

# Peace Studies Newsletter

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Immigrants, Refugees and Foreign Workers

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# The Current Phenomenon of Migrant Workers in Japan

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For the last decade Japan has faced a novel question: what to do about foreign labor? Foreign workers, mainly from neighboring Asian countries, suddenly started to flow into Japan to work. Unlike other industrialized democracies, Japan has had no experience with a large number of foreigners coming to Japan to work, except the case of Koreans and Chinese who were brought into Japan by force before and during the Second World War, largely because from just after the Second World War until recently Japan has not been a rich country.

Few recall today that Japan was a debtor country until the 1960s. She had to get loans from the World Bank for national reconstruction: for constructing a new national railroad, freeways, reservoirs, etc. Therefore, until ten years ago, the Japanese never imagined that someday many foreigners would come to Japan to work. Japan has historically been a rather homogenous society, except for about 678,000 Koreans and about 110,000 Chinese currently living in Japan. The recent flow of foreign workers into Japan has perplexed the Japanese and made them realize that Japan must do something about it.

Under the present Japanese law, only foreign workers who have skills that are needed or wanted in Japan are permitted to work. This has been in force since the present immigration law was enacted in 1951. When the law was enacted, the Japanese government never expected the need for unskilled foreign workers because Japan was a poor country. There were not enough jobs even for Japanese. Thus, the issue of migrant worker recruitment was never addressed in the policies of the Japanese government. From that time on, the Japanese government has maintained this policy, and unskilled foreign workers have been prohibited from entering Japan to work. Consequently, unskilled foreign workers have entered Japan either posing as students or tourists and are primarily employed in menial jobs. The number of these illegal foreign workers has increased year by year over the last decade.

Because of the sudden inflow of illegal foreign workers into Japan, the Japanese government arrived at the conclusion that it must amend its immigration law, the Immigration Control and Refugee-Recognition Act (hereinafter the Immigration Act). The amendment was approved by the

Japanese government on December 8, 1989 and went into effect on June 1, 1990. The Amendment proposed two solutions to cope with the illegal foreign worker problem. On the one hand, it was designed to simplify entry formalities and to expand the number of categories of visas for skilled workers. Categories of visas were expanded from 18 to 28. On the other hand, it created, for the first time, employer sanctions for both employers who hire illegal workers and for labor brokers who help foreigners work illegally in order to stop the growing number of unskilled illegal workers. In other respects, the Japanese government maintained its long-standing policy. Japan will not consider the legalization of unskilled foreign laborers but henceforth will try to stem the inflow of illegal migrants.

However, the number of illegal foreign workers has increased year by year. Through the period from January through December 1992, foreign nationals who were found violating the Immigration Act and then being deported by the local immigration offices reached 67,824, breaking 1990's all time high of 36,264 by a large margin. The number was an increase of 88.9% (31,921) over the previous year. Moreover, the number of foreigners found overstaying their authorized period of stay was 278,802, an increase of 74.5% (119,064) over the previous year. Certain small businesses and service industries in Japan are beginning to become dependent on foreign labor. Actually, Japan is at a historic turning point concerning whether Japan will change its rather homogeneous society or retain the status quo. The analysis of

international labor migration is necessary to understand the sudden flow of migrant workers into Japan. Conversely, the current phenomenon of illegal migrant workers in Japan can reveal important information about the characteristics of today's worldwide mass movement of migrant workers.

### Illegal migration to Japan

By definition, illegal alien employment and residence cannot be accurately measured. Nonetheless, there are indications that Japan's illegal population is growing. According to the Ministry of Justice, the number of illegal foreign workers found by authorities has increased dramatically over the last decade. Some 67,824 illegal workers were detected in 1992, or 33 times as many as the total for 1982. These numbers are not very large compared to those in other immigrant-receiving countries; however, the significant point is the rate of increase and the presumption that the figures represent only the tip of the iceberg. The total number of overstayers including detected illegal foreign workers estimated by the Justice Ministry was put at more than 300,000 at the end of 1992.

Foreign workers working in Japan as unskilled labor are mainly from neighboring Asian countries including Malaysia, Iran, Republic of Korea, Thailand, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia, Peru, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and others. The number of apprehended Malaysians increased from 279 in 1988 to 14,303 in 1992; the number of Iranians increased from 15 in 1989 to 13,982 in 1992; Koreans, from 132 in

1982 to 13,890 in 1992; Thais, from 412 in 1982 to 7,519 in 1992; Chinese, from 7 in 1988 to 3,167 in 1992; Filipinos, from 409 in 1992 to 3,532 in 1992. In the absence of counter-measures, the number of illegal foreign workers is expected to swell in the future.

### Occupations of Illegal Foreign Workers

The occupations of aliens apprehended in 1992 shed some light on the employment characteristics of Japan's illegal aliens. Generally speaking, the Japanese data appears to match the employment characteristics of illegal populations, as best as can be surmised, in other industrial democracies. These jobs are all for unskilled or poorly skilled workers, and employers have difficulty finding Japanese willing to take these positions.

Construction workers, manufacturing process workers, and hostesses and hosts were the three largest occupational groups in 1992. Following these categories, laborers come next, then dishwashers, prostitutes, waitresses, cooks, bartenders, services, porters, and others. Young Japanese nowadays do not want to take up jobs like the above which are dirty, hard, or dangerous. They prefer to be office workers rather than physical laborers. Accordingly, employers tend to hire foreign workers even while knowing it illegal to hire them.

For men, the labor shortages in the fields such as small and medium sized construction firms, small factories, and foundries are acute. Small manufactur-

ing companies such as automobile parts work shops, lathe shops, foundries, etc. badly need unskilled labor with low wages because financial difficulties prevent them from modernizing their production facilities like big companies. Hence, they still need manual laborers for their manufacturing processes. Consequently, they hire foreign workers who are ready to accept low wages to survive. Such being the case, small companies are becoming more and more dependent on illegal foreign workers.

For women, 34.4% of foreign women working illegally in Japan were engaged in bars, nightclubs and other similar places as hostesses. Not many Japanese will work at these jobs because women working in those places are not considered decent; besides, they often have to get involved with gangsters, the Japanese counterpart of the Mafia, called Yakuza. Thus, bar owners are happy to hire young foreign women with low wages through gangster syndicates. Many times dancers also find employment opportunities through these channels. In short, foreign workers are filling a largely illicit demand which the Japanese tend to avoid.

