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**THE “SECOND WAVE” NIKKEI: A RESUMPTION OF THE JAPANESE
EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL AFTER WORLD WAR II**

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Abstract

By the beginning of World War II a significant number of Japanese emigrants have left for Brazil as temporary workers. Emigration was planned, organized and funded at an interstate level and became an essential element of the Japanese-Brazilian cooperation. The war proved to be the most difficult period for the Japanese community in Brazil, as well as for the bilateral relations. In the postwar world defeated Japan strived to an economic and diplomatic recovery, while victorious Brazil sought a modernization.

Keywords

Japanese emigration in Brazil – Japanese-Brazilian relations – Japan’s emigration policy

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Introduction

The effects of migration processes and migration related issues are highly relevant and important in the contemporary world. That is why they are attractive to the researchers. Nevertheless, migration is a complex phenomena, which requires a comprehensive study as it raises questions of diverse nature and therefore analysis from different fields of knowledge. This is absolutely true in the case of the Japanese emigration to Brazil. There are various studies, dedicated to the topic mainly in Brazil and Japan, but in the US and Europe as well. However, the topic is relatively unknown in Bulgaria even within the academic society. Actually, there are still lots of gaps in the Bulgarian studies regarding Latin America. Fortunately, in the recent years some new publications came up, indicating the increasing interest of the researchers¹.

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Motivation, subject, aim and research questions of the paper

Although the Japanese post-war emigration to Brazil is the least elaborated in the historiography, it deserves a special attention. It was then that the Japanese immigrants decided to settle permanently and became Brazilian citizens. In addition, it was during the postwar era that not only new immigrants arrived, but also immigrants' descendants appeared. While recovering from the war crisis, the Japanese community simultaneously made efforts to integrate into the Brazilian society. A mixed Japanese-Brazilian identity started to emerge. The postwar period also viewed the formation of the basis of contemporary Japanese-Brazilian relations with emphasis on the immigration issue. Since the post-war emigration is of great importance, but somehow neglected in historiography in comparison with the pre-war “great emigration”, there is a need of more studies on the topic. Available studies focus mainly on the characteristics of the new emigrants, their life, identity and integration in Brazil. In regard to the resumption of emigration in many cases papers explain the Japanese motivation to send emigrants and lack the Brazilian view. That is why the subject of the current paper includes the reasons for resumption of Japanese post-war emigration to Brazil. The main goal of the paper is to analyze and explain not only the point of view of the “sending” country, but of the “host” country, as well. In order to accomplish this aim the author seeks to answer several questions: What are the reasons for the resumption of the emigration after World War II? Why did Japan consider it necessary to send again Japanese people to live and work abroad? Why did Brazil decide to accept them?

Basic chronological frames

The nature, the motives and the goals of the postwar Japanese emigration to Brazil varied in comparison with the pre-war period. There was permanent and temporary, agricultural and technical, family and youth emigration, as long as emigration for the purpose of marriage or for the purpose of gathering with relatives. Although discussions about emigration were going on since the late 1940s, the organized and planned emigration began only after 1952, when San Francisco peace treaty came into force and

¹ Gergana Aleksieva, *Peronizmat: politika I ideología: monograph* (Sofia: Faber, 2014).

marked the end of the Allied occupation of Japan. Its peak was reached between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, when circa 50,000 Japanese arrived in Brazil. Until 1962 from 10 000 and 16 000 people departed each year, but since then their number started gradually to decline. By 1986 the total number of 66,270 Japanese nationals have left for Brazil. Since Japan achieved strong economic growth during the 1960s and had the ability to rely on its own labour force, government has lost interest in the organized emigration. In practice, however, the emigration continued up to 1994, when the economic changes in both Japan and Brazil caused its stop. Japan transformed from emigration to immigration country. Many Brazilians decided to emigrate abroad, as well.

The Japanese perspective: emigration as a mean for solving national problems

In 1945 Japan suffered the worst loss in its history, but the problems were just about to begin. Country's territory was reduced by almost half and the Japanese economy, industry, infrastructure were destroyed. The growing chaos was complicated by hyperinflation, speculations on the black market and severe unemployment. Japan had difficulties with feeding its own population. On the background of the post-war “baby boom” and the sharp decline in the mortality rate, Japanese war veterans and ex-colonists from East and Southeast Asia returned back home. Between 6 and 8 million people - the so-called *hikiagesha*, joined 76 million Japanese main islands' population. The war and the reforms during the Allied occupation led to the creation of an unprecedented welfare system and largely to a great extent the social responsibility of the state². Thus, the demographic problem (*jinko mondai*), as a part of the general post-war economic problems, became one of the most urgent and important for the Japanese government³. In their efforts to avoid a demographic crisis, Japanese authorities took action in several directions – stimulating economic growth, industrialization, collective employment and land exploration, promotion of birth control policy and emigration⁴. The US occupation authorities formally supported economic growth and employment, but at the beginning they were very cautious about the birth control policy and the emigration⁵. During the occupation period, migration was prohibited, except for the relatives of emigrants, allowed to gather them - the so-called “*o caminho dos parentes*” or “family reunion” (*reunião familiar*)⁶.

