

ポスト冷戦期アジア社会主義圏の女性人口移動

中山 大将

(京都大学大学院文学研究科グローバルCOE研究員)

李 丹

(京都大学大学院農学研究科修士課程)

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「親密圏と公共圏の再編成をめざすアジア拠点」

Global COE for Reconstruction of the Intimate and Public Spheres in 21st Century Asia

〒606-8501 京都市左京区吉田本町 京都大学大学院文学研究科

Email: intimacy@socio.kyoto-u.ac.jp URL: <http://www.gcoe-intimacy.jp/>

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本ワーキング・ペーパーについて

本ワーキング・ペーパーは、京都大学大学院文学研究科 GCOE プログラム「親密圏と公共圏の再編成をめざすアジア拠点」の 2010 年度次世代研究ユニット「ポスト冷戦期アジア社会主義圏の女性人口移動」の成果報告書である。構成員は、中山大将（GCOE 研究員）と李丹（農学研究科修士課程）の 2 名である。

本次世代研究ユニットでは、「アジア社会主義圏」における「社会主義システム」を「公共圏」とし、その「公共圏」の再編成の起きた「ポスト冷戦期」の中での「女性人口移動」を軸に、「親密圏」の変容を分析することを課題とした。これらの概念に関する検討は、所収の「アジア社会主義圏における公共圏としての社会主義システムーポスト社会主義期としてのアジア現代社会ー」の中で、中山が行っている。

中山の研究テーマは、「サハリン残留日本人帰国者の研究」である。日ソ国交回復やペレストロイカ、ソ連崩壊という公共圏の再編成の中で生じた「帰国」という国際人口移動に焦点をあてている。すでに中山は、日本帝国崩壊後の樺太・サハリンをめぐる人口移動に関する全体像を把握する研究を進めており、本研究は、その各論ともいえよう。

李の研究テーマは、「中国における農村出稼ぎ女性労働者・回流起業者の研究」である。改革開放以降に起きた、農村から都市への大規模な人の流れは、これまで「農民工」「打工妹」問題として着目され、研究もなされてきた。李の研究の特色は、都市問題としてではなく、農村地域の視点から、「回流」「帰郷」やその後の「起業」などの活動に着目し、この往還的な人の動きと、その中での地域社会や親密圏の変容にアプローチしている点である。

中山の成果は所収の「サハリン残留日本人女性と帰国事業ー社会主義国際関係システムおよび韓人親密圏ー」に、李の成果は「非農業就業に見る中国農村女性の親密圏ー華北農村地域 M 鎮を事例にー」にまとめられているほか、より多くの読者へ成果を発信すべく、中山については英語版の「Returning of the Remaining Japanese Females of Sakhalin: Socialistic International Relation System and *Hanin* Intimate Sphere」も掲載した。

両者の研究は、対象地域として、サハリン（ソ連・ロシア）ー河北省（中国）、人口移動として、国際ー国内、公共圏の再編成として、国際関係システムー社会・経済システム、対象者として、高齢者ー若年者、という数々の相違があるものの、「社会主義」と「女性」という点では共通している。アジア現代社会において、社会主義国の女性たちがどのような経験をしているのか、それが彼女たちにとってどんな意味を持つのかを検証する試みである。同様の関心を持つ人々がアジア現代社会を理解するにあたって、何らかの役に立てば幸いである。

2011 年 3 月 31 日

中山大将・李丹

Returning of the Remaining Japanese Females of Sakhalin : Socialistic International Relation System and *Hanin* Intimate Sphere

NAKAYAMA Taisho*

1. Introduction

This paper assumes Sakhalin to be a part of “Asian Socialistic sphere” and focuses on the “returning” of the remaining Japanese females of Sakhalin as one of female migration in “the post cold war era.” “Socialistic system” is assumed to be one kind of “public spheres,” and “family” is assumed to be one kind of “intimate spheres.” Not only “reconstruction of public sphere,” such as the restoration of diplomatic relations with Japan and USSR and the Perestroika, but also “change of intimate sphere” is related with the returning.

In the 2nd section, studies on migrations after the collapse of the Japanese empire are reviewed. The assignments and the methodology are discussed. In the 3rd section, the reason why the remaining Japanese females were generated is analyzed. In the 4th section, the process in which the returning was realized because of the restoration of diplomatic relations with Japan and USSR and the Perestroika are described. In the 5th section, the relationship between the returning and the intimate sphere with which the remaining Japanese females were unified are analyzed based on the cases. In the 6th section, the points and the new assignments are presented as the conclusion of this paper.

