

## Chapter 2 Circumstances of the Surrender of the Japanese Forces

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### Section 1 General Conditions

Among the approximately 6,600,000 Japanese who were overseas at the end of the war, about 2,720,000 Japanese in Soviet-occupied areas such as Manchuria suffered the greatest hardships.

Under circumstances in which communication with Japan was cut off, there were repeated incidents of plundering and violence by Soviet forces. It is assumed that about 600,000 Japanese to have been taken away and interned, and about 60,000 Japanese are assumed to have died. Having based on the diplomatic record made available to public, on 20 December 2000 *Yomiurishinbun* reported that, “Through the distribution map prepared based on interview surveys with internees who returned home, a clear picture of the ‘The Gulag Archipelago (Алчипелар ГУЛАГ)’ extending from Magadan (Магадан) in the far north of Russia to the area around the Black Sea in Ukraine, was detailed and the unjust and inhuman actions of the USSR in forcing Japanese people to do forced labor, on the Soviet pretense of ‘rehabilitation of our own country’ was brought into clear relief once again.”

Battlefronts expanded from the China Incident (Second Japan-Sino War) to the Pacific War, and Japan could not maintain the results it had achieved in the first stages of the war. Japan was completely exhausted, and atomic bombings of mainland Japan, so that when the USSR entered the war, Japan lacked the necessary military power to hold out in Manchuria.

Japan had been fighting continuously from the Japan-China incident in 1937 through the Pacific War, and felt that it would not be able to expand its battlefronts. It was afraid that the war would spread to the sole utopia under the moral rule (王道樂土), “Manchukuo”, and Japanese General Headquarters decided to overlook the invasion of borderlines to some extent. General Headquarters ordered the Kwantung Army to maintain peace, not to cause any trouble,

to endure and be prudent, even if the USSR invaded Manchuria's borders. Because of *the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact of 1941 (the neutrality pact between the empire of Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)*, Japan was planning to dispatch Fumimaro Konoe as a special envoy to Moscow, to request that the USSR, as the only nation friendly to Japan, mediate and bring the war to an end. Japan could not have predicted that the USSR would declare war on it. Excellent writings exist concerning the circumstances in this period, and this article will reconstruct these circumstances below according to Takushiro Hattori's *Dai Toa Senso Zenshi (A Complete History of the Pacific War)*.

From 1943 onward, the military power of the Kwantung Army was successively delivered to the south, and soon the Kwantung Army's military power was split for the defense of mainland Japan, and the dignified Kwantung Army, which used to be proud of its achievements before the world, was completely mutilated. Therefore, local drafting, generally called "Nekosogi Doin (mobilization without exception)" was done in July 1945, and the army tried to maintain at least the number of its soldiers, by inducting all men who could fight into the army.

On the other hand, of the forces dispatched to China, four divisions: the *Fuji Army Corps (39th Division)*, *Koromo Army Corps (59th Division)*, *Jin Army Corps (63rd division)* and *Hiro Army Corps (117th Division)*, were put under Kwantung Army command in June, July and August.

In this way, the scale of the military power of the Kwantung Army expanded to about 700,000 soldiers, with 24 divisions and nine independent mixed brigades as its main forces. But its oldest division was the 107th, formed in May 1944, and all the rest were even more newly established divisions. The Army's formation, quality, and equipment were inferior and weak, and its soldiers were insufficiently trained.

"Nekosogi Doin" done in July somehow achieved the number of soldiers needed, but it was short of weapons, lacking 400 field cannons, 236 machine guns, 4,900 grenade launchers, and about 100,000 bayonets. Also, except for the 39th Division, the army corps that was quickly assembled from the forces dispatched to China was guard divisions, which did not use

regimental formation. Not only did this cause problem in active operation activities, but also their fighting strength could not be said to be sufficient, and education and training in the fighting methods to be used against Soviet forces had not been done for any of the divisions<sup>(1)</sup>. Further, among the forces dispatched to China, the soldiers assigned to these four divisions had not all arrived, and the war started before they could take their posts. Almost all of the units that returned fire in front line positions were “caretaker” units. On August 9, 1945, just as the Kwantung Army was considering that it would have to start training the new soldiers drafted by the “Nekosogi Doin,” the USSR violated the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact*, and declared war against Japan. Immense, strong Soviet forces started to invade the entire area of Manchuria. The front units of the Kwantung Army immediately prepared to fight against them.

The basic duties of the Kwantung Army in case of emergency were “to maintain the important areas south of the Xinjin (新京)-Tumen (圖們) line and east of the Dalian (大連)-Xinjin line, plan to maintain self-sufficiency in supplies, And make the execution of the Great East Asia War (Pacific War) easy.” The Kwantung Army made the utmost efforts, trying in every way it could think of to maintain peace, but had no choice except to respond by fighting against the Soviet forces. At around 2:00 a.m. on August 9, the Kwantung Army operational order was delivered to its substructure, and it took measures to move to preparations for war by the union of Japan and Manchuria.

The strength of soldiers at the front line was small, but they fought extremely well. When the USSR declared the Japan-Soviet war and invaded Manchuria, about 700,000 Kwantung Army soldiers were supposed to be stationed there, but its selected best units had been moved out to the south and to the defense of mainland Japan. The Kwantung Army had withdrawn its national defense lines to the Dalian-Xinjin line and Xinjin-Tumen line, far from the border, that is, to the line connecting Xinjing (Changchun 長春) and Dalian, and the line connecting Xinjing and Tumen; The triangular area enclosed by these lines was considered the range that should be defended by the Kwantung Army. This area was near the border between Manchuria and Korea. If a threat came from the north, the Kwantung Army was to hold this line to defend the Korean peninsula and mainland Japan. This operational plan was a military secret,

and no information at all about it was given even to ordinary soldiers, and especially not to ordinary Japanese civilians.

The Allied forces outnumbered Japanese forces, and the exhaustion of Japanese forces had reached a peak due to the long fight against the USA and Great Britain. In addition, atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by US forces one week after the USSR declared war against Japan. On August 15, 1945, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, and the war ended.

The USSR had been receiving support from the USA since the German-Soviet war. Even in 1943 alone, the USA supplied the USSR with large amounts of strategic materials including petroleum and 5,000 fighter planes. These strategic materials greatly encouraged the USSR when it started the war against Japan.

When the USSR declared war against Japan, the nominal Kwantung Army did not have any elite soldiers, therefore they were defeated by Soviet forces without the least resistance. Japan had been fighting for many years since the China Incident, and had been fighting the Pacific War for four years. When Japan reached a peak of exhaustion and fatigue, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Japan finally laid down its weapons on August 15 in obedience to the “Imperial Rescript” read out by the Showa Emperor (Hirohito).

The Imperial Rescript regarding the end of the war was issued on August 14, and was broadcast to the world by the voice of the Emperor himself.

“To Our good and loyal subjects: After pondering deeply the general trends of the world and the actual conditions obtaining to Our Empire today, We have decided to effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure.

We have ordered Our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union that Our Empire accepts the provisions of their Joint Declaration.

To strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations as well as the security and well being of Our Subjects is the solemn obligation which has been handed down by Our Imperial Ancestors, and which we lay close to heart. Indeed, We declared war on America and Britain out of Our sincere desire to ensure Japan’s self-preservation and the

stabilization of East Asia, it being far from Our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement. But now the war has lasted for nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone – the gallant fighting of the military and naval forces, the diligence and assiduity of Our servants of the State and the devoted service of Our one hundred million people, the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest. Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives.

Should We continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization. Such being the case, how are We to save the millions of Our subjects; or to atone Ourselves before the hallowed spirits of Our Imperial Ancestors? This is the reason why We have ordered the Acceptance of the provisions of the Joint Declaration of the Powers.

We cannot but express the deepest sense of regret to our Allied nations of East Asia, who have consistently co-operated with the Empire towards the emancipation of East Asia. The thought of those officers and men as well as others who have fallen in the fields of battle, those who died at their posts of duty, or those who met with untimely death and all their bereaved families, pains Our heart day and night. The welfare of the wounded and the war sufferers, and of those who have lost their homes and livelihood, are the objects of Our profound solicitude. The hardships and sufferings to which Our nation is to be subjected hereafter will certainly be great. We are keenly aware of the inmost feelings of all ye, Our subjects. However, it is according to the dictate of time and fate that We have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable.

