

The Newspapers Issued in the Philippines under Japanese Occupation from 1942–1945

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ABSTRACT

The Japanese Imperial Army and Navy issued newspapers in their occupied territories for the Japanese soldiers and civilians, and for local residents from 1942 to 1945. But only the local and Japanese newspaper companies that it authorized were allowed to print and circulate news items that passed through its scrutiny. This paper examines the newspapers in the Philippines as Japan's propaganda tools for its "Greater East Asia" ideals.

KEYWORDS

newspapers, Japanese occupation, Philippines, photos, "The Greater East Asia War"

INTRODUCTION

On 8 December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor as well as Malaya and the Philippines (then colonies of Britain and the United States, respectively) thereby declaring war against the two imperial powers. Sparked by the 1931 Manchurian Incident, the Sino-Japanese War intensified with the 1937 Marco Polo Incident, expanded the battle line to the South, and began the war that the Japanese called “Daitōa Sensō” (The Greater East Asia War). The Japanese Imperial Army occupied Manila, the capital of the American Philippine Commonwealth on January 2; Singapore under British Malaya on February 15; Batavia (Jakarta), the capital of the Dutch East Indies on March 5; and Rangoon (Yangon), the capital of British Burma on March 8. The Philippines was administered by the 14th Army, Java by the 16th Army, Malaya and Sumatra by the 25th Army, and Burma by the 15th Army. The Navy governed Dutch Borneo, Celebes (Sulawesi), and the eastern islands in which it established a “civil government.” However, this “civil government” only meant that the top position was not held by a military officer. Everything else was no different from the Army’s military governments in other areas. The terms, “navy civil government” and “military government” were both used.

The Japanese Imperial Army and Navy issued newspapers in their occupied territories for the Japanese expatriates including soldiers, civilians and enlisted personnel, and the locals. The newspapers issued for the Japanese were under the following categories: 1) Japanese newspapers issued locally prior to the war; 2) at-the-

front newspapers, on the march, and at battlefields; 3) newspapers issued by the military; 4) newspapers issued mainly by major Japanese newspaper companies and news agencies under the military government; 5) at-the-front newspapers, “on shifting their position” (on the run); and 6) newspapers issued in prison camps and returning ships.

Newspapers for local residents in occupied areas were categorized into two: 1) local newspaper companies that were allowed to print following the guidelines set by the military government, and 2) newspapers issued by Japanese news agencies under the military government.

This paper examines the newspapers in the Philippines during the Second World War as tools for propaganda of the Japanese military government. These newspapers can help shed light in the evaluation of numerous World War II photographs (5,000 photos for Southeast Asia and from 70,000 to 80,000 in China, etc.). The photos related to Southeast Asia “discovered” in February 2015 in the newspaper, *Asahi Shimbun*, Ōsaka head office, are part of Fuji Sōko Shiryō (Fuji Storage Material).¹

JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS PRIOR TO OCCUPATION

Japanese migrants organized societies in their host countries. According to *Shōwa 15-nen Kaigai Zairyū Hon-Hōjin Chōsa Kekka-hyō* (List of Japanese Residents in Overseas in 1940) from the Gaimu-shō (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Research), the number of Japanese residing in different places in Southeast Asia were as follows:

LOCATION	NUMBER OF RESIDENTS	RESIDENTS WHO HAVE LIVED IN THIS PLACE FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS
Thailand	566	154
French Indochina	76	28
British Malaya	6,561	2,998
British North Borneo and Sarawak	1,842	253
British India, Burma and Ceylon	2,200	415
Dutch East India	5,989	2,554
Philippine Islands	19,233	7,281

Source: Gaimu-shō, Chōsa-kyoku (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Research), ed., *Shōwa 15-nen Kaigai Zairyū Hon-Hōjin Chōsa Kekka-hyō* (List of Japanese Residents in Overseas in 1940)

From these figures, it can be said that the Philippines, British Malaya and Dutch East Indies had enough Japanese residents that organized themselves into societies and were issued with Japanese daily newspapers.

