジー設計とは、研究対象の世界を構成する重要概念(クラス)を「文人」「詩社」「イベント」「文人趣味」などとして定義

し、それらの間に存在する「～に参加した」「～の師である」「～を趣味とした」といった関係性を、RDF (Resource Description Framework) 形式で構造化・意味づけするものである。こうした構造化により、文献上の記述を多層的な関係性ネットワークとして捉え直すことができる。

さらに、これらの関係性を 1HOP (直接つながり)・2HOP (間接つながり) 形式で視覚化することにより、たとえば、「篆刻」という特定の趣味が細合・斗南・福原承明、木村兼葭堂という三人の文人を結びつける重要な媒介となっていたことなどを図で示すことができた。

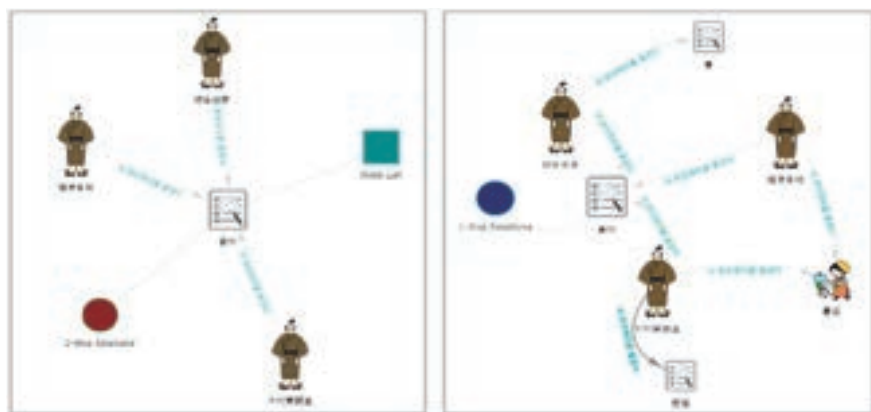


図2. 「篆刻」を基準とした 1-Hop Relations、2-Hop Relations

本成果の意義は、文人間、および彼らをつなぐ交遊媒介との関係性を構造化し、その拡張性を視覚化した分析モデルを提示した点にある。

4-2. 成果②：交遊ネットワークのデータモデリング — 関係性の定量的・構造的分析

成果の二つ目は、論文「18 世紀日本における文人交遊ネットワークのデータモデリング：頼春水の『在津紀事』を中心に」(鄭敬珍, 2024) である。先の論文が関係性の「意味」を構造化したのに対して、本論文では、儒者・頼春水 (1746 ~ 1816) が記した混沌社の交遊録『在津紀事』を対象に、「いつ、どこで、誰が、何を媒介に交遊したか」という具体的なイベントを

中心に、雅集の動的な構造を分析することを目的とした。本研究で採用した方法は、データモデリングと関係性データベース (Relational Database、RDB) の構築である。これは『在津紀事』の記述から、「旅行」「飲酒」「詩作」「討論」といった具体的な交遊イベントを抽出し、それらを参加者・時間・場所などの属性情報と結びつけ、コンピュータで処理可能なデータベースとして設計・構築するプロセスを指す。

この設計は、まず各情報 (データ) を整理する「概念的設計」から始まる。ここでは、個々の文人や詩社といった「行為者」、彼らが起こす「Event」、それが記された『在津紀事』のような「著述 (根拠)」を主要な「個体」(Entity) と設定する。そして、各個体が持つ名前、生没年、イベントの種類、場所などの「属性」(Attribute) を定義し、個体間の関係 (Relationship)、例えば「ある行為者はある Event に参加する」「ある Event はある著述に記されている」といった繋がりを、「個体 - 関係図」(ERD、Entity Relationship Diagram) として可視化する。次に、この概念モデルをコンピュータが処理できる形式に変換する「論理的設計」を行った。ここでは各個体を Table として定義し、その関係性を関係性スキーマとして構築する。とりわけ、文人交遊の多層性を表すため、一人の人物が複数のイベントに参加し、一つのイベントには複数の人物が参加するという「多対多 (N : N)」の関係で結びつけ、各テーブルの主キー (PK、Primary Key) と外部キー (FK、Foreign Key) を組み合わせた Join Table (結合テーブル) を設定した。これにより、データの重複を避けつつ、複雑な関係性を正確に記録するデータベースの構造を構築することができた。



図3. 『在津紀事』における交遊ネットワークの「論理的データモデル」

本研究の設計に基づき『在津紀事』の一部の記述をデータベース化し、43件の具体的な交遊イベントを抽出・分析した結果、混沌社同人の活動パターンに関して以下のような新たな知見が得られた。第一に、混沌社に集う文人の交遊がいかにも多様であったかが明らかになった。データベースから見出された交遊タイプ (Event_relTYPE) は34種類に及び、その出現頻度を分析したところ、「飲酒」が最も多く、次いで「旅行」「詩作」「討論」「招待」などが頻繁に行われていたことが確認できた。これは、混沌社が単なる詩作結社ではなく、遊山や宴会など多彩な活動を伴う、まさに「サロン」的な雅集であったことを示している。