# The Root of All Troubles for Refugees

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## 1. A Beginning

In April, 1978, a twenty-minute Yugoslavian documentary depicting the then-forbidden scenes inside Cambodia was televised in the Western world. It was the first and maybe the last lengthy television documentary ever made about the state of affairs in progress in an isolated Cambodia whose government had shut its doors to all nations except China, Yugoslavia, and other Communist nations hostile to the Soviet Union. The somber and ghastly images of people in the collective society reminded Western people of the emergence of an horrendous serfdom which could be likened only to that of the Middle Ages. Thousands of labourers uniformly clad in black pajama swarming like an army of ants over the river bank were busy in building canals.

Besides these scenes, teen-age boys were beaming at the video camera as they hung on the over-sized handle bar of the machines in a timber mill - a narration behind the scene was disclosing the fact that there were no senior workers to supervise them. The oldest among them was 25 years of age. The reportage then came to an abrupt end with a close-up of the leader, Pol Pot, who made a simple remark: "You will never trust the older generation." Then he grinned at the camera.

The May, 1978 issue of Newsweek magazine hinted at the mass-murder of Cambodians by calling attention to the newly composed national anthem of the Democratic Kampuchea overheard on a D.K. radio broadcast. The Newsweek editor was puzzled by the words "united we stand, the nation of six million" while the official population stood at nearly eight million. What happened to the other two million, he asked, and urged any neighboring nations to do something to brake the attempted genocide by a handful of fanatics. (How similar is the dismal image of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital under siege by the Serbs today!)

At year's end in 1978, Vietnamese troops blitzed Kampuchea, driving the Khmer Rouge government back into the jungle. This invasion enraged Chinese leaders in Beijing who dispatched massive battalions to the border to teach a good lesson to the Vietnamese comrades. However, they were bitterly scorched by an invincible Vietnamese army and were forced to withdraw after suffering 50,000 troops dead in the battle.

## 2. A Japanese Relief Agency

It was in 1979 and 1980 that the Japanese people first learned the effects of the Cambodian genocide by the Pol Pot clique as a million refugees fled Cambodia after the Vietnamese inva-

sion. TV crews and media reporting from Thai/Cambodian border areas thronged with tens of thousands of refugees fleeing Cambodia. Images of those who suffered from malnutrition especially babies, as well as the sick and wounded drew the attention of TV viewers. Many well-wishers donated money to the Red Cross, innocently hoping their contributions would be of some help to those refugees. The first Japanese NGO established exclusively for emergency relief for Cambodian refugees was Kampuchean Refugees Relief Program (KRRP).<sup>1</sup> In two years' time many minor NGOs mushroomed in Japan and elsewhere, most of which were comprised of half-tourist volunteers who seemed satisfied with a single inspection tour to refugee camps to give away things. After these mushroom NGOs died out, only a few reliable organizations remained active.

In 1980, the ousted government of Democratic Kampuchea had major military camps along the 725 km border with Thailand. In one of the camps, located in a dense forest, the writer first met the then Prime Minister Khieu Sam Phan. Even though Phnom Penh, the capital, then a deserted ghost-town, had fallen into the hands of the Vietnamese, the exiled Democratic Kampuchean government remained as the legitimate representative of the people at the UN General Assembly.

The KRRP had raised funds in Kyoto and was seeking reliable recipient bodies that represented Khmer (Cambodian) refugees. Prime Minister Khieu Sam Phan requested KRRP's support for the Red Cross of the DK. The KRRP had once attempted to donate an ambulance to a Buddhist body

inside Cambodia through an American Protestant group, but the attempt failed when the ambulance was forcibly confiscated by the Vietnamese army the Phnom Penh pier.

The KRRP staff was always careful not to let the Khmer Rouge soldiers get their relief supplies. Even after listening to Khieu Sam Pham's lengthy pre-text (which lasted two hours) explaining their "inevitable execution of a few thousand rebels masterminded by the Vietnamese government," the KRRP staff were not impressed because of their belief that it was actually the DK's reign of terror that had caused a million deaths in Cambodia. When accused of this holocaust caused by the forced labour, hunger, and disease, the Premier honestly acknowledged their merciless rule based upon the mistaken socialist policy. This was only a day after his official declaration of abandonment of socialist policy, announced at a press conference before a hundred journalists from many countries who flocked together in the jungle headquarters. Humanitarian aid was started by the KRRP after that meeting. Medicines and medical equipment as well as other supplies such as stationery for schools or sometimes thousands of banana roots procured in local Thai villages were brought into the camps monthly.

The KRRP was often criticized for being too generous towards the Khmer Rouge and its leaders. However, the KRRP never sided with any government; Instead, it always tried to help the poor and the displaced, being careful not to discriminate against the wounded or their children because they or their fathers and brothers fought the

aggressors of their native land. Who are the criminals, aggressors or defenders? Rulers or the ruled? Those whose limbs are amputated after stepping on the mines, do they not deserve treatment? Ignoring the groundless accusations against the KRRP of assisting the DK, or what pro-Vietnam cynics called "bloodthirsty tigers," in the early 1980's the KRRP continued supporting them while supplying camps under the control of Sonn Sann's group (the KPNLF) and Sihanoukist's group (FUNCINPEC).

### 3. Vietnamese Miscalculation and the Khmer Nationalists

Whatever reason there may be, military action conducted in another country without the consent of the invaded nation's government can be regarded as an act of aggression. It was permissible a hundred years ago when the Western powers scrambled for colonies in Asia, but no more. Japan was severely punished when the Imperial Army followed the suit of the Western nations by first establishing in Manchuria a puppet government, then followed with the invasion into central China. These incidents led to the economic embargo of Japan by the allied powers, eventually causing the Japanese Navy's bombing of the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, which finally invited the U.S. retaliation with Atomic bombs that crushed Imperial Japan.

The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia could have been excused if the Khmers (the Cambodian people) had enjoyed the occupation. The trouble was that the Khmers hated the Vietnamese no less than the Khmer Rouge. Perhaps the Vietnamese might have conceived

that they could justify the invasion since they themselves had suffered invasion by a thousand waves of bombardment by the US Air Force during the Vietnam War and the occupation of Cambodia should help protect their nation from any future attack on its western border.