2. Reviews, the Assignment and the Methodology

Studies on the migration after the collapse of the Japanese empire have been advanced by the researchers on the Japanese colonies and the Japanese sphere of influence. KATO Kiyofumi of NIJL¹ collected domestic and overseas public documents and reprinted them. *The collapse of “the Great Japanese Empire”* (2009) was one of his most important works. The group of “comparative study on immigration” (leader: IMAIZUMI Yumiko) in the research project “Eurasia and Japan: exchange and representation” of NIHU² also started the research project in 2005 and the results will be published soon. ARARAGI Shinzo, who has edited *Migration and repatriation: the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire* (2008), organized the research group and published the midterm reports in 2010. KATO and the group of NIHU focused on the “repatriation” just after the collapse, on the other hand, the Araragi group focused on other types of migration as well as repatriation. That is one of the unique points of the group³.

* GCOE researcher, Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University. Doctor of Agricultural Science.

¹ National Institute of Japanese Literature (of Japan).

² National Institutes for the Humanities (of Japan).

³ It would be derived from his early works on remaining Japanese of China, such as ARARAGI (1988) and

In this context, studies on migration from/to Karafuto, which was a colony of the Japanese empire, have also been advanced. TAKENO Manabu, who had studied on the agricultural migration of Karafuto, has collected and inspected the domestic and overseas public documents about repatriation as a member of the research group of NIHU. A paper “Migration from and to Karafuto/Sakhalin Island Evoked by the Collapse of the Japanese Empire” by NAKAYAMA Taisho, who had studied on agricultural and immigrant history of Karafuto, was on the midterm report of the Araragi group. Nakayama’s paper had two unique points. First, his work expanded the range of the migration. Second, the subjects of his research were not limited to Japanese. The purpose of his work was a categorization of the types of migration with the host societies. Table 1 shows the category of types and periods. The first period was just after the collapse of the Japanese empire, the second was in the cold war era, and the third was around the collapse of USSR. They were influenced by the reconstruction of public sphere of USSR. However, the return of the remaining Japanese were not only controlled by the public sphere, but also influenced by situations of intimate spheres.

Table 1: the Categories of Migration from and to Karafuto/Sakhalin Evoked by the Collapse of the Japanese Empire

Types	term	route	target	number
evacuation	13-23 August 1945	Karafuto → Hokkaido	children, females, elderly	88,000
occupation	23 August 1945-	North Sakhalin & Continent → Karafuto	Soviet military	n.d.
internment	28 August 1945-1956	Karafuto → Continent and Sakhalin → Japan	Japanese military, policeperson, VIP	18,000
smuggle	23 August 1945	Karafuto → Hokkaido	Karafuto inhabitants	24,000
re-smuggle	August 1945	Karafuto ← Hokkaido	Karafuto inhabitants	over 200
repatriation	December 1946-July 1949	Karafuto → Hokkaido	Japanese	292,590
immigrant	August 1945-1949	Sakhalin & Kuril ← Continent	Soviet people	450,000
returning(1)	1958-1962	Sakhalin → DPRK	<i>Hanin</i> , DPRK people	5,600
returning(2)	1957-1959	Sakhalin → Japan	Japanese, the families	2,290
returning(3)	May 1990-	Sakhalin → Japan	Japanese, the families	204
returning(4)	1992-	Sakhalin → ROK	<i>Hanin</i> (couples)	over 900

Sources: Nakayama (2010), MHW (1977).

Note1: “Karafuto” means the southern part of the Sakhalin Island.

Note2: “DPRK people” means those who acquired DPRK (North Korea) nationality when DPRK was established. “*Hanin*” means Koreans who came to Karafuto before August 13, 1945.

There are few researches on the remaining Japanese and their returning. This paper would be one of detail researches following the Nakayama’s work.

Therefore, one of the assignments is to clarify the relationship between the reconstructions of public sphere (socialistic system) and the returning (migration) of the remaining Japanese, and how females changed the relationship with their intimate spheres.

ARARAGI (2009).

This paper is based on public and private documents of the organizations for returning and interviews in Japan, ROK (South Korea) and Sakhalin.

