Two-day Online International Workshop
WWII in the Asia-Pacific: Border Crossing Mobilities

Dates and Time: Monday 18 July 2022 - Tuesday 19 July 2022

Venue: Online via Zoom (TBA)

Website: http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/research/ihhss/events/article.html/?id=77

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Important Information
The Workshop is free and open to the public. Please register here (https://une-au.zoom.us/meeting/register/tZEpcu2srjwuEtwsJAYDrjA-uofE9BAOMBlE) prior to the conference.

About the workshop
This workshop focuses on international mobilities and migration as a way to understand the impacts of WWII across the Asia-Pacific region. Crises, including war, famine, natural disasters, political upheavals (such as revolution), epidemics and pandemics, create human mobilities and migration on a large scale. WWII was no exception. Charles Tilly describes World War II as "one of the greatest demographic whirlwinds to sweep the earth" (Tilly 2006). This demographic whirlwind also swept through the battlefields of the Asia Pacific region. While there is substantial research on war mobilities in the European context (deportees, expellees, refugees, etc.), much less is documented about similar experiences in Asia and the Pacific, despite ample cases of such mobilities (forced labourers, POWs, evacuees, etc.).

This disparity likely results from two factors. First, war histories tend to be researched within a paradigm of national history at the expense of inter-regional war mobilities. Second, international migration studies (IMS) have paid scarce attention to war migration/mobilities in Asia. This workshop will challenge dominant paradigms in both war histories and IMS and enrich various social histories of war.

Types of war mobility and migration that this workshop is concerned with include, but are not limited to, the following:
- Military personnel as (coerced) mobile/migrant military labour
- Civilian internees and labourers as forced migrants of war
- Evacuees and deportees as forced migrants of war
- POWs as forced migrants and forced labourers of war
- Embedded journalists and war artists
- Military medical staff
- Religious missionaries

The key factor that must be addressed is the crossing of borders, whether internal or external, across land or water. The period of war mobilities and migration for this workshop is set from 1931 to 1953.

In East Asia there were several battles prior to 1941, including the Manchurian incident. And just five years after the end of WWII the Korean war began, so again the Asia Pacific region was fighting a war, with the line between hot and cold never clear. This workshop thus situates WWII within a chain of small and larger conflicts. Although the focal period is from 1931 to 1953, the impacts of war mobilities and migration created ongoing effects and the causes may have had roots prior to 1931. Therefore, the period from 1931 to 1953 may be flexibly interpreted as regards the causes and impacts of war mobilities.

By identifying various types of war mobilities and migration, the transnational connections or disconnections resulting from them, and the manifested outcomes of these mobilities, this workshop aims to present complex histories of World War II and to shift familiar ways of understanding this war, and the empires and (changing) borders that have often defined it. Some key questions include:

- How did war mobilities and migration create new transnational connections or flows of ideas, while disconnecting other ones?
- How did war mobilities and migration challenge a regional framework by connecting Asia and the Pacific?
- How did war mobilities and migration impact on colonial structures and create different social realities and connectivities?
- How did war mobilities and migration reproduce and enforce colonial power structures?
- How did war mobilities and migration impact on gender roles and relations in colonial societies?
- How do war mobilities and migration in Asia and the Pacific enable us to contextualise this region in a world history of the Second World War?

Day 1 Program: Monday 18 July 2022

19:00 – 19:15	**Opening** *Introductory Remarks*: **Yasuko Hassall KOBAYASHI**, Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University
19:15 – 20:15	**Keynote Speech** *The war of magnificent distances* **Kirsten ZIOMEK**, Associate Professor, Adelphi University (Chair - Yasuko Hassall KOBAYASHI)
20:15 – 20:55	**Presentation 1** *Immigrating to Heaven, Returning from Hell. Documenting testimonies from "Chinese Residual Orphans" in Haneda Sumiko's Japanese Settlers in Manchuria (2008)* **Marcos CENTERO**, Lecturer in Media Studies and Honorary Research Fellow, University of Valencia and Birkbeck/University of London (Chair - TBA)
20:55 – 21:35	**Presentation 2** *Jewish Mobility and Aid Organisations in the Asia-Pacific* **Niamh HANRAHAN**, PhD Candidate, University of Manchester (Chair - TBA)
21:35 – 21:45	10 Minutes Break
21:45 – 22:25	**Presentation 3** *Japanese Total War System, War Mobilisation and Migration: the case of comfort women* **Yasuko Hassall KOBAYASHI**, Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University (Chair - TBA)
22:25 – 23:05	**Presentation 4** *Mobilizing Empire Toward the South: The Takunan Project in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere* **Yuri OKUBO**, Waseda University (Chair - TBA)
23:05 – 23:45	**Presentation 5** *Exiles, Refugees, and Evangelists: Missionary and Chinese Christian Mobility in the Asia-Pacific War, 1941-1945* **Anthony J Miller**, Assistant Professor, Hanover College (Chair - TBA)