The *Shimbun Sōran* (*Newspaper Conspectus*) in 1941 by Nihon Denpō Tsūshin-sha mentioned these dailies: In Singapore were the *Nanyō Nichinichi Shimbun* (*Southseas Daily News*) founded in 1914 and *Shingapōru Nippō* (*Singapore Daily*) founded in 1931. In the Dutch East Indies were the *Jawa Nippō* (*Java Daily*) established in 1920 and the *Nichi-Ran Shōgyō Shimbun* (*Japan-Dutch Commercial News*) that appeared in 1933 in Batavia (or Jakarta), the capital of Dutch East Indies. In 1937, these two newspapers were merged to form the *Higashi-Indo Nippō* (*East Indies Daily*). In the Philippines, Nippi Shimbun-sha and Dabao

Kōron-sha issued newspapers in Davao.² *Dabao Nichinichi Shimbun* (*Davao Daily News*) started printing in 1940. In Manila, *Manira Nichinichi Shimbun* (*Manila Daily News*) was issued. Because these Japanese newspaper companies had Japanese typeface for printing, they were utilized in printing not only newspapers but also proclamations and endorsements by the military government, even after the occupation.

AT-THE-FRONT NEWSPAPERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE OCCUPATION

When the army marched, a propaganda section issued at-the-front newspapers to provide soldiers with general information and entertainment. The day after the Japanese Army occupied Manila and established control on 3 January 1942, the 14th Army stopped the publication of all newspapers, seized, and forcefully registered printing presses, mimeographs, and even typewriters. *The Tribune* (English newspapers), *La Vanguardia* (Spanish), and *Taliba* (Tagalog), under TVT, a company named after the first letters of the three newspapers, were ordered to cease printing at 11:30 a.m. on January 3, but received permission to reissue later that evening at 7:10 p.m. This enabled the *Sunday Tribune*, the Sunday edition of *The Tribune*, to be issued the following day despite a delay due to the late delivery of the permit. The newspapers *La Vanguardia* and *Taliba* could not print their issues. The military government allowed TVT's three newspapers to continue their publication though under censorship, using them to announce proclamations by the military government. Apart from the TVT newspapers, the only

paper permitted to resume printing was the *Bicol Herald* starting on August 8 in Legazpi. The *Manira Nichinichi Shimbun*, a Japanese newspaper that circulated for the Japanese expatriates in the Philippines, even before the war, was allowed to continue its publication.³

The Japanese personnel of Dōmei Tsūshin-sha (The United News Agency), which opened its branch office in Manila in July 1939, were arrested at the outbreak of the war. When they were freed by the Japanese military, the agency set up branches in Davao, Cebu, and Legazpi where they reported news in Japanese. In Manila, English reports were issued as well in order to disseminate information to local newspaper companies and news agencies. Communications between each branch was conducted using shortwave radio.⁴

Journalists in occupied areas, despite being dispatched from the same newspaper company, considered themselves distinct from each other.

Manira Shimbun was a company run by Mainichi Shimbun. Most employees thought that Manira Shimbun was a department of Mainichi Shimbun, and that it represented this company in the Philippines. Yet, there was another branch of Mainichi Shimbun in Manila. The journalists of Mainichi Shimbun Manila branch believed that theirs was the official branch office and they perceived Manira Shimbun as a separate company. To complicate the matter further, Mainichi Shimbun journalists, who came to Manila as members of the Military Intelligence Division, boasted that they belonged to neither the Mainichi

Shimbun Manila branch nor the Manira Shimbun. Both journalists of Mainichi Shimbun Manila branch and the Military Intelligence Section did not regard themselves as employees of Manira Shimbun. However, the employees from Manira Shimbun observed social relations dictated by the employment hierarchy at Mainichi Shimbun, and recognized everyone as employees of Manira Shimbun.⁵

NEWSPAPERS ISSUED BY MAJOR JAPANESE NEWS COMPANIES AND AGENCIES

The Philippines was treated differently from other occupied areas. Since the start of Spanish colonization in the 16th century, Catholicism has taken root. When colonial rule transferred to the U.S. in 1898, American culture spread through English education and mass media. As such, the Japanese military government aimed to rid the Philippines of Western culture and it viewed newspapers an important avenue.

