Significance of the Pacific War for Southeast Asia

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Introduction

The significance of the Pacific War for Southeast Asia has been discussed in terms of "change" and "continuity" or from the perspective of these two combined. Based on the outcomes of such previous studies and discussions, this paper discusses this issue from a contemporary point of view by focusing on the "change" brought about to Southeast Asia with the Pacific War working as a "catalyst" while acknowledging a certain extent of "continuity."

First, taking a macro-level perspective in regarding Southeast Asia as a single unified region, this paper addresses the "emergence" of Southeast Asia, including the name of Southeast Asia and the conceptualization of this region as a single zone.

Next, taking a micro-level perspective in paying attention to each area of Southeast Asia, this paper discusses the impact which the Pacific War had on politics, military affairs, economy, society, culture and other aspects of Southeast Asia. Needless to say, the changes that came about in Southeast Asia during the Pacific War differed from area to area, and policy measures taken by Japan during the war and their impact were not uniform. This paper attempts as much as possible to identify and explain traits which were common to all areas and also to point out the differences by area.

In conclusion, this paper notes the perception of the times and the relationships between Southeast Asia and Japan as well as between Southeast Asia and the former suzerains.

1. The "Emergence" of Southeast Asia: A Sense of Unity and Solidarity

Today, the word "Southeast Asia" is recognized as a term that signifies a single unified region that includes the ten member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), along with East Timor, which is seeking to join ASEAN. Generally speaking, it is believed that the name and concept of "Southeast Asia" have come to be utilized internationally after a decision was made to establish the "Southeast Asia Command" of the Allied Forces at a summit meeting between the United States and United Kingdom held in Quebec, Canada, in August 1943, during the Pacific War. Thus, the name and concept of "Southeast Asia" can be considered as one of the legacies of the Pacific War.

However, the term of "Southeast Asia" itself has been used in the English-speaking world since the first half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, its geographical scope has not necessarily been in line with the contemporary use of the term. In Japan, expressions such as "*Nanyo* (south seas)" or "*Nanpo* (the south)," which referred to a vague and more expansive region, as well as more definitive terms such as "*Soto-nanyo* (outer south seas)" or "*Omote-nanyo* (front south seas)" had been in use to describe "Southeast Asia" as it is now. During

the First World War, such terms as "*Tonan Ajiya* (Southeast Asia)" ("*Tonan*" written in *kanji*, "*Ajiya*" in *katakana*) and its notation only in *kanji* emerged and were used in elementary and junior high school textbooks. However, they seemed to be "terms not fixed academically" and disappeared from school textbooks soon afterward. On the other hand, while "*Tonan Ajiya* (Southeast Asia)" ("*Tonan*" written in *kanji*, "*Ajiya*" in *katakana*) and its notation only in *kanji* came to be used occasionally in ordinary books and magazines since the 1930s, "*Nanyo* (south seas)" or "*Nanpo* (the south)" were used more generally until the Pacific War.[1]

At any rate, the term "Southeast Asia" came to be used internationally and took root as the term to describe the single unified region as is contemporarily recognized since the Pacific War.

Some also argue that with the Pacific War as a turning point, a sense of unity as a region had burgeoned in "Southeast Asia."[2] in his speech at the Greater East Asia Conference held in Tokyo in November 1943, Jose P. Laurel, president of the Philippines at the time, referred to Indonesia, whose leader was not invited to the conference since it was not an independent state, by mentioning "peoples living in 'Java' and 'Sumatra' that have common interests with other Greater East Asia countries."[3] With this statement, Laurel is believed to have strengthened the perception that Southeast Asia needed to increase its sense of solidarity.[4] At the Greater East Asia Ambassadors' Conference held in April 1945, Philippine Ambassador Jorge Vargas devoted the majority of his speech to Indonesia and the relationship between Indonesia and the Philippines, and appealed for support for the "Resolution Concerning Support for the Achievement of Independence of the East Indies," calling for the "liberation" of Indonesian residents from "colonial conditions."[5] The conference also adopted a resolution that expressed support for the "completion of independence" of three Indochinese nations (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos). These developments were taken to indicate that the "sprouting of solidarity of Southeast Asian peoples originated in this period."[6]

