

two areas of the country and produced results that confirmed the hypothesis that economic necessity was a fundamental reason for the desire to migrate. Given that Sri Lanka, of all Asian countries, exported predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled female labor, the findings highlight the particular economic vulnerability of Sri-Lankan women.

Although a multidisciplinary team of sociologists, anthropologists, demographers and economists were involved in the field research and in the writing of the text, it is hampered by reliance upon secondary data in relation to the destination area; empirical data is of negligible quality and quantity and is reflected in the rather superficial understanding of Gulf polity and society. For example, regarding the supposed desire of host countries to employ labor of Muslim origin only, the theme is presented throughout the text but is not borne out by the multivariate survey in the country of origin, which reveals equal numbers of migrants of Islamic and other religions. An important fact highlighted in the country survey also was not further explored—that the savings expectations of migrants was rarely met due to the costs of migration and the often wasteful expenditure of remittances (notably by spouses). The impact of debt on the motivation to migrate is not seriously considered and would have made a valuable addition to this work. Similarly, labor policy among gulf states was accepted as given when, in reality, this has often involved a complexity of factors, including the retention of legislative ambiguity that enabled—over a period of a decade—substantial illegal immigration to the region. The illegal immigrants served the valuable function of maintaining lower wages among those Asians and Arabs who migrated legally. The conclusion, while providing an overview of the manifold macro aspects of migration, fails to renew discussion of the micro level issues that are an integral feature of the main body of the text.

The Imported Pioneers. Westerners Who Helped Build Modern Japan. By Neil Pedler. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. Pp. 248.

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The successful development of the Japanese business sector has generated considerable interest in the process of Japan's industrialization. Neil Pedler argues that one of the major factors contributing to the rise of Japan's industrial sector may have been those Westerners who came to Japan around the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

This book consists of 43 chapters, most of which were prepared as stand-alone articles

for magazines and newspapers in Japan and England. Many of these articles feature Westerners (many from the United Kingdom) who spent time in Japan in various teaching positions to which they were appointed by the Japanese government. The individuals discussed include: Joseph Bower Siddall, who helped establish a nationwide vaccination program to eradicate smallpox in 1874 (Ch. 8, p. 73); John Milne, who invented the Gray-Milne sismograph in Japan (which subsequently became the standard equipment worldwide) and who built up seismic maps and isoseismal diagrams for the whole of Japan (Ch. 15, p. 108); Edmund Holtham, a railway engineer, who not only helped build railways in difficult, mountainous terrains but also encouraged Japanese railway supervisors and officials to get involved in the menial work necessitated by urgent repair tasks (Ch. 24, p. 152).

Following the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government initially established a policy to send a large number of students to carefully chosen countries which were known for their most advanced statuses in students' respective fields. This policy failed to produce the timely progress that had been expected. The government responded to this situation by formulating a new strategy by which teachers from advanced countries were invited to Japan to teach and also to undertake other technology transfer activities (p. 100).

The book contains pieces of anecdotal evidence suggesting that many of the government-employed foreigners contributed greatly to the industrial development of Japan through their teaching and also by the examples and standards they set for professional behavior. Given the general agreement among the Japanese in the 1870s that a constitutional government was a necessity for Japan to win the respect of Western powers (p. 217) and that Western technologies were prerequisites to avoid Japan's colonization, it is not difficult to imagine that foreign teachers had very serious students who were interested in absorbing Western technologies and institutions as soon as possible.

The book does not give detailed accounts of why these Westerners chose to go to Japan, undoubtedly an obscure country, instead of more familiar colonized countries such as India, China, Canada, Australia or South Africa. Perhaps the wages offered to these Western teachers by the Japanese government, backed by Japan's reserve of gold and silver, were higher than the alternatives available to them. Nor does the book discuss the role of foreigners in the development of other countries. Analyses of this sort would provide an interesting comparative perspective. There is still

disagreement among scholars as to whether Japan's development process was qualitatively different from what happened in other countries.

The book suffers from some shortcomings. For example, the events discussed in different chapters do not follow a chronological order. Also, some replications and inaccuracies exist (e.g., Atari is not a Japanese company (p. 11)).

Despite these shortcomings, however, the book is interesting reading and leaves the reader wondering what kinds of lives the imported pioneers would have led had they not gone to Japan.

The Status of Refugees in Asia. By Vitit Muntarbhorn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. Pp. xi, 217.

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With the publication of this book, Professor Muntarbhorn provides a meaningful contribution to the growing literature concerning refugees. The ambit of coverage is really East Asia, although some background is briefly outlined on situations in West Asia (e.g., Afghans in Pakistan, Iran and Iraq) and Southeast Asia (refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia). In a historical sketch, the author surveys the reasons behind refugee outflows. He discusses the impact of colonialism and identifies relevant factors that have influenced formation of national refugee policies in the region, including the admission of aliens, boundary delimitation, economic transformation, ethnic diversity, centralized authority, and the development of national laws based on the Western concept of law inherited from the previous colonial power. Variables in the aftermath of colonialism are also examined for their impact on forging refugee policy in Asia; these include nationalism, human rights, manmade disasters, foreign policy, ethnicity and ideological bias. An overview is presented of the transfrontier displacement of peoples during the 1970s to 1990.

The author reviews the international law pertaining to refugees as found in the multilateral instruments of the United Nations and the Red Cross, customary principles and contributions under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He illustrates the gray areas of who is a refugee and what rights accrue to such individuals. His examination also considers human rights and humanitarian law as they affect refugees.

At the regional level, he takes account of the collection of principles concerning treatment of refugees developed by the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee in 1966 and the international arrangement known as the Comprehensive Plan of Action of 1989 for the protection of certain Indochinese refugees in the Southeast Asian region. At the national level, the author finds that governments confronted with an undesired influx of asylum seekers may choose to ignore international refugee law in favor of its immigration law and terminology to constrain the potential influx.

Of the eight countries specifically studied by Professor Muntarbhorn—China, Japan, the Philippines, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand—only China, Japan and the Philippines became parties to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, and of the three only Japan has enacted national legislation to apply these international instruments by the end of 1990. In his investigation of each country, the author outlines the applicable laws, government policies and state practice regarding admission and status determination, and this approach provides the reader with an even-handed appraisal of the governmental attitude in this region of Asia. One is left with the feeling that all of the countries considered are reluctant to welcome asylum seekers while China alone appears to have been generous in the late 1970s in its intake of Vietnamese and other groups from the region and its favorable inclination toward admission of ethnic Chinese during the 1980s.

The author provides an excellent concluding chapter in which he summarizes his findings and portends the future for the region under the headings of causation, mass influx, status determination, rights, solutions and options. The 1951 Convention, 1967 Protocol and 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action appear as appendices. The reader would have been better served if the Legal Standards adopted by the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee had been included as an appendix. A selected bibliography and index complete the book. Professor Muntarbhorn is to be congratulated on this study of the refugee law as it applies in these eight Asian states. The range of state response to involuntary migration, however, does not in the final analysis leave one with the impression that there is a regional practice in this part of Asia.