Vietnam has suffered ages of invasion by foreign powers in its history: First by China for centuries; then by France which colonized Vietnam for a century; then followed the Japanese occupation during the Pacific War; then by France again. Even after defeating the French army at Dien Bien Phu and achieving independence for the North, the country remained divided by the 17th parallel. The happy days were short-lived in both counties because the war with the United States broke out. The US troops were defeated and lost over 50,000 soldiers. The unification of Vietnam by the North Vietnamese in 1975 marked the beginning of another troublesome decade for the country, as they were now faced with a new enemy called the Khmer Rouge, a Cambodian Maoist army.

The rumour of a million deaths under the reign of terror of Pol Pot might have provided the Hanoi government with a good excuse for invasion. There may have been a miscalculation in their decision for the 1978 year-end offensive against the Khmer Rouge. The capital, Phnom Penh, then a ghost-town located 80 km west of Saigon (present Ho Chi Minh City), was overrun easily as the Khmer Rouge had already fled safely into the forest where they had been four or five years earlier.



The Vietnamese army, famed as the most invincible in the world (they had defeated Chinese, French, Japanese, and American invaders) could only control 80% of the areas in Cambodia. The remaining 20% was always and is still today under the control of the Khmer Rouge.

For any great statesman of prince, nothing is more shameful than being remembered as a loser in his nation's history. So his mission is one to fight out the invaders. Prince Sihanouk, once a loser, has been re-enthroned as King of Cambodia since 1993. He is finally back in the original position to represent Cambodia two decades after he was forced into exile when the US Intelligence toppled the Cambodian government in 1970 and replaced it with the puppet government led by General Long Nol, which was in turn toppled by the Khmer Rouge five years later.

Prince Sihanouk in a 1982 (or 1983) Bangkok press conference likened the Khmer Rouge to the "maradona" (the world-famous soccer player) of Cambodia. He was often enraged at the brutal actions of the Khmer Rouge soldiers against Sihanoukist troops (ANS) in their joint military campaign against the Vietnamese army and would repeatedly resign from the post at the head of the tri-partite government of Cambodia. Though he suffered himself the loss of many children executed by the Khmer Rouge, this did not deter him from establishing a coalition government by tying the Khmer (or DK army) with Sonn San's KPNLF and his own ANS (National Sihanoukist Army) to fight out the national liberation war against Vietnam.

During the latter half of the 1980's, the Thai government's decision to concentrate the refugees into several major camps brought forth mammoth-sized camps such as Site Two, Site B, and Site Eight, each holding a population of at least 80,000 and sometimes up to 200,000 people. These camps were more densely populated than any city in Cambodia, and only the Capital, Phnom Penh, could slightly exceed them in population.

There were a series of large scale mop-up operations in 1984 by the Vietnamese army against the strongholds of the Tri-partite government located along the border with Thailand. Each attack would flush thousands of refugees into Thailand as their villages or shanty-towns were burnt down. But these people joined the million or so refugees already settled in huge camps. Thousands of Thai farmers along the border were also displaced and relocated in distant areas.

But an immense market economy which had before sprang up along the Thai-Cambodia border as a million refugees were fed and supplied by the UNHCR and tens of international relief agencies.

You can imagine a convoy of lorries supplying camps with drinking water from a nearby reservoir passing a parade of various vehicles on the dusty road heading for the camps to supply materials of all sort. Some were from KRRP, which played the role of "mobile supermarket" as the staff frequented the camps upon request, driving in with three ten-ton trucks full-

loaded with bamboo poles, piglets, or chicks.

#### 4. A Final Stage

In the mid-1980's, there was still no sign of a political solution to the Cambodian problems. Refugees lucky enough to be categorized immigrants-to-be to a Western country dwindled in number as a so-called "aid fatigue" started to prevail among supporting governments and relief agencies. The situation seemed to be stuck in a stalemate. The Vietnamese government might have relinquished their original plan of a longer occupation of Cambodia after the unexpectedly high cost of lives and money required to withstand the guerrilla offensive in the wet season. The Vietnamese government declared the withdrawal of the occupying army by 1990.

We all know the rapidly changing situation in Eastern Europe in the latter half of the 1980's. There was the liberation of Poland and Hungary, the opening of the Berlin wall, and the crumbling into pieces of the Soviet Union. This situation forced the Soviet Union to cease aiding Vietnam. Now with less than half the previous annual oil supply from the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese government withdrew its army quickly. (Tanks were giant guzzlers of gasoline). In 1989, Vietnamese troops retreated from the frontier facing Thailand in full swing. Cambodian Tri-partite army troops, in speedy pursuit of the retreating Vietnamese, spread out in their respective liberated territories 80 to 100 km deep into their homeland along the border. Then came a sudden ceasefire with a call for the Paris Convention, in which was con-

cluded an agreement between Tri-partite government headed by Prince Sihanouk and the Phnom Penh government headed by Hun Senn to cooperate for the establishment of a new government through a general election with the help of the UN. The rest is all fresh in our memories.

In January, 1992, I was invited with my wife, Satoyo Ono, President of NICCO, by Prince Sihanouk to his royal palace. It was the sixth audience the Prince had given us to thank us for NICCO's 15 years of relief work with the Cambodian people. Prince Sihanouk revealed his anxiety about the building of the new nation. When asked how his position helps to invigorate the people's march for peace, he answered that his power is so limited that he can do very little for the decision.

The palace's inner garden surrounding his domicile reminded me of a Cinderella castle garden with a hundred electric bulbs lit in the evening dusk. But the staircase leading up to the front gate was heavily guarded by the stout guards specially sent from North Korea to protect the Prince.

In one of the books he presented to us as a souvenir, Bernard Krisher portrayed Prince Sihanouk with a "mercurial" personality. When you are the leader of a small, defenseless country in need of foreign aid and the big powers are only anxious to compete to place you in their camp, the only meaningful strategy is to be unpredictable. Play one against another and keep everyone guessing. It was an art and Sihanouk was a master. Charisma and Leadership, by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with Bernard Krisher.

Tokyo, 1990. In fact, only with Prince Sihanouk as a head state could the Cambodian people rebuild their motherland after nearly 25 years of turmoil.

The United Nations (UNTAC) assisted in staging the general election. But it was Prince Sihanouk himself who summoned the cooperation from all sections of the population for peace in Cambodia.

Note:

1) In 1987, the KRRP was re-named Nippon International Cooperation for Community Development (NICCO) since its activities extended to other Asian nations such as Thailand, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka. NICCO became the first relief agency to be granted Aggregate Corporation status by the Foreign Ministry in 1993.