Having been able to safeguard and maintain the structure of the Imperial State, We are always with ye, Our good and loyal subjects, relying upon your sincerity and integrity. Beware most strictly of any outbursts of emotion that may engender needless complications, or any fraternal contention and strife, which may create confusion, lead ye astray and cause ye to lose

the confidence of the world. Let the entire nation continue as one family from generation to generation, ever firm in its faith of the imperishableness of its divine land, and mindful of its heavy responsibilities, and the long road before it. Unite your total strength to be devoted to the construction for the future. Cultivate the ways of rectitude; foster nobility of spirit; and work with resolution so as ye may enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State and keep pace with the progress of the world.”

After this broadcast, Kwantung Army headquarters held repeated military meetings, decided that they must obey the Imperial edict, and ordered all units to cease fire at 10:00 p.m. on the following day, the 16th. Every unit to which the order was delivered immediately put down its weapons. The soldiers on the war front had expected to fight until all Japanese died in honorable defeat, but suddenly they received the Imperial edict ending the war. They were completely stunned and at a loss, which can be considered very natural.

Japan notified the Allied Powers on August 14 that it accepted the *Potsdam Declaration*. The Allied powers understood this as “Japan surrendered,” and each Allied power directed its own country’s front units to cease firing. It was the same on the battle lines in China: only the USSR was different. The Soviet army forced battles on the Japanese corps, who were going to cease firing after the ceasefire order was delivered to them, not only in Manchuria, but also on Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. Lieutenant General Antonov (Антонов), Chief General Staff of the Soviet Army proclaimed “The answer of Japan is a statement: The attacks by Soviet forces in the Far East must continue.” and instead of a ceasefire ordered his forces to invade using military power.

The biggest reason why Soviet forces did not stop attacking is considered to be the desire for expansion of the occupied area and strengthening of the Soviet right to speak for the US and Britain. Japan indicated that it would accept the *Potsdam Declaration* one day after the USSR started its war against Japan. At that time, Molotov (Молотов) the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a proposal to Harriman, US Ambassador to the USSR, saying, “We want to send a commander from the USSR to set up a two-commander system when occupying Japan,” but Harriman talked him down and said, “The nation that has fought a war for only two

days is making an excessively large demand<sup>(2)</sup>.”

Even though the Kwantung Army was withered, it still had some strength, and soldiers in some corps died honorably in defeat. Other corps did not surrender, fighting to last man and inflicting great damage on Soviet forces, earning the respect of the Soviet commanders.

In the fortified sites along the eastern battle line where Japanese forces were in defense posts on the Manchurian border, along the western battle line where Japanese forces were moving, and in various locations in North Korea, some Japanese forces were attacked by Soviet forces and had to fight back whether or not those Japanese forces had been reached by the ceasefire order announcing the end of the war and had intended to cease firing. Japanese forces on Shumushu Island in the Kuriles caused serious damage to Soviet forces. In North Korea, Japanese forces drove back the Soviet forces that had landed on the waterfront.

In Dongning(東寧) on the eastern battle line, the 132nd Independent Mixed Brigade was in charge of defense. This force had just been formed in July, with the First Border Guards as its mainstay.

There were fortified points here, which could have demonstrated mighty power when the area around them became a battlefield. To do this, however, all of the defensive military forces, equipment and fortress had to be harmonized, but at that time the Dongning position had no proper weapons or specially-selected troops whatsoever. Despite this, the soldiers and weapons, less than 1/5 of the standard military disposition, and merely caretakers of this position, greatly upset and froze the hearts of the Soviet forces, creating terror among them despite the USSR's absolutely superior power<sup>(3)</sup>.

Also, in Hutou(虎頭), the soldiers of the fortress caretaker corps, together with their family members, held these fortress persistently. They truly fought well. On August 26 they finally learned that the Imperial Rescript had been issued and that the war had ended. Some soldiers in some fortress used explosives to commit suicide with their family members. Originally, the Hutou fortress had facilities to accommodate 10,000 people to hold these fortresses, but only 1,400 persons were in them when the USSR entered to the war<sup>(4)</sup>.

The military cadet force in Shitou (石頭) fought desperately with an all-out effort

against the enemy in the Mudan Jiang (牡丹江) area. Some hid in foxholes and crawled under enemy tanks with packs of explosives, then blew up the tanks, slowing the invasion by Soviet forces. The condition of the Kwantung Army here was such that it actually couldn't fight unless the cadets who were still in training became the main power. The defensive battle by these military cadets, who sacrificed their lives, successfully contributed to the evacuation of many Japanese people.

The caretaker forces at the fortress in Sunwu (孫吳) and Hailaer (海拉爾) fought persistently and well. The Kwantung Army was proud of the Hailaer fortification, considered impregnable when defended by 30,000 soldiers, but a force of 3,000 soldiers could not defend it. In any case, the invading Soviet forces avoided this fortification. In this area, not only soldiers, but also the police force group in this area, committed suicide together with their family members.

Along the western front, soldiers of the 107th Division (209th Forces) confronted Zabaikal (Забайкаль) force that invaded from Hulun Buir (呼倫貝爾). Due to their inferior strength, they were overcome by the Soviet surprise attack in the first stage of battle, but were ready to retaliate, then had to withdraw backward following the order of the Kwantung Army. Even though their fighting strength was not sufficient, they were Imperial Army soldiers. While planning to "teach the enemy a lesson," they received the order to retreat. Communication was interrupted on the western front, after they received the order to turn back, and the Japanese forces struggled desperately to retreat while avoiding attacks by enemy tanks. The retreat of Japanese forces in this area and the evacuation of the cultivation groups here occurred at about the same time. While Japanese forces encountered and passed the refugees, who were all either elderly people, children, or women, these innocent members of cultivation groups unfortunately suffered devastating and fatal attacks by enemy tanks. The tragedy known as the Gegenmiao (葛根廟) Incident occurred at this time. Some Mothers were compelled to sacrifice their own children, because if a child cried the enemy would discover the group and kill them all. Some people hid among the corpses and survived. Major incidents such as the Mashan (麻山) Incident, the Wangyemiao (王爺廟) Incident are mentioned in various books, in other hand tragedies

which are not generally known occurred in many places. Many of these cases are mentioned in *Kiroku: Manshukoku no Shometsu to Zairyu Houjin (Documents on Collapse of Manchukuo and Japanese Residents)*, *Man Mou Shusenshi (History of the End of the War in Manchuria and Mongolia)*, and *Man So Junnan Ki (Documents on Martyrs in Manchuria and Soviet)*. This 209th Forces remained in a state of hostility until August 28, when a Soviet officer and a Japanese general staff officer flew to the site, made a surprise landing, and notified them of the end of the war.

When the Imperial Rescript announcing the end of the war was broadcast by the voice of the Emperor himself, the soldiers at the front line couldn't believe their ears. Their determination "to fight until all Japanese died in honorable defeat" was frustrated. That was the reality.

The Imperial General Headquarters worried about whether the order was thoroughly delivered, and tried to ensure thorough notification of the order to end the war by dispatching an Imperial family member to Manchuria. Lieutenant colonel Prince Takeda was dispatched to the Kwantung Army. In August 17, lieutenant colonel His Imperial Highness Prince Tsuneyoshi of Takeda came flying to Xinjing, and delivered the Imperial order to Kwantung Army General Headquarters.

Prince Takeda flew to Fengtian (奉天) to deliver the words of the Emperor, and immediately after he went to Korea. Meanwhile the Soviet Air Force occupied Fengtian airport. There was a sad incident following this. Four Japanese fighter planes had escorted the Prince, and after completing their assignment to guard Prince Takeda into Korea, they were going to return to Fengtian, but when they saw that the enemy had occupied Fengtian airport, they made suicide attacks, crashing their planes into enemy targets.

After the Kwantung Army headquarters had held many operational meetings, they decided to accede to the Imperial will, that they must obey the Imperial order and immediately order all forces to suspend battle. The forces to which the order was delivered immediately laid down their arms, but it took a considerable time before some corps learned that the order to end the war had been issued, so they were delayed in laying down their arms.

The above-mentioned situation occurred in areas where Japanese forces were exchanging fire with the enemy at the front lines. What about the corps in the rear? Their military power was not sufficient, and because the orders from Kwantung Army headquarters were not clear, they suffered surprise attacks and used all possible ingenuity to cope with the situation; however, following the order from Kwantung Army headquarters they too solemnly laid down their arms.

Also, hardly any news about the battle situation reached Japanese civilians even in the cities, and the people who were traveling to escape had no way to grasp the situation. The only way they could have known would have been to deliberately evacuate backward to where there were other Japanese. The kinds of situations they faced will be explained in each section.