Not only that organized migration was forbidden, but all of the pre-war immigration companies and the Colonial ministry were dissolved. In this complex environment discussions about the benefits of the emigration were resumed. The most passionate and most important supporters of the emigration were the Overseas Emigration Association (*Kaigai Iji Kyokai*), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some of the pre-war Japanese immigrants to Latin America. The Overseas Emigration Association was founded in 1947

² “Total Expenditures on Social Security Programmes, 1950-1997”, Tokyo, in Historical Statistics of Japan, Chapter 23.1.a Social Security. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/23.html>

³ Population by sex, Population by Increase and decrease, Population Density, 1872-2009, in Historical Statistics of Japan, Chapter 2, Population and Households. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/02.html>

⁴ Sidney Lu, The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism. Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868-1961 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 239-247.

⁵ “The Science of Population and Birth Control in post-war Japan”, in Science, Technology and Medicine in the Modern Japanese Empire, eds. David G. Wittner and Philip C. Brown (New York: Routledge, 2016), 227-243.

⁶ Daniela Carvalho, Migrants and Identity in Japan and Brazil. The Nikkeijin: monograph (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 25.

and headed by Matsuoka Komakichi – the Chair of the Chamber of representatives of the Japanese Diet. Its members were leading politicians and public men, experienced in emigration process. It had its own journal – “Gate to abroad” (*Kaigai e no tobira*). Representatives of the Foreign Ministry had conversations with other Cabinet Ministers, invited other ministries to join emigration efforts, negotiated bilateral agreements on immigration and coordinated with the immigrant associations overseas. In 1948 within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Group for studying policy of overseas people movement was established (*Kaigai Jinko Ido Taisaku Kenkyukai*). It was an unofficial group, but it released an important report about the advantages of the emigration for solving national problems. Important role specifically for Brazil played the Association for Japanese and Brazilian economic and cultural issues (*Nippaku Keizai Bunka Kyokai*), as well as pre-war Japanese immigrants in Brazil like Shidehara Kijuro, Matsubara Yasutaro, Tsuji Kotaro⁷.

First official document, supporting the post-war emigration was the “Resolution on the Population Problem” adopted on 13 May 1949 by the House of Representatives with a full consensus. It stated the desire of the Japanese government for a removal of the emigration ban and explained its benefits for the Japanese people⁸. According to the ruling elite Japan already had pre-war experience in sending workers abroad and could easily correct its earlier mistakes. While economic growth and employment required efforts and time to work out, emigration would have immediate results and seemed the fastest solution to the social and economic problems.

Emigration had its supporters in Japan and in Brazil in the late 1940s, but the implementation of Japanese independent emigration policy was possible only after 1952⁹. Latin America was the only destination for the Japanese organized emigration, because Latin American states (except Peru) were the only ones willing to accept Japanese immigrants after the war. Among them Brazil was the main target of the Japanese government and remained the largest recipient of postwar Japanese immigrants¹⁰. The Japanese government felt embarrassed by the pre-war immigrants’ nationalism and by the conflicts within the Japanese community in Brazil during the war. They failed to integrate into the Latin American societies. Therefore, Tokyo needed a new ideology for its emigration policy. It was a part of the postwar new image strategy as a whole. Since Japan should be peaceful and supportive country, the post-war emigration was proclaimed as an aid to the Latin American receiving countries, that had nothing to do with pre-war Japanese nationalism and imperialism. Japan planned to send skilled, hard-working and peace-loving people, who could contribute to the host country's economic, agricultural and technological development (*gijutsu and kaihatsu imin*)¹¹. These “perfect” emigrants would

⁷ Toake Endoh, *Exporting Japan: politics of emigration toward Latin America: monograph* (Illinois: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 2009), 83-91.

⁸ Pedro Iacobelli, “Bridging the Gap: Japanese Overseas Migration and Japan’s National History”, *Documentos de Trabajo en Estudios Asiáticos* num 13 (2015): 12.

⁹ Imin sōshutsu hōshin no kakugi nikansuru kyōgi nitsuite, Tokyo, Showa 27.12.18, in National Archives of Japan, Administrative Records, Ministry of Health and Welfare, Reel number 004100, Start scene 0351, Tokyo, Japan, pp. 300-304. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/default-en>

¹⁰ “Hon nendo Nanbei mukeimin no senshutsu nitsuite”, Tokyo, Showa 28.05.12, in National Archives of Japan, Administrative Records, Cabinet/Prime Minister Office, Records concerning Dajokan/Cabinet, Kobun Ruishu, Vol: 78 (1953): 420-428. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/default-en>

¹¹ Sidney Lu, *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism. Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868-1961: monograph* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 250.

leave their homes to stay permanently in the host country and thus they would successfully integrate into the local societies. As a result, due to the Japanese overseas, Tokyo intended to erase its war-related negative image¹². In this context international perception of immigration as a tool for cooperation and support had strong influence on the Japanese governments' decisions¹³.