3. The Dawn of the Remaining Japanese of Sakhalin

In 1875, the Japanese empire ceded the Sakhalin Island to the Russian empire for the Kuril Islands according to a treaty. After the Russo-Japanese war, the southern part of the Sakhalin Island was ceded to Japan, the new territory was called “Karafuto,” and the colonial government was established in 1907. Karafuto was developed with the basic industry; fishery, forestry and mining. The Karafuto government was depended on the financial income from these industries (Hirai, 1997) and not only Japanese but also Koreans migrated to Karafuto. Thousands of Koreans had lived in Karafuto before the war time. Not all of Koreans in Karafuto lived in closed local ethnic communities. Most of them lived with Japanese. According to the interviews, they lived, studied and played with Japanese and some of them have never heard that their parents had spoken Korean language. Not all of them were employees, some of them were employers (Nozoe, 1977). 6% of the population of Karafuto was Korean before the evacuation in 1945 (Table 2). The proportion of male to female was not equal (Table 3). This would be affected by the mobilization of Korean in the war time.

Table 2: The Ethnic Population of Karafuto

year	Japanese	%	Korean	%	others	%	total
1930	277,279	97.3	5,359	1.9	2,292	0.8	284,930
1935	313,115	97.1	7,053	2.2	2,307	0.7	322,475
1940	382,057	95.8	16,056	4.0	725	0.2	398,838
1945	358,568	93.7	23,498	6.1	647	0.2	382,713

Sources: *The Statistics of the Karafuto Government*, ГАСО, Ф.3ис, Оп.1, Д.27.

Table 3: The Ethnic and Sexual Proportion of Karafuto, 1945

	male		female		total
	number	%	number	%	
total	195,794	51	186,919	49	382,713
Japanese	180,115	50	178,453	50	358,568
Korean	15,356	65	8,142	35	23,498
others	323	50	324	50	647

Source: ГАСО, Ф.3ис, Оп.1, Д.27.

In the beginning, Karafuto was a place for temporary residence, in the course of time, it turned in to a place for permanent residence. In 1941, 42% of the population had their legal address on the family registry in Karafuto (Figure 1). Some of officers and intellectuals in Karafuto regarded Karafuto as “home”. They attempted to establish “Karafutoan” identity through the media

and schools (Nakayama, 2008). Moreover, the number of the young population who were born or who grew up in Karafuto gradually increased. Karafuto was the “home” for them without regard to whether they were Japanese or Koreans.

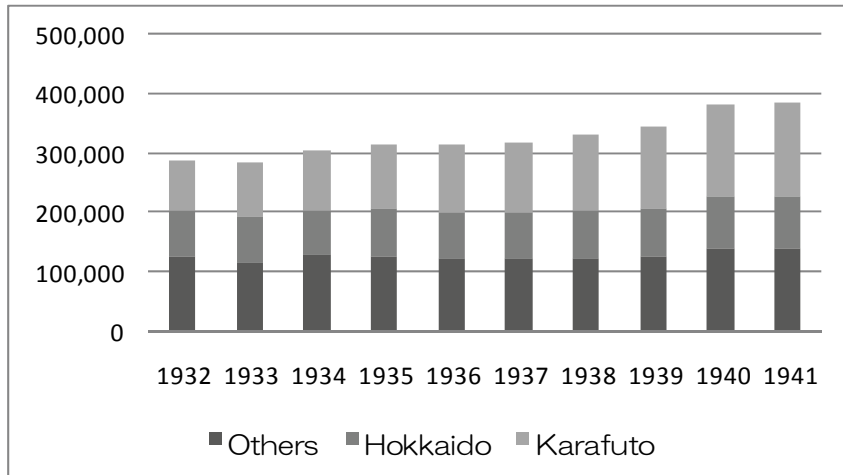


Figure 1: Legal Addresses on the Family Registry in Karafuto
Sources: Statistics of the Karafuto Government, 1932-1941.

On 11 August 1945, the Soviet army began to invade across the national border. On 13 August, the evacuation from Karafuto to Hokkaido was launched. This was a war time evacuation. Young females and elderly could evacuate to Hokkaido including those who were Korean. On 23 August, the Soviet army occupied Toyohara, the capital of Karafuto and the evacuation was stopped. People of Karafuto lived as they have lived, although USSR occupied all parts of Karafuto. A journalist looked back on those days;

In those days, it was difficult to say whether we Japanese were foreigners or they Soviet people were foreigner because we lived as we had lived under the Japanese empire.(Ohashi, 1995, p99)

On 19 November 1946, a convention of repatriation of Japanese was concluded between USSR and USA. The repatriation of Japanese was launched, on the other hand, Koreans were not permitted to repatriate. Some Japanese females who were members of Korean families, especially wives of Koreans, gave up repatriation and a few Japanese engineers were not permitted to repatriate. Table 4 shows the number of the remaining Japanese of USSR in 1984. Table 5 shows the number of the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin in 2010.