第二に、各イベントへの参加頻度を分析することで、特定の人物が文人ネットワーク内で果たしていた役割を定量的に評価することが可能となった。例えば、医者・葛子琴は他の同人と比べて多様なイベントに高頻度で参加しており、異なる人々を結びつける「橋渡し」の役割を担っていた可能性がデータから示唆された。第三に、交遊の複合性が明らかになった。一つのイベントに複数の交遊タイプが含まれる事例が多く見られ、特に「旅行」と「飲酒」、「招待」と「飲酒」、「旅行」と「詩作」といった組み合わせが頻繁に確認された。これは、彼らの交遊が一つの目的にとどまらず、複数の文化的実践が重なり合う場であったことを示している。

以上のように、本研究を通して、精読だけでは見えにくいネットワーク全体の活動パターンや構造的特徴を明らかにした。これは本研究の最も重要な成果の一つであり、この分析基盤こそが、今後の朝鮮側ネットワークとの比較研究を可能にするものである。

5. おわりに—今後の課題と展望

これら研究により、オントロジーやデータモデリングの設計と分析が、文人ネットワークの構造を意味的・定量的に捉えるうえで有効な研究手法であることが検証できた。しかし、これらの成果は同時に、日記、書簡、交遊録といった性格の異なる資料群を横断的に統合し、文人ネットワーク全体のダイナミズムを、より多角的に推論できる DH の新たなアプローチが必要であることを示唆している。これを受け、今後の研究では、より統合的な「文人ネットワークモデル」の構築を目指す。その目的は、文人たちの交遊を「読む」だけでなく、「構造化して解析する」という新たな研究モデルを確立し、東アジア比較研究のための基盤を築くことにある。

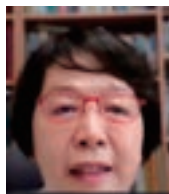
その方法論は、以下の三段階から成る。第一に、木村兼葭堂の『兼葭堂日記』や関連書簡集など、複数の一次資料を対象に、国際的な標準規格である TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) に準拠した XML アノテーションからテキストの構造化を図る。具体的には、人物、場所、時間といった基本情報に加え、訪問、贈答、会食といった文人たちの「行為」を意味的にタグ付けし、データセットを構築する。第二に、この構造化データを、社会ネットワーク分析 (SNA) を通じて「中心性指標」を算出することで、異なるグループを繋ぐ中心人物や媒介者などを特定し、ネットワークの構造的特徴を可視化する。次いで、第三段階としてクエリによる推論を行う。構築したデータを RDF 形式に変換し、SPARQL クエリを用いて問いを立てることで、たとえば「ある特定の時期に、特定の人物から書画を贈答され、かつ詩会にも参加した人物は誰か」といった、複数の資料と条件を横断する複雑な問いへの答えを、論理的に導き出すことが可能となる。この統合モデルによって、科挙制度なき日本の文人ネットワークが持つ構造的独自性はもちろん、東アジア

共通の「文化コード」としての文人文化の普遍性とは何かを、近世日本文人の交遊事例から明らかにすることが期待できる。この比較研究の方法論は、近世東アジアにおける知的交流の全体像を解明するという、より大きな学術的目標へとつながるものである。

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(7) 日台共通の文化遺産となり得る「台北昭和町」 家屋群の今日的価値について 黄 智慧（台湾中央研究院助研究員）



1. はじめに

19世紀末からの50年間、多くの日本人が台湾に渡り、生活を営んできた。しかし日本の敗戦に伴い、日本人は家屋や財産を放棄して引き揚げざるを得なかった。その後、これらの家屋がどのような状況に置かれてきたのかについては、長らく基礎調査も行われず、多くはビルへの建替えや老朽化により、町から姿を消していった。その中で、台北市大安区に位置し、1920年代より形成され「昭和町」と呼ばれた地域には、保存運動の成果もあり現在も約50軒の日本家屋が残り、近年は修復・活用が進み注目を集めている。

旧昭和町の木造家屋は、激動の歴史を経て、日本・中国・台湾という異なる民族を受け入れてきた。こうした土地柄は他に類例がなく、台北市が歩んできた歴史を象徴する場所でもある。しかし重層的な歴史を有するがゆえに地域史・文化の伝承は困難を極めている。分断された歴史の修復を目指す現地の保存運動は、家屋の文化財保存や地域振興へと発展しながら、戦後台湾に残された日本家屋の今日的価値を訴え続けている。

本報告では、台湾に残る日本家屋を日台共通の文化遺産として位置づけ、その価値を明らかにすることを目指したい。

2. 台北市の成立と多民族共生の市民の誕生

まず指摘しておきたいのは、台北市が1920年に誕生した、アジア諸国の首都の中でも最も若い都市だという点である。都市として成立してから、まだ百年ほどの歴史しかもない。

図1は1888年時点の台北地形図で、清朝末期に作られた最も古い地図である。西に淡水河が流れ、最初に艋舺（現在の萬華）、次に大稻埕（現在の迪化街）が開発され、その中間に1884年に完成した台北城が位置していた。