Concerning the negotiations to end the war with the USSR, on August 16 Otozo Yamada, supreme commander of the Kwantung Army, proposed a suspension of battle to Marshal Vasilevsky (Вашилевский), Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Force in Far East. In Khabarovsk an answer was received from Marshal Vasilevsky through radio on the following day, the 17th, saying that, "Not only did the Kwantung Army proposal not mention even one word concerning surrender, but also, some Japanese forces in various places have carried out counterattacks." Following this beginning, there were battles every day<sup>(5)</sup>.

At the demand of Soviet Army, five persons from the Kwantung Army: Chief of the Staff Hikosaburo Hata, staff officers Ryuzo Sejima, Hiroki Nohara, and Masaai Omae, and consul general in Haerbin (哈爾濱) Kimio Miyagawa, were taken to Zharikovo (Жариково: a poor village south of Khanka Lake) where negotiations were carried out. Hata, Sejima and Miyagawa attended the meeting.

The circumstances of this meeting are reproduced according to the serial articles on *the Hokkoku Shinbun*. Concerning the ceasefire negotiations that started at 3:30 p.m. between Hikosaburo Hata, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army and Marshal Vasilevsky, Commander of the Soviet Far East Army the USSR area army commander who sat in company with them said, "They entered the cabin with gloomy brows, looking perplexed, took off their caps and saluted. ... The talks were carried out in a strained mood. Vasilevsky explained the surrender procedure

for Japanese forces, and warned that the Japanese corps which were continuing to resist must immediately throw down their weapons.” Vasilevsky called Hata to a position beside the map on the table, and indicated the date and place where each Kwantung Army corps should surrender to Soviet forces. Hata impatiently touched his shoulder cords and wiped his glasses. Vasilevsky said to him, “Don’t forget the next thing. Soldiers must surrender in good order together with officers. Also, the officers of Japanese forces must arrange for food for several days at the beginning.”

After Hikosaburo Hata, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army received concrete directions from Marshal Vasilevsky concerning disarmament, he explained the general condition of the Kwantung Army, then made two strong demands: that the USSR respect the honor of the Japanese army, and that it take the safest and wisest measures for the protection of Japanese residents. In response, Marshal Vasilevsky readily consented to these demands from the Japanese side, and he declared that soldiers would be allowed to keep their rank emblems and to wear their swords.

Other than this, Hata requested that Kwantung Army soldiers be allowed to carry weapons with them in order to maintain public peace, but this request was not granted. Hata also requested that Soviet forces protect Japanese residents evacuating to the south.

Lieutenant General Hata, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army requested that Marshal Vasilevsky rush the occupation of the entire area of Manchukuo by Soviet forces in order to put Japanese forces and Japanese people in Manchukuo under the protection of Soviet forces as soon as possible, and he also asked the Soviets to provide proper medical treatment, supplies, rest and handling for officers and ordinary soldiers of the Japanese forces, as mentioned in the telegram sent to Moscow by Vasilevsky.

But far from maintaining public peace, unforgivable acts of violence were committed by Soviet soldiers. Even though the USSR occupied Manchukuo, Stalin probably did not expect that the Yalta Conference and “the Potsdam Declaration” would transfer sovereignty over Manchukuo to the USSR. The preparations to maintain public peace after USSR occupied Manchuria were done very carelessly. Therefore, not only Japanese, but also the native residents

of this area suffered great troubles.

## **Section 2 Disorganization and Reorganization of Japanese Forces and Entry of Ordinary Japanese**

Once Japanese forces had surrendered, they had to obey the orders of Soviet forces. For the disarmament, all Japanese forces went to the sites where all weapons were to be collected and piled up, and threw down their weapons. In Haerbin, weapons were collected on the airfield and horse race track. After that, Japanese forces could do nothing but remain at the beck and call of Soviet forces.

Disarmed soldiers had no choice but to move to the assembly sites as ordered. All soldiers moved from the places where they had been stationed to their designated assembly sites.

Roughly divided for convenience, the assembly sites for the various areas were as follows: Lagu (拉古), Mudan Jiang, Hailin (海林), Dongjingcheng (東京城), Langang (蘭崗), Yehe (掖河), Dunhua (敦化), Jincang (金蒼), Yanji (延吉), Cando (間島), and Jiamusi (佳木斯) in the eastern part; Sunwu, Beian (北安), Haerbin, Suihua (綏化), Nenjiang (嫩江), Qiqihaer (齊齊哈爾), Bo Ke Tu (博克圖), Hailaer in the northern part; Jilin (吉林), Xinjing, Gongzhuling (公主嶺), Siping (四平), Fengtian, Anshan(鞍山), Haicheng (海城), Jinzhou(錦州), and Changde (承德) in the central southern area; Sanheli (三合里), Qiuyi (秋乙), Meileidong (弥勒洞), Gumaoshan (古茂山), Xuande (宣德), Fuping (富坪), Wulaoli (五老里) and Xingnan (港南) in North Korea; and Korsakov, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Poronaisk, Paramushir (Horomushiru 幌筵島), Shumushu, Matua, Urup, Shikotan, and Etorofu on Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands and Japan's Northern Territories. There were a total of 45 assembly locations. Each Japanese army in its conventional formation of individual corps moved to each assembly place and waited for the next order.

The order, "Do not bring Japanese forces' soldiers into USSR territory; ensure that

they remain at each of those sites,” was issued by the Soviet side by the three persons with supreme responsibility: Beria (Берия), head of People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), Bulganin (Булганин), Deputy head of People’s Commissariat State Security (NKGB), and Chief of Staff Antonov (Антонов). This order must naturally have been issued with the understanding of Stalin, who was the person with supreme responsibility for the USSR. But on August 23 it was changed to Stalin’s order (Decision of State Committee for Defense: GKO) No.9898 “Take in 500,000 Japanese soldiers capable of labor (exactly title: About acceptance, allocation and labor using of 500,000 POWs of Japanese Army).”

The August 16th order, not to take Japanese soldiers into Soviet territory, was changed on August 23, only a week after the previous order was issued. There are various opinions on why “Order No. 9898: Take in 500,000 Japanese soldiers capable of labor” was carried out. Some say it was because Truman refused Stalin’s proposal to occupy Hokkaido. Others say that the order of August 16 meant that Japanese soldiers should wait there until the next order was issued and that the execution of Order No. 9898 was determined from the beginning. These are the majority opinions.

“Order No. 9898” is an enormous document that shows a vast amount of detail. This order could not have been issued in a single day; therefore we can conclude that it was prepared quite a long time in advance. One opinion, considered rational, is that the order was planned before the USSR started its war against Japan. Before the USSR entered the war, it had perceived that Japan would give up soon, and it considered the measures it would take after the war ended. After the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan, it is assumed that Stalin was in a hurry to enter the war: otherwise the USSR would not receive compensation promised at the Yalta Conference. It seems that Stalin hastily prepared the order.

The USSR joined the Potsdam Declaration and declared war against Japan. The “Potsdam Declaration” stated that after disarmament, prisoners of war were to be returned to their home countries. This is different from the atmosphere at the time of the Yalta Conference. At the Yalta Conference, each nation agreed to the use of prisoners of war as labor power, but that was significantly changed in the “Potsdam Declaration”. It was probably Truman who

changed this. If President Roosevelt had still been alive, there would have been a possibility of the Yalta Conference agreement being used as-is. Truman eased the conditions to ones that Japan could easily accept. The “Potsdam Declaration” did not demand unconditional surrender, but clearly showed the conditions on the Allied powers. The USSR could not just move directly to carrying out “Order No. 9898”; they needed some pretext in order to carry it out. The USSR probably needed some camouflage for the world. Therefore, Stalin proposed the occupation of the northern half of Hokkaido by Soviet forces, as he knew it wouldn’t be accepted by the USA. Stalin probably wanted to put a good face on the situation, and then when his request was refused, he carried out Order No. 9898. A chart showing the situation of the entry of Japanese soldiers to the USSR from each intermediate assembly site is included in the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare’s *Engo 50nen Shi (50-Year History of Repatriate Relief)*. Regarding the times of entry into the USSR and the locations where they crossed the border as shown in the chart, part of the battalion gathered at Jiamusi had already crossed the border on August 21. From this fact, we can assume that the USSR had planned from the beginning to carry out “Order No.9898.”

In the discussion between Yasuzo Aoki, the Chairman of the national association for reparation of internees (Zenkoku Yokuryusha Hosho Kyogikai) and Ivan Kovalenko (Иван Коваленко), Kovalenko stated that the order of the 16th meant “Wait until the next order comes,” and that internment of Japanese soldiers in Siberia was an established fact. From this fact, it is appropriate to assume that the internment of Japanese soldiers in Siberia was going to be done regardless of the course of action concerning Hokkaido.