Table 4: The Remaining Japanese in USSR, 1984

	male	female	total
number	79	96	175
%	45	55	100

Source: MHW (1984).

Note: This number is that MHW of Japan calculated. In actual fact, there were many more Japanese remaining in USSR at that time.

Table 5: The Remaining Japanese in Sakhalin, 2010

	male	female	total
number	15	57	72
%	21	79	100

Source: Inside documents of NPO Japan-Sakhalin association for support and communication between countrypersons.

Note: Those who were born before 23 August 1945 and are alive in 2010.

These historical facts indicate that socialistic system, especially international relation system, was an important factor of the dawn of remaining Japanese of Sakhalin.

4. Returning and Public Sphere: the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations (1956) and the Perestroika (1986)

As for the socialistic international relation system of USSR, one important turning point was the détente (оттепель) after 1955. As the Stalin régime ended and Khrushchev régime began, a series of disturbances occurred in the Eastern Europe such as Poland and Hungary. As a result, the international relation system in the socialistic sphere was reconstructed. In the Far East, as Japan and USSR restored of diplomatic relation in 1956, the international relation system toward the capitalism sphere was also reconstructed. This was one of the important opportunities to return for the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin and it continued for a few years. The Perestroika launched in 1986 was a long term process of the reconstruction of the socialistic system which led to the collapse of USSR in 1991. It gave another important opportunity for returning.

The Japanese empire was a multi-ethnic empire and the policy was extreme assimilationism like as other western countries (Kymlicka, 1995, p53). Otherwise, Japan was turned in to an extreme mono-ethnic nation-state when the empire was collapsed. On the other hand, socialistic multi-nationalism could be found in the Soviet Sakhalin after the war.

The journalist mentioned above referred to an episode which happened in December 1945 and showed ethnic equalitarianism of Soviet migrants. In a train, a military officer demanded of him to give up his seat to the military officer. The officer said that the Soviet military officer was a victor and the Japanese journalist was a loser. A Soviet engineer sitting next to the Japanese journalist was so enraged that he objected to the officer. He said that it was discrimination and Japanese had already turned in to their friends and colleagues with whom they Soviet people lived and worked together (Ohashi, 1995, pp186-187). It would be important that Soviet migrants were

those who had already lived in multi-nation state USSR. As Vysokov (1995) pointed out, the migrants were a multi-ethnic group which consisted of Russian, Ukrainian, continental Korean (*Koryoin*) and Chuvash amongst others.

Korean schools should be referred in order to understand the social situation of the Soviet Sakhalin. There had not been any Korean school in Sakhalin during Karafuto era, however, Korean schools were established by Koreans who have lived in Sakhalin since Karafuto era. As *Koryonin* migrated, *Hanin* teachers have been quickly replaced by *Koryoin* teachers. “*Koryoin*” means Korean who had been forced to migrate from the Maritime Province of Siberia to central Asia during the 1930s. They migrated to Sakhalin as teachers and supervisors after the war. They were Sovietized Korean who had acquired Soviet nationality and learned Russian language. DPRK labor also came to the Soviet Sakhalin. Therefore, there were three types of Korean in the Soviet Sakhalin; *Hanin* who had been Japanized in Karafuto, *Koryoin* who had been Sovietized in the central Asia and DPKR labor. Some of *Hanin* had believed that USSR liberated them from the Japanese empire. However, they gradually found that it was not true. One of most important points was “nationality” on ID card. It was difficult for them to acquire Soviet nationality, moreover, most of them expected they would lose their right to repatriate to the Korean peninsula if they had acquired Soviet nationality. “Non-nationality” brought many difficulties to them: restrictions on movement, fewer employment and educational opportunities and lower wages. Though many young *Hanin* learned Korean language in Korean schools, it was not useful in the Soviet Sakhalin in which Russian was the official language. They spoke Japanese at home and spoke Russian in work places. They must acquire Soviet nationality, learn Russian and join the Communist Party if they have wanted to obtain freedom and benefit in the Soviet Sakhalin.