現在は200万人を超える大都市となった台北だが、19世紀末に、日本が統治をはじめた当時は、人口わずか5万人程度にすぎなかった。図2は1895年時点の地図だが、後の「昭和町」は当時「大安庄」と呼ばれ、台北城の東側に広がる農村地帯であった。

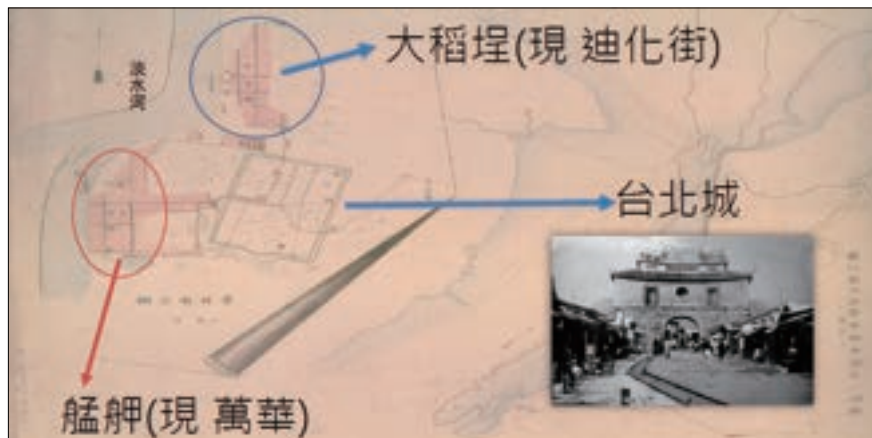


図1. 1888年の台北地図より作成
(出典) Center for GIS, Academia Sinica



図2. 1895年の台北地形図より作成
(出典) 国会図書館所蔵資料

明治時代に日系の移住者が増えるに連れ、乃木町や樺山町といった新たな町が次々と形成され、大正期には大正町や佐久間町、昭和期には昭和町や文化村などが誕生した。こうした変遷からも、台北という都市が日本統治下で段階的に東方へ拡張していった過程がうかがえる。

また、台北市に初めて市制が施行されたのは1920年であり、日本統治下で構想され、実行に移された近代都市であった（図3参照）。その結果、19世紀末までは台南が台湾第一の都市であったが、20世紀前半には台北が「島都」として台湾第一の都市へと発展していった。

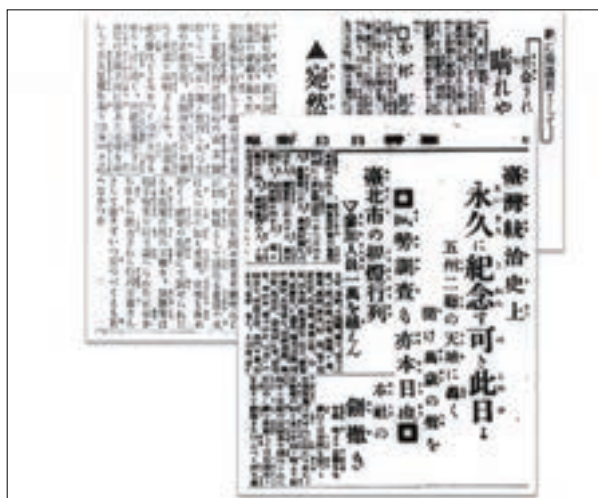


図3. 1920年10月1・2日の報道
(出典)『臺灣日日新聞』

統治末期の1942年時点で、台湾の総人口は約450万人であり、そのうち日系人口は約30万人、全体の6%に過ぎなかった。ところが1943年時点での台北市の人口は38万人に達し、そのうち約11万人が日系住民で、全体の3分の1を占めていた。半世紀にわたり台北市に日系住民が集住していたことから、戦後に多くの日本家屋が市内に残された背景が理解できよう。

3. 幻の旧「台北昭和町」—歴史的・地理的文脈

「昭和町」の建築群は、千歳建築組合や高商・大学住宅組合などが銀行融資を受けて開発したもので、1920年代、すなわち昭和初期に形成された。背景には、1919年の台北商業学校、1922年の台北高校、1928年の台北帝国大学の設立にともない、教職員を中心とする住宅需要が急増したことがある。図4に掲げた石川欽一郎による1920年代の大安の風景画からも、開発前ののどかな農村の様子を窺うことができる。



図4. 1920年代の大安庄の風景
(出典) 石川欽一郎『山紫水明集』1932年

1930年代になると、「昭和町」という名称が使われるようになり、都市計画図や台湾博覧会の地図にも記載されるようになった。1945年6月17日に米軍が台北上空から撮影した航空写真にも、整然とした街区と多くの木造家屋が確認できる。当時の「昭和町」は、まだ台北市の東端に位置していたが、戦後、人口が急激に膨張し、市街地の拡張とともに都市の中心へと組み込まれていった。現在の大安区が台北の中心地になったのは、こうした都市発展の流れを反映している。