Stalin joined the Potsdam Declaration powers, but still carried out Order No. 9898. In this way, the fate of Japanese forces under the control of Soviet forces was firmly grasped by the hand of Stalin. This was the beginning of the tragedy.

Prior to carrying out Order No. 9898, the USSR secretly proceeded with matters concerning the Japanese. There were probably strict orders to make absolutely sure that the Japanese knew nothing about Order No. 9898, so when Soviet soldiers spoke to internees they said “Tokyo Domoï (Домой: back to home),” to make the Japanese believe that they would be

sent back to Japan. The Soviets were really skillful and the secret was thoroughly kept. At the beginning, some Japanese had doubts, but even they came to believe what the Soviets said.

The battalions formed were not called “work battalions” until they were sent to Siberia. The name simply “battalion” was used because it was convenient for transportation. If they had been called “work battalions” from the beginning, the Japanese probably wouldn’t have been so obedient and it might not have been possible to take them to Siberia.

By this order, Japanese soldiers were consequently sent to Siberia. They were told “Tokyo Domo,” and most Japanese soldiers were transferred to Siberia without having any doubts that they were headed for home.

The corps which had been fighting in areas near the border entered Soviet territory directly on foot, and the corps in the rear who did not fight, waited at each designated assembly site until transportation for them “to go back home” started. The Soviet forces had really thoroughly deceived the Japanese soldiers.

Soviet forces made the Japanese form battalions; each roughly a unit of 1,000 soldiers, leaving minimum numbers of officers and noncommissioned officers as commanders, and made other officers and noncommissioned officers form other corps separately. Therefore, an ordinary corps was formed of ordinary soldiers with the addition of some officers and noncommissioned officers. The officers and noncommissioned officers excluded from these formations were re-formed into separate corps consisting only of officers and corps consisting only of noncommissioned officers with the addition of some lower-class officers.

In this way, Soviet forces settled the preparations for sending them to Siberia.

When some corps was lacking a number of soldiers due to sickness or death, Soviet forces kidnapped ordinary men, not soldiers, from the streets and houses and appropriated them. Soviet forces did not arrest Japanese people particularly because they were Japanese, but after the disarmament, if the number of soldiers gathered and accommodated was short of the number needed to form a corps, Soviet forces kidnapped soldiers who had escaped and mingled with local citizens, or Japanese men of age for military service, and made up the shortages in numbers. At the time, this was called “soldier hunt” or “manhunt.” In addition, South

Manchurian railway staff, Japanese public servant of Manchukuo, officers of “Kkyowakai (harmony associations),” the public servant of Government-General Tyosen (Korean government house) and Government of Karafuto (Sakhalin), police officers, and the managers of important work areas, etc., were arrested and sent to the USSR.

The Japanese people who lived in Manchukuo were most unfortunate. In particular, in order to keep military secrets, members of the cultivation groups and the residents were not notified of the Japanese army’s principle of pulling the national defense line down to south of the Iianging (Dailian-Xingin) line and gintu (Xingin-Tumen) line, and they believed that they would be protected by the Kwantung Army, so they delayed their escape, resulting in tragic experiences, the details of which will be mentioned in Section 5.

Soviet forces directed the disorganization of the Kwantung Army General Headquarters on September 5, and the disarmament was carried out at 11:00 a.m. that same day.

The example of Class A military cadets in the Kwantung Army’s engineer cadet education unit will be mentioned here for reference concerning circumstances before and after the end of the war. When Soviet forces declared war and invaded Manchuria, the engineer cadets’ education unit was carrying out a bridge construction exercise in Nenjiang(嫩江). The orders from Kwantung Army headquarters were changed many times: one order said to dig anti-tank ditches, another order said to return to the corps, and nothing was definite. On September 12th, they were going to move by train in order to continue their education in the rear, and they boarded the train in the siding at Qiqihaer station. At that time, people native to Manchuria probably already knew about the course of the war, and were pilfering all kinds of goods including packs of blankets from the Kwantung Army’s clothing warehouse. People just watched without making any attempt to stop them. The train started to move in the evening. After it had run quite some distance, there was the sound of an explosion from the direction of Qiqihaer, and flames lit up the night sky. The military cadets heard the Imperial edict in Haerbin station, and while they were considering this in various ways, such as, “it’s an armistice,” “no, we were defeated,” the Manchurian army there started to riot. The cadets were mobilized and ordered to go and suppress the riot immediately, but the riot ended before they confronted the

enemy, and they soon moved to a nearby primary school. A few days later, they received the order to take their weapons to the racetrack for collection, and went there to dispose of their weapons. When they had given up their weapons, they felt that they could not resist anything the Soviet forces did to them, and they resigned themselves to their fate, considering that all they could do was to trust their fate to Heaven.

Some days later, they were moved to vacant artillery barracks and waited for their transportation to begin. Transportation finally started. Some of them had collected enough food for 15 days. Some of them felt that they wouldn't mind even going without eating and drinking for about 15 days because they would be returning to Japan. When they came out of the barracks, Soviet soldiers guarded both sides of their lines. They were surprised because they had never before had any contact with Soviet soldiers even once. Another thing that surprised them was that the Soviet soldiers stripped the Japanese soldiers of their belongings such as watches and fountain pens. They were forced to board a cargo train on a side track near Haerbin, and thought they would head south, but the train ran toward the east, and they were set down at Hengdaohezi (横道河子) and told to walk from there. They were told that this was unavoidable because the tunnel was blocked. They were accommodated at the former ammunition depot in Hailin (it's not certain that it used to be an ammunition depot, but it is clear that it was a site for military use) where they started living in tents.

There were some buildings, but ordinary soldiers lived in tents. Soldiers and officers were gathered there from many places.

Individual battalions were formed in units of 1,000 soldiers, and a number was attached to each battalion in order, from Battalion No.1 to Battalion No.151. Some numerals were omitted, so the total of soldiers gathered here was less than 150,000.

No food was supplied here. They had to support themselves until their transfer started. They gradually consumed their provisions, then crept through the barbed wire to cornfields and stole corn to supplement their food. They bought salt, etc., from Manchurians and Koreans who came near to the barbed wire to sell goods. The value of Manchurian bank notes was dropping day by day but they were still in circulation.

The transfer of Japanese soldiers finally started. The battalions were not referred to as “working battalions,” and Soviet forces explained that they were formed into units of 1,000 soldiers for convenience in transferring them to go home. If they had been called “work battalions” from the beginning, the Japanese probably wouldn’t have been so obedient and it might not have been possible to take them to Siberia.

Soviet forces were really skillful at deceiving Japanese soldiers. Probably the Soviet soldiers themselves did not know, but in any case, the Kwantung Army soldiers were really skillfully deceived and were taken away to Siberia.

Japanese soldiers were also handled in the same way in Jilin. Masaaki Aida, a military cadet in the 20th Railway Regiment wrote the following in his memoir (*Heiwa no Ishizue*, vol. VIII, p. 179).

All soldiers were told to gather in the open area because there was going to be an important announcement at noon on August 15. I thought that some great battle results had been achieved and that the progress of the battle would be reported. But it was the Emperor’s broadcast telling us of the end of the war. It was unbelievable. The moment we heard the broadcast, all the soldiers were totally stupefied, and sat down or lay down on the ground and cried bitterly. At that time, the commander of our unit said that mainland Japan had given up, but the Kwantung Army still actually existed, that he’d like to fight until his last moment as a soldier, but that we would obey the words of the Emperor, with all the soldiers in our corps acting in concert, and we must not think of doing anything rash. He expressed his great regret and all of us made a deep bow toward mainland Japan.

Later, we gathered at a school in the city, and we took charge of maintaining public peace under very disturbed circumstances. One group of soldiers said that they would break away and go back home. Another group said that they would barricade themselves in the Xing’anlin Mountains and fight, and several tens of soldiers took separate action. Our commander called to all of us and said that we should all die together, that we should unite without doing anything reckless until Soviet forces invaded. The public peace in the city was

disturbed, and rioting and pillaging by the residents started, and we took charge of protecting Japanese residents in individual five-soldier teams, but we could do nothing because of the intense confusion, and the noisy disturbed days continued.

After three or four days passed, Soviet forces, with tanks in the lead, entered Jilin city. The native residents quickly changed their attitude, holding Chinese nationalist flags aloft and passionately welcoming the Soviet forces. We were forced to gather in the school grounds, and regretfully were forced to disarm. The native residents surrounded us, denounced us, roared in anger and threw stones at us; this was their reaction to the pressure on them under Japanese military administration. After that, we were interned inside the school, and held by Soviet forces, cut off from contact with the outside. We were in a condition of informal confinement.