At the individual level, it appears likely that the "Project to Invite Special Foreign Students from the South," implemented by the Japanese government in 1943 and 1944, had

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1　Hajime Shimizu, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru 'Tonan Ajiya' Chiiki Gainen no Seiritsu (I): Sho-Chugakko Chiri Kyokasho ni miru (Establishment of the Regional Concept of 'Southeast Asia'[1]: Seen in Geography Textbooks of Elementary and Junior High Schools)," *Ajia Keizai* (*Asian Economies*), Vol. 28, No. 6 (June 1987), pp. 5-6, 9-11 and 15.

2　For example, Toru Yano, *Tonan Ajia Sekai no Kozu: Seijiteki Seitaishikan no Tachiba kara* (*Structure of the World of Southeast Asia: From the Perspective of Political Ecological History*) (Tokyo: Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1984), p. 203.

3　Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Daitoa Senso Kankei Ikken: Daitoa Kaigi Kankei (Documents Related to the Greater East Asia War: On the Greater East Asia Conference)" (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). Laurel referred to Indonesia by using the island names like "Java" and "Sumatra" because Japan at the time did not allow the use of the name of Indonesia. Indonesia was called "East Indies" during the Pacific War.

4　Kenichi Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia: Nanshin no "Shogeki" to "Isan"* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia: "Impact" and "Legacy" of the Southward Advance*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), p. 194.

5　Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Daitoa Senso Kankei Ikken: Daitoa Taishi Kaigi Kankei (Documents Related to the Greater East Asia War: On the Greater East Asia Ambassadors' Conference)" (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

6　Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*), p. 195.

provided an opportunity for a sense of solidarity to emerge among Southeast Asian peoples. The project was designed to specifically invite "children from prestigious families" to study in Japan for the purpose of fostering the future leaders of Southeast Asian countries. In fact, after the war, many of these students played active roles in their respective countries by serving as prime ministers, cabinet ministers, parliamentarians, ambassadors, university presidents and professors, company presidents and other positions of leadership.[7] The project provided these students, who were young members of ethnic groups living in various areas of Southeast Asia, an opportunity to come in contact for the first time with young people of ethnic groups living in other areas of Southeast Asia.[8]

As "Southeast Asia" thus began to be internationally recognized during the Pacific War as a single unified region, a sense of solidarity presumably started to emerge among peoples living in the region, which may be considered the beginning of the creation and expansion of ASEAN.

2. The Impact of the Pacific War on Politics, Military Affairs, Economy, Society, Culture and Other Aspects of Southeast Asia: Identity and Awareness

As mentioned at the outset, the changes that came about in Southeast Asia during the Pacific War were different from area to area, and policy measures taken by Japan during the war and their impact were not uniform.[9] As for discussions on the "change" or "continuity," for example, Indonesia is said to have undergone a significant "change," while the "continuity" has been emphasized for the Philippines. This paper, while acknowledging a certain extent of "continuity," focuses on the "change," attempts to identify and explain traits common to all areas, and also to point out the differences by area. Furthermore, this paper discusses the effects of the Pacific War on Southeast Asia by category, such as politics, military affairs, economy, society and culture. However, it should be noted that these categorizations are not necessarily clear and the effects may cut across multiple categories.