では、どのような人々が「昭和町」に住んでいたのか。居住者の多くは上述の学校関係者や教職員、台湾総督府に所属する技術者であった。現在判明しているところでは、磯永吉（台湾蓬莱米の父）、堀内次雄（台湾熱帯医学

の父)、素木得一(台湾昆虫学の父)、高坂知武(台湾農業機械学の父)をはじめ、渋谷紀三郎(農芸化学)、福山伯明(台湾蘭の父)、野副鐵男(有機化学)、富田芳郎(台湾地理学の父)など、台湾における理学や農学の基礎を築いた研究者たちが挙げられる。また、堀内次雄(細菌学)、下條久馬一(流行伝染病)、澤田平十郎(外科)、桂重鴻(内科)、酒井潔(小児科)、細谷雄二(生理學)といった医学関係者のほか、岩生成一(歴史学)、立石鉄臣(台湾民俗学)、小川尚義(言語学)、力丸慈圓(心理学)、移川子之藏(人類学)など台北帝国大学文政学部の教員もこの地に居を構えていた。

彼らの多くは官舎ではなく、個人所有の家屋を建てて暮らしていた。終戦時、台湾全島に32万人余りの日系民間人が住んでいたが、その多くは都市部に集中していた。1946年2月21日から4月29日にかけての短期間で、9割以上が日本へ引き揚げさせられたため、台北では多くの日本家屋が空き家となった。

戦後、日本に引き揚げた人々は、日本政府に対して繰り返し請願を行い、「日華平和条約」(1952年)に基づき、台湾に残された民間資産の処理を協議するよう求めた。しかし、日本政府による要請や帰国者による財産返還運動にも拘わらず、国民党政府は日本人資産の大規模な処分や売却を進め、多数の日本家屋を接収したのち、1949年に国共内戦の難を逃れるため台湾にやってきた難民(台湾では外省人と呼ぶ)の居住施設として利用した。こうして戦後台湾に残った日本家屋は公的機関の宿舎として利用されたため、「日式宿舎」と呼ばれるようになった。

1970年代以降には、本省人(福建語や客家語を話す人々を指している)が基層の公務員を務めるようになり、学校、鉄道、林務関係などが残した職務官舎を各機関の宿舎として利用するようになった。その結果、日本家屋に住む人々の民族構成が多様となった。

中でも、「昭和町」は家屋の質が高かったため、教授や高官といった社会地位の高い外省人が多くみられた。例えば、于右任(監察院長、書道家)、董作賓(書道家)、俞大維(国防部長)、臺静農(文学教授、書道家)、殷海光(哲学者)といった人たちがその代表である。またモンゴル系の章嘉活仏(チャンキャ・ホクト)も、かつて堀内次雄が住んでいた家を居宅とした。

1950年代の昭和町（現在の青田街、温州街）を回顧した画家の劉墉は、「私の記憶にある幼き日の温州街は、まるでカサブランカやイスタンブールのように、さまざまな文明がぶつかり合い、異様な火花を散らす特別な場所だった」と述べている。中国各地より、異なる言語と生活習慣をもつ外省人が集住したことを表している。その一方で、数は少ないながらも、陳奇祿（人類学、文化大臣）、曹永和（歴史学）、李登輝（農学経済学）、吳守禮（言語学）、彭明敏（政治学）といった本省人の学者たちも、昭和町で生活した経験をもっている。

4. 保存運動の契機―青田街の住民となり保存に関わった経験

筆者は1960年代末期に、両親の仕事の関係で台湾南部から台北市へと移り住んだ。就学先は、西門國小（寿小学校、西門町）、金華女中（家政女学校、昭和町）、北一女中（一高女、文武町）、そして台湾大学（台北帝大、富田町）だった。振り返ると、いずれも日本統治時代に創立された学校であり、その周辺には多くの木造日本家屋が残っていた。当時、こうした日本家屋には外省人が多く居住しており、自分のなかでも「日本家屋＝外省人の住まい」という印象が自然に形成されていた。実際、台湾各地で功績を残した偉人の生前の住居は、文化財指定されているものが多く、そのほとんどが日本家屋であることから裏付けられる（図5参照）。



図5. 左より李國鼎經濟部長故居、張學良將軍故居、孫運璿行政院長故居

2003年、私は偶然にも青田街の住民となった。当時は、老樹をする市民運動が始まっていたが、「老樹を守るには日本家屋も守らねばならない」という認識へと発展し、環境保全運動から家屋保存運動へと繋がっていった。

図6からも、老樹と家屋とが一緒に存在している様子がわかる。



図6. 老樹と古民家とが併存している「昭和町」の様子

その後、2005年の文化財保存法改正により、それまで政府主導だった文化財政策が、市民による申請を通じて、地方政府が審議できる仕組みへと転換された。これを受け、日台双方の協力により、「昭和町」に残る家屋の文化財登録が実現するに至った。