Day 2 Program: Tuesday 19 July 2022

13:00 – 13:10	**Opening** *Introductory Remarks:* **Rowena WARD**, Senior Lecturer, University of Wollongong
13:10 – 13:50	**Presentation 6** *The Hai River Floating Corpse Mystery: North Chinese Labor Migrants and the Management of Mobility in 1930s Tianjin* **Alyssa WANG**, PhD Candidate, Princeton University (Chair - TBA)
13:50 – 14:30	**Presentation 7** *Buraku Emigrants in Imperial Japan in the 1920s and 30s* **Rory HUANG**, PhD Candidate, University of California, Los Angeles (Chair - TBA)
14:30 – 15:10	Presentation 8 *To the Utopia across the Ocean: Kawase Isamu and an Origin of Grassroots Internationalism in Post-war Japan* **Shinnosuke TAKAHASHI**, Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington (Chair - TBA)
15:10 – 15:20	10 Minutes Break
15:20 – 16:00	**Presentation 9** *Racism, Admiration and Sinicisation: The Mobility of the Australian Expatriates in China and Their Diverse Perceptions of Chinese in the 1930s and 1940s* **Bolin HU**, PhD Candidate, University of Auckland (Chair - TBA)
16:00 – 16:40	**Presentation 10** *Japanese Diplomats on the Move: December 1941 to September 1942* **Rowena WARD**, Senior Lecturer, University of Wollongong (Chair - TBA)
16:40 – 17:20	**Presentation 11** *Performing repatriation at Maizuru, 1945-1958: an analysis of Japanese press coverage* **Jonathan BULL**, Associate Professor, Hokkaido University **Steven IVINGS,** Associate Professor, Kyoto University (Chair - TBA)
17:20 – 17:40	**Closing Remarks** **Christine de MATOS**, The University of Notre Dame Australia

Day 1

Introductory Remarks
Dr Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi
(Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University)

The war of magnificent distances
Dr Kirsten Ziomek (keynote speaker)
(Associate Professor, Adelphi University)

Kirsten Ziomek is an associate professor of history at Adelphi University in New York. She received her BA from Northwestern University and completed her PhD from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research focuses on the Japanese empire, colonial subjects, indigenous people, the Asia-Pacific War, visual culture and imagery, and comparative imperialisms. Her articles have appeared in The Journal of Asian Studies and Critical Asian Studies. Her first book Lost Histories: Recovering the Lives of Japan's Colonial Peoples was published in 2019 by Harvard University Asia Center and received an honorable mention for the John Whitney Hall prize for the best book on Japan. Her current book project explores the war in the Pacific during World War II through the eyes of Japanese colonial subjects– some who were co-opted into the Japanese Imperial Army as soldiers and forced laborers –– and the indigenous people who found their home islands transformed into the frontlines.

Immigrating to Heaven, Returning from Hell. Documenting testimonies from "Chinese Residual Orphans" in Haneda Sumiko's Japanese Settlers in Manchuria (2008).
Dr Marcos Centero
(Lecturer in Media Studies and Honorary Research Fellow,
University of Valencia and Birbeck University of London)

This paper seeks to re-examine the history of the Japanese colonisation of Manchuria through the for a long-time neglected voices of the children of the settlers who travelled to Manchukuo at the last years of the war and were left behind after the Japanese surrender, as they are captured by Haneda Sumiko in her full-length documentary The Japanese Settlers to the Manchuria and Inner Mongolia of Mainland China (Aa manmōkaitaku-dan, 2008). Haneda is a pioneering female director in post-war Japan whose trailblazing oeuvre has not received the attention it deserves by scholars so far. The Japanese Settlers was one of the films she made with her most personal engagement. Being born in Dalian, a Japanese colony in Northeast China, she was a daughter of the Japanese diaspora overseas herself, witnessed the Soviet invasion of Manchukuo and the evacuation of the settlers. Her father was the principal of Dalian Vocational School, which became an improvised camp for refugees for those settlers from the hinterland who mainly were women and children. Haneda returned to Japan in the second repatriation that took place on July 1948 but in her memories she wondered if all the Japanese had managed to return (Haneda 2014).

The starting point of Haneda's research is a trial taking place in the first decade of the 21st century to establish the responsibility of the Japanese government for the so-called "Chinese residual orphans" (Chūgoku zanryū minashigo). Then, Haneda joins a tour that was being organised to visit the Japanese settlements in Manchuria and a cemetery that the Chinese authorities had built for the settlers and a Japanese Friendship Park in Fangzheng county. Why would the Chinese authorities build these spaces for the memory of the colonisers? From this enigmatic finding, Haneda unfolds the irony that the children of the Japanese settlers represent: while they were part of the colonial structures, they

also became victims of it.