## The Great Migration: Ultimate Challenge for Humanity: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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Having entered the Post Cold War era, the problem of world migration, ethnic conflicts and refugees, has developed into a tense crisis. It should not have happened. However, towards the end of 1993, a report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated world refugees at 19 million, to which yet another 23 million displaced people have to be added.(1)

As far as population movements, migration and refugees are concerned we are dealing with a number of root causes such as unchecked population growth, unemployment, economic inequalities, traditional ethnic and religious conflicts resulting in wars, territorial disputes, political rivalry and misguided development (such as building prestigious giant power plants and dams, displacing native habitants etc.), and structural violence due to superimposition, e.g. by former colonial powers. In this, we are actually dealing

with the two most controversial and basic, however complementary, issues concerning the economic welfare and the political will to enforce adequate legal protection and international rule of law, i.e. peace and development.(2)

These various factors have led to the outbreak of ethnic and territorial conflicts in former Yugoslavia, where the Serbs constitute the largest faction. Serbia alone, with a population of 9.31 million, holds 66.4% Serbs, 14% Albanians, 1.6% Croats and 2.3% Muslims, while in Croatia, with a population of 4.6 million, of which 75.1% are Croats, Serbs still make up 11.5%. Bosnia Herzegovina, however, which is at the center of the conflict, is different, because among its population of 4.12 million 39.2 percent are Muslims (who don't constitute an ethnic group), while 32.2 percent are Serbs and 18.4 percent Croats. Because it is lacking a strong, overwhelming

majority, confrontation is particularly fierce and the battle of interests extremely violent. Due to the conflict in the region, refugees from Yugoslavia in 1992 amounted to 2.4 million people, scattered all over Europe in Italy, Austria, Germany, Hungary and Sweden. Meanwhile, France and Great Britain have been added to the list of host countries, accepting injured children for the most part. The lack of solutions so far for the continued tragedy - which only recently, after more than two years of bloodshed, has been stalled by more resolute U.N. and NATO action - has to be attributed to political leaders who have failed to adopt and provide an appropriate framework to negotiate solutions acceptable to those conflicting ethnic and other interests. In May 1993, in an allied communiqué on Bosnia, negotiated between U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and his counterparts from Great Britain, Russia, France and Spain, the allies expressed 'deep concern' about the fighting 'between Bosnia Croatian and Bosnia government forces and the related 'ethnic cleansing'. They agreed that 'Croatia should be put on notice that assistance to Bosnia Croatian forces engaged in these activities could result in the international community imposing sanctions on Croatia'. With regards to the area of Kosovo, 'an increase in the international monitoring presence' was favored. These same considerations should also apply to "the Serb-populated areas of Croatia". To implement these well-meant resolutions, however, it is necessary to strengthen and broaden the legal framework both of the EC - such as expanding the jurisdiction of the Strasbourg Human

Rights Court - and the United Nations, to further the 'due process of law'.

Let us look at history, and how the Serb claim to dominance evolved. Historically, the Serbs established their 'Greater Serb Empire' between 1346 and 1391. It was terminated by the Turkish conquest of Bosnia in 1463 which resulted in many Serbs forcefully converting to Islam, while the Serb-orthodox national church, which had been established by an orthodox saint, Sava, continued as a bond between Serbs even under Turkish foreign rule. The monasteries established in St. Sava's name remained centres of learning and nationalism. Between 1300 and 1683 the Ottoman Empire expanded, eventually stretching from Mekka along the Red Sea coast across Egypt (which it encompassed), through Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, to Serbia, Hungary and even as far as the Crimean peninsula. So, even before the Second World War, Yugoslavia's southern regions were dominated by the Ottoman Empire, while the north belonged to the Habsburg Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In 1918, the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was established, following the collapse of the old order. Although some more conservative historians see the causes of the present struggle in the victorious allies' redrawing the map of Europe in 1918 - one of the American President Woodrow Wilson's famous 'Fourteen Points' contained the 'Right of Self-determination' - the fact is that Europeans themselves so far have been unable to develop a community of nations that puts common interest above national interest, a process that started with the Hague Confederation of States

(1899 and 1907), was continued with the League of Nations (1919-1946) and the United Nations which, however, is still based on the principle of by and large unrestricted national sovereignty. At the Hague Peace Conferences, it should be remembered, initially in 1899, some 21 nations and then in 1907 more than forty nations, including the USA, China, Japan, etc. joined in a common effort to bring about disarmament and the pacific settlement of international disputes through judicial procedure. An international court was established at The Hague. But although the process was started, a binding international legal order is still missing. One of the obvious results of this failure is a deteriorating international environment, and the continued problems related to population movements. While taking into account the grievances of ethnic minorities, as well as overriding national ambitions etc., the individual who is being affected by these conditions must not be lost sight of.

In Central Asia, from the beginning of February 1990 ethnic conflicts in Dushanbe-Tajikistan were triggered by the arrival of Armenian evacuees, because the local people had thought that the Armenians got a better housing deal than the local Tajik peoples. It was the Tajik locals who attacked the Armenians. In January 1990 an anti-Armenian riot took place at Baku-Azerbaijan, and on 13 February 1990 in Bishkek-Kyrgyzstan, an ethnic clash of Muslims against Muslims erupted.

Also, on 16 February 1990, in Samarkand-Uzbekistan, Uzbekis assaulted Meshetian Turk Muslims; al-

ready in 1989 Uzbekis had attacked Meshetian Muslims. In 1988 an incident similar to the one at Baku happened when Azerbaijanians and Armenians started killing each other after one Azerbaijan killed an Armenian man. This triggered off a serious ethnic conflict, resulting in 10 000 casualties. On 13 April 1989 at Tbilisi in Georgia an incident was triggered when the local government wanted to establish a university with Georgian as only language. In June 1989 in a mining spot of natural gas in Kazakhstan, several Kazakh groups attacked seasonal workers from Azerbaijan and Chechen-Ingush.

One of the reasons is the high unemployment rate creating an economic gap and social inequality. For example, in Poland, with a labour force of 20 million out of a population of 38.5 million, there are about 2.2 million or 11 per cent unemployed (March 1992. UNDP). In Kyrgyzstan, unemployment in 1991 was as high as 36 000 or about 1.5 percent of the labour force, from virtually zero in 1990 (population 4.5 million). In Romania, after the government in early 1990 introduced important legislation to create the legal framework for a new society, there had been a serious deterioration in economic performance. Similar conditions can be assured in most of the other ex-Communist republics.