5. 旧家主の再登場と同郷会の結成、住民地図の作成、文化財登録

それまでも湾生（台湾で生まれ、第二次大戦終戦後に日本に引き揚げた日系住民）が元の住居を訪れ、思い出に浸る光景はしばしば見られた。

2004年からは、東京で「台北昭和町会」という同郷会が毎年6月の第二週末に開催されるようになった。湾生たちの記憶を手掛かりに住民地図が作成され、図7は大学住宅と高商住宅の住民分布を示している。その過程で、かつて「昭和町」で暮らした人びとの姿が明らかになっていたため、その確かな歴史を文化財審議会に伝え、訴えることができた。こうした歴史は、筆者の世代が学校では教わらなかったものであった。

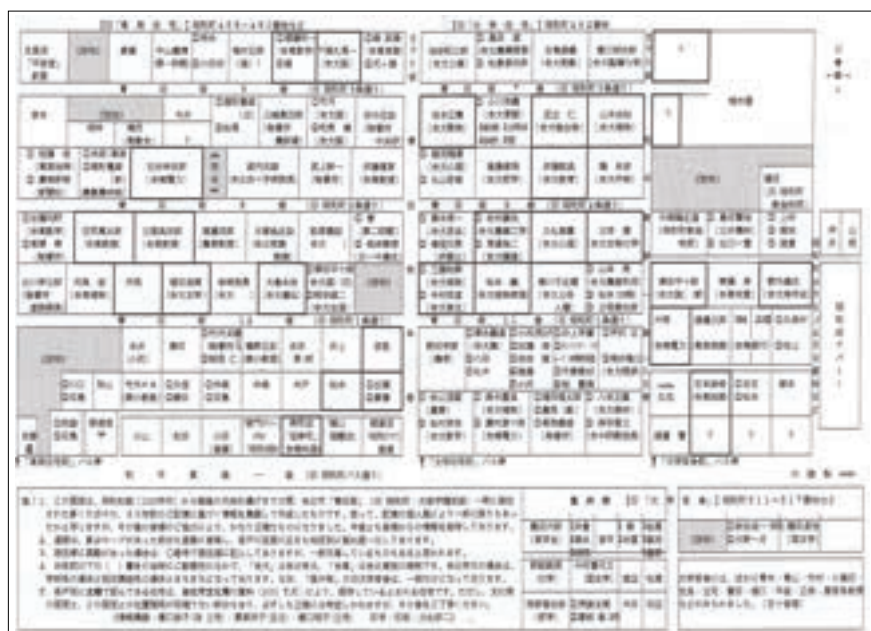


図7. 台北昭和町会が作成した住民分布図 2005 年

筆者は湾生との交流を通じ、徐々に過去の歴史を理解するようになっていった。彼らが語る台湾での生活や引き揚げによる苦難を知ること、学校で教わらなかった歴史を学んでいったのである。そして湾生もまた、現在の住民との交流を通じ、戦後の台湾の歴史を新たに学んでいった。

6. 2018 年から「台北昭和町」での新たな取り組み

しかし、2017 年 6 月、会員である湾生の高齢化により、東京での第 14 回例会をもって「台湾昭和町会」は幕を閉じた。その歴史と思いを引き継ぐため、2018 年 6 月には湾生にとって故郷の台北にて「台北昭和町の日」を開催した。図 8 は、その際に撮影された記念写真だが、この日を契機に、台北の旧昭和町は新たな活動の拠点となった。



図8. 「台北昭和町の日」開催の際の記念写真（2018年6月）

元住民を迎え入れる市民運動や交流イベントを行ったほか、旧錦小学校（昭和国民学校）を訪問し、現校長から卒業証書を受け取るといった催しも開催された。

7. 保存をめぐる危機的状況：台湾大学・台北市行政当局・開発業者

家屋保存をめぐる現状は厳しい。台湾各地には、比較的大事に保護されている日本家屋もあり、嘉義の檜意森活村や台中の警察宿舍群などはその一例である。また2010年代以降、「昭和町」の日本家屋の中にも、修復が進み、廃墟から文化的な価値を持つ商業空間へと生まれ変わった家屋もある。図9には、修復前（左）と修復後（右）の様子が写されているが、リノベーションの成果がわかる。



図 9. 日本家屋の修復前（左）と修復後（右）の様子

しかし、2022 年時点で昭和町には 55 軒の日本家屋が残るものの、31 軒が利活用される一方、24 軒は空家状態にあり、解体の危機に直面している。この状況には、主に 5 つの要因があると考ええる。

1. 戦前の居住者はすでに去っており、子孫も高齢化しているため、修復の手が入らず放置されがちである。
2. 戦後の居住者は宿舎として入居していたため、修復費用を負担する意欲が低い。
3. 建物の老朽化が進み、膨大な修復費用が必要である。
4. 現在、昭和町に残る日本家屋の大部分は台湾大学が管理しており、財政上の制約から再開発を望んでいる。
5. 保存に対する観念の問題がある。外省人は日本家屋を「敵の持ち物」と見なし、保存の価値を認めない。本省人は安価で取得したため、利益重視で保存を優先しない。日本人も、日本による植民地支配の「負の遺産」と見なし、保護には消極的である。