This paper examines how Haneda approaches this transnational history of the colonisation of Manchukuo from a gender perspective. Rather than narrating this story from the point of view of the elites of the empire, the military of the heads of the households, Haneda mostly explores the neglected stories of women who were the protagonists and main victims of this historical episode. By August 1945, Manchukuo was thought to be relatively safe place, so the Kwantung Army had been transferred to the battlefields in the Pacific. Thus, when the Soviet Union declared sudden war on Japan, all men from the settlements were summoned by the army to defend the Mantetsu Railway in the South, leaving behind thousands of women and children alone. These testimonies featured in the film are provisionally divided into those explaining the tragic evacuation (which includes massive suicides and parents scarifying their own children), the adoptions by Chinese families and their life after evacuation. The gender perspective is particularly relevant when studying the relationship between the history of Manchukuo-Japan and propaganda films. Haneda's documentary will be examined in relation to the propaganda films made by Japan´s first female director, Sakane Tazuko, who made some propaganda films to persuade peasants in Japan, and particularly women and potential wives, to move to ´promised land' of Manchukuo at the end of the war, even few months before the Japanese surrender.

Marcos Centero is Lecturer in Media Studies at the Universitat de València and Honorary Research Fellow in Japanese Studies at Birkbeck, University of London where he was the Japanese Studies Programme director. Before that, Centeno was lecturer for the Department of Japan and Korea at SOAS where he convened the MA 'Global Cinemas and the Transcultural'. He was also guest lecturer at universities such as Nanzan, Ochanomizu, and Pittsburgh, Research Associate at Waseda University in Tokyo. He completed his PhD thesis in 2015 with a thesis on Hani Susumu's theoretical and practical contributions to documentary film. His research interests revolve around Japanese documentary film, war-time memory, transnationality and representation of minorities. His most recent research project *Japanese Documentary Filmmaker Haneda Sumiko* has received grants from Sasakawa, Japan Foundation and Birkbeck Research Strategic Funds. He has recently coedited with Michael Raine *Developments in the Japanese Documentary Mode* (Mdpi, 2021) and with Norimasa Morita *Japan beyond its Borders: Transnational Approaches to Film and Media* (Seibunsha, 2020).

Jewish Mobility and Aid Organisations in the Asia-Pacific

Niamh Hanrahan
(PhD Candidate, University of Manchester)

This paper focuses on the forced migration of Jewish refugees from Europe to Asia, as a result of increasing persecutions in Europe, with the rise of Nazism. Specifically, this paper aims to understand the role of aid organisations, both local and international, that attempted to help them cross borders to find safer refuge. The paper draws upon my PhD project, titled *An Asian refugee crisis? Humanitarian relief of Jewish refugees in Hong Kong, Kobe, Manila and Surabaya (1931-1953).* Whilst much scholarship on Jewish migration to Asia during this period has focused on Shanghai, this paper focuses on other Asian sites of migration which have been less well addressed. These places highlight the complex nature of war mobilities and provide rich case studies for understanding how both Jewish refugees and aid organisations contended with forced journeys across numerous lands. For example, many of the Jews who arrived in Kobe in the early 1940s came there via Poland, Lithuania and the Soviet Union, using the Trans-Siberian Railway and sea travel to cross multiple borders. Aid organisations were crucial in funding these journeys, however due to limited finances often had eligibility stipulations, which affected who could make the crossings. This paper will also discuss how throughout their border journeys, refugees often had to contend with the bureaucracies of colonial

powers. Many Jewish refugees in Asia were in places where there were successive colonial power structures - for example, those in Hong Kong in this time period would have encountered both British and Japanese rule. This paper will argue that in many cases utilising the influence of colonial powers, rather than disrupting them, was a way for aid groups to facilitate Jewish mobility. For example, aid workers and leaders of the already established Jewish community of Manila worked with US High Commissioner Paul McNutt to establish plans for Jewish emigration there. Therefore, this paper will highlight the increased transnational scope of international aid organisations seen in this period and the, often colonial, networks utilised in order to increase the amount of refugee crossings to safer spaces. Alongside this, the paper will also consider the obstacles these organisations encountered through their work and how these affected Jewish refugees' ability to successfully complete border crossings - for example, the financial resources and funding abilities of some organisations, like the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), were severely restricted due to conditions of the Pacific War. The paper argues that aid organisations were a crucial part of Jewish refugee border crossings in the Asia-Pacific, which have been overlooked in literature so far. In doing so, it aims to highlight the study of refugees' war mobility and the aid groups that facilitated this movement and further emphasise the importance of a focus on Asian Jewish migration within a global history of the Second World War.

Niamh Hanrahan is in her first year of her PhD in Humanitarianism and Conflict Response at the University of Manchester. Her project considers humanitarian responses to Jewish migration to sites in Asia between the 1930s and 1950s. She completed her MA in Holocaust Studies in the Holocaust Research Institute at Royal Holloway, where her dissertation focused on Jewish journeys to Shanghai, and specifically humanitarian photography of Jews, during WWII. Her research interests include historical humanitarianism, Holocaust era transnational migration and spatial studies.