Near the end of August, Soviet forces told us that Japanese soldiers would be returned to Japan from Vladivostok that we would be moved to "Dunhua," near the Soviet-Manchuria border, and we must not rebel and obey the commands of the Soviet forces. The commander of our corps said, "I cannot believe what they say, but even if they are going to execute us in Siberia, I'll act in concert with all of you." We took as much food and clothing as we could carry, and the move started. When we came out into the city, we and the Japanese residents led by Soviet forces passed each other, and they threw reproaches at us, singing ironically, "We owe you soldiers lots!" the reverse meaning of a military song of the time.

Also, we saw very strange scenes on the street. Dozens of Soviet soldiers were in line in front of the doors of houses inside which Japanese women were being raped. And midway in our march, when we took a little rest in the hilly zone in the suburbs, a Japanese woman who had disguised herself in military uniform, escaped to us shouting, "Help! Soldiers!" and entered our files, but a Soviet soldier holding an automatic rifle in one hand ran after her. He touched the breasts of the woman and said "Yaponsky madam, kharasho! (Japanese woman, Good!)," and he took her away. He shot his automatic rifle skyward, and threatened us, so we could do nothing for her, and she looked at us reproachfully as she was taken away. Even now I can still see her in my mind's eye.

Also, a death march awaited us. For about 500 km from Jilin through Mudan Jiang to

Dunhua, we were forced to walk and walk continuously every day under conditions in which daytime was hot and nighttime was cold. There were about 400 soldiers in our ranks. Food was loaded on a carriage at the very end. Over 15 Soviet soldiers, each holding an automatic rifle in one hand, took turns patrolling our ranks. They said “Bystra, bystra (faster, faster)” and we were forced to march 50 km to 60 km a day. When we passed through Mudan Jiang, we saw many corpses of Japanese soldiers with their clothes stripped off, lying along our route. This was so terrible that we wanted to cover our eyes.

After we had walked continuously for three days and three nights, we were extremely fatigued, and when the time for rest came, we fell down where we were. We sipped muddy water standing on the road as if we were pushing each other away. Our clothes and sheets and blankets had become too heavy as we marched, so we threw things away one by one and ended up lightly dressed, and our belongings were reduced to only a canteen and mess kit each. We were attacked by mobs at night, and our exhaustion reached a peak. Our urine contained blood. Stragglers were abandoned, and while we were marching, many of us often fell to our knees or fell flat on the ground. It was a march of death punctuated by sips of muddy water. We don't know how many days we walked. When we found our way at last to the riverbank in the suburbs of Dunhua, our destination, all of us simultaneously fell forward into the river. After we buried our faces in the river water we somehow regained our vigor.

When we reached the suburbs of Dunhua city after persistently struggling through and enduring the hard and painful death march, we found a tent village on the river bank, and we were interned in this tent village under the superintendence of the Soviet forces. While the corps from all areas was being gathered, we spent about one month aimlessly day after day, eating farm products from the agricultural zone. Meanwhile, Soviet forces said that the main islands of Japan at present were in a condition of great confusion, and that under that condition we could not go back home yet, and they told us to wait for Tokyo Domo without causing rebellion.

However, whenever any of us was alone, Soviet soldiers plundered our belongings, taking things such as wristwatches and fountain pens, etc., so we started doing everything with two or more of us together.

Also, Soviet officers took some opportunities at night, bringing food such as brown bread and entering our tents, demanding that we barter with them. Some Soviet soldiers put three or four wristwatches on each arm, and hung table clocks with alarm functions from their waists. They were at a peak of self-complacency, in joyful high spirits.

Japanese soldiers in every assembly site in Manchuria were ill treated in almost the same way.

### **Section 3 Transfer of Internees**

Even before starting the war, Stalin had planned to use the soldiers of the Japanese forces for labor. In the Yalta Conference, the other Allied powers agreed to that, but in the Potsdam Conference, when the Allied powers sounded out Japan's intentions, they dismissed this idea. The Allied powers were considered to be concerned about avoiding further damage being suffered by both sides. In the Potsdam Declaration, various conditions were clearly stated so that Japan could easily accept it, and it was clearly stated that, "Following are our terms." The USSR joined the Potsdam Declaration nations and declared war on Japan. According to the Potsdam Declaration, the USSR was obligated to send the Japanese back to Japan. Did Stalin consider that he needed to create some conditions in order to justify taking Japanese to Siberia?

The USSR probably hesitated between the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference. The order stating that Japanese soldiers wouldn't be taken to Soviet territory was issued on August 16. The head of NKVD Beria, the deputy head of NKGB Bulganin and Chief Staff Antonov issued the order to the Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Force in Far East Vasilevsky from Moscow on August 16, 1945 with joint signatures. The telegram said "Do not transfer the Japanese army prisoners of war to Soviet territory. Set up concentration camps for these prisoners of war as far as possible in the places where disarmament of the Japanese army has been done." But on August 23, the USSR started to carry out Order No. 9898 and took 500,000 Japanese soldiers into Soviet territory; they took these Japanese away in order to use

them for forced labor for the USSR's own five-year reconstruction plan for their country. And the world overlooked that.

“Decision of State Committee for Defense No.9898, ‘about acceptance, allocation and labor using of 500,000 POWs of Japanese Army’ (Постановление Государственного Комитета Обороны №9898сс «О приеме, размещении и трудовом использовании 500,000 военнопленных японской армии»)” (See the appendix for full text).

The battalions, units of 1,000 soldiers each, were transferred to the USSR from the assembly sites according to Order No. 9898 dated August 23. Some of them traveled on foot for many days, and some crossed the Amur River by ship, but the majority was transported on cargo trains. The places to which the battalions were sent were scattered in many places throughout the USSR's vast territory of the time, from Europe far away in the west to Kamchatka in the east.

The previously mentioned officer cadet Aida has stated the following concerning the transfer of Japanese soldiers.

The so-called “Tokyo Domoii” transfers of Japanese soldiers started around the last 10 days of October. Two rows of shelves were attached at front and back inside each freight car. We made a wood stove out of an oil barrel in the center, and a long and narrow toilet using galvanized sheet and wooden boards at the door of each car, which was boarded by about 50 soldiers. Soviet forces in Manchuria meticulously removed all valuable articles, not only food and other items, but also machines and equipment from various facilities, galvanized sheets from the roofs and walls of houses, and even pots and pans, and these were loaded onto the trains, filling all available freight cars, and quickly transported to the USSR. These trains passed through the stations where we were stopped. Because Soviet soldiers were very much afraid of the capacity of Japanese soldiers to unite and make friendly exchanges, we were forced to change our formations many times before our transfer from Dunhua. Those of us on the same rolling stock didn't know each other, so we talked to each other about our own native places and the flow of our corps. We were fretful and anxious about whether or not we could really go back to Japan. We started off in about 50 freight cars connected to each other.

Food such as kaoliang (sorghum), rice, and millet was procured from Manchuria. We cooked it en route, using our canteens over the wood-burning stoves in the freight cars. When our train was shunted into a siding and did not move for one or two hours, we replenished our drinking water and urinated and defecated. When we started to see Soviet people out of the train while it was running, we felt that we had entered Soviet territory.

One day, after the train had been on the move for many days, many soldiers in the car suddenly started a commotion. One voice said, "I saw the sea!" and at that moment, cheerful voices saying, "It's the Sea of Japan, we're heading for Vladivostok." arose from all of us, and we looked at each other. But that was only the bustle and confusion of the moment. When we found out that it was Lake Baikal, and that we had been traveling in the opposite direction, all of us became deadly calm and felt as if we had been thrown into the depths of hell. We felt that our ominous foreboding was right and we expected that we would be sentenced to die before a firing squad. We resigned ourselves to dying together (*Heiwa no Ishizue, VIII*, pp. 181-182).

According to diplomatic documents made public later, the Japanese government was aware of concentration camps in 456 locations as of July 1947, and of concentration camps in 1,163 locations as of April 1951 when the repatriation of almost all Japanese soldiers had been completed.

The majority of Japanese soldiers were transferred in freight cars in units of battalions, formed mainly as units of 1,000 soldiers from each assembly site under occupation, in Manchuria, the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin and North Korea. They were transferred under the pretext that all soldiers would be returned to Japan. Every soldier in the Soviet forces deceived the Japanese by unanimously saying, "Tokyo Domo!" Some of the Japanese might have had some doubts, wondering if they might possibly be killed or interned, but even though they might have had some doubts, they were forced to believe what the Soviet forces said. They were really clever.