(1) Politics

The most well-known political changes are the rise of ethnic consciousness and nationalism and their popularization. In many cases, nationalism itself had been on the rise even before the Pacific War, but prewar independence movements had been subject to

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7 Yoshiro Egami, *Nanpo Tokubetu Ryugakusei Shohei Jigyo no Kenkyu* (*A Study on the Project to Invite Special Foreign Students from the South*) (Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 1997), pp. 5 and 17.
8 For example, Akira Takahashi, "Firipin Senryo wo meguru ikutsuka no Kadai (Some Problems Concerning the Occupation of the Philippines)," Rinjiro Sodei, ed., *Sekaishi no Naka no Nihon Senryo* (*Occupation of Japan in World History*) (Tokyo: Nippon Hyoron-sha, 1985), p. 42.
9 The differences by area are believed to stem from the historical backgrounds of areas, attitudes of collaborators with Japan, the presence or absence of organized resistance movements, intensity of counter offensives of the Allied Forces and the manner of postwar state formation and the like (Aiko Kurasawa, "Dai Niji Taisen to Nippon Gunsei [The Second World War and Japan's Military Administration]," Kenji Tsuchiya, ed., *Koza Gendai Ajia, 1: Nashonarizumu to Kokumin Kokka* [*Modern Asia Course, Vol. 1: Nationalism and Nation States*] [Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994], p. 101).

relentless crackdowns and utterly suppressed by their suzerains. As independence movements came back to life during the war, nationalism, largely limited to the elite before the war, gained momentum and expanded to the general masses.[10] This development was influenced by the Japanese military's pacification activities, which were carried out in many cases with the cooperation of nationalists, in order to gain the understanding and cooperation of local residents. Through this, politics itself became popularized and spread from urban to rural areas.

Increased opportunities for the natives to gain experience in administrative work during the war were also one of the changes. The Japanese military's plan basically preserved and made use of existing local systems, but also created opportunities for the natives to take over senior administrative posts previously occupied by people from the former suzerains. Furthermore, in Indonesia, Japan hired some Indonesians as consultants in the military administration office and also appointed others as lieutenant provincial governors.[11] After they gained independence, The Indonesians leveraged the administrative experience they acquired in this way.[12] It has been pointed out that this trend has been particularly noticeable in Malaya and Indonesia, where the level of participation in politics and economic activities by the natives was low before the war.[13]

Socialism and communism gained strength in Southeast Asia during the Pacific War. As was the case for nationalists, socialists and communists were in existence since before the war, but they increased their numbers during the war particularly in the form of resistance movements against Japan. Typical examples included the Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) of Malaya, the Hukbalahap (Huk) of the Philippines, and the Vietnamese Independence League (Viet Minh) of Vietnam. In many cases, socialist and communist movements were largely based in rural areas, even though they were led by the elite. This is further evidence that politics became popularized and spread from urban areas to rural areas during the Pacific War.

(2) Military Affairs

Immediately before the war, as part of its preparations for the southward offensive, or during the war, in preparation for the counteroffensive by the Allied Forces into Southeast Asia, the Japanese military, except in the Philippines and some other areas, organized defense

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[10] For example, Grant Goodman, "Renzokusei no Naka no Firipin Senryo (Occupation of the Philippines in the Continuity)," Kenichi Goto, "Nippon Gunsei to Indoneshia (Japan's Military Administration and Indonesia)," and Stephen Leong, "Maraya ni okeru Nippon Gunsei (Japan's Military Administration in Malaya)," Sodei, ed., *Sekaishi no Naka no Nihon Senryo* (*Occupation of Japan in World History*), pp. 10, 32 and 47-48. Thailand, an independent country, was no exception in terms of the rise of nationalism, which was expressed in the form of territorial demands (restoration of former territories).

[11] Aiko Kurasawa, "Indoneshia (Indonesia)," Toshiharu Yoshikawa, ed., *Kingendaishi no Naka no Nippon to Tonan Ajia* (*Japan and Southeast Asia in Modern History*) (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1992), p. 105.

[12] Yorihiko Tanigawa, "Taiheiyo Senso to Tonan Ajia Minzoku Dokuritsu Undo (The Pacific War and the Independence Movements in Southeast Asia)," *Hosei Kenkyu* (*Journal of Law and Politics*), Vol. 53, No. 3 (January 1987), p. 394.