Japanese Total War System, War Mobilisation and Migration: the case of comfort women

Dr Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi
(Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University)

In 2015, the year that marked seventy years since WWII, Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo announced a political resolution at the state level to one of the most contentious issue between Japan and Korea: that of comfort women. A key component if this resolution was that the Government of Japan committed one-billion-yen in compensation as a one-time contribution.
Several days later, Ma Ying-jeou, the then president of Taiwan, another former colony of Japanese Empire, publicly stated that "the government's stance is to demand the Japanese government apologise to the comfort women from our country during World War II, compensate them, and return justice and dignity to them…"
That voice from the Taiwanese government reminds us of the fact that issues concerning comfort women are not limited to Japan and Korea. Comfort women were widespread in the Asia Pacific region with the expansion of the Japanese empire during WWII. As soldiers moved, comfort women were also brought to serve for them in various places. The geographical realm of their mobilities went a long way beyond East Asia, and included Southeast Asia and the Pacific. How did those women manage to travel to such unprecedented lands (e.g., New Guinea)? That vast mobility would not have been possible without the establishment of a system for transporting them through the Asia Pacific region.
This talk will view comfort women as (forced) subjects of war mobilities, and will attempt to sketch the system enabling their mobilities by using both primary and secondary sources. A passport system was already well underway by the time of WWII, since it had become standard international practice after WWI. This talk also attempts to understand this particular war mobility, that of comfort women, within the Japanese system of total war. While the total war ideology advocated equal membership

of all Japanese subjects, total war was in truth hierarchical system, and its hierarchical nature is vividly revealed by the uneven nature of the mobilities that took place.

Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi is Associate Professor at the College of Global Liberal Arts, Ritsumeikan University, Japan. She is also Honorary Associate Professor at the School of Culture, History and Language, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. Her main research interest lies in transnational migration and mobilities occurring within the Asia and Pacific region, and social histories of those migrants. Her recent two books are (in English) Transpacific Visions Connected Histories of the Pacific across North and South (2021, Lexington Books) and (in Japanese, with Katsuhiko Kuroda) A World History of Trade and Transportation (2021, SEIZANDO-SHOTEN PUBLISHING). Her research also covers contemporary migration in Asia and the Pacific. She participates in this project from the vantage point of how disaster management and humanitarian aid can incorporate immigrants, rather than turning them into a vulnerable population at times of crisis.

Mobilizing Empire Toward the South: The Takunan Project in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

Yuri Okubo
(Waseda University)

This paper aims to explore the reality of border-crossing mobilities through analyzing the southern emigration policy of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs (拓務省 Takumushō) and the experience of Japanese southern emigrants in Southeast Asia during WWⅡ. By focusing on Takunan Juku (拓南塾)(Takunan Preparatory School), which Takumushō established in 1941 to nurture southern emigrants as human resources in Southeast Asia, this paper reveals 1) the process of southern emigrants becoming more nationalized through its training, and 2) how their internal borders fluctuate through contact with the local people at the dispatch site. This consideration will contribute to draw the complex history of WWⅡ and changing national borders caused by war mobilities.

The term "Takunan" (拓南), an abbreviation of "southern development," was adopted in order to remove the nuance of invasion contained in the term "southward advance" (南進) and imbue the initiative with a more positive meaning. The Japanese empire's southern emigration and mobilization policies in the 1940s were carried out under this term "Takunan". Takumushō, which was in charge of emigration to Manchuria, established the Takunan Bureau in November 1940 in order to conduct their southern emigrant policies. The policy was characterized by the training of young men around the age of 18 as practical human resources for the "development of the South" and as human resources who embodied the ideology of coexistence and co-prosperity as a model people for the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The policy of dispatching them in small numbers to each Japanese company in Southeast Asia was in contrast to Manchurian emigration, which required large numbers of emigrants to rapidly increase the Japanese population in the puppet state and to defend it against the Soviet Union.

Takumushō had two training institutions: Takunan Juku for company employees and Takunan Renseijo (Takunan Training Center) for agricultural engineers. A total of about 1,800 graduates were sent to various parts of Southeast Asia and the South Sea Islands as company employees and navy personnel. In addition, there was the Okinawa Takunan Training Center (for agricultural emigrants) in Okinawa, the Takunan Industrial and Agricultural Warriors Training Centers in colonial Taiwan, and the Sumatra

Takunan Training Center in Sumatra. Thus, Takunan can be said to be an ideology that pervaded the Japanese empire. Those southern emigrants were assigned different roles depending on ethnicity, race, and class, and women were assigned as "brides of the south".

Then, what kind of "southern emigrants" did the Japanese empire try to train in Takunan Juku? What did they actually do in the South? How did this war mobilities and migration impact on colonial structures and create different social realities and connectivities? This paper shows their experience make complicate the border of nation-states, especially by analyzing the local activities of a graduate who was dispatched to the Philippines.

Yuri Okubo is an Honorary Research Fellow at Faculty of Letters, Arts and Sciences, Waseda University. She earned her Ph.D in modern Japanese history at Japan Women's University in 2016 and taught there as an assistant professor from 2016-2021. Her research interests include social history, gender studies, and the history of thought. She is the author of "Iminshi kenkyū ni okeru jendā: Nanpō kokusaku imin o jiku toshite (Gender in the Emigration Study: A Case of Japan's Southern Emigration), Naruko Hiroko, ed., Jendā, bōryoku, kenryoku (Kyoto: Kōyo Shobō). Her first book, Dai-Toa Kyōei ken' ni okeru Nanpō kokusaku imin (Situating Southern Emigration in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere) (Kyoto: Kōyō Shobō) will be published in 2022. She is currently working on southern emigration policies and their training institutions in Okinawa and colonial Taiwan.