We entered the USSR from intermediate assembly sites in Manchuria, and transportation started through Songhua (松花江) from Jiamusi. We crossed the border between Manchuria and the USSR on August 21<sup>(6)</sup>. This was before Order No. 9898 was issued on

August 23. From this fact, we can assume that the USSR's plan to retain 500,000 Japanese was scheduled regardless of the Potsdam Declaration.

Most transportation of Japanese to the USSR started in early September and was completed by the end of the year, although some Japanese were transported in the following year. Although we cannot confirm the total number of Japanese transported, it was around 600,000.

The main entry routes to the USSR were through Suifenhe(綏芬河), Heihe(黑河), and Manzhouli(Manjuur 滿州里). Some Japanese crossed the border on foot or by ship but most were transported in freight cars.

At the beginning some corps passed through Suifenhe on foot, but nearly all Japanese crossed the border in freight cars.

Japanese who passed through Heihe were transported by boat across the Amur River, and when the river was frozen they crossed on foot or were transported in motor vehicles.

Almost all Japanese who passed through Manzhouli were in freight cars.

Japanese from North Korea, the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin were transported by ship.

The following shows the timing of departures from intermediate assembly sites, and the numbers of Japanese transported, reorganized on the basis of *Manso Junan Ki (Memory of Martyrdom Under the Manchuria and Soviet)* and the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare's *Engo 50nen shi (50-Year History of Repatriate Relief)*.

Approximately 24,000 Japanese departed for the Primorsky Krai from Lagu, the assembly site in eastern Manchuria, from September 7 to 14.

About 53,000 Japanese departed from Hailin for Taishet and Izveskovaia (Извесковая) from September 7 to November 23.

About 32,000 Japanese departed from Dunhua mainly for Taishet and the Altaiskaia (Алтайская) area from September 1 to early November.

About 14,000 Japanese departed from Dongjungcheng to Khabarovsk and the Komsomol'sk-on-Amur (Комсомльск-на-Амуре) area from September 3 to November 7.

About 18,000 Japanese departed from Langang for Taishet and other places from

September 5 to November 19.

About 15,000 Japanese departed from Jincang for Kholmorin and Visokogorni' (Высокогорный: ex. Muli) from September 15 to 26.

About 40,000 Japanese departed from Yanji for Kholmorin, Muli (Visokogorni') and other places from September 2 to December 4.

About 17,000 Japanese departed from Qiqihaer for Khabarovsk and other places from August 25 to October 15. (According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare data, they crossed the border on August 21.)

Japanese soldiers were transported successively from Mudan Jiang and Yehe to various locations.

About 23,000 Japanese departed from the Sunwu assembly site in northern Manchuria, mainly for the Blagoveschensk (Благовещенск) area, in the short period from September 3 to 27.

Yutaka Hoshino describes the circumstances at that time as follows.

“In early morning, carrying our belongings in our hands, we started marching across the Amur River. Boats were arranged across the river and connected by narrow boards. The black surface of the river water was dotted with chunks of ice as it flowed by. One of our friends missed his footing and disappeared into the river water. Under these conditions, with Soviet soldiers suddenly snatching away our goods, we crossed the river at the risk of our lives” (*Heiwa no Ishizue, vol.I, p.218*).

About 5,000 Japanese were transported from Beian to Izveskovaia from September 10 to 20.

About 2,000 Japanese were transported from Suihua to Krasnoyarsk, Abakan (Абакан), and Vyatka from September 24 to October 25.

Two battalions were formed in Hailin, and about 1,000 Japanese, mainly sickly and weak people who had been sent in the reverse direction and forced to work in Hailin (海林), were transferred from Haerbin to Birobidzhan (香坊) in April 1946, when Soviet forces withdrew.

About 5,000 Japanese were transported from Nenjiang to Skovorodino (Сковородино: ex, Rukhlovo) and Blagoveschensk from September 3 to 22.

From September 2 to November 15, about 30,000 Japanese started on journeys from the assembly sites in Qiqihaer to Chita, Krasnoyarsk and other locations, as well as to far-distant Alma-Ata.

About 9,000 Japanese departed from Bo Ke Tu for Chita, Abakan, Anzhero-Sudzhensk (Анжело-Судженск), etc., from September 20th to October 19.

About 3,000 Japanese departed from Hailaer for Krasnoyarsk and Anzhero-Sudzhensk from November 18 to 25.

About 11,000 Japanese departed from Jilin in the central area of Manchuria to Blagoveschensk, Barnaul (Барнаул), Altaiskaia (Алтайская), Vladivostok, and other locations from September 5 to October 23.

About 26,000 Japanese were transported from Xinjing to Kharagun (Харугун), Sretensk (Срепенск), Ulan-Ude (Улан-Удэ), etc., and to locations far away in Europe, as well as to Balkhash (Балхаш) in Kazakhstan and Begobat (Бегувар) in Uzbekistan, from September 2 to October 15.

About 21,000 Japanese departed from Gongzhuling for Irkutsk (Иркутск), Krasnoyarsk, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other locations from September 8 to October 13.

About 21,800 Japanese departed from Siping for various locations including Blagoveschensk, Karaganda (Караганда) and Alma-Ata (Алма-Ата) from September 10 to November 16.

About 60,700 Japanese were transported from Fengtian to a wide range of locations, from Blagoveschensk to Kharagun, Irkutsk, Cheremkhovo (Черемхово), Abakan, Krasnoyarsk, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan from September 7 to December 20.

About 3,000 Japanese were transported from Anshan to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan from November 9 to 13.

About 15,000 Japanese departed from Haicheng for distant locations including Chita,

Mongolia, Krasnoyarsk and Morshansk (Моршанск) from October 5 to November 10.

About 8,000 Japanese were transported from Jinzhou to Kemerovo (Кемерово) and other locations from October 4 to 13.

About 6,000 Japanese departed from Chegde for Mongolia on September 15.

Between October 5 and December 15, about 32,000 Japanese were transported from Sanheli in North Korea to places such as Moscow, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, far from the Primorsky Krai. Many Japanese were sent by ship from Xingnan port to Pos'et (Пошьет) and Vladivostok, and then transported in freight cars.

About 9,000 Japanese departed from Qiuyi for Vladivostok, Alma-Ata, Kzylorda (Кзылорда), and the Caucasus in the very late period of June 11th to 20th the following year.

On October 14, about 2,000 Japanese, mostly officers, departed from Meileidong for Ladva and Kazan (Казан). According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare's *30nen Shi*, they crossed the border on October 30th.

Transportation of about 8,000 Japanese from Gumaoshan started on April 8 of the following year. According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare's *30nen Shi*, they crossed the border by June 23. Their destinations were Vladivostok, Semeonovka (Семеновка), Voroshilov (Ворошилов: presently a part of Ussriisk), Leninogorsk (Лениногорск), Ust'-Kamenogorsk (Усть-Каменогорск), and Ukraine.

About 3,000 Japanese departed from Xuande for Nakhodka (Находка) and Partizansk (Партизанск: ex, Suchan) from September 22 to 30.

About 8,000 Japanese departed from Fuping for Partizansk (Suchan), Semenovka (Семеновка) and Dal'nerechensk (Дальнереченск: ex. Iman) from October 9 to 15.

About 2,000 Japanese departed from Wulaoli for Semeonovka and Iman (Dal'nerechensk) on October 1.

In late September of the following year about 24,000 Japanese departed from Xing'an (興南) mainly for the Primorsky Krai, but also for other locations including faraway Begobat (Беговат).

About 8,500 Japanese were transported from Korsakov in Sakhalin to Northern

Sakhalin, Nikolaevsk, Muli, and the Primorsky Krai, and some were sent to Elabuga (Елабуга), from October 20 to November 13.

About 6,000 Japanese were transported from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Южно-Сахалинск) to Nikolaevsk-na-Amur, Muli, and the Primorsky Krai from September 2 to November 12.

About 4,000 Japanese departed from Poronaisk (Поронаиск) for southern Sakhalin and Semeonovka on September 11.

About 11,000 Japanese were transported from Paramushir Island to Nikolaevsk-na-Amur, Muli, the Primorsky Krai, and other locations from September 1 to November 30.

About 13,000 Japanese departed from Shumushu for Magadan, Kamchatka, Muli, and the Primorsky Krai from September 16 to November 27.

About 3,800 Japanese departed from Matua Island for Muli on September 25.

About 5,500 Japanese departed from Urup Island for Muli on October 20th.

About 7,500 Japanese departed from Shikotan Island for Muli on September 9.

About 11,000 Japanese departed from Etorofu Island for Muli and Vladivostok from September 13 to December 29.