The Philippines was assigned to two major Japanese newspaper companies, *Ōsaka Mainichi* (*Ōsaka Daily*) and *Tōkyō Nichinichi* (*Tōkyō Daily*), which were “entrusted with the operation” and “in charge of management.” Besides these two, news agencies were introduced in newspapers under the Military Government in Nanpō. The reports explained that according to “a military order” dated 20 October 1942, the “concerned companies will be absorbed, *Manira Shimbun* will be established, and media and printing institutions will be under military management and transferred to the administration of the Mainichi Shimbun.”⁶ Based on the “Record of Dispatched

Personnel from the Nanpō Newspaper,” the total number of employees was 1,176, composed of 131 Japanese, 978 Filipinos, and 67 Chinese.⁷ The number of transferred employees as of 1 July 1944 was 162, and the total number of employees was 2,000 including locally hired Filipinos. This number of employees was exceedingly high when compared to those of *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* newspapers.⁸

In a featured article in *Kokusai Bunka* (*International Culture*), the “mission and responsibility” of newspapers were emphasized as follows:

Under the leadership of both the headquarters and the local military authorities, we are to manifest the noble purpose of our holy war and to make Filipinos recognize and understand the Japanese ethic and cultural excellence through newspapers and magazines which are the effective weapons in the propaganda culture war, as well as to emphasize Japan’s readiness for an absolute complete victory, to conduct a complete penetration of the military government in the Philippines and strong promotion of cultural construction in the Philippines by utilizing Mainichi Shimbun’s worldwide communication network.⁹

The article argued that “Filipinos do not own their culture,” and that “the greatest challenge for the new Philippines is to construct a culture rooted on Asia.” Manira Shimbun was in charge of Japanese language education and the promotion of Japanese culture. It “featured a ‘Kana-letters Column’ foreign language papers” and worked to cultivate and promote the “Greater East

Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” through a cultural movement by hosting contests on music, writing essays, novels and songs, and civil baseball tournaments and exhibitions. The “Kana-letters Column” became an independent weekly magazine *Nippongo* on 15 February 1943.¹⁰

Before the prevalence of Japanese language, the newspapers first attempted to fulfill the “mission and responsibility” through English. They dispatched editors for the English *Mainichi* as well as for the *Cebu Times* and *Panay Times*. The English language papers sold well, and with the profit, the company issued Japanese papers.¹¹ However, *The Tribune*, the single English newspaper that was allowed to print, reported only war situations that were one-sided and favorable to Japan. Filipinos laughed at the “victory of Japan” and the “victory of *Tribune*” that showed up on the newspaper. They distrusted the Dōmei Tsūshinsha, mocking it as “The Department (or Distributor) of Most Erroneous Information.”¹²

The *Manira Nichinichi Shimbun* was replaced by *Manira Shimbun* on 1 November 1942. The front page covered mainland Japanese news; the second page featured local news and a cultural column, which drew from air-mailed *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*. However, from the very beginning, *Manira Shimbun* conflicted with the military over the editing policy. The newspaper preferred to give more news on mainland Japan because it was for the soldiers and civilians while the Army Intelligence Division preferred that it should be “centered on local news.” The two sides did not come to terms throughout the entire occupation,

though neither did they collide. The Army, however, was more understanding and easier to handle than the Navy.¹³

Before the U.S. troops advanced on the capital, Manila, on 3 February 1945 and reoccupied it, the staff of *Manira Shimbun* had fled in three batches. The first group, 36 elderly and younger staff members, escaped on January 10 and moved northwards. The second group included those who worked on the last issue of *Manira Shimbun* on January 31. Under the cover of night, they retreated to Montalban, east of Manila, and then moved further to Ipo. Until midday, they printed up to 100 copies of at-the-front newspaper *Shinshu Mainichi (Divine Land Daily)* using a mimeograph. All nineteen of them died of plague and starvation. The third group escaped on the night of February 3 after releasing the next day's issue of the *Tribune*. They proceeded to Antipolo and later joined the second group at Ipo.

Among those who escaped on 10 January 1945, there was 44-year-old Hiroshi Aoyama who arrived in Manila on December 8 of the previous year. Aoyama left copious and detailed diaries and notes, which were partly published in 1994 entitled *Manira Shimbun: Watashi no Shimatsu-ki (The Manira Shimbun: My Written Explanation)*. The narratives vividly recorded the situation after the escape. Aoyama and the others entered Bayombong together with the military division that could not catch up with the main force in Baguio due to American troops blocking the roads. Under Lieutenant Junsuke Hitomi, a director of the Propaganda Section, Intelligence Division, they issued at-the-front newspaper, *Minami Jūjisei (The Southern Cross)*, from