Exiles, Refugees, and Evangelists: Missionary and Chinese Christian Mobility in the Asia-Pacific War, 1941-1945

Anthony J. Miller
(Assistant Professor, Ritsumeikan University)

In this paper, I analyze the impact of the Asia-Pacific War on Christian missions such as the China Inland Mission and the work of Chinese Christians such as Pastor Cheng Chonggui from the widening of the war after the attack on Pearl Harbor until Japan's surrender in August 1945. After 1937, Japan's occupation of coastal China sent the personnel of missions such as the China Inland Mission sprawling. Thousands of foreign missionaries flowed in the wake of millions of Chinese refugees headed west for Chongqing to resume their roles as doctors, educators, and evangelists. Others were forced to abandon Chinese Christian churches and communities, withdrawing from the mission field to a temporary "exile" back in their home countries to wait out the war. Still others remained "behind enemy lines," later finding themselves sent as prisoners of war to camps in Shanghai and Shandong province. Similarly, many Chinese Christians such as Cheng Chonggui were displaced and carried their work as evangelists to new destinations abroad amongst the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, the US, Canada, and United Kingdom.

Focusing on mobility, I examine missionary journals and slideshows as well as Chinese Christian posters and periodicals to tease out how the Asia-Pacific War altered the transnational networks of religion that connected North America and China. In doing so, I investigate how the mobility of Protestant missionaries and Chinese Christians produced ideas about empire, postwar nation-building, and racial cooperation. Conversely, missionary retreat in the face of the Japanese Imperial Army and stories of imprisonment also fed racial anxieties about the fate of Christian missions in postwar Asia. Fears exacerbated by long-standing tensions between Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries. Issues that when combined with the increasing international visibility of Chinese evangelists generated concerns amongst Protestant missions and their supporters in North America about the increasing independence, self-reliance, and autonomy of Chinese Christians. Lastly, I show how the dynamics of wartime mobility set the stage for the postwar migration of Chinese evangelicals and Protestant missions from China to Southeast and East Asia.

Based on my dissertation titled, "Pioneers In Exile: The China Inland Mission and Missionary Mobility in Southeast Asia, 1943-1989," the current paper features new archival material taken from recent research at Hong Kong Baptist University and Boston University. One aim of my scholarship is to complicate current histories of global Christianity and China found in the work of scholars such as Daniel Bays and Xi Lian. My work stresses that while for many scholars the Maoist years were a watershed moment in the history of Christianity in China, more attention should be paid to the Asia-Pacific War. Particularly as the war produced patterns of upheaval, famine, migration, and the specter of an Asian power capable of rivaling western countries for dominance in the region that predated Mao and the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Anthony J. Miller is currently Assistant Professor of History at Hanover College where he teaches courses in the fields of World and East Asian History. Prior to coming to Hanover, Dr. Miller was previously employed at Miami University, the University of Colorado Denver's International College Beijing, the University of Maryland University College's Asia Program in Japan, and Centre College. He received his BA and MA from the University of Northern Iowa. He completed his doctorate at the University of Kentucky in 2015 after finishing his dissertation entitled "Pioneers in Exile: The China Inland Mission and Missionary Mobility in China and Southeast Asia, 1943-1989." A historian of the Cold War, he often teaches courses such as The World Since 1945 and surveys on modern Japan and China. Much of his research focuses on transnationalism, exploring the mobility of missionaries, immigrants, Chinese Christians, agriculturalists, and exiles moving back and forth between the Midwestern US and China.

Day 2

Introductory Remarks
Dr Rowena Ward
(Senior Lecturer, University of Wollongong)

The Hai River Floating Corpse Mystery: North Chinese Labor Migrants and the Management of Mobility in 1930s Tianjin
Alyssa Wang
(PhD Candidate, Princeton University)

At the start of the 1936 labor migration season, Tianjin residents awoke to multiple floating corpses in the Hai River, the city's major waterway. While the discovery of dead bodies in the river or on the streets of Tianjin was nothing new, the Hai River Floating Corpses Mystery proved to be different. Soon enough, city dwellers or police were discovering anywhere from two to over ten corpses per day for months, with more than 300 bodies recovered by May. According to coroners' reports, all the bodies were healthy working-age Chinese men dressed in the typical clothing of migrant workers. Investigators scrambled to solve the case as the local media speculated about the source of the bodies. To the relief of authorities, the bodies stopped appearing by June. However, their relief would be short-lived because the corpses would return with the start of the 1937 migration season. As Tianjin police pursued the perpetrators, it became clear that they would be unable to satisfactorily resolve the case without Japan losing face and exacerbating the already tense geopolitical situation in north China. Despite significant evidence suggesting otherwise, the police declared in late May 1937 that the hundreds of migrant workers' corpses were just suicidal, drug-addicted beggars. Although this judgment appeased the KMT central and Japanese governments, most Chinese and Western

individuals and media remained unconvinced. As rumors swirled about, such as Japanese-run mass killing sites or pickpocketing murderers disguised as labor recruiters, the victims' chances of receiving justice grew bleak until they finally evaporated with Japan's invasion of Tianjin in July 1937.