A comparative case study of ethnic conflicts between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Central Asian Republics reveals a number of similar conditions that have resulted in a set of similar problems on the economic and social scale. Tajikistan's GDP of 2400 million Rubel (1991) with a population of 5.11

million people and Azerbaijan' 8 GDP of 2500 million Rubel (1991) with a population of 3.28 million, fades away in the light of a continued increase in the birth-rate which between 1970 and 1979 for example from 13.1% to 34.7% among Muslims.

While there is hope that these struggles could be an indication of an emerging new global framework surpassing the traditional nation-state system; they could result also. if not in further cementing the traditional system. in the emergence of competitive and sometimes warring regional blocks if based on a strict Protectionist policy, as predicted by George Orwell so eloquently in 1948. Submission of U.N. member-states to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and transferring on the world body sovereign powers adequate to deal with global crises are therefore as much required as are the United Nations Organization's democratization process and Security Council reform.(3)

#### Footnotes:

1) 'Millions of Afghans sit in camps in Pakistan and Iran, Thousands of Iranians have sought asylum in Turkey, Pakistan, the Persian Gulf, Europe, and North America. Africa, riddled with wars and famine, provides a sad catalogue of refugees. Poverty, repression, and wars in Central America have fed a steady stream of refugees northwards. Camps in Hong Kong and Thailand house thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians behind barbed wire. Forty years on, the Palestinians have yet to find a home.' Gil Loescher, 'Introduction: Refugee Issues in International Relations,' in:

"Refugees and International Relations." Oxford University Press. 1989. p. 1.

2) 'Forces Driving Rural-Urban Migration: -Population growth in rural areas exceeds the capacity of the agrarian sector to support it;; -Investment in the agrarian sector is not concentrated on labour-intensive small enterprise, but on larger-scale, capital-intensive agriculture. This leads to a reduced requirement for farm labour, and hence to extra migration to the city; -As a result of the general urban bias of public policy, the level of commercial and non-commercial services and amenities is higher in cities than in rural areas; -Wages in the formal sector are higher in the cities and rural areas; -Rural development which gives particular emphasis to improvement of infrastructure (through road-building, etc.) results in increased migration to the cities, because these are now more accessible; -Land distribution which fails to take account of traditional common rights (grazing, fishing etc.) destroys the prospects of the ladles and leads to migration to the cities.' "A world of Difference: A New Framework for Development Cooperation in the 1990s". The Hague: Government of the Netherlands. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. March 1991, p. 170. See also UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund), "The State of WORLD POPULATION 1993".

3) For an authoritative and comprehensive study of the short-range and long-range structures necessary to effectively deal with global problems. see Hanna Newcombe. "Design for a Better World", Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1983.

# The History of Foreign Workers in Japan: Two Myths

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## I. Introduction

The question of foreign workers has become a major issue in Japan since the late 1980s. When the national debate on the question was at its height in 1988, it was argued by many commentators both for and against the influx of foreign workers to Japan that this influx was a new and unprecedented phenomenon. *This is not true.* Any serious student of Japanese history knows that prewar Japan had a serious problem regarding Korean and Chinese immigrant workers.<sup>1</sup>

Some mentioned the Korean and Chinese forced labor during World War II as the precedent, but again failed to notice the migrant workers in the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, the number of Koreans in Japan amounted to over 30,000 in 1920, increased to 300,000 in 1930, and reached 800,000 in 1938, one year before the forced labor began (Morita, 1968:66).

Spencer (1992:754) maintains that, in one of the few monographs in English on foreign workers in contemporary Japan, "[u]p until the 1980s, comparatively few foreigners had actually gone to live and work in Japan" except "[t]he Koreans and Chinese who were brought to Japan as forced laborers before and during World War II." But this account is not accurate, either. To begin with, it is not clear what he means by forced laborers *before* World War II. If he means those Korean and Chinese work-

ers who immigrated to Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, it has to be pointed out that they were not forced to do so in the physical sense. One may well argue that they were forced to immigrate because of economic hardship under colonial rule, but I believe this should be distinguished from the physically forced labor during World War II.

Regrettably, current debate on foreign workers in Japan refers to Japan's past experience only rarely and inaccurately.<sup>2</sup> When we discuss the current issue of foreign workers in Japan, I think it is indispensable to take into account the country's earlier experience with those workers. The purpose of this article is to add some historical dimension to the current debate on the issue.

Unskilled workers were predominantly Koreans and Chinese in prewar Japan.<sup>3</sup> In this article, unlike most of the work on Koreans and Chinese in prewar Japan, I would like to focus on two specific periods which have seldom been associated with these workers. First, I will deal with Koreans in the late 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, and then with Chinese in the early 1920s. Thus, I would like to challenge the widely held assumptions that Korean workers began to immigrate only after the annexation of Korea in 1910, and that before the forced labor during World War II Chinese migration was a social issue in Japan only in the late 19th century. The objective of this article is to demonstrate that these are

myths! Before going into these points in detail, I would like to summarize very briefly the evolution of Japanese policy on foreign workers in the prewar period, that is from 1859 to 1945.

The history of prewar Japanese policy on foreign workers can be divided into three periods. The first period is from 1859 to 1899, when Japan had foreign settlements in its territory and foreigners were allowed to stay only in these restricted areas. The second period is from 1899 to 1939. In 1899, foreign settlements were abolished and Westerners were free to live and work anywhere in the country. At the same time, an imperial decree on foreign workers was issued, forcing Chinese workers to live and work only in the ex-foreign settlements. The third and last period is from 1939 to 1945. In 1939, the Japanese government allowed Japanese companies to massively recruit Koreans in Korea and Japan, and the war-time mobilization of Korean workers began. Chinese workers from northern China were also mobilized starting in 1941.

## II. Myth regarding prewar Korean workers

It is generally accepted by historians that Koreans began to immigrate to Japan in the late 1910s owing to the labor shortage in Japan, caused by the economic boom during World War I. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Korean immigration continued to grow, as mentioned above.

It is also well documented that in the 1880s and 1890s heated debate took place on *Naichi-Zakkyo*, or mixed residence by Japanese and foreign nationals

in Japan. At that time, Japan allowed foreign merchants to live and work only in the foreign settlements, such as those in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, and the Japanese government did not have jurisdiction over foreign residents in these settlements. This arrangement was established under the unequal treaties the Tokugawa regime concluded with the Western powers in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that Chinese were also restricted to living and working in the settlements, while Koreans were "free" to live and work in Japan outside the settlements. This was mainly because of the fact that Japan claimed to hold jurisdiction over Koreans in Japan after the treaty of amity between Japan and Korea was concluded in 1876. This contrast in legal status between Chinese and Koreans in Japan has received appropriate attention neither from historians of modern Japan nor from researchers of the Chinese and Korean communities in Japan. I have elaborated on this difference elsewhere (Yamawaki, 1994:35-48), and will not repeat that analysis here.