January to August, and an English newspaper, *Newssettee*.¹⁴ At the end of February, Aoyama and the others moved to Kayapa together with the Sakurai Division, gathered information, and printed five issues of the weekly *Sakura*, another at-the-front newspaper, beginning March 1.¹⁵ When they could no longer issue *Sakura*, they organized what they heard through the radio, and “transmitted” it by reading it out loud.¹⁶ They surrendered on September 6, entered Camp Canlubang on the 9th, and issued *Camp News* from the 28th by using an abridged translation of an English newspaper issued from Manila. On October 4, once they received information that a returning ship to Japan was on the way, they released an “extra.”¹⁷

Before the first group of *Manira Shimbun* staff escaped from Manila on January 10, *Manira Shimbun Bagio-ban* (*Baguio Version*) was already being printed. This newspaper was established in December 1944 when the business editor of Mainichi Shimbun Ōsaka main office, 1st Lieutenant Shinji Kirihara who enlisted in the Military Intelligence Division as a newspaper director, ordered Haruyoshi Chikamori to go to Baguio. Chikamori, together with the office head of the *Manira Shimbun* and those who evacuated with their printing presses, issued a daily newspaper *Manira Shimbun Bagio-ban*. From 1 January 1945, it issued 130 copies of two-page mimeographs; it shifted to letterpress on January 8. At that time, Baguio also had *Dōmei News*. After the surrender of Baguio in mid-April, the 4th Air Division released 20 issues of at-the-front newspaper *Nanmei* (*South Ocean*) in Santiago, Isabela from May 21 to June 9.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

Across areas occupied by Japan, a strictly monitored information management became important whenever the Army moved. First, as strategic confidential matters would increase, the information allowed to the public would drastically decrease. To prevent a vacuum of information in which rumors could spread rapidly, there arose the need to provide basic information—and, at the same time, entertainment to common soldiers. Second, to report the war situation back home, war correspondents from news agencies and newspaper companies joined the Army. When the war started on 8 December 1941, military propaganda sections marched to the battlefield and released at-the-front newspapers for the Japanese soldiers on the march in the battlefields, while Dōmei Tsūshin-sha reported “news.” They sent their drafts to the main office or to the branch offices using methods such as radio, air mail, and shipping.

Once the military occupation stabilized, they issued Japanese newspapers for Japanese soldiers, civilian war workers, and expatriates, as well as papers for pacifying the local populace. These periodicals were assigned to the three major newspaper companies plus Dōmei Tsūshin-sha in the occupied areas. For the local readers, newspapers in English continued to see print as a necessary evil—at least until a larger readership could read in Japanese. Papers in the local languages, Chinese, and Indian languages were also allowed to continue in Southeast Asia, albeit under censorship. On the English and local language newspapers, a column for learning Japanese was set up, but it took time to popularize the Japanese language. Thus, graph magazines

such as *Jawa Baroe*, *Shin-Seiki* (*New Century*), and *Shōnan Gahō* (*Shōnan Pictorial Magazine*) became important as a pacification strategy.

In Japan, newspapers were established such as the *Asahi Gurafu* (*Asahi Graph*) in 1923, *Dōmei Gurafu* (*Dōmei Graph*) by Dōmei Tsūshin-sha in 1936, and the *Gahō Yakushin no Nihon* (*Pictorial News of Advancing Japan*) by Tōyō Bunka Kyōkai in 1936.

Photographic magazines were also issued. The Naikaku Jōhō-bu (Cabinet Intelligence Division) issued the *Shashin Shūhō* (*Weekly Photographical Journal*) from 1938 as a national pictorial magazine. It featured photos of the “Nanshin” (Southward Advance) as if it was a real fact even before the outbreak of the war.¹⁹ Tōhō-sha published the ten volumes of *Front* between 1942 to 1945 for foreign propaganda. Asahi Shimbun-sha also published *Taiyo* with captions in Japanese, Chinese, English, and Malay languages, and Daitōa Shuppan-sha published *Hikari: Daitōa Seinen Zasshi* (*Light: Magazine for Young People in Greater East Asia*) in Japanese, Chinese, Malay, Burmese, Thai, and English.