In addition to the new image strategy emigration was a part of Japan's postwar economic policy as a mean of recovery and return to the global economy. Latin America fit perfectly into Tokyo's post-war economic diplomacy. Intermediation of Japanese communities there could open up new markets for the Japanese exports and could become a fresh source of raw materials. Emigration could contribute to diversification of the trade partners and to reduction of the economic dependency¹⁴.

It is the state's overall involvement in the emigration process, that clearly shows the emigration's strategic importance. Japanese authorities participated in advertising, selection, training, loans and transportation of emigrants. Great number of institutions, agencies and funds were set up to manage and support procedure administratively and financially. Government structures with key role were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and the Ministry of Labor. Each of these institutions perceived emigration from a different perspective - a solution to demographic, social, economic and political problems, rationalization of agricultural policy, full employment planning, etc.¹⁵ In addition, the important in pre-war period Kobe Immigration Center was reestablished in 1952¹⁶. However, private immigration companies, that had been an important factor before the war, now played a minor role in the process. Different companies, emigration centers, local authorities were supposed only to assist and facilitate the implementation of the emigrant plans and programs. Thus, control and responsibility laid only in the hands of state¹⁷.

According to some researchers there was a political element in Japan's promotive emigrant strategy as well as to the social and economic ones¹⁸. For example, Endoh

¹² Pedro Iacobelli, *Postwar Emigration to South America from Japan and the Ryukyu Islands: monograph* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 38-44.

¹³ Pedro Iacobelli, *Bridging the Gap: Japanese Overseas Migration...*

¹⁴ Emani Torres, "Brazil-Japan Relations: From Fever to Chill", in *Japan, the United States, and Latin America*, eds. Barbara Stallings and Gabriel Szekely (London: Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, 1993), 125-148.

¹⁵ "Kaigai ijū ni kansuru jimū chōsei ni tsuite", Tokyo, Shōwa 29-nen 7 tsuki 20-nichi kakugi kettei, in *Shūsai shiryō: Sengo no kaigai ijū to ijū gyōmu no ato*, Gaimushō Chūnanbei ijū-kyoku 1966, 53, Shōwa zenpanki kakugi kettei-tō shūsai shiryō oyobi honbun hidzuke-jun risuto, Shōwa 27 ~ 29-nen, Tokyo, Japan, 53. <https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/politics/entry/bib01194.php>

¹⁶ "Kyu Kobe Ijyu Kyoyo sho no unei saikai ni kansuru kudan", Tokyo, Showa 27.06.10, in *National Archives of Japan, Administrative Records, Cabinet Secretariat, Records of the Cabinet Affairs Office, Records of Cabinet Meetings*, 181. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/default-en>

¹⁷ "Gaimushō ni ijū-kyoku o setchi suru koto ni tomonau kudan", Tokyo, in *Cabinet Decisions Archives, Shūsai shiryō: Sengo no kaigai ijū to ijū gyōmu no ato* Gaimushō Chūnanbei ijū-kyoku 1966, 55, Shōwa zenpanki kakugi kettei-tō shūsai shiryō oyobi honbun hidzuke-jun risuto, 55. <https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/politics/entry/bib01219.php>

¹⁸ "Natural Change and Social Change – Prefectures, 1920-2005", "Intra-Prefectural Migrants In-migrants from and Out-migrants to Other prefectures and Net Migration Rate, by Prefectures and Sex, 1954-2004", Tokyo, in *Historical Statistics of Japan, Chapter 2. Population and Households*. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/02.html>