In this article, I use the Hai River Floating Corpse Mystery as a lens to understand north Chinese labor migrants' evolving status and its repercussions in the period leading up to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. After the Manchukuo government implemented a manual laborer visa system and immigration caps in spring 1934, popular discourse and official practice transformed north Chinese labor migrants from a social problem into a national security threat on both sides of the Great Wall. For the sake of protecting the nation and "ignorant" workers from Japanese predators, the KMT government restricted labor migrants' freedom of movement and recast labor recruiters as hanjian or traitors to the Han people. As the Chinese government and media bombarded the public with stories of workers' abuse by Japanese imperialists, officials' on the ground campaign against labor recruiters and migrant workers drove the Manchukuo labor trade underground. This phenomenon changed a centuries-long tradition of seasonal work migration into a dangerous journey for north Chinese laborers. I demonstrate that Chinese authorities' decision to avoid seeking full justice for the hundreds of Hai He migrant worker corpses naturalized laborers' expendability. This attitude would set a precedent for Han occupation officials who would eventually forcibly deploy millions of rural Chinese workers across the Japanese imperial realm to power the wartime effort.

Alyssa Wang is a Ph.D. Candidate in Modern East Asian History at Princeton University studying the history of human mobility and labor. Currently, she is writing a global history of north Chinese migrant workers in Northeast Asia from 1916 to 1953. Her primary focus is to articulate workers' experience of increasing political control over their freedom of movement throughout the period. She explains how policies and ideas about Chinese labor migrants established during the interwar period provided the institutional and theoretical foundations for forced labor in wartime East Asia. Further, she identifies how regressive transwar continuities in labor migration policy still restrained Chinese workers' mobility in the postwar period. Through her research, Alyssa seeks to incorporate twentieth-century East Asia into global discussions on border control, human migration, and free and unfree labor.

Buraku Emigrants in Imperial Japan in the 1920s and 30s

Rory Huang
(PhD Candidate, University of California, Los Angeles)

By tracing the transnational migration of burakumin between the 1920s to 1930s, this paper discusses how this largely neglected history points to buraku historical research's tendency to solely focus on the image of "idealized bukuramin" who challenged discrimination in their homeland.1 The historical significance of their experiences lies in the fact that they blur the binaristic distinction between colonial victims and perpetrators as these burakumin's dreams of economic freedom were forged by participation in imperial agendas. Seeking new economic opportunities, many buraku emigrants left hometowns for Hokkaido, the Americas, the Korea Peninsula, and Manchuria as either government-contract or private-contract migrants.2 Specifically, the two decades witnessed the establishment of many emigrant/colonial schools in buraku communities to persuade the poor local population to migrate to places such as Hokkaido, Manchuria, Brazil, Peru, etc. These schools, funded mainly by their movement leaders with state funds, painted rosy pictures of foreign land of no discrimination. For those settled in Hokkaido and Manchuria under the state-sanctioned programs, many buraku emigrants played the role of settler colonialists in these colonies. They became active participants and imperialist agents in Imperial Japan's dream of forming the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

This paper traces the routes these buraku emigrants took and examines why these stories had mainly been omitted in the current narratives. The absence, being overtly political itself, also reveals the politics of historical representations. The most dominant movement in buraku communities, the Suiheisha movement, has self-characterized as anti-imperialist and anti-fascist. Purportedly to represent the interests of burakumin, the buraku settler emigrants to Hokkaido and Manchuria under programs advocated by Suiheisha's earlier leaders become a standing reminder of the movement's war collaboration efforts until today. In postwar years, the movement and its postwar successor, the Buraku Liberation League, would never deem these acts of migration glorious for mobilization purposes. Instead, the movements either remain largely silent on this part of the history or quickly characterize it as a desertion of one's revolutionary ideal in defeatist mentality. Their dismissal of prewar and wartime migration might lend convenience to its continual mobilization of the buraku population, but it leaves out a whole other important realm of inquiry unexplored: what convinced them to leave the homeland? It's about the dreams of land, dreams of a world free of discrimination, dreams of being fully Japanese for the first time, and dreams of being able to participate in the agendas of the nation. This paper thus sheds light on how the phantom of Suiheisha still largely dominates our current understanding of buraku histories by monopolizing the definition of liberation and freedom for the buraku population.

Rory Huang is a Ph.D. Candidate in the History Department at the University of California, Los Angeles. She is a transnational historian of Japan and the United States in the 20th century. Her research primarily focuses on questions of empire and colonialism, social movements, and migration and race relations. After completing her BA in East Asian Studies and History at Bard College, she is currently working on a dissertation titled "A Land of Ourselves." It examines how groups of buraku activists identified with African American movements, especially Garveyism, to articulate new forms of shared freedom from historical parallels and shared political principles of the two groups. By tracing the lives of many buraku intellectuals, the study argues how their own travel experiences allowed the exchange of revolutionary ideas and the potentiality of internationalist solidarity alliances with other subjugated groups.