8. 日本家屋の活用と継承の可能性を探る

2022 年、台湾立法院の報告によれば、日本統治期の建築はなお相当数残っていることが分かった。しかし台北市文化局は、公的に所有されている建造物の 99%には文化財としての価値がないと報告しており、今後再開発の方向に舵が切られることが危惧される。

日本のメディアも、こうした問題に関心を寄せているが、最大の課題は、

台湾に残された日本家屋を誰が守るべきなのかが明確ではない点にある。そこで我々は、2018年にNPO「台湾故郷文史協会」を設立し、様々な文化イベントを通じて日本家屋の価値を訴えるとともに、文化財登録の申請なども行い、日本家屋保存する活動を展開している。図10は、NPOの活動を年表化したものである。

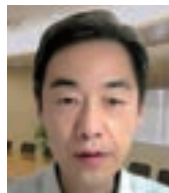


図 10. NPO「台湾故郷文史協会」の活動年表

我々は、日本家屋が日台双方にとって共有すべき文化資産であることを強く主張している。過去を債務としてではなく、未来への投資の基盤と捉え、日台共同で守り、東アジアの和解の象徴の地としたいと考えている。

(8) コメント

西野 純也（慶應義塾大学教授）



1.

鄭敬珍先生の報告「18世紀日朝文人ネットワークと雅集——デジタル人文学の観点から」は、18世紀の大坂と漢陽における文人ネットワークを比較しつつ、従来の精読研究の限界を乗り越えるためにデジタル人文学（DH）の手法を積極的に導入した大変興味深い研究である。

報告の中心である「蒹葭雅集図」の分析は、外交儀礼を超えた日朝文人の知的交流を鮮明に示しており、日朝文化交流史研究に斬新な視角をもたらしたと言えるのではないだろうか。「蒹葭雅集図」は、日本と朝鮮の文人たちが両国の社会的背景の違いを越えて結実させた文化的成果であり、ここに「越境的知の連帯」の可能性を見出したことは、日朝比較の射程を超えて、東アジア知識史の研究全般に寄与する重要な研究といえる。

加えて評価すべきは、デジタル人文学（DH）の手法によって文人交遊を「データ」として再構築し、関係性の構造や動態を定量的に把握した点である。オントロジー設計やRDFによる意味的構造化、さらに『在津紀事』のデータモデリングは、従来「詩社」や「雅集」を個別事例として語るにとどまっていたであろう研究を、全体的なパターンや構造的特徴の解明へと押し広げることに貢献している。飲酒、旅行、詩作などが重層的に絡み合う場としての雅集像を提示し、文人たちが単なる「詩作家」ではなく、多面的にネットワークを媒介する存在であったことを可視化できた点に大きな意味がある。

また、本報告が展望として提示する統合的な「文人ネットワークモデル」は、今後の研究発展に向けて大きな可能性を示している。一次史料のTEIに準じたデータ構造化、社会ネットワーク分析による媒介者や中心人物の特定、SPARQLクエリによる複雑な問いへの検証などは、従来の研究では到達しえなかった水準の分析を可能にするであろう。とりわけ、朝鮮側の史料（詩社活動や通信使関連記録）がデータ化され、日本側のデータと横断的に比較できるようになれば、町人文人と庶孽文人といった周縁的存在を結びつける

共通性や相違性がより明確になり、日朝の比較を東アジア全域の知的交流研究へと拡張する道が開ける。

今後の研究発展の観点からは、史料間の性格差をいかに統合的に扱うか、また定量的成果を人文学的解釈にどう接続するかといった課題があるように思えるが、むしろこうした検討課題は今後の学術対話を促進する契機にもなりうる。本報告が提示した方法論は、単に 18 世紀日朝文人ネットワークの研究にとどまらず、国際的な知識資源の共有や比較文化史研究の新たな枠組みを形成する上で重要な出発点になると考える。

総じて、本報告は従来の個別研究を基盤としながら、デジタル人文学の革新的な方法論を組み合わせることで、東アジア文人文化研究に新しい段階を切り拓いたものと高く評価できる。今後はデータの拡充と比較範囲の拡大を通じて、18 世紀を超えて時代的連続性をも含む大規模な東アジア知識交流史の研究へと発展していくことが強く期待される。

質問：

- (1) 日記・書簡・交遊録など性格の異なる史料を統合的に扱う際、どのような方法論的工夫がありうるのか。
- (2) 朝鮮側の詩社活動をデータ化した場合、日本側とのネットワーク比較から新たに得られる知見は何か。
- (3) デジタル人文学の分析成果を、従来の精読的研究の解釈にどのように接続させるべきと考えるか。定量的知見を人文学的意義へ還元するための方法論などあれば伺いたい。
- (4) 国際的な学術資源の共有という観点から、構築されたデータセットをどのように公開・利用していくことを構想されているか。

2.