The Japanese government finally succeeded in revising the unequal treaties, and, in exchange for obtaining jurisdiction over foreigners, began to allow foreigners to live and work throughout Japan in 1899. At the same time, however, Imperial Ordinance No.352 became effective, and Chinese workers were allowed to live and work only in the ex-foreign settlements.

Most of the research on Koreans in prewar Japan maintains that the history of Koreans in Japan began in 1910 when the annexation of Korea to Japan took place. There are three reasons fo



this. First is a basic historical proposition on which most of the researchers of Koreans in Japan base their work: that the presence of *zainichi chosenshin*, or Koreans in Japan, is a result of the colonization of Korea by Japanese imperialism. Second, Imperial Ordinance No.352 was to restrict foreign workers, including Koreans, in the ex-foreign settlements, and this ordinance ceased to apply to Koreans in 1910. Third, until 1910 there were very few Koreans in Japan, consisting mostly of students and some political exiles. According to the *Nihon To-kei Nenkan* [Japan Statistical Yearbook], the number of Koreans in Japan in 1909 was 790 (Morita, 1968:64).

For example, Weiner (1989:52) argues that "[u]ntil 1910 the Korean community in Japan was composed primarily of students, political exiles and consular officials. Although there may have been a small number of Koreans who were illegally in the coal mining industry before this time, the evidence is by no means conclusive." Weiner adds that Imperial Ordinance No.352 and its supplementary ordinance "appear to have been designed with the express purpose of preventing the entry of foreign laborers. By the act of annexation, however, these immigration laws ceased to apply to Koreans."

Analyzing documents on Koreans in Japan from the Diplomatic Record Office of the Foreign Ministry of Japan, I have maintained elsewhere that Koreans were exempted from the application of Ordinance No.352, and that they were free to live and work in Japan both before and after 1899 (Yamawaki, 1994:35-111). Here I will just quote some empirical evidence which demon-

strates the presence of Korean workers in Japan before 1910.

One case is that of more than two hundred Korean miners in the Choja Coal Mine in Kyushu who arrived there from Korea in 1897 and 1898. Tojo(1991) made this case known in his work which draws on a series of special articles on those workers in the local newspaper, *Moji Shinpo* [New Moji Times]. Tojo tells us of the Choja Coal Mine in Saga Prefecture, which was managed by a local entrepreneur called Higashishima. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the coal industry was booming, and coal mines in Saga faced a severe shortage of labor. In December 1896, Higashishima asked the Governor of Nagasaki to allow him to employ Chinese workers, but the Governor recommended the employment of Korean workers. Thus, Higashishima brought about 230 Korean workers in four groups between August 1897 and February 1898 from Korea with the assistance of a labor broker from Tsushima, a Japanese island situated very near Korea. These Koreans seemed not to know that they were to work in a coal mine, and some of them tried to escape after two months of work. On January 22, 1898, which was the lunar New Year's Day, there was a fight between the Korean miners and the Japanese, and more than sixty Koreans escaped from the mine.

Another piece of evidence comes from the statistical yearbooks of the *Tokanfu* [Residency-General]. Table 1 shows the number of Koreans who arrived in Japan in 1907. It is noteworthy that among the Koreans who arrived in Japan, the biggest group is *dekasegi* or migrant workers. Since peddlers of

Korean candy were probably among those classified as merchants, and some of those peddlers are known to have become laborers, I suspect that close to half of the Koreans who came to Japan in 1907 were migrant workers.

Table 2 shows the number of Koreans who arrived in Japan from 1904 to 1909. These numbers strongly indicate that there were more Koreans living in Japan than is suggested by the *Nihon To-kei Nenkan*.

### III. Myth regarding prewar Chinese workers

In most accounts of Japanese history, apart from the forced labor of the 1940s, Chinese workers are mentioned only in relation to the debate on mixed residence in the 1880s and 1890s. It is well recorded that they were the subject of the national debate as to whether Japan should allow foreign nationals to live in Japan after the abolishment of foreign settlements. Many Japanese agreed that Westerners could be allowed to live in Japan, but not Chinese. The result was that Chinese workers were enclosed in the ex-foreign settlements. In the following, I would like to show that the question of Chinese workers was a serious social problem in the 1920s as well.

On February 1, 1918, Ministerial Ordinance No.1 on the Entry of Foreigners, issued by the Ministry of the Interior, became effective. This was the first legal regulation on the entry of foreigners in the modern history of Japan. The first clause of this ordinance listed types of foreigners that were to be prohibited from entering Japan. It mentions those in need of relief, such as the

mentally incompetent, the mentally ill, the poor, and others, and this was later used by the Japanese authorities in justifying their rejection of the entry of Chinese workers in the 1920s.

According to Table 3, Chinese workers found working without work permits began to increase in the late 1910s, when the Japanese economy was booming because of World War I. It is well known that this was the period when Korean workers came to immigrate to Japan, but it was also the case for Chinese. In 1921, the number increased greatly, such as in the case of longshoremen, who exceeded 1000, up from just seven in 1920, but there seemed to be no significant enforcement yet.

In 1922, the enforcement began. On January 7, 47 Chinese who arrived in Kobe on board a boat from Shanghai were refused entry, and on March 13, 170 Chinese workers in Tokyo were ordered to leave Japan.<sup>4</sup> On October 12, five representatives of more than 300 Japanese longshoremen in Tokyo appealed to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Metropolitan Police Board to expel Chinese workers from Japan. They said that they felt threatened because Chinese workers had invaded their workplace since the previous year. They further said that Chinese workers numbered more than 500 in the city and that they could not compete with the Chinese since the Chinese worked for a salary 30% lower than that of the Japanese workers.

Observing the harsh treatment of Chinese workers by the Japanese government, Chinese students in Japan put pressure on the Chinese Embassy to protest throughout 1922. On April 4, a

first letter of protest was sent by the Chinese charge d'affaires to the Japanese Foreign Minister, and subsequent letters were sent on April 17 and 20, June 4, 17, 20, and 27. The protest was persistent, but the Foreign Ministry kept rejecting the Chinese claim that the "workers" whom the Japanese government were trying to control were in fact merchants and technicians. On October 10, the Chinese consul in Nagasaki also went to Tokyo to appeal to the Foreign Ministry for the relaxation of the regulation on Chinese workers (Yamawaki, 1994:124-127).