For the train transportation method, each boxcar used to transport the Japanese was partitioned into two compartments, and was locked from the outside. During their transportation, each Japanese prepared his own meals using his canteen during the times when the train was stopped. In this way, they traveled many days on the Siberian railway. It was just like domestic-animal transportation in these freight cars, locked in from the outside.

Each freight car was divided into two compartments, and about 50 people were packed into each freight car (although the number per freight car varied depending on the size of the freight cars and the formation of people being transported). Each car had one potbelly stove for heating, but no toilet provisions were considered. People urinated and defecated on the ground around the trains during stops. The places where trains stop are roughly the same, and therefore the excrement of the people transported before them was everywhere, and they had difficulty finding places to put their feet, but of necessity they urinated and defecated indiscriminately

everywhere near the trains. If they moved too far away from their train, there was a danger that they would be shot, so it was inevitable that they did this. But they had more trouble when the train did not stop. They cut holes in the floor for urination, but for feces they had to control themselves somehow until the train stopped, and Soviet soldiers unlocked the cars from outside. They considered various measures such as preparing a keg for times when they could no longer endure the wait.

They had nothing but the clothes they happened to be wearing when they were loaded on the trains, and, packed together in the train cars for long periods of time, they became infested with lice. That was unbearable.

The Japanese who entered Soviet territory from Suifenhe believed that their trains were going south to Vladivostok from the junction with the Siberian railway, but the trains started to run northward, and they found that they had been deceived.

Many Japanese who had crossed the river from Heihe were interned in Blagoveschensk and other places nearby. Some of them were then transported far away on trains. They thought they would be transported to Vladivostok through Khabarovsk on the Siberian railway, but they started to be transported in the opposite direction, and realized that they had been deceived.

Japanese from Manzhouli noticed at the junction near Chita that they had been deceived, but they couldn't do anything about it at that stage.

## **Reverse transportation**

Stalin's order was to take healthy Japanese who could endure work. All Japanese were taken to Siberia, but some Japanese (mainly those who were sick), who obviously could not endure working, were sent back again to Manchuria (Mudan Jiang, Heihe) and North Korea.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare's *Engei 50nen Shi* (p. 34), describes the circumstances of the detained Japanese who were sick or weak. "Of the Japanese interned, the USSR sent back about 43,000 Japanese who could not endure labor because they were sick,

weak, etc. Among those sent back, many died while being transported, and the conditions of the hospitals and concentration camps in many places in North Korea and the former Manchuria were as bad as the conditions in the concentration camps in the USSR, resulting in many deaths.”

In April 1946, when these Japanese who were sent back recovered, they were again transported to Siberia together with the Japanese who had previously worked in the hospital. They are said to have numbered 47,000. Japanese who were judged as not being able to endure labor, and Japanese whose sicknesses were not cured, were sent back to Japan as-is. Concerning the number of these people, the Russian book called *Великая Отечественная Война Советского Союза*. (*The Great Homeland War of Soviet Union*) states that 20,000 Japanese were sent back to North Korea and another 22,000 Japanese were taken to the USSR.

Ichiro Yoshino has spoken about the circumstances when he was returned from Siberia. “The freight car in which I was sent back had no heating and I was almost frozen. I tried to beat my body against the wall of the freight car to warm myself, and I thought I’d freeze to death. Anyway, they sent me back home after they judged that I was not usable because of sickness.

They stripped off my clothes, and I was returned with a minimum of clothing. They actually told us that a person who does not work must not eat.” The reason why the death rate for Japanese sent back was high was not just sickness, but also the treatment of those sent back. After Yoshino recovered, he was sent back to Siberia, and he said that this transportation was the most painful thing in his life in internment.

Some Japanese were sent back to Heihe, even though there had been no preparations to accept them there, and they were left behind. They were not sent back to Siberia. Some were sent back from Siberia in March-April 1946. There was no leader, and each of them had to move south independently. They formed groups but the majority of them fell behind their groups, and apparently only a small number of them were able to return to Japan.

As mentioned above, Japanese taken away were transported and arranged in different locations.

A work report was submitted for the secret Order No. 9898 for the plan issued by

Stalin to mobilize 500,000 soldiers from the Kwantung Army (see Appendix).

## **Section 4 Requisition of Materials and Removal of Facilities**

The Soviet forces that advanced into Manchuria disregarded the armistice provisions established in “the Hata-Vasilevsky talks.” After they intercepted communication lines and restricted transportation, they requisitioned railway station warehouses, the head office of the Telephone & Telegraph Company, the Kwantung Army arsenal in Mengjatun (孟家屯), and the Kwantung Army motor vehicle plant, one after another.

The description given here of circumstances in this period is based on Noboru Kojima, *Manshu Teikoku III (Manchurian Empire Vol. III)* and other sources.

On August 21, Soviet forces called high-ranking officials of the Manchurian government such as former ministers, and the vice-director of the General Affairs Agency, to the General Headquarters of the Kwantung Army, and ordered them to submit detailed data concerning the equipment possessed by major companies and plants.

On August 22, Soviet forces confiscated about 700 million yen in Manchurian bank notes, securities equivalent to 7.5 billion yen, 36 kg of gold bullion, 31 kg of platinum, 66 kg of silver and diamonds totaling 3,705 carats.

The vaults of the Yokohama Shokin Bank Branch and Manchurian Industrial Bank were emptied, as were those of the Fengtian Branch of the Chuo Bank and other banks in many places<sup>(7)</sup>.

Soviet forces in fact requisitioned all the materials in Manchuria. They even pillaged and transported items used by private citizens in daily life.

“Simultaneously with the end of the war, Soviet forces removed not only food, clothing, and drugs, but also Japanese banknotes, Korean banknotes, company bonds, stock certificates, 3,705 carats of diamonds, 2,100 kg of gold bullion, finished products, semi-finished products and raw materials from plants, and also the equipment itself from plants, and took all

of it away into Soviet territory. This later caused a serious diplomatic problem between the USSR and the Chinese peoples' government that was connected to the USSR at that time by a friendship treaty. By this requisition, 40% of the various facilities in Manchuria were carried away, 40% were destroyed, and only 20% remained. Direct damage alone was said to have reached US\$851,000,000." In addition, Soviet forces requisitioned not only machines and materials, but also "rice crops from the fields, desks and chairs from offices, and door handles, glassware, pots, pans and sliding doors (*fusuma*) from the homes of Japanese residents" as stated in Yasuo Wakatsuki, *Shiberia Horyo Shuyoujo (Siberian Prisoners of War Concentration Camps)*.

"Huge amounts of all kinds of goods other than ammunition, such as medical supplies, food, and horse feed, etc., that would have allowed the Kwantung Army to fight for several years even if isolated, were in reserve in the cargo depot in Siping, and one day we had to do the work of loading these goods onto trains of 40 freight cars.

These trains were sent to the USSR in the morning and evening of a single day." (*Heiwa no Ishizue, vol.I, p. 55, Shizuo Naito*), "The work of loading military goods piled up outdoors like mountains for transport to the USSR took about a month." This was done at the Xinjing branch depot of the Kwantung Army field operations depot (*Heiwa no Ishizue, vol.I, p. 81, Zenzo Suzuki*). Also, in Hutou, "About 120 persons, myself included, were taken to work to load all the war booty onto ships every day. There were no weapons or ammunition, but there were incredibly huge amounts of goods taken from the Japanese forces and from China, such as food, sweets, and clothing, etc. They brought in all kinds of goods including sugar, wine, tobacco, sweet bean jelly, emergency-ration crackers, rice, wheat, soybeans, desks, chairs, fixtures, glasses, and *tatami* mats" (*Heiwa no Ishizue, vol.I, pp. 111-112, Saichi Minamiguchi*). Also, there is evidence that a branch of the No. 16 concentration camp in the Republic of Uzbekistan was "a plant for electrical work, where the workers were 500 Soviets and 1,000 Japanese internees. The surprising matter was that huge piles of Japanese products and German products were carried into the plant, probably as trophies" (*Heiwa no Ishizue, vol.I, p. 91, Zenkichi Aoyagi*).

Also, “goods hunting” was carried out meticulously as shown below. The expression “goods hunting” is used in *Manshu Teikoku* III (pp. 325-326).

Almost all “goods hunting” was completed between the end of October and about mid-November. They probably tried to finish their “goods hunting” within the period stipulated in *China, Soviet Union Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14 1945*.

In concrete terms, this included the dismantling of plant facilities in the Fengtian (presently Shenyang) area. Valuable machine tools, precision machines, power generators, boilers, chemical industry machinery, transformers and other equipment were entirely removed from arsenals and from over 50 plants belonging to Manchurian Sumitomo Metal, Manchurian Electric Wire, Manchurian Aircraft, Manchurian Light Machines, Manchurian Hitachi, etc.