Collections of photographs taken by the Military Intelligence Division and special correspondents were also published, though irregularly. One example is *Hitō Haken-gun* (*The Philippines Dispatch Army*) [1943] edited by Watari Shūdan Hōdō-bu (Watari-Group Intelligence Division) published in Manira Shimbun-sha “with the efforts and explanations by former members of the Intelligence Division: Kiyoshi Miki, Yōjirō Ishizaka, Ashihei Hino,

Hiroshi Ueda, and Sadao Yasuda.” Mainichi Shimbunsha published 10,000 copies of *Firipin Kyōwakoku Hōdō Shashinshū* (*Photo Collection of the Republic of the Philippines*) [1944] supervised by Daihon’ei Rikugun Hōdō-bu (Army Intelligence Division of the Imperial Headquarters).

Even when the war situation worsened, newspapers were circulated to accomplish their “mission.” The fact that the English newspaper, *The Tribune*, persisted until 4 February 1945, four days after the *Manira Shimbun* folded, indicates that the news staff took to heart its mission not only concerning the Japanese, but also the locals. After the newspaper staff escaped to the mountains, they continued to print. Others kept to their radios and transmitted the news verbally when they had no printed issue.

A paragraph in *Tsūshin-shashi* published in 1958 shows how proud the newspaper personnel were to have accomplished their “mission”:

Dōmei Southern Head Office closely and boldly held fast to the fundamental policy of reporting throughout the war. All members in the offices imbibed the directive: to carefully avoid intentional and false reporting for schemes during battles and to limit the members’ activities report-related tasks. Even if they were at odds with the military authorities, the Head Office never gave in, proving the trustworthiness of Dōmei to both the military and society.²⁰

Other newspaper companies hesitated to use the “peculiar articles” of Dōmei Tsūshin-sha.²¹ Those who listened to the overseas radio broadcast wrote that *Parachute News*, a weekly edited by the U.S. Army for the Japanese military was closer to the truth than the broadcasts from Tōkyō.” Aoyama writes:

I was tasked to take shorthand notes of broadcasting inside a radio cave and listened to the Japanese broadcast every day. But if I slightly turned the dial, I could hear the broadcast from Manila, New York and Saipan. They informed the war situation from the U.S. side in fluent Japanese. It was in contrast to the broadcast from Tōkyō. Even when I heard the enemy’s broadcast, I did not transcribe them. We were not allowed to leak information to soldiers in this security area. However, by catching both broadcasts, we could determine the truth of the battle between us and them.²²

Despite knowing the “actual conditions,” the news personnel kept reporting under the military’s orders.²³ Furthermore, one can assume that the articles in the newspapers and pictures in the pictorial magazines fanned the flames of war by displaying the “ideal form” of the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”²⁴ Moreover, the problem was that the newspaper companies had never done a rigorous self-reflection until *Yomiuri Shimbun* did in 2005 and *Asahi Shimbun* examined in 2007–2008 the newspapers’ war responsibility.²⁵

Newspapers that were issued in areas occupied by the Japanese military had a role in the cultural propaganda of the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.” However, the Japanese language did not become a common language and Japan lost the war before seeing any gains. While Japan’s war succeeded in dimming the prestige of former Western colonial powers, it did not trigger the postwar nationalist and independence movements. Those movements had existed before the Japanese military occupation and merely utilized the retreat of their colonial masters in Southeast Asia.

Among the news personnel, there were 241 deaths during the war that started on 8 December 1941. The Dōmei Tsūshin-sha had the most—55. Asahi and Mainichi had 52 deaths each; NHK (The Broadcasting Corporation of Japan) had 39; Yomiuri, 38; Tōkyō, four; and Nishi-Nippon, one. Of these figures, 121 died in the Philippines, 28 in Indonesia, 19 in Burma, five in Malaya and North Borneo, one in Indochina, one in Thailand, and 66 in other places.²⁶ Some newspaper companies counted “deaths from war-related diseases,” so the actual number of the so-called “martyrs to duty” might differ to some extent.

NOTES

- 1 See Asahi Shimbun-sha “Shashin ga Kataru Sensō.” Shuzai-han, 2009.
- 2 Junichi Ōtani, *Firipin Nenkan (The Philippine Year Book, Japanese Edition, 1937–1941)*, Kōbe, 1936–1940, 5 volumes.