argues emigration acted as a political decompressor¹⁹. Between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s protests of various social groups in Japan intensified. People's social, economic and political demands were expressed by diverse labour unions and political movements. Japan's southwestern prefectures became a clear example. Transforming into an industrial base after the war, Southwest Japan attracted many mining workers. In the mid-1950s, however, Japanese government started a rationalization of the industrial production and a number of mines closed²⁰. As a result, thousands of workers lost their job²¹. Labour unions' demands for social justice were joined by the so-called *Burakumin* who organized in a political movement after the war²². In the Cold War context, protestors' declaration of "fight against large capitalism and US imperialism" raised serious concern in Tokyo about the communist infiltration and political instability. The situation was complicated by the "battle for land" on Okinawa Island, where locals were dissatisfied by the US administration's land reform²³. In the eyes of the Japanese government and the US civil administration on Okinawa emigration seemed a fast and an effective mechanism to handle radical elements and to provide a social alternative for the poor, unemployed and dissatisfied people²⁴. However, in the official documents emigration programs were declared as a social policy for fighting poverty and unemployment. Of course, advantages of emigration programs not only for the unemployment, but also for the political order and stability seemed obvious and logical. Nevertheless, it must be beared in mind that all emigration programs were voluntary and there was no repressive element. Thus, emigration seemed as an opportunity, depending on free will, strive for better life and surely on meeting the program's requirements²⁵. Postwar organized collective emigration became a part of the official Japanese policy. The advantages to Japan can be sought in two main directions - domestic affairs (solving demographic, social and economic problems inside the country) and foreign policy (supporting diplomatic efforts and economic policy on international level). Tokyo's decreasing interest and involvement in the emigration process became clear during the early 1980s. The final determination of this type of policy happened after a decade. However, emigration as a policy at high intergovernment level was impossible to occur without the conscious participation of the "host country" - Brazil.

¹⁹ Toake Endoh, *Exporting Japan: politics of emigration toward Latin America...*

²⁰ "Sekitan kōgyō, shio-gyōyobi chūryū-gun, Kokuren-gun kankei shitsugyō-sha tahatsu chiiki taisaku ni tsuite", Tokyo, Shōwa 32-nen 4 tsuki 5-nichi kakugi hōkoku, in Cabinet Decisions Archives, Shūsai shiryō: Shitsugyō taisaku jigyō ni jūnenshi Rōdōshō shokugyōantei-kyoku shitsugyō taisaku-bu rōdō hōrei kyōkai 1970, 3, 658 – 659, Shōwa zenpanki kakugi kettei-tō shūsai shiryō oyobi honbun hidzuke-jun risuto. <https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/politics/entry/bib01264.php>

²¹ "Establishments and Persons, engaged in Mining by Industry, 1893-2003", Tokyo, in Historical Statistics of Japan, Chapter 8. Mining and Manufacturing. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/08.html>

²² "Labour Unions and Membership, 1945-2005 and Labours Disputes and Workers involved by type of action, 1945-2004", Tokyo, in Historical Statistics of Japan. Chapter 19, Labour and Wages. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/19.html>

²³ "The Pre-Treaty Ryukyus Land Claims, Petition and Brief Submitted to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense of the United States on behalf of the Okinawa Association to Acquire Compensation for Damages", Okinawa, 19.12.1958, in Okinawa Prefectural Archives, 1-115. <http://www2.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/Scripts/degitalarc/nara/degitalarc.cgi>

²⁴ Yoko Sellek, "Migration and The Nation-State: Structural explanations for emigration from Okinawa", in *Japan and Okinawa. Structure and Subjectivity*, eds. Glenn D. Hook and Richard Siddle (London and New York, Routledge, 2003), 74-92.

²⁵ "Okinawa no ijū mondai ni kansuru kyōryoku yōbō-sho", Okinawa, 20.09.1967, in Okinawa Prefectural Archives, Ryūkyūseifu sōmukyoku shōgai kōhō-bu shōgaika, 96-227. http://www2.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/opa/OPA_SSMK.aspx

The Brazilian perspective: immigration as a mean for economic development and modernization

Brazil was on the victorious side at the end of World War II. However, country's strive for progressive economic development and modernization brought to the fore the discussion on immigration and its influence to the Brazilian economy. Besides Japan already began to lobby for the restoration of the immigration. Nevertheless, the bitter memory of the clash between Brazilian and Japanese nationalism during the war was still fresh. Therefore, Brazilians were reluctant to accept Japanese immigrants immediately after the war²⁶. Actually, some researchers believe post-war Brazil was in fact closed for immigration (at least to the 1980s). It is not that there was no immigration at all, but it is much smaller in number (compared to the pre-war immigration) and "targeted", meaning that Brazil was looking for certain characteristics of the immigrant (qualification for specific sectors of the Brazilian economy)²⁷.

Postwar Brazilian views on the immigration were contradictory. Some believed immigration was harmful for the reason that foreigners were too different and could not integrate into the Brazilian society. If immigration was to be allowed, there had to be a permission only for Europeans. Due to their similarity to the Brazilian race and culture Portuguese, Spanish and Italian people could integrate faster and more easily. Not only were immigrants' origin and race discussed, but also their physical qualities and mental health. The opponents of the immigration thought Brazil needed farmers, technicians and skilled workers, but not lazy and incapacitated people. It was undesirable for an immigrant to live in an isolation or to get rich quickly and return home. He was supposed to integrate and to contribute to the Brazilian economy. As immigration was seen as a part of the national security and future development, the selection of immigrants had to be strict and precise (including racial and eugenic qualities). In her analysis of the official journal for immigration and colonization Elena Perez, speaks of the so-called "dehumanization" of the immigrant or in other word perceiving him/her not as a person, but as an object or as a tool to "fill the cavities of the Brazilian economy"²⁸.