On February 13, 1923, a fight between Japanese and Chinese workers took place in Yokohama. About 300 workers were involved, and 20 were injured. The fight was instigated by the Japanese workers who felt threatened by the Chinese working for less money. There were other instances of violent conflicts between the Japanese and migrant workers, but by far the most disastrous incident for migrant workers took place in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake of September 1, 1923. It is relatively well known that approximately 6,000 Koreans were killed by the Japanese military, police, and common people in the aftermath of the earthquake. On the other hand, the fact that Chinese were also killed got much less attention until recently. According to a recent survey, almost 700 Chinese were killed by the Japanese, mainly in Tokyo and Yokohama (Niki, 1993:85). In Tokyo's Oshima district alone, where the dormitories for Chinese workers were concentrated, more than 400 Chinese were killed. I believe that this massive killing of Chinese workers eloquently demonstrates that the issue of Chinese workers in the 1920s was a se-

rious problem that should not be ignored by those who investigate the question of foreign workers in contemporary Japan.

#### IV. Conclusion

In this article, I have sought to demonstrate that the question of how to deal with foreign workers is a much older one for Japan than some would think. To this end, I have documented that as early as the late 1890s Korean workers were employed in groups in a coal mine in Kyushu, and that the inflow of "illegal" Chinese workers was a serious social concern in Tokyo in the early 1920s. In both cases, these immigrants supplied cheap unskilled labor and occupied the lowest of positions in the Japanese economic structure. The relationship between these workers and the Japanese people was severely strained

In discussing the issue of foreign workers in contemporary Japan, Japanese scholars and journalists tend to refer to the experience of Western countries, such as Germany. Unlike the U.S.A., neither Japan nor Germany has a formal system of accepting foreigners as immigrants, so it may make a certain sense to compare the cases of the two countries. But it seems to me that the prevalence of such comparison reflects Japan's indifference to its own past.

Japan does have its own experience in dealing with immigrant workers, and I believe that Japan can and should learn more from its experience. To do this we need a more precise understanding of our history. This article is meant to be a contribution to the better understanding of the history of immigrant laborers in Japan. I believe that the reexamination

of our relations with the Korean and Chinese communities before and after World War II can help us greatly in formulating a framework on which our analysis on foreign workers in Japan can be based.<sup>7</sup>

Note:

1) Koreans were not foreigners after Korea became a colony of Japan in 1910 in the strict legal sense. However, they were treated as *Gaichi-jin*, or those belonging to the outer territory, and their legal status was different from *Naichi-jin*, or those belonging to the inner territory, that is, subjects of the suzerain.

2) Ito (1990) is one of the few exceptions in which she reviews the Korean immigration in the 1920s and 1930s as well as the forced labor of Koreans and Chinese during World War II. She points out that the current debate on foreign workers fails to refer to the immigrant communities which originated in the prewar period.

3) The focus of this inquiry is limited to the modern period, since the legal distinction between "Japanese" and "foreigner" only became applicable as Japan as a modern nation-state was formed.

4) Table of Chinese who were rejected for entry, *Shina Ro-do-sha Nyukoku Torishimari Kankei Ikken* [A Case on the Control of Entry of Chinese Workers]1:600, "Chinese workers were persuaded to leave," *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, March 14, 1922.

5) "Appeal of longshoremen in the face of the invasion of Chinese workers," *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, Oct. 13, 1922.

6) "300 Japanese and Chinese fight in Yokohama," *Jiji Shinpo*, Feb. 15, 1923.

7) Prof. Tanaka Hiroshi of Hitotsubashi University suggests that looking back to Japan's own historical experience should also help us in analyzing the current issue regarding Southeast Asian women in the sex and entertainment industry in the country. They are sometimes called "Japa-yuki-san," or women who go to Japan. This term originates from "Kara yuki-san," or women who go abroad which referred to the Japanese women who migrated to Southeast Asia to work as prostitutes before World War II. This terminology implies a parallel relation between the two phenomena, but no study of the comparison has yet been done.

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Table 1. Koreans who arrived in Japan (1907)

|              | labor      | commerce   | study      | fishing   | others     | total       |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Pusan        | 295        | 0          | 130        | 0         | 0          | 425         |
| Wonsan       | 0          | 244        | 9          | 0         | 47         | 300         |
| Mokpo        | 21         | 18         | 0          | 20        | 21         | 80          |
| Inchon       | -          | -          | -          | -         | 63         | 63          |
| Pyongyang    | 0          | 2          | 50         | 0         | 3          | 55          |
| Daegu        | 10         | 6          | 9          | 0         | 16         | 41          |
| others       | 1          | 10         | 25         | 0         | 2          | 38          |
| <b>total</b> | <b>327</b> | <b>280</b> | <b>223</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>152</b> | <b>1002</b> |

All numbers of Inchon are included in "others," since no breakdown is known.  
Source: *Dai 2-ji Tokanfu To-kei Nenpo* [The Second Statistical Yearbook of the Residency-General] Table 50.

Table 2. Koreans who arrived in Japan 1904-1909

| 1904 | 1905 | 1906 | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 3080 | 1944 | 1000 | 1600 | 2706 | 1498 |

Sources: *Dai 3-ji Tokanfu Tokei Nenpo* [The Third Statistical Yearbook of the Residency-General] Table 62, *Dai 4-ji Cho-sen So-tokufu To-kei Nenpo*- [The Fourth Statistical Yearbook of the Government-General of Korea] Table 63.

Table 3. Chinese Workers without Work Permits (as of April 1924)

|                 | 1918       | 1919       | 1920       | 1921        | 1922        | 1923        | 1924        |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Carrier         | 0          | 0          | 3          | 0           | 31          | 421         | 475         |
| Coolie          | 38         | 76         | 106        | 249         | 2271        | 2327        | 467         |
| Cook            | 65         | 85         | 124        | 285         | 337         | 340         | 344         |
| Barber          | 81         | 80         | 94         | 106         | 211         | 248         | 174         |
| Construction    | 0          | 0          | 0          | 0           | 57          | 110         | 60          |
| Clamp craftsman | 36         | 51         | 55         | 122         | 460         | 217         | 51          |
| Carpenter       | 0          | 0          | 0          | 0           | 0           | 0           | 45          |
| Tailor          | 1          | 4          | 2          | 4           | 20          | 18          | 29          |
| Longshoreman    | 0          | 1          | 7          | 1012        | 162         | 517         | 4           |
| <b>Total</b>    | <b>243</b> | <b>323</b> | <b>438</b> | <b>1912</b> | <b>3703</b> | <b>4356</b> | <b>1730</b> |

(These numbers exclude those in Kanagawa before the Great Kanto Earthquake.)