The relationship between Japanese/*Hanin* and Soviet people was not always the relationship of occupied people and occupation people. Therefore, it was not like the relationship between Japanese and USA people in the main land at that time. Soviet migrants thought of Japanese not as those whom they should dominate, but as new colleagues. Japanese/*Hanin* thought of Soviet migrants as “strange neighborhood” (Nakayama, 2010). In irony, the Japanese journalist above mentioned implied that there was the relationship not between occupied people and occupation people, but between “people” and “power” in the Soviet Sakhalin (Ohashi, 1995, pp149-150).

Japan and USSR restored the diplomatic relations on 12 December 1956 and the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin obtained an opportunity to return. This return was different from the repatriation in the two aspects. The repatriation was managed by Japan, USSR and USA. Only Japanese were repatriated. On the other hand, the returning was managed by Japan and USSR. Japanese and their *Hanin* family could return to Japan. Table 6 shows the number of people who returned at that time.

Table 6: The Returning, 1957-59

	civilian	military	captured fishers	non-Japanese	total
number	749	17	38	1,541	2,345
%	32	1	2	66	100

Source: MHW (1977, p108).

“Non-Japanese” means the *Hanin* families of the remaining Japanese. *Hanin* families were considered to be foreigners by the Japanese government although they had lived in Karafuto. When they arrived at Japan, the Japanese government provided bento boxes to the Japanese but not to the *Hanin* husbands (Arai, 1998, p119). This was called “The *bento* (box lunch) affair” and this represented the conflict of the turn from an empire in to a mono-ethnic nation-state.

It should be mentioned that people could not obtain freedom of international movement although the diplomatic relation had been restored. At this retuning, they have resigned themselves not to returning to Sakhalin anymore.

Another opportunity of returning was given through the reconstruction of public sphere by the Perestroika. A Korean newspaper “the Road to Lenin” had been published in Sakhalin in 1951. It was one of media for propaganda, however, *Hanin* had turned to have their ethnic media. This newspaper informed *Hanin* of the Seoul Olympic Games, 1988 and the ROK society which has developed far more than they had expected. The Korean newspaper became independent from the Communist Party in 1990 and obtained support from the ROK government and private organizations of ROK. In addition, the name was changed from “the Road to Lenin” to “*Se Koryo Sinbun* (the New Korean Times)” in 1991. *Hanin* established their own ethnic organizations and turned to express their ethnic identity and nationality for returning to ROK although 32,000 out of 35,000 Koreans of Sakhalin had already acquired Soviet nationality in 1988 (Кузин, 1998).

When “husbands” turned to express their ethnic and national identity as *Hanin*, “wives” or remaining Japanese females scattered all over Sakhalin also turned to express their ethnic and national identity as Japanese and establish an organization for retuning to Japan. Due to the Perestroika, Japanese could come from the main land to Sakhalin and move in Sakhalin much easier and more freely than before. The returning of the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin was launched in cooperation with the organizations of both Sakhalin and Japan.

As mentioned above, returning of the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin was realized because of reconstructions of the socialistic system. However, it is not true that public sphere was the only factor for the retuning. The next section attempts to clarify the relationship between returning and intimate sphere based on the cases of the returning after the Perestroika.

5. Returning and Intimate Sphere: Unification into *Hanin* Intimate Sphere and the Changes

The remaining Japanese are categorized into two types. First one is engineers who were prohibited to repatriate by the authorities of USSR. Second one is ordinary persons who “chose” to remain because they have already been members of *Hanin* families. The Japanese government has been passive for returning. It insisted that there were no longer remaining Japanese in USSR, if there had been, they had remained with their own free will.

Most of the international marriage Japanese females are those who married with Korean as the social status and the living standard of Koreans have risen since the war had ended. Some of them remained in Sakhalin with their Korean husbands and parted from their families who repatriated to Japan. (MHW, 1977, p107)

This description implies that marriage with *Hanin* was a betrayal of the nation. However, the propriety of this implication and description should be inspected.