During parliamentary discussions on the new Brazilian constitution deputies Miguel Kuto and Jose Augusto raised again the immigration issue, proposing the inclusion of a special amendmend in the new Basic law. The proposed amendment was even stricter than quota system in the Constitution of 1934 and was openly racist, because it provided for a full ban of Japanese immigration in Brazil²⁹. Eventually, after intense discussions the amendment was rejected. It seemed that implementation of a racist and discriminatory amendment in the new constitution was unproper for the post-war world and it would only harm the international image of Brazil. Despite the renouncement of an anti-Japanese article in the Brazilian legislation, the immigration rethoric demonstrated clearly the dilemma of the Brazilian elite with regard to the immigration and the anxiety about the

²⁶ Ceila Sakurai, "Tensões dentro de um mesmo grupo: os japoneses do pós-guerra e os antigos imigrantes" (Brasil: ABEP, 2004), 11. <http://www.abep.org.br/~abeporgb/publicacoes/index.php/anais/article/viewFile/1328/1292>

²⁷ Samira Frazão, "Política (i)migratória brasileira e a construção de um perfil de imigrante desejado: lugar de memória e impasses", *Antiteses* Vol: 10, num (2017): 1113-1114.

²⁸ Elena Peres, "Proverbial Hospitalidade? A Revista de Imigração e Colonização e o discurso oficial sobre o imigrante (1945-1955)", *Acervo Rio de Janeiro* Vol: 10 num 2 (1997): 90.

²⁹ "Constituição de 1946", Rio de Janeiro, 1946, in *Publicação Original, Câmara dos Deputados, Legislação, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/consti/1940-1949/constituicao-1946-18-julho-1946-365199-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>

Japanese immigrants in particular. As it was not forbidden, the immigration was officially authorized on 18 September 1945 with the Decree-Law No 7.967, renewing the quota system³⁰. In fact, it was a decision on the middle ground. The immigration was allowed, but controlled strictly.

There were, of course, people in Brazil who advocated the immigration. They believed that Brazil actually needed to import highly skilled labor in order to develop its industry and agriculture³¹. Labor shortage was a chronic problem in the country. After the war the problem was aggravated by the process of mass urbanization and internal migration directed to the big cities. In just a few decades, Brazil had turned from agrarian to urban country. Between 1950 and 1960 urban migration increased to 47.9% and between 1960 and 1970 to 49.3%. Between 1950 and 1980, 48,836,000 farm working people left the countryside³². The question with the irregular development of different economy sectors and regions had gathered speed³³. As a result, the balanced development of the agriculture in the countryside became a priority for the Brazilian government. Various programmes were launched aiming to promote internal migration, colonization of depopulated regions, labor force redistribution, full employment and production's increasement. The Northeastern part of the country was of a particular priority in this policy. For example, the capital of the north-central state of Amazon – Manaus established "free economic zones" to attract workers³⁴.

Besides the lack of manpower, Brazil needed capital, technology and markets. Regardless of the special governmental measures taken, modernization of the Brazilian economy required foreign investments and foreign labour³⁵. Therefore, in addition to the internal migration, external flowth was being promoted as well. However, Brazil sought for the "perfect" immigrants to fill the "demographic gaps"³⁶.

Japanese pre-war immigrants had already demonstrated to a large extent their contribution to the development of a remote, unaccessable and difficult to cultivate

³⁰ Decreto-Lei nº 7.967, de 18 de Setembro de 1945, Rio da Janeiro, 1945, in Publicação Original, Camara dos Deputados, Legislação. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1940-1949/decreto-lei-7967-18-setembro-1945-416614-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

³¹ Maria do Rosario Salles, "Imigracao e Politica Imigratoria Brasileira no Pos-Segunda Guerra Mundial", Cadernos CERU Serie: 2 num 13 (2002): 99-124.

³² F. E. Wagner and John O. Ward, "Urbanization and Migration in Brazil", American Journal of Economics and Sociology Vol: 39 num 3 (1980): 249-250.

³³ Carlos Vainer and Brito Fausto, "Migration and Migrants Shaping Contemporary Brazil" (Brazil: XXIVth General Population Conference International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 2001), 22. <http://www.digaai.org/wp/pdfs/migrantsandmigration.pdf>

³⁴ "Atividades do Ministerio de Agricultura em 1952", Rio da Janeiro, in Center for Research Libraries. Ministerial Report: Agricultura, 1860-1960, 145-152. [http://ddsnxt.crl.edu/titles?f\[0\]=collection%3ABrazilian%20Government%20Documents&f\[1\]=grouping%3AMinisterial%20Reports](http://ddsnxt.crl.edu/titles?f[0]=collection%3ABrazilian%20Government%20Documents&f[1]=grouping%3AMinisterial%20Reports)