To the Utopia across the Ocean: Kawase Isamu and an Origin of Grassroots Internationalism in Post-war Japan

Shinnosuke Takahashi
(Lecturer, Victoria University)

On the 2nd of November in 1959, over thirty people met at the Japan Foreign Correspondents' Club near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. The main host of the event was Kawase Isamu, an expert on grassland and one of the first Japanese who had studied in New Zealand about three decades before. Next to him was John Stanhope Reid, the first New Zealand Ambassador to Japan. To the guests coming from Japan, New Zealand, and elsewhere, Kawase proudly announced the foundation of the New Zealand Society of Japan (NZSJ).

For the last several decades, the role of Japanese non-state actors in shaping the modern international community has grown to be one of the main areas of historical research. This raises a question about the hegemony of military and state-politics in international relations while highlighting the power of individuals (e.g. academics, missionaries, philanthropists, and social activists) and of culture (e.g. ideology, creed, scientific knowledge, prejudice, and emotion) that sometimes contradicts and transcends the national politics. Examining the role of non-state actors reveals the significance of cultural internationalism that connects Japan and the rest of the world through fragile threads as opposed to political realism.

While most scholarships on the subject in relation to Japan tend to highlight cases involving the US and to a lesser extent Europe and Asia, there is hardly any research on the cultural and intellectual

exchanges with New Zealand (and Australia). As one of the earliest civic platforms for intercultural exchanges in non-institutional settings in post-war Japan, NZSJ unfolds the distinctive world of 'grassroots internationalism' fostered by the agronomist that reconnected the two civil societies beyond the war-time hostility. In this presentation, I will probe Kawase's New Zealand experience and his utopianism as a prime motive in founding NZSJ.

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Racism, Admiration and Sinicisation: The Mobility of the Australian Expatriates in China and Their Diverse Perceptions of Chinese in the 1930s and 1940s

Bolin Hu
(PhD Candidate, University of Auckland)

The exigency of the Second World War essentially facilitated exchanges of knowledge, culture and information between allied nations, including China and Australia. The Australian expatriates in China and their perceptions of Chinese, such as journalists, soldiers and adventurists, played a significant role in bridging the two countries via their contribution to the unprecedented presence of the knowledge of 'China' in their homeland. Historians have been inclined to conceptualise the perception of Australian expatriates towards China in a homogenous way that racism, supremacism and orientalism were in domination in the latter's narratives of the alien land. This homogenisation, however, gives little scholarly investigation into the diversity and complexity that existed behind these perceptions. The idea of 'China' of those Australians, which had been inherited from colonial conquest in the nineteenth century, was rebuilt mainly on the basis of their own different experiences in wartime China. More than asserting their white supremacy and racism that continuously cemented the similar ideologies of their compatriots at home through books and news, Australians in China expressed their admiration of Chinese heroism in the fighting with Japan, the degree of which mainly depended upon their proximities to the Chinese society. Australian journalists travelling through the country demonstrated much more sympathy and deeper understanding of China than those political elites living in comparatively detached environments, like diplomats and officials assigned to Chongqing, China's wartime capital. Adventurists from Australia tended to brag themselves through the expression of oriental rhetoric. At the same time, their fellow soldiers conveyed admiration and gratitude for the Chinese contribution to the war and their living conditions in hardship. Certain sinicisation was even observed from Australian children born in 1930s China. Their cultural identity transcended racial and national boundaries, which could hardly be defined as either Chinese or Australians. Dynamic diversity and self-confliction featured the course of their perceptions of China that challenged their ingrained Australian racism and orientalism, presenting a contrary picture to their homeland where the Pacific War intensified Australian racial awareness and their overreactions imposed upon victims of ethnic minorities, such as the local Germans and Japanese residents. The mobility of the Australian expatriates in China and their various perceptions of Chinese thus present a profound understanding of racial anxiety derived from the dilemma of Australian racism in the alliance with China that Australians targeted as the 'yellow peril' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also furthers our appreciation of the wartime connections between China, Australia and their people, which has long-term been academically marginalised.

Bolin Hu is a final year PhD candidate in History at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. His research project explores the wartime connections between China and Australasia in the 1930s and 1940s.

Japanese Diplomats on the Move: December 1941 to September 1942

Dr Rowena Ward
(Senior Lecturer, University of Wollongong)

Diplomats posted to a country which becomes the enemy after the outbreak of conflict constitute a privileged group of civilians by virtue of their official status. This status, however, also leads to various complications for both the officials and their families and the countries where they are located. It can also lead to evacuation to another country & / or a move to other accommodation. Japanese diplomats posted to Australia and localities around the South Pacific experienced both forms of movements after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific theatre of World War II.
This presentation considers the 'forced' movement of Japanese diplomats to, and within, Australia after the bombing of Pearl Harbour. Diplomats (or officials) posted to New Zealand (number) and New Caledonia (number) and their families were transferred to Australia in late 1941 and early 1942 for internment pending their repatriation to Japan. Japan's diplomats in Melbourne and Sydney were initially held under house arrest but were all subsequently moved to Mount Macedon outside Melbourne pending the finalisation of negotiations for the Anglo-Japan Civilian Exchange. They were subsequently taken to Port Melbourne in advance of the SS City of Canterbury's departure for Lourenco Marques as part of the civilian exchange in August 1942. This series of movements crossed both international and Australian state borders. Some of these movements were voluntary (e.g. the movement to the City of Canterbury for transfer to Lourenco Marques for the exchange) but some were involuntary including the transfer of diplomats from New Zealand and New Caledonia to Australia.
Importantly, the diplomats included people who were originally from mainland Japan (naichi) but also some who, whilst Japanese citizens due to Japan's citizenship regime, were originally from gaichi locations such as Formosa (Taiwan). Implicit in the presence of such diplomats was an earlier move.