A remaining Japanese A migrated to Karafuto with her family before the war. After the occupation, her sister and the family smuggled into Hokkaido and her parents were repatriated. She married with a *Hanin* who came from the Maritime Province of Siberia and remained in Sakhalin. In the beginning of the Soviet Sakhalin, they were non-nationality people. When her husband’s family proposed to acquire Soviet nationality, she objected to it so hard that they gave it up. She was afraid that she would lose her right to return to Japan. She applied to return in 1958, however, her application was rejected because her husband had changed her ethnicity on the passport without her knowledge. As she expected that she could return to Japan via DPRK, she acquired DPRK nationality around 1960. Ironically, she had an opportunity for returning a few years later, in turn, her application was rejected because of her DPRK nationality. She had given up returning for a long time. Finally, she returned to Japan with her son and his family around 2010.

A remaining Japanese B migrated to Karafuto with her mother. Her mother died when she was 10 years old and a *Hanin* couple took charge of her and brought her up. Her foster father had come from the southern part of Korean peninsula. She graduated from a girls’ high school and worked in an office in Karafuto. She determined to remain in Sakhalin although her foster father recommended her to repatriate because of her nationality. She married with a *Hanin* who has come from the northern part of Korean peninsula. They joined an establishment of a Korean kolkhoz. As the Kolkhoz has turned in to a sovkhov, its economic situation got worse, and they moved to another area. They acquired Soviet nationality in 1950s because her husband worked there as a teacher. Her ethnicity on the ID card also changed to “Korean.” She started to have an interest in returning after her husband’s death.

Both of them lived in *Hanin* society as members of *Hanin* families. In the case of B, it might be a rare case, she has lived in *Hanin* society as an adopted daughter of *Hanin* since Karafuto

era. She was in upper-class of Karafuto because she graduated from a girls' school and became a white-collar worker. Her foster parents lived in Japanese society rather than she lived in Korean one. Korean society appeared around her after the Soviet Sakhalin came. She joined a Korean kolkhoz and her Korean husband became a teacher of Korean school. In addition, she has never had interest in returning whilst her husband was alive. This implies that she has lived in the Soviet Sakhalin as a *Hanin* and a Soviet citizen. Her husband's death broke the core of her relationship with Korean intimate sphere and it made it possible for her to have an interest in returning.

As for A, she got married with a *Hanin* and unified herself into *Hanin* intimate sphere after the occupation. A repatriate who knew her implied that she had betrayed the nation because of the marriage like as MHW mentioned above. However, female was an oppressed gender in both Karafuto and the Soviet Sakhalin. It was difficult for a single female to live alone in those societies, especially, in such an emergency evoked by the collapse of the empire.

These cases indicate that the intimate sphere into which they have unified themselves affected to their returning. This means that both the reconstruction of public sphere and the change of intimate sphere have relation with the returning of the remaining Japanese.

6. Conclusion

The assignment of this paper is to clarify the relationship between public sphere (socialistic system) and intimate sphere (family) for the returning of the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin.

The collapse of the Japanese empire evoked the reconstruction of public sphere in Karafuto (the southern part of the Sakhalin Island). This region was covered with the new public sphere, the socialistic systems of USSR since 23 August 1945. Several hundred thousand Japanese were repatriated to Japan until July 1949. Several tens of thousands Korean (*Hanin*) and several hundred Japanese unified themselves into the *Hanin* intimate sphere and remained in the Soviet Sakhalin. The restriction on international transportation by the international relations system has been eased twice. First one was the returning from 1957 to 1960 affected by the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and USSR, 1956 which was realized under the *détente*, the reconstruction of the socialistic international relations system of USSR. Another one was the returning from 1990 affected by the reconstruction of the socialistic international relations systems of USSR which was evoked by the process of the Perestroika and the collapse of USSR.

However, the reconstruction of public sphere was not the only factor for returning. The intimate sphere also affected it. Some of the remaining Japanese could not return to Japan because of their ethnicity or nationality on their passport although they had desired to return for a long time. Some have not expressed their will for returning because they had been unified themselves into *Hanin* intimate sphere.

There are new assignments. First one is to adjust the basic information on the remaining Japanese of Sakhalin. The adjustment of the list has been proceeded in cooperation with “NPO Japan-Sakhalin association for support and communication between countrypersons” which has been supporting the returning of the remaining Japanese after the Perestroika. Second one is to confirm the systems related with remaining and returning of both Japan and USSR/Russia. Third one is to observe the actual situation and the changes of *Hanin* community and its intimate sphere. Forth one is to examine the actual problems in life-living after returning.

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【メンバー】()内は2010年度プロジェクト時点

中山 大将 (京都大学大学院文学研究科グローバルCOE研究員)

李 丹 (京都大学大学院農学研究科修士課程)