In Fushun (撫順), coal mining facilities and oil manufacturing facilities were left, but machine tools and vehicles were removed from the Fushun coal mine and from Manchurian Light Metal. In the Manchurian Light Metal Plant, Soviet forces dynamited the pedestal of each power generator and removed the generators, so only the walls and electrical furnaces remained. In Anshan, facilities from 25 plants were removed and taken away by Soviet forces. From September 25 to November 9, 473,075 Japanese workers and 139,351 Chinese workers carried out 64,756 tons of equipment for ore mining, ore preparation machines, steel making machines, and blast furnace equipment. A total of 2,896 freight cars were used.

In Dalian, about 90% of the facilities were removed from the Dalian Machine Factory. All facilities were completely removed from Manchurian Petroleum, Manchurian Chemistry, Oki Electric Industry, South Manchuria Woodwork, and Kantoshu Mitsubishi, and the facilities in the Kantoshu Potassium plant, Toyo Takushoku, and Takeda Salt Manufacturing were destroyed.

Of course the facilities in many places possessed by Manchurian Heavy Industry and the Manchurian Railway, were removed or targeted for removal.

Complete details of the facilities removed by Soviet forces are not clear, but generally speaking, it is assumed that 40% of industrial facilities in Manchuria to have been removed while 40% were destroyed.

The Bolley Committee of the US sent to Manchuria in June 1946 reported the damage to each industry by removal or destruction by Soviet forces as shown below.

Electric power industry = 71%, coal mining industry = 90%, iron & steel industry = 50~100%, railway industry = 80%, machine industry = 75%, liquid fuel industry = 50%, chemical industry = 50%, coal industry = 50%, non-ferrous metal industry = 75%, textile industry = 75%, pulp industry = 30%, telegraph & telephone = 20~100%.

The Bolley Committee estimated that the amount of damage reached US\$895,030,000 at an exchange rate of \$=¥4.2.

The removal of facilities and materials by Soviet forces was sufficiently drastic to wipe out the cultural level developed in the Manchurian Empire period, and drop Manchuria back to the level of an uncivilized country.

Of course the Republic of China protested to the USSR, when Manchuria was returned and became Chinese territory again, it was natural that all Japanese assets in Manchuria and the inheritance of the Manchurian Empire should have reverted to China.

But the USSR only responded to China that it considered the facilities in Manchuria to be the trophies of Soviet forces.

As mentioned above, the USSR aimed to utilize this war to the maximum. The USSR considered that Japan was truly impoverished, and would soon give up. The Soviet aim was not only to take this chance to expand its territory, but also to attempt to seize all Japanese assets in Manchuria without leaving any behind. This was obvious from their actions.

Looking at the measures taken by the USSR after the war, it is obvious that the USSR made various plans before declaring war against Japan. How huge was the amount of things the USSR tried to obtain by only one week of battle! We can see that they intended to use these things to compensate for the damage they suffered in other areas. The USSR deliberately decided to start the war against Japan for the purpose of obtaining most of the facilities in Manchuria. According to the *Manmou Shusen Shi (History of the End of the War in Manchuria and Mongolia)*, p.185), Republic of China protested against these actions by USSR like following.

The National Government of China expected all plant facilities in Manchuria to be put under its control as-is, and did not expect that the USSR would remove entire plant facilities. Of course there was no arrangement in *the China Soviet Union Treaty of Friendship and Alliance* allowing for the removal of any facilities. The National Government of China was surprised when Soviet forces started to remove facilities, and assigned Zhang Gongquan (張公權), Economic Committee Chairman, National Government of China and Chiang Ching-kuo, Chief of the Official Diplomatic Correspondents Office, to take charge of the negotiations in Changchun demanding that the USSR return the facilities it had removed. In response to this, the USSR stated its intention of returning part of the facilities removed if China would agree to joint management of enterprises in Manchuria other than those regulated in *the China-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance*. The National Government of China could not flatly refuse the USSR demands, and was driven into a situation in which it was forced to recognize the economic peculiarity of the USSR in Manchuria. According to a foreign news report on January 15, 1946, 19 out of the total of 22 coalmines in Manchuria, 16 of its 54 power plants, and six out of eight machine manufacturing plants were included in the joint management demand made by Marshal Malinovski (Малиновски). But it is noteworthy that in these China-Soviet negotiations, the National Government of China began to recognize the particular situation of the USSR and intended to suppress the rise of Chinese communist power by agreeing to a compromise with the USSR in Manchuria.

The US government considered these important, and made inquiries to both the Chinese and Soviet governments on February 9, 1946. The US government sent another memorandum to the USSR on March 4, recommending that the USSR not consider the facilities removed as war trophies, and stating that the joint management of enterprises was opposed to the open-door principle. This measure was inevitable for the US, which did not like the advance of Soviet power into Manchuria.

On March 12, the Soviet side sent its answer to this US proposal, stating that the USSR recognized the Japanese enterprises as war trophies, and the USSR did not make any reference whatsoever to the subject of the open-door principle.

## **Section 5 Japanese Residents in Manchuria Under Occupation by Soviet Forces**

Japanese residents in Manchuria knew that Japan was in a serious situation because of the Allied air raids, but they never expected the invasion of Soviet forces into Manchuria. When there were air raids by Soviet planes, they misunderstood these as bombing by B29s belonging to the US Air Force, which had violated the territorial air space of Manchuria on July 27 and September 8, 1944.

According to *Engo 50nen Shi*, p.32, “Among the about 1,550,000 ordinary Japanese, including members of the cultivation groups, who lived in former Manchuria in 1945, many adult males were drafted into the Kwantung Army one after another by the so-called ‘Nekosogi Doin’ (mobilization without exception) in and after June 1945.

A total of about 270,000 members of cultivation groups had settled in all the provinces of the former Manchuria. Among them, about 50,000 adult males were drafted into the Kwantung Army, and when the war between the USSR and Japan started, about 220,000 Japanese cultivation group members, mainly the aged, females and children, were living in Manchuria.

In the frontier areas, ordinary Japanese were suddenly attacked by Soviet forces on August 9, 1945 and started to evacuate in confused circumstances. Many of them escaped over long distances on foot. Meanwhile, the invasion by Soviet forces, the rebellion of native residents, and starvation and disease, claimed many victims. In addition, there were many tragic cases of groups of people who saw no other way out and committed mass suicide.”

The native people of Manchuria seemed to have sensitively perceived that Japan was exhausted and impoverished. As soon as Soviet forces invaded, red flags and flags of the Republic of China were hung at every door. Soviet forces were extremely vicious.

The Soviet soldiers assigned to the first lines were said to have been a convict corps, and they pillaged and raped beyond our imagining as they pleased. The native people, who probably had the consciousness of an oppressed people, took advantage of this and attacked

Japanese people. Some native people also pillaged and raped, and ordinary Japanese residents suffered tragic experiences.

Most Japanese groups did not have weapons, and for those who had a few weapons it was even worse than if they had possessed none. In addition, control of the public peace was entirely absent, so the situation was hopeless. As long as Soviet forces refused all requests by Japanese forces to allow them to assist in the maintenance of public peace, the Soviet forces should have taken charge of controlling the public peace, but the Soviet forces themselves acted like rioters.

Both Japanese forces and Japanese civilians were immediately annihilated in Hunchun (琿春), which had become the breakthrough point for Soviet forces. The power of Korean people was originally strong in this region. Chinese and Koreans started hostilities against the Japanese as the Soviet forces invaded, forcing the Japanese to suffer triple tortures.

Many Japanese became refugees and fled from northern Manchuria into central and southern Manchurian cities. These Japanese were accommodated in public buildings such as hospitals, temples and schools, which had been devastated by the stripping out of windows and flooring. The Refugee Relief Committee formed by Japanese in each place supported these people by providing food, clothing, dwelling places, medical services, and treatment of the dead, etc., but they suffered due to the cramped space and inferior quality of their dwelling places and the shortage of food and clothing. They suffered from malnutrition, and also, due to their poor living environment, eruptive typhus was prevalent, causing many deaths.

The violence of Soviet soldiers directly menaced Xinjing citizens. The citizens, frightened by frequent riots, expected the recovery of public peace with the advance of Soviet forces and the enforcement of a military administration, but Soviet soldiers, wearing uniforms made in the USA, and riding in jeeps or trucks also made in the USA, advanced into Xinjing and became openly violent. They intruded into the homes of Japanese private citizens, robbed them of money and