Rowena Ward is a Senior Lecturer in Japanese at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Her research interests include the arrest, internment and repatriation of civilians before, during and after conflict. Rowena has also published on issues regarding gender in the languages classroom and British-India's participation in the Allied Occupation of Japan.

Performing repatriation at Maizuru, 1945-1958: an analysis of Japanese press coverage

Jonathan Bull & Steven Ivings
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One of the largest human migrations of the twentieth century accompanied the dismantling of the Japanese empire following Japan's defeat in the Asia Pacific War. An estimated 9 million people moved including 6.7 million Japanese soldiers and civilians who left the colonies for the Japanese home islands (naichi), 1.6 million Koreans and other non-Japanese residents who went from naichi to their home regions and a further 800,000 Koreans who left Manchuria for the Korean peninsula. The vast majority of those who moved did so during the first few years after the war. Nearly all of those moving to or from naichi did so as part of a repatriation process organised by the Allied governments. In this process the Japanese term 'hikiagesha' (usually translated into English as 'repatriate') became associated with Japanese soldiers and civilians. Central to repatriation were 15 repatriation centres

located at ports around the home islands which the Japanese government operated under the supervision of the US Occupation. One such repatriation centre was situated in the port of Maizuru in Kyoto prefecture on the Sea of Japan coast. Of all the repatriation centres, Maizuru's operated the longest, only closing in 1958 after 13 years. The Maizuru repatriation centre, therefore, continued running after the Occupation ended in 1952 and the Japanese government had regained sovereignty.

As a joint presentation the paper has two parts. The first provides an overview of newspaper coverage of Maizuru during the 13-years of repatriation. Cross-referencing search results for 'repatriate' (hikiagesha) and associated terms from the Asahi and Yomiuri newspapers' online databases with statistical records from the Maizuru repatriation centre indicates that during the peak years of repatriation (1945 to 1948) the number of articles was not more than 30 in any year. In contrast, from 1952 to 1958 when repatriates were far fewer, considerably more coverage appeared in the news. The peak was in 1953 when over 350 articles were published. Key questions are why this pattern in news coverage emerged and what this reveals about the process of de-imperialization. The second part examines an early spike in news coverage during 1949 when 'red repatriates' (men 'brainwashed' into supporting the USSR during internment in Siberian labour camps as prisoners of war). Overlooked by existing research is the Japanese newspaper coverage in the lead-up to the arrival of the first repatriation boat of the year. What an analysis of this coverage suggests is how Maizuru became a site at which the Japanese government, with US Occupation support, coordinated a performance of 'Japan'. This performance happened at different levels such as changing routines at the repatriation centre to city-wide mobilisation of Maizuru residents. Ostensibly to 'welcome' the repatriates, the performance's content reveals the construction of new 'borders' in Maizuru which were intended to disconnect Postwar Japan from the former empire. In conclusion, we suggest how analysing press coverage of Maizuru in the 1950s can contribute to a better understanding of Japan's emergent culture of decolonisation.

Jonathan Bull is a Lecturer at the Research Faculty of Media and Communication, Hokkaido University. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of the end of the Japanese empire and has been published in Japan Forum and Journal of Contemporary History and The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus.

Steven Ivings is an Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University. His research mainly addresses aspects of the socioeconomic and business history of the Japanese empire and its immediate aftermath. He has published in Japan Forum, The Canadian Journal of History, The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus, Labor History, Pacific Historical Review and Transcultural Studies among others.

Closing Remarks

Dr Christine de Matos

(Associate Dean Research, The University of Notre Dame Australia)

Christine de Matos is the Associate Dean Research in the Faculty of Arts,Sciences, Law and Business at The University of Notre Dame Australia. She has published widely on the Australian role in the Allied Occupation of Japan (1946-1952), in particular using gender, race and class to elucidate the power dynamics of the occupier-occupied relationship. Her publications include *Imposing Peace and Prosperity: Australia, Social Justice and Labour Reform in Occupied Japan 1945-1949* (2008) and, as editor, *Japan as the Occupier and the Occupied* (with Mark E. Caprio, 2015). Recent publications related to migration and war include (with Rowena Ward), 'Forgotten Forced Migrants of War: Civilian Internment of Japanese in British India, 1941-6' (2021) and 'Three Domestic Workers, Two Internment Camps and a War: A Journey from Singapore to British India' (2020).