³⁵ Thamirys Fereirra Cavalcante, "As Relações Nipo-Brasileiras: perspectivas da cooperação em interesses complementares" (Dissertação em Universidade Estadual da Paraíba, 2015), 22-46. <http://tede.bc.uepb.edu.br/jspui/handle/tede/2982>

³⁶ Aldina Silva, "Vozes Silenciadas: A Imagem do Imigrante Japonês entre Discursos, Palavras e Silêncios" (Brasília: X Encontro Nacional de Historia Oral. Testemunhos: Historia e Politica, 2010), 5.

https://www.encontro2010.historiaoral.org.br/resources/anais/2/1270424157_ARQUIVO_VOZESSILENCIADASAIMAGEMDOIMIGRANTEJAPONESENTREDISCURSOS,PALAVRASESILENCIOS.pdf

regions. Therefore, skills of the postwar Japanese workers could be beneficial for the Brazilian economy as they were agricultural workers as well. They were ready to settle permanently in areas with plenty of land, but lacked workers.³⁷ In addition, after the war Brazilian authorities started perceiving Japanese community as a mean to attract Japanese investment and technical cooperation, especially with a regard to the expanding Japanese economy in the mid-1950s. It was in that time that Japan's economic diplomacy was used as a mean not only of improving bilateral relations, but also of achieving an economic growth. The so-called perfect economic complementarity was realized in Japan, as well as in Brazil. Japan imported raw sources and foodstuffs, available in Brazil. At the same time Japan exported machinery, equipment, electronics, chemicals and generally industrial production needed badly in Brazil.

Getulio Vargas who was elected president in the early 1950s, played a key role in the resumption of the post-war Japanese immigration to Brazil. One could think that Vargas's nationalism would be an obstacle for the post-war Japanese immigration. It was probably due to his nationalism that the selective immigration was resumed. Despite the public concerns about the integration of the Japanese people, their knowledge, work experience and hard working capabilities fitted perfectly in the new Vargas's economic agenda, aiming to promote agricultural and industrial production, extraction of raw sources and attraction of foreign capitals.

According to the President, Brazil had three interrelated goals to achieve: providing better living and working conditions for the Brazilian farmers, permitting limited and selective migratory flows and enriching national demographics. He thought that accomplishing these three goals would increase the agricultural and industrial productivity, as well as the technical skills of the Brazilian workers. Colonization of a new territories and solving the land problem (people who cultivate should own), would result in a sustainable cultivation of land, diversified and increased production³⁸. In Vargas's view Brazil should permit and encourage the immigration, but only after selection and strict control. Highly skilled and educated workers were welcome. The so-called "unwanted" immigration had to be avoided. This applied to anybody who was not able to contribute to the Brazilian economy and found it difficult to integrate³⁹. Since Japanese people had already proven their contribution to the Brazilian agriculture and Japanese government granted their smooth integration, the President used the immigration for his nationalist purposes. The Japanese post-war immigration was permitted to meet the needs of the Brazilian economy⁴⁰.

³⁷ “Getulio Vargas, Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional”, Rio de Janeiro, 1954, 1952, in Center for Research Libraries, 267-273, 244-249. http://ddsnex.crl.edu/titles/128?terms=imigra%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20japonesa%20&item_id=2265#?h=imigra%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20japonesa&c=4&m=7&s=0&cv=0&r=0&xywh=1112%2C385%2C2896%2C2043

³⁸ “Getulio Vargas”, Brasília, 2011, in Biblioteca Digital da Câmara dos Deputados, Centro de Documentação e Informação Coordenação de Biblioteca, 747-748. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/plenario/discursos/escrivendohistoria/getulio-vargas/perfil-parlamentar-de-getulio-vargas>

³⁹ Amanda Santos, “A Fundação do Instituto Nacional de Imigração e Colonização no Segundo Governo de Getúlio Vargas (1951-1954)”, *Cordis, Dimensões do Regime Vargas* num 18 (2017): 135-139.

⁴⁰ Harold Sims, “Japanese Postwar Migration to Brazil: An Analysis of Data Presently Available”, *The International Migration Review* Vol: 6 num 3 (1972): 247.

It was indicative that the first contingent of Japanese immigrants arrived in 1952, which was actually before the full process of institutionalization and administration of the procedures dealing with immigration was completed. The first contingent of Japanese post-war immigrants to Brazil consisted of 54 people. In his official speech president Vargas informed the Chamber of the deputies that in 1953 195 Japanese families (1,264 people) would arrive in Brazil. Japanese immigration to Amazon was renewed as well with the arrival of 140 families⁴¹. In 1952 the National Institute for Immigration and Colonization was established. It took the responsibility of Brazil's overall post-war migration policy: transferring workers to the depopulated areas, implementing the national colonization program, selecting, registering and sending immigrants to different regions⁴². The Far East Emigrant Service as an autonomous sector at the Brazilian Embassy in Tokyo was founded in October 1964 with the specific aim to select Asian immigrants⁴³. Japanese post-war immigration to Brazil was based on a quota principle. Quotas were initially negotiated by immigrant intermediaries, but subsequently by a joint Japan-Brazil Committee (1966), which became possible after the signing of the official bilateral Emigration Agreement (1960)⁴⁴.