黄智慧先生の報告「日台共通の文化遺産となり得る『台北昭和町』家屋群の今日的価値について」は、台湾に残された日本家屋群、とりわけ台北大安区の昭和町を対象に、その歴史的形成過程から保存運動の展開、さらに現代

的な活用・継承の可能性に至るまでを多角的に検討した、多くの資料を活用した力作である。

報告は、植民地期の都市計画や住民構成、戦後の住民変遷を丁寧に描き出すとともに、実際に保存運動に関わった自身の経験を交えて、学術的かつ実践的な視点を融合させている点が高く評価できる。特に、青田街での保存運動が老樹保護運動と連動して展開した経緯、さらに日本人旧住民や湾生との交流が文化財登録に繋がった経過は、単なる建築保存に留まらず、地域の記憶やトランスナショナルな交流史をも照射する重要な事例である。

台湾における日本統治期建築の保存に関する研究は、従来、官庁建築や宗教建築を中心に展開してきたようだが、近年は住宅建築、とりわけ木造家屋群への関心が高まっているように思われる。その背景には、歴史都市としての台北の再評価や、都市再開発による急速な消失への危機感があるのだろう。黄氏の報告は、昭和町という地域単位での保存運動に焦点をあて、さらにそれを住民の生活史や地域の環境保護運動と結びつけて論じる点で、これまでの研究をさらに前進させていると言える。加えて、保存をめぐる「観念の問題」、すなわち日本人にとっての「負の遺産」、台湾人にとっての「経済資源」、外省人にとっての「敵の家」といった異なる歴史認識の交錯を提示している点も、文化遺産研究に新たな視角を与えていて興味深い。

今後の研究発展の可能性としては、以下の3点を挙げることができよう。

第1に、台北昭和町の事例を台湾各地の類似事例と比較することにより、保存運動の成否を左右する要因を析出できるのではないだろうか。他の地方都市での保存状況との比較は、都市規模や行政対応、住民組織の力量の差異などの要因を明らかにするかもしれない。

第2に、昭和町の住民史に関して、戦前から戦後にかけての人の移動や住民層の変容をより体系的に分析することが期待される。学者・医師など知識人の居住から、戦後の外省人エリート層、そして台湾人中産層への移行は、台湾近現代史における社会構造の変動を映し出す重要な素材となりうる。

第3に、国際比較の視点である。日本家屋の保存・活用は、台湾だけでなく韓国や中国東北部、さらには南洋地域にも通じる課題であり、「植民地建築遺産」をいかに位置づけるかという問いは、東アジア全体の和解や共生に

も結びつく。昭和町の保存運動を、日台関係や東アジアの文化遺産政策との接点で議論することで、今後の研究のさらなる広がりが期待できよう。

質問：

(1) 昭和町における保存運動の経験を、台湾各地の日本家屋保存事例と比較した場合、成功・失敗を分ける要因として何があると考えられるか。

(2) 異なる集団（日本人、台湾人、外省人）が同じ空間に居住した歴史が、保存運動における合意形成や対立にどのような影響を与えたのか（与えなかったのか）。

(3) 日本家屋保存を「負の遺産」ではなく「未来への投資」とするために、観光・地域振興との連携はどの程度可能なのか。またその課題や限界はどこにあるのか。

(4) 東アジアの他地域（韓国、中国東北、南洋）に残る日本統治期建築との比較研究を進めるとするならば、どのような国際共同研究の枠組みが構想できるか。

(9) リプライ&総括

園田: それでは、西野先生が出された質問にお答えいただければと思います。
まずは鄭先生。

鄭: 西野先生、ご教示ありがとうございます。

4つの質問のうち、最初の、異なる資料をどのように使うかというご質問についてですが、日記と書簡、交遊録は確かに性格の異なる資料で、敢えてこれらの資料を選んでいきます。

木村蒹葭堂の青年期から壮年期までのいろいろな記録を見ることによって、資料の内容や形式は異なっているけれども、そこに共通して抽出できる情報があります。例えば人物や文人趣味、具体的な行動が行われた時間や場所などですが、これらをマークアップし、そのデータをRDF化して、最終的にSPARQLクエリを使って横断的な問いかけができるようにしていきたいと思っています。個々人の文人をテキストにすると、それしか読めないのですが、情報が累積されることで一定のグルーピングができるはずで、そこを繋げているのは誰か、中心的な人物は誰なのか。木村蒹葭堂は、そこでどのような役割を果たしているのか。こうした点が3つの異なるデータを用いることで明確になります。

2番目の質問についてですが、文人の交友ネットワークには東アジアで共通してみられる特徴があるとは思いますが、おそらく朝鮮には政治色だとか、地縁、学縁のように、木村蒹葭堂のネットワークには見られない要素もあると思います。こうした特殊性も、比較を通じて見出すことができるのではないかと期待しています。

3番目の方法論に関する質問ですが、私自身、長く木村蒹葭堂と朝鮮文人の比較をしており、どうしてもこのネットワークを可視化したいという思いを持ってきたのでデジタル情報を利用しているのですが、精読は、デジタル人文学手法を用いる際の基盤となっています。精読がまずあって、そこからどのような基準から要素を抽出するのか。どのようなモデルを設計するかを決めます。精読による緻密な分析があってこそなのです。そしてこれを遠読