Source: *Gaiji Keisatsuho* [Report of the Police for Foreign Affairs] No.25:116-119.

**Table 4. Number of Chinese Workers by Region**  
(as of August 1923)

|              | inside ex-F.S. | outside ex-F.S. |                 | total       |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
|              |                | with permits    | without permits |             |
| Tokyo        | 0              | 743             | 1613            | 2356        |
| Kanagawa     | 653            | 22              | 490             | 1165        |
| Aichi        | 0              | 21              | 404             | 425         |
| Hyogo        | 664            | 229             | 293             | 1186        |
| Osaka        | 10             | 704             | 233             | 947         |
| Kyoto        | 0              | 284             | 82              | 366         |
| Nagasaki     | 111            | 98              | 0               | 209         |
| <b>total</b> | <b>1452</b>    | <b>2256</b>     | <b>3641</b>     | <b>7349</b> |

(F.S. stands for foreign settlements.) Source: *Shinsaimae Shinajin Ro-do-sha Chosahyo-* [Survey of Chinese Workers before the Earthquake], the Diplomatic Record of the Foreign Ministry of Japan, 1.5.2.2-6-6:1146.

**Table 5. Number of Chinese Workers by Occupation**  
(as of August 1923)

|                 | inside ex-F.S. | outside ex-F.S. |                 | total |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|
|                 |                | with permits    | without permits |       |
| Coolie          | 40             | 0               | 1955            | 1995  |
| Peddlers*       | 25             | 0               | 474             | 499   |
| Barber Cook     | 129            | 1249            | 417             | 1795  |
| Odd-jobber      | 386            | 25              | 214             | 625   |
| Tailor          | 292            | 1               | 84              | 377   |
| Cramps          | 2              | 6               | 55              | 63    |
| Miner           | 0              | 0               | 47              | 47    |
| wisteria worker | 36             | 0               | 44              | 80    |

Source: *Shinsaimae Shina Rbdo-sha Beppyo-* [Survey of Chinese Workers before the Earthquake], the Diplomatic Record of the Foreign Ministry of Japan, 1.5.2.2-6-6:1147. \*Indicates peddlers who are likely to become manual laborers.

# A Course on "Introduction to Peace Research" at Keisen Jogakuen College

**Mayako ISHII**

*Keisen Jogakuen College*

A course on "Introduction to Peace Research" is a one-year compulsory course for the over 200 first-year students of the Faculty of Humanities of Keisen Jogakuen College. Why compulsory? The reason is that the founder of Keisen Jogakuen (Keisen Women's Educational Foundation), Michiko Kawai, wished to raise awakened women who thought globally and independently and had the mind and abilities to work toward peace with people throughout the world, when she established the Jogakuen in 1929 on the eve of the time of ultra-nationalism and militarism in Japan. The course is a kind of "Inter-disciplinary subject" which is intended to give an integrated perspective on peace research. It is now conducted by the coordinating teacher, and is well organised, but it has been developed through trial and error since it was started six years ago in 1988, when the four-year college was added to the Jogakuen.

The course was at first named "Peace Studies" and was taught by Prof. Ohtori Kurino, former President of the Peace Research Association of Japan. But he found it difficult to teach over two hundred students together by himself, and from 1992, under his initiative, the course was renamed and three Keisen teachers shared the lectures, also inviting some guest speakers such as NGO leaders, journalists and so on.

In the 1993 academic year, four teachers shared the course, the main topics being (1) Discrimination and Human Rights---Japanese history and responsibility, post-war compensation, so-called 'comfort women' (Utsumi), (2) South and North problem---poverty and development, food and population, ODA and assistance by NGOs (Ohashi), (3) Racial Problems of Middle East and Regional Conflicts (Miyaji), (4) Environment and Peace--nuclear pollution, economic aspects of pollution, peace in thought and action (Ishii). Though we could not involve guest lecturers this year, we attained our educational goals fairly well by using many audio visual materials such as "The Past never passes away," "Han in Silence" made by KBS (South Korea), "The Battle in Okinawa--Witnesses for the future," "Dark Circle" and so on.

For students of the second-year and above, there is a special lecture and a seminar on peace studies. In this spring vacation, seven seminar students went on a study tour to Bangladesh for ten days, and had fruitful experiences there. This tour was organised and led by Mr. Ohashi, the ex-general secretary of Shapla Neer (one of the active Japanese NGOs working in Bangladesh), who is now a central member of staff at our college.

## Main Activities of the PSAJ in 1993

The 1993 Spring Session was held on July 5-6, at Mie University, Z(Tsu) City under the main theme of "Civil Society and Peace Research".

Hegemonical World and the Perspectives of Peace." The Session commemorated the 20th anniversary of Peace Studies Association of Japan.

The 1993 Fall Session was held on November 13-14, 1993 at Chuo University, under the main theme of "The Non-

Local study meetings were organized in several regions throughout the nation under a variety of topics.

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### NEWS

#### Visiting Japan?

It may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise PSAJ secretariat or the Overseas Liaison Committee of your plans as far in advance as possible.

#### Newsletter Networking

The annual PSAJ Newsletter is available free of charge to all those interested in the activities of the Association. In order to promote global networking of similar newsletters, it would be appreciated if information on the availability and contents of the PSAJ Newsletter could be included in any newsletter you know. Information on the availability and contents of overseas newsletters can be included in our biannual Japanese newsletter.

#### Recent Publications

*Heiwa Kenkyu* (Peace Studies)—Annals of the PSAJ

Short English summaries of the articles are included in each issue. Each issue is available from Waseda University Press, 1-103 Totsuka-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160, Japan. The price of each issue is ¥2,800.

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ISOMURA Sanae, SATO Motohiko

#### Peace Studies in the Post-Cold War Period

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A New Pacific: A Northeast Asian Perspective

KIM Young-Ho

New Alternatives for Japan in the Post-Cold War Era:

A View from the Southwest Pacific

Kevin P. CLEMENTS

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Glenn D. HOOK

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