[13] Kurasawa, "Dai Niji Taisen to Nippon Gunsei (The Second World War and Japan's Military Administration)," p. 99.

forces or volunteer corps of native youths and introduced the *heiho* system as ancillary forces to the Japanese military, and provided them with military training and education for officers. Through the military training conducted by the Japanese military, youths in Southeast Asia acquired not only technical skills but also awareness about national defense, which were put to good use in the subsequent wars of independence. Moreover, after gaining independence, these young people formed the cores of their respective nation's armed forces and also came to have an influence on the political scenes of their countries.[14]

(3) Economy

It should be noted that the Pacific War had only negative effects on local economies. The economies of colonies were supported by their close relations with the suzerains. Even as trade with the suzerains in Europe decreased following Germany's westward offensive in the European theater, the Pacific War broke out and Japan took control of Southeast Asia, severing economic relationships between the colonies in Southeast Asia and the suzerains. Japan pursued a policy aimed at the attainment of self-sufficiency, and tried to increase food production, change cropping, develop natural resources and produce substitute goods. But these efforts virtually failed to produce any results, and rather worsened local economic conditions, by causing, among others, inflation, shortages of goods and higher unemployment. After the end of the war, it took many years for Southeast Asia to restore its economy to the prewar level. It is ironic that Japan returned to the region in the postwar period and built up unprecedented close economic relationships with Southeast Asian countries.

Incidentally, Japan was more interested in mainland China and the Korean Peninsula than in Southeast Asia before the war and Japan's economic relations with Southeast Asia were regulated by the suzerains except for the Philippines, with which economic transactions were relatively free, and Thailand, which was an independent country. Nevertheless, trade between Japan and Southeast Asia expanded gradually after the end of the First World War. Japan produced cotton products from raw cotton imported from the United States and exported them to Southeast Asia. Japan, on the other hand, imported raw materials such as iron and coal as well as daily necessities like rice, sugar and salt. Products turned out by heavy industry from raw materials imported from Southeast Asia were shipped to China, Taiwan and Korea.[15]

(4) Society

The organization of society or people may be given as the first example of the war's impact on society. From cities down to villages, Japan organized a variety of social groups, such as neighborhood community associations, young men's associations, civil defense units, neighborhood watch groups and women's societies. Through these organizations, the central

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[14] For example, Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*), p. 318, and Kei Nemoto, "Biruma (Myanma) (Burma [Myanmar])," Yoshikawa, ed., *Kingendaishi no Naka no Nippon to Tonan Ajia* (*Japan and Southeast Asia in Modern History*), p. 266.

[15] Toshiharu Yoshikawa, "Nippon no Tonan Ajia Kingendaishi Zo (Japan's Image of the Modern History of Southeast Asia)," Yoshikawa, ed., *Kingendaishi no Naka no Nippon to Tonan Ajia* (*Japan and Southeast Asia in Modern History*), pp. 21-23.

and local parts as well as cities and villages had linkages, thereby organizing societies or people. Incidentally, the neighborhood association system, called "Rukun Tetangga (RT)," still exists in Indonesia and plays an important role in society.[16]

A second example is an increase in social mobility. Prewar Southeast Asian societies were hierarchical and static. The aforementioned organization of societies or people, however, helped generate the movement and exchange of people between cities and villages, and along with this, rural societies became more open, and Japan introduced merit-based systems and encouraged the spread of universal education. All these things helped increase opportunities for upward mobility based on individual abilities and education. For example, syndic posts, hitherto reserved for people of certain family backgrounds, began to recruit people of other backgrounds. The latter also had more opportunities to be appointed as officers of volunteer corps.[17]

Thirdly, ethnic conflicts became more acute, as an apparently negative effect. For example, the colonial administrations of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands tended to favor ethnic minorities at the expense of ethnic majorities. Conversely, Japan favored ethnic majorities in the areas it occupied during the Pacific War. The effect of this is perhaps the most noticeable and lingering in Malaya, where Japan appointed the Malays as policemen to clamp down Chinese in Malaya who were anti-Japanese. That fosteredresentment on the part of ethnic Chinese, which sharpened the conflict between the Malays and the Chinese there.[18] Reconciliation between them was difficult to realize even in the postwar period, which delayed Malaysia's independence and affected the shape of the state after it gained independence.