することで、データの可視化やモデル化が可能となる。その仮説を解釈する際には、再び精読に戻らないといけません。文学では、こうした新たな方法論が必要になっており、そのためにもデジタル人文学研究の確立に向けて努力したいと思っています。

4 番目の質問についてですが、以下の画面を見てください。



TEI はどのような言語で書かれていてもよい国際的な規格となっているため、そこから様々な情報を読み取ることができます。たとえば検索語に「木村兼葭堂」と入れると、この VIAF の画面に ID が出てくるので、これらの情報をもとに、自分が作ったデータだけでなく、ほかの人が作ったデータを共有することが可能となり、世界で作られた「木村兼葭堂」のデータを呼び出すことができるようになっています。



またデータの共有については、この OSF というところに、すべてのデータを公開しています。上の画面の左側にある「FILES」というところをクリックすると、私が可視化をするために作成したエクセルファイルが出てきます。このファイルを開ければ、私が『在津紀事』を使って、どのようにコード化してデータ入力しているのかが、わかるようになっています。また画像情報などもすべて公開していますので、これらをどんどん共有することで、学術的で国際的な研究が生まれていくことになると思います。

園田：鄭先生、ありがとうございました。それでは黄先生、お願いします。

黄：西野先生、貴重なコメントありがとうございました。

1 番目の質問についてですが、台湾各地、例えば嘉義、花蓮、屏東、台中などでは、日本家屋を観光資源として活用することで広範囲な修復が可能となるなど、よい成果を挙げています。ただ、これらはすべて官舎。建築に個性がありません。林務局や警察局、軍の基地などが官舎群として戦後に残され、暫く利用されてこなかったのが、地方政府が財政を投入して修復した経緯があります。これらの建物は観光用にはよいですが、歴史観に乏しい。建物一つ一つに、人間の顔が出てきません。

ところが台北の昭和町の場合、大変に特殊です。戦後には政権が替わるこ

とで歴史観が大きく変わった。しかも地価が高騰しているために、どうしても再開発優先になりがちです。これらの原因が働いているため、保存が大変に難しい。「保存」運動というよりは「救援」運動といった方が現状に近いですね。

すでに述べたように、昭和町の家屋の多くは私有財だけれど、その持ち主が日本に引き揚げてしまった。引揚者の子孫も高齢化してしまい、戦後、官舎として利用されてきたこともあって、権利・義務関係が複雑です。なので、撤去する前に文化財として認定してもらう運動が起こり、うまく文化財として認定されることになれば、再開発が免れる。うまく家屋が保存されたとしても、また再開発の声が上がるといったことが続きます。

2 番目の質問についてですが、保存運動は市民の自発的な活動によるもので、内部には閩南人、客家、外省人など、いろいろな出自の方がいます。住民も専門家もいます。その目的は、特定の民族の家屋を保存するというのではなく、土地の歴史を共同で守ろうというもの。土地にはいろいろな民族が入ってきており、そのこと自身、問題にされていません。むしろ多様性があるのだと、肯定的に評価されている。まあ、ボランティアなので、比較的自由に活動できるというのもあります。

3 番目の質問ですが、日本家屋の保存と観光・地域振興との連携は、もちろん望ましいことです。文化財に認定された後に長く保存するには、商業的な要素は不可欠ですから。ただ残念なのは、公益のために予算を使うという発想が、台湾でまだまだ弱いことです。これらの家屋は、東アジアの激動の歴史を示すもので、今は台湾に残っているからよいものの、その背後にある歴史を語っていく点については、人びとの認識が薄い気がします。

最後の、韓国や中国東北部、南洋に残る日本家屋との比較については、重要な課題だと思います。台湾は、過去 30 年間の民主化の努力によって、他の地域に比べても住民主導による建築保存がしやすかったと思います。ただ、台湾を越えた広範囲にわたる比較研究は行われてきませんでした。私としても、是非チャレンジしてみたいと思っていますが、これらの歴史的資産を保存するための努力が民間の NPO に依存してきた現実もあります。日本から支援がなくなれば、今後、建築が壊されていくかもしれない。私としては、

これらの点にも注視していきたいと思っています。

以上です。

園田：ありがとうございました。西野先生、リプライをお聞きになって、どのようにお感じになりましたか。

西野：すべての質問に丁寧に答えていただき、ありがとうございます。私は、お2人の研究が今後、どのように発展していくのかという点に注目して質問をしたのですが、今後とも研究が発展していくことが期待できると思いました。楽しみです。どうもありがとうございました。

園田：確かに西野先生が指摘されたように、確かにお2人の報告は一種のケース・スタディですが、これを他の事例にどのように応用するか、その応用可能性についても、いろいろ考えを巡らすことができたように思います。

時間がやってまいりました。日野さん、シメの言葉をお願いします。

日野：大変に有意義な時間だったと思います。

住友財団としては、日本とアジアの相互理解が今後も進むことを期待しておりますし、周りの方々に是非とも、我々の助成プログラムについてご紹介いただければ幸いです。

園田：これで2日に渡って行われた Sumitomo Conference 2025 をお開きといたします。ご参加いただき、ありがとうございました。

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