This type of selective immigration policy remained active even after the Vargas presidency. Moreover, the context of the Cold War added new "threats" at an ideological level. Thus, the priority within the Brazilian immigration policy became the national security, the political, social and economic order, and not the rights of the immigrant. This was clearly evident from the immigration regulations. Until the adoption of a new Immigration Statute in 1980, Brazil dealt with the immigration issue under the interwar legislation, introducing strictly selection and control of immigrants, as well as the restriction of their rights so they did not pose a threat to Brazil⁴⁵. During military governments, migration was encouraged, especially from densely populated areas to the depopulated, but with a plenty of land regions (for example Amazon). Nevertheless, it was internal migration promoted, but not the immigration of foreigners. It was believed that Brazil should depend on its own economic and demographic sources, not on the foreign labour force⁴⁶. On 13 October 1969 the Decree-Law No. 941 with regard to the foreign

⁴¹ “Getulio Vargas, Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional”, Rio de Janeiro, 1954, in Portal do Governo Brasileiro, Imigracao e Colonizacao, 269. <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/publicacoes-oficiais/mensagem-ao-congresso-nacional/mensagem-ao-congresso-nacional-getulio-vargas-1954/view>

⁴² “Getulio Vargas”, Brasilia, 2011, in Biblioteca Digital da Câmara dos Deputados, Centro de Documentação e Informação Coordenação de Biblioteca, 753. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/plenario/discursos/escrivendohistoria/getulio-vargas/perfil-parlamentar-de-getulio-vargas>

⁴³ Decreto Nº 51.716, Brasilia, de 15 de fevereiro de 1963, Fixa as atribuições do Ministério das Relações Exteriores, nos termos da Lei Delegada n. 11, de 11 de outubro de 1962, in Camara dos Deputados, Legislação. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1960-1969/decreto-51716-15-fevereiro-1963-392265-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

⁴⁴ Decreto No 52.920, Brasilia, de 22 de Novembro de 1963. Promulga o Acordo de Migração e Colonização Brasil-Japão, in Camara dos Deputados. Legislação. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1960-1969/decreto-52920-22-novembro-1963-392835-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

⁴⁵ Cynthia Carneiro, “Políticas Migratórias no Brasil e a Instituição dos “Indesejados”: A Construção Histórica de um Estado de Exceção para Estrangeiros”, R. Opin. Jur., Fortaleza ano 16 num 22 (2018): 70-72.

⁴⁶ Carlos Vainer and Fausto Brito, Migration and Migrants Shaping Contemporary Brazil, XXIVth General Population Conference International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 2001, p. 27. <http://www.digaai.org/wp/pdfs/migrantsandmigration.pdf>

immigration was promulgated. Defining the "legal status of the foreigner", the law provided for a shortened expulsion procedure if a foreigner was identified as "harmful" to the national security. Practically the government would be able on its own judgement at any time to change the regulations for the foreigners in Brazil⁴⁷. Even the 1980 Immigration Statute was often been criticized by Brazilian lawyers and scholars for virtually not protecting the human and political rights of the immigrants and not providing equal treatment as for the locals⁴⁸.

Despite of the tight immigration restrictions, Japanese immigrants continued to arrive in Brazil until the 1990s. It was the Japanese community that became the basis for the deepening and intensifying of bilateral Japanese-Brazilian relations after the war. The Brazilian governments were fully satisfied with the lack of Japanese political goals in Latin America (at least until the 1980s) and with the so-called Brazilianization of Japan's Latin America policy. This type of pro-Brazil policy resulted in a various Japanese investments, imports, technical cooperation, joint projects and loans. In this context Brazil benefited not only from the Japanese immigrants as a skilled, educated and experienced labour force, but from the Japanese community as a basis for attracting Japanese capital and technical cooperation⁴⁹. During the 1980s Japanese-Brazilian cooperation stagnated. However, previous decades laid the foundations for future implementation of mutual trust and interests⁵⁰.

Conclusion

As it was mentioned before the current paper tries to fill some gaps in the historiography related to the Japanese post-war emigration. After analyzing the reasons for the resumption of the process after World War II and taking into account both perspectives (the Japanese one and the Brazilian one) the author came to the following specific conclusions:

1. Contrary to various studies dedicated to the Japanese post-war emigration to Brazil, the current paper argues that the resumption of the process can not be explained only by Japanese motivation to send emigrants abroad. Actually it was a coincidence of interests of both countries.