- 3 Teruo Ariyama, "Nihon no Senryō to Shinbun no 'Nanpō Dai-Shingun' (Japanese Occupation and Newspapers' 'Great March towards the South')," in *Fukkokuban Manira Shimbun (Reprinted Manira Shimbun)*, Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1991, 4–5.
- 4 Kankō-kai Tsūshin-shashi, ed., *Tsūshin-shashi (History of News Agencies)*, Tsūshin-shashi Kankō-kai, 1958, 623.
- 5 Takehiko Nanjō, *1945-nen Manira Shimbun (The Manira Shimbun of 1945)*, Sōshi-sha, 1995, 182.
- 6 *Shimbun Sōran* 1943: 226–29.
- 7 Ariyama, 22.
- 8 Kōzō Okamoto, ed., *Nihon Sensō Gaishi: Jūgun Kisha (Unofficial History of Japanese Wars: War Correspondents)*, Zen-Nippon Shinbun Renmei, 1965, 78.
- 9 Yūji Iwashita, "Manira, Serebesu to Kainan-tō no Shinbun (Newspapers in Manila, Celebes and Kainan Island)," *Kokusai Bunka (International Culture)*, No. 27 (September 1943), 64.
- 10 Iwashita, 64–65.
- 11 Mainichi Shimbun Hyakunen-shi Kankō Iinkai, *Mainichi Shimbun Hyakunen-shi (100 Years of Mainichi Shimbun)*, Mainichi Shimbun-sha, 1972, 292; Kay Tateishi, "An Atypical Nisei," *Amerasia Journal*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1997).
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- 13 Naoyoshi Iwasa, "Watashi no Shinbun Dukuri 40-nen (Dai-5-kai): Manira Shimbun Jidai (40 Years of My Making Newspapers No. 5: *Manira Shimbun Days*)," *Shinbun Kenkyū (Newspaper Studies)*, August 1965, 73.

- 14 Hiroshi Aoyama (Yoshida Tsutomu, ed.), *Manira Shimbun: Watashi no Shimatsu-ki (The Manira Shimbun: My Written Explanation)*, Waseda Sokki Kiroku Jigyō-bu, 1994, 64.
- 15 Aoyama, 88–132.
- 16 Aoyama, 231–32.
- 17 Aoyama, 286–370.
- 18 Haruyoshi Chikamori, “Senjō no ‘Manira Shimbun Bagio-ban’ (Manira Shimbun-Baguio Version),” *Journalism Quarterly Review*, April 1983, 74–83.
- 19 Yoshiyuki Oda, “Nihon no Nanpō Shinshutsu to Senji Puropaganda: Nichi-Bei Kaisen Izen no *Shashin Shūhō* ni Miru Nanpō Shinshutsu [Wartime Japan’s Propaganda for Japan’s Southward Advance: Impressions of Japan’s Southward Advance from *Shashin Shūhō*-Weekly Photographical Journal (1938–1941)],” *Hōgaku Kenkyū (Journal of Law, Politics, and Sociology)*, Vol. 88, No.10 (October 2015); Yūko Inoue, *Senji Gurafu Zasshi no Sendensen: 15-nen Sensō-ka no ‘Nihon’ Imēji (Propaganda Campaign of the Wartime Pictorial Magazines: ‘Japan’ Image under the 15 Years War)*, Seikyū-sha, 2009; Kiyoshi Tamai, ed., *Senji Nihon no Kokumin Ishiki: Kokusaku Gurafushi “Shashin Shūhō” to Sono Jidai (National Consciousness of Wartime Japan: National Policy Pictorial Magazine “Weekly Photographical Journal” and Its Time)*, Keiō University Press, 2008.
- 20 *Tsūshin-shashi*, 629.
- 21 Ken’ichi Hagimori, *Honsha no Nanpō Sho-Shinbun Keiei: Shinbun Hijō Sochi to Kyōryoku-shi (Managing Newspapers in the Southern Areas by Our Company: Newspapers’ Extraordinary Measures and Affiliated Papers)*, Internal Material of the Asahi, 1969, 153–154.
- 22 Aoyama, 151, 195.

- 23 Toshiyuki Maesaka, *Taiheiyō Sensō to Shinbun (Pacific War and Newspapers)*, Kōdan-sha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2007; Kenji Suzuki, *Sensō to Shinbun: Media wa Naze Sensō wo Aoru no ka? (War and Newspapers: Why Does Media Stir up War?)*, Chikuma Bunko, 2015.
- 24 Inoue, 298.
- 25 Suzuki, 306.
- 26 Okamoto, 383–91.

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