CONTENTS

Preface 3
Introduction 5

PART I THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Chapter 1. Theoretical Considerations 13

Chapter 2. The International Refugee Regime 27

1. THE CURRENT REGIME
2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE REGIME
   Refugee Agencies During the Inter-War Period 31
   Refugee Agencies During and Shortly After WWII 35
   The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR: 1951-Present) 40
   The Expansion of the UNHCR-centered Refugee Regime 45
   Back to the Norm: Who is a Refugee? 49
   Voluntary Repatriation-as-a- “Durable Solution” 51
   The Refugee Regime and the Internally Displaced 52
3. CONCLUSIONS 54

Chapter 3. Japan’s Imperialist Refugee Policy, 1890s-1945 59

1. EXILES FOR AND FROM REVOLUTIONS (1890s - 1920s) 59
   Exiles for Revolution: Asian Revolutionaries 60
   Exiles From Revolution: Russian Refugees 66
   Japan’s Policy Towards Russian Refugees 67
   Japan and the League of Nations 70
   Russian Refugees and Russian POWs: A Comparison 71
2. ESCAPE FROM THE HOLOCAUST: JEWISH REFUGEES (1938 - 1945) 74
   Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (the 1930s) 75
   The Polish Jewish Refugees and Japan 81
   Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (Early 1940S) 85
   The Jewish Ghetto in Shanghai (1943-1945) 90
   Jewish Intermediaries for Peace 92
   Conclusions 94
## Part II Japan’s Contemporary Refugee Policy

### Chapter 4. The 1978 Indochinese Refugee Resettlement & After 97

1. The Background: Isolationist Refugee Policy (1952-1970s) 97
2. The 1978 Resettlement Decision 102
   Summary 119
3. After the Resettlement Decision 120
   Summary 131

### Chapter 5. The 1981 Accession to the Refugee Convention 133

1. Japan’s Refugee Before Accession 133
2. The 1981 Accession Decision 137
   Factors which have delayed accession 138
   Factors which have accelerated accession 142
   Domestic Legal Reforms Necessary for Accession 144
3. Conclusions 149

### Chapter 6. General Refugee Recognition Policy 151

1. The GOJ’s Overall Reaction to Amnesty’s Criticism 170
2. Conclusions 171

### Chapter 7. Case Studies of General Asylum Policy 173

1. North Korean Asylum-Seekers 174
   From Japan To Taiwan 178
   From Taiwan To South Korea 180
   The Japanese Seamen vs. the North Korean Soldier 185
   Summary 188
2. Chinese Asylum-Seekers 190
   Japan’s Policy Towards Chinese Students on its Territory 191
   The PRC’s Treatment of the Chinese Students in Japan 197
   Summary 200

### Chapter 8. External Refugee Policy 203

1. Financial Contribution 204
   Summary 213
2. Human Contributions 215
   Japan and the Gulf War 217
   Japan’s Actual Human Contributions for Refugee Relief 225
3. Conclusions 238

#### Conclusions 241

#### Notes 247

#### Bibliography 297

#### Index 313