In addition, the causes for the reduction of the emigrants' flow after 1965 that is often explained in historiography by the Japanese economic miracle at the end of the 60s can be supplemented by of further point of view. The current study proposes that as long with the Japanese decreasing need to send emigrants

⁴⁷ Decreto-Lei nº 941, Brasília, de 13 de Outubro de 1969, Define a situação jurídica do estrangeiro no Brasil, e dá outras providências, in Câmara dos Deputados. Legislação. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decllei/1960-1969/decreto-lei-941-13-outubro-1969-375371-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

⁴⁸ Emerson Andena, "Transformações da Legislação Imigratoria Brasileira: Os (des) caminhos rumo aos direitos humanos", (Dissertação em Universidade de São Paulo, 2013), 1-160. <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/2/2140/tde-16122013-164856/pt-br.php>

⁴⁹ Hiroshi Matsushita, "Japanese Diplomacy toward Latin America after World War II", In Japan, the United States, and Latin America, edited by Barbara Stallings and Gabriel Szekely (London: Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, 1993), 77-98.

⁵⁰ Rogerio Makino, "As Relações Nipo-Brasileiras (1895-1973): o lugar da imigração japonesa" (Dissertação em Universidade de Brasília, 2010), 114-117. <http://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/7842?mode=full>

abroad, one complimentary factor was the change of the governmental rule in Brazil (military rule from 1964 to 1985), which emphasized on national labour force and internal migration. Thereby, the coincidence of interests that existed during previous decades vanished.

2. The current study states that the post-war emigration became a national strategy for Japan and it was used as a tool in two main directions: interpolitical and foreign-political. On interpolitical level Tokyo proclaimed the emigration as being a part of the state policy to resolve demographic issues related with overpopulation, to fight poverty, to reduce unemployment, social and labour conflicts and welfare system’s burden for the state. On diplomatic level the Japanese community in Brazil was used as a mean for changing the inherited negative war-time image of Japan, to support Japan’s economic diplomacy, namely new markets for Japanese exports, new sources of raw materials and returning of Japanese companies on the global market. Thus, despite of the new ideological taste of the Japanese post-war emigration policy, the overall political ends remained more or less identical to the pre-war ones.
3. Many researchers explain Japan’s motivation to send emigrants in Brazil only with the social, demographic and economic problems. Others focus solely on the political aspects in the context of the Cold war. For instance, the US supportive role in the emigration process is interpreted in this sense. Current study argues that both economic and political motives were involved. Notwithstanding, the dominant factors were demographic, social and economic because they preceded and in fact instigated the rise of the political ones. Besides, the current paper claims that not less essential was the emigrant factor. In the emigration process state supported, but did not force people to leave. All programs were voluntary and “selecting” process means that there were more candidate-emigrants than the emigrant programs required.
4. The importance of the post-war emigration as a tool for national policy-making is clearly evident from the state involvement in the process. In Japan as well as in Brazil the authorities took control and regulation of the emigration process using specific state-owned institutions. All other participants in the emigration process, as local authorities, emigrant centers, private companies, agencies and pre-war emigrants, had only supportive and subordinate role. Virtually, this is one of the main distinction from the pre-war period when private interests in the face of emigrant and trade companies were as important as the states’.
5. Another essential difference includes the emigrants’ objectives. While the pre-war immigrants came to Brazil as temporary workers, the post-war organized emigration was permanent. The current paper argues that exactly permanent residence and specific skills of immigrants became the main reasons for Brazil to accept them despite of Brazilian concerns about the Japanese nationalism and hard integration.
6. The historiography rarely pays attention to the role of Getulio Vargas. When it does so the context is negative due to his nationalism. The current study asserts that Vargas played a crucial role in the resumption of the Japanese post-war immigration to Brazil. Actually, his pragmatic nationalism was one of

7. the main factor for that. His views on economic and immigration policy gave directions to Brazil's strategy in the following decade.
8. Current paper argues that Brazil used the immigration policy as a part of a national strategy for economic modernization and development. Brazil strictly selected Japanese immigrants and targeted only on qualified, educated, hard-working and adaptable Japanese who met the requirements of the Brazilian economy. In addition, Japanese community benefited Brazil by attracting Japanese investments, loans, technical assistance, joint projects, cooperation, etc.
9. The current paper affirms that the Japanese post-war emigration to Brazil satisfied the purposes of both countries to great extent. It was an opportunity for a new life to many Japanese and supported Japan's policy for recovering and resolving social and economic issues after World War II. At the same time the contribution of Japanese immigrants' to Brazilian agricultural and industrial development and to increasement of technical and organizational skills of Brazilian workers was undoubted.

The potential of Japanese-Brazilian relations has yet to develop, but post-war period layed the foundations of mutual trust and interests, good practices and joint cooperation with the main focus on Japanese community in Brazil.

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