(5) Culture

The cultural impact was closely associated with the rise of nationalism. The first and foremost was the spread of local languages. Japan tried to make Japanese an official language by casting aside the languages of the former suzerains. But the attempt was a tall order, and ultimately, Japan was forced to take more realistic approaches which allowed the use and spread of local languages, such as Bahasa and Tagalog, as official languages. The use of local languages was accompanied by the awakening of ethnic consciousness. Nationalist leaders talked to their people in local languages as a means of strengthening a sense of ethnic unity and gaining support for them.

The prevailing view appears to be that absolutely no trace of cultural policies implemented by Japan during the war in Southeast Asia may be found today.[19] This view may

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[16] Kurasawa, "Indoneshia (Indonesia)," p. 102; and Kurasawa, "Dai Niji Taisen to Nippon Gunsei (The Second World War and Japan's Military Administration)," p. 92.

[17] Kurasawa, "Indoneshia (Indonesia)," p. 102; Kurasawa, "Dai Niji Taisen to Nippon Gunsei (The Second World War and Japan's Military Administration)," p. 107 n. 35 and p. 108 n. 37; and Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*), pp. 310 and 321.

[18] For example, Leong, "Maraya ni okeru Nippon Gunsei (Japan's Military Administration in Malaya)," p. 49; and Cai Shijun, "Mareshia, Shingaporu (Malaysia, Singapore)," Yoshikawa, ed., *Kingendaishi no Naka no Nippon to Tonan Ajia* (*Japan and Southeast Asia in Modern History*), pp. 210-212 and 219.

[19] Grant K. Goodman, "Introduction" and E. Bruce Reynolds, "Imperial Japan's Cultural Program in Thailand," Grant K. Goodman, ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2* (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 4 and 110.

be true in terms of exports of Japanese culture, but the impact of the Japanese encouragement of indigenous cultures cannot be ruled out. Original and unique cultures come into bloom by rediscovering indigenous subjects that can serve as bastions of ethnic identity, taking them up as themes and expressing them in, for example, local languages in literature, music, theatrical performances, and movies.[20] In Indonesia, for example, Japan established the "Popular Education and Cultural Direction Center" to educate and train artists for the purpose of promoting traditional arts and encouraged the production and screening of movies there.[21]

In the postwar period, wartime eventsare frequently taken up as subject matters in literature and movies, among others.[22]

(6) Others

The effects of the Pacific War on Southeast Asia appear to be more psychological and mental than physical.

It is quite often said that for the people under Western colonial rule, it came as a great surprise that the authorities of the suzerains were driven out by the Japanese military in a short period of time in the early stage of the Pacific War. It may be an exaggeration to describe this as the crumbling of the myth of the white supremacy, but by witnessing with their own eyes that the Westerners, their former masters, were not invincible, people in Southeast Asia came to realize that the Westerners were not necessarily superior to the Asians, and gained confidence and courage knowing that they could fight against any colonial power or acquired the awareness that they had to defend themselves on their own.[23]

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Japan provided military training by organizing volunteer corps and other similar groups consisting of youths of Southeast Asia, had them experience living in Japan through the "Project to Invite Special Foreign Students from the South," or made attempts at developing human resources through group living by establishing such facilities as the Koa Training Center in Singapore and the Youth Training Center in Java. Through these experiences, young people in Southeast Asia acquired such Japanese values

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[20] For example, Goodman, "Renzokusei no Naka no Firipin Senryo (Occupation of the Philippines in the Continuity)," pp. 9-10; Renato Constantino, "Firipin Gawa kara mita Senryo (Occupation Seen from the Philippine Side)," Sodei, ed., *Sekaishi no Naka no Nihon Senryo* (*Occupation of Japan in World History*), p. 19; Ricardo T. Jose, "Nippon no Firipin Senryo no Isan (The Legacy of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines)," Chihiro Hosoya, Nagayo Honma, Akira Iriye and Sumio Hatano, eds., *Taiheiyo Senso* (*The Pacific War*) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993), p. 519; and Motoe Terami-Wada, "The Japanese Propaganda Corps in the Philippines: Laying the Foundation," Goodman, ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2*, pp. 198 and 204.

[21] Aiko Kurasawa, "Films as Propaganda Media on Java under the Japanese, 1942-45," Goodman, ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2*, pp. 37~38 and 47.

[22] For example, Yano, Yano, *Tonan Ajia Sekai no Kozu* (*Structure of the World of Southeast Asia*), pp. 213-214; and Kurasawa, "Indoneshia (Indonesia)," p. 118.

[23] For example, Tanigawa, "Taiheiyo Senso to Tonan Ajia Minzoku Dokuritsu Undo (The Pacific War and the Independence Movements in Southeast Asia)," pp. 373-374 and p. 393; Cai, "Mareshia, Shingaporu (Malaysia, Singapore)," p. 220; Goodman, "Renzokusei no Naka no Firipin Senryo (Occupation of the Philippines in the Continuity)," p. 10; Constantino, "Firipin Gawa kara mita Senryo (Occupation Seen from the Philippine Side)," p.19; Leong, "Maraya ni okeru Nippon Gunsei (Japan's Military Administration in Malaya)," p. 48; and Ronald H. Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia* (New York: Random House, 2008, originally published in 2007), p. 78.

and spirits as diligence, discipline, perseverance, frugality, self-sacrifice and self-annihilation for the sake of their country. These values appear to have served as their spiritual backbones in the wars of independence which followed the end of the Pacific War as well as during the period of nation-building and economic growth which followed the gaining of independence.[24]

Conclusion

This paper has describeds the perception of the times and the relationships not only between Southeast Asia and Japan but also between Southeast Asia and the former suzerains.

Regarding the perception of the period of the Pacific War held by people in Southeast Asia, some have the positive perception that "it was one of the dividing ridges in the history of Southeast Asia, and set off nationalist movements in various places and gave momentum to the struggle for independence,"[25] but the negative perception, which sees the war period as the darkest time "characterized by oppression, starvation and violence,"[26] remains strong.[27] In areas which were placed under the Japanese occupation during the war, strong resentment against Japan stemming from Japan's harsh rule remain deep-seated,[28] and "scars and pains may look healed on the surface, but the bleeding from wounds is still continuing even now."[29] The possibility cannot be ruled out that anti-Japanese feelings "exist subconsciously, and with some kind of trigger, may rise to the surface."[30]

Looking at the relationship between Southeast Asia and Japan from such a perception,

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[24] For example, Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*), p. 315; and Leong, "Maraya ni okeru Nippon Gunsei (Japan's Military Administration in Malaya)," p. 51. However, as seen in the Philippines, there are some countries where many citizens asserted that sticking with their own values dating back to the prewar days was the courageous way of living (Satoshi Nakano, "Firipin Sengo Taisei no Keisei (Formation of the Postwar Regime in the Philippines)," Chihiro Hosoya, Akira Iriye, Kenichi Goto and Sumio Hatano, eds., *Taiheiyo Senso no Shuketsu: Ajia-Taiheiyo no Senko Keisei* (*The End to the Pacific War: The Postwar Development in the Asia-Pacific Region*) (Tokyo: Kashiwashobo, 1997), p. 352.

[25] Ricardo T. Jose, "Nippon no Firipin Senryo no Isan (The Legacy of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines)," Nobuyuki Hagiwara and Kenichi Goto, eds., *Tonan Ajia Shi no Naka no Kindai Nippon* (*Modern Japan in the Southeast Asian History*) (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1995), p. 133.

[26] Nakano, "Firipin Sengo Taisei no Keisei (Formation of the Postwar System in the Philippines)," p. 353.

[27] For example, Goto, *Kindai Nihon to Tonan Ajia* (*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*), p. 325; Jose, "Nippon no Firipin Senryo no Isan (The Legacy of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines)," Hosoya, Honma, Iriye and Hatano, eds., *Taiheiyo Senso* (*The Pacific War*), p. 511; Cai, "Mareshia, Shingaporu (Malaysia, Singapore)," pp. 215-219; and Leong, "Maraya ni okeru Nippon Gunsei (Japan's Military Administration in Malaya)," p. 51.

[28] Kenichi Goto, "Tonan Ajia no Datsu Shokuminchika to Chiiki Chitsujo (Decolonization of Southeast Asia and Regional Order)," Hosoya, Iriye, Goto and Hatano, eds., *Taiheiyo Senso no Shuketsu* (*The End to the Pacific War*)*,* p. 275.

[29] Jose, "Nippon no Firipin Senryo no Isan (The Legacy of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines)," Hosoya, Honma, Iriye and Hatano, eds., *Taiheiyo Senso* (*The Pacific War*), p. 511.

[30] Kurasawa, "Indoneshia (Indonesia)," p. 118.

deeper relations than those of the prewar years have been built up in various fields.[31] In particular, economic relationships have become very close. Although some point to war reparations as the origin or priming water of those relationships,[32] the personal connections built up through military training and pacification operations immediately before and during the war or through the "Project to Invite Special Foreign Students from the South" undoubtedly played an important role in the rebuilding of the relationships between Southeast Asia and Japan.[33] "Japanese soldiers who stayed behind"—those who were sent to Southeast Asia during the war but did not return to Japan after the end of the war—also played a part.[34]

Finally, the relationships between Southeast Asian countries other than Thailand, which stayed independent since before the war, and the former suzerains were addressed. The Philippines, Malaya and Cambodia restored friendly relations with the former suzerains immediately after the end of the Pacific War. In particular, the relationship between the Philippines and the United States was exceptional and remained good for a long period. By contrast, it took many years for countries that fought fierce wars of independence, such as Indonesia and Vietnam, to mend relations with their former suzerains. Today, there are some Southeast Asian countries which were previously under colonial rule that are participating in international frameworks led by their former suzerains, including the British Commonwealth of Nations and the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie,* or are members of alliances with the former suzerains. In either case, however, they now have normal inter-state relationships, which are completely different in nature from suzerain—colony relations. Needless to say, Southeast Asian countries have come to give greater weight to ASEAN and neighboring Asia-Pacific countries than to the former suzerains.

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[31] In the "Opinion Poll on Japan in Six ASEAN Countries" outsourced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in 2008, to the question asking, "What do you presently think about the acts of Japan during World War II?" 20.2% replied that they "cannot forget the bad things Japan did," while 68.1% answered, "Japan did some bad things, but they are not an issue now" and 8.5% said, "I have never considered what Japan did to be a problem" ("Opinion Poll on Japan in Six ASEAN Countries," 2008 [The website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Press and Public Relations, Press Release, May 1, 2008, URL: http://www.mofa. go.jp/mofaj/area/asean/pdfs/yoron08_03.pdf]).

[32] Kunio Igusa, "Nippon no Tai Tonan Ajia Keizai Shinshutsu no Kozu (Structure of Japan's Economic Advances into Southeast Asia)," Toru Yano, ed., *Tonan Ajia Gaku, 10: Tonan Ajia to Nippon* (*Southeast Asian Studies, Vol. 10: Southeast Asia and Japan*) (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1991), p. 209; and Shinzo Hayase, "Firipin (The Philippines)," Yoshikawa, ed., *Kingendaishi no Naka no Nippon to Tonan Ajia* (*Japan and Southeast Asia in Modern History*), p. 70.

[33] Benedict Anderson also underscored similar points in the 1980s (Goodman, "Renzokusei no Naka no Firipin Senryo [Occupation of the Philippines in the Continuity]," p. 13).

[34] Eiichi Hayashi, *Zanryu Nihonhei: Ajia ni ikita Ichimannin no Sengo (Japanese Soldiers Left Behind: The Postwar Years of 10,000 Who Lived in Asia)* (Tokyo: Chuokoron-shinsha, 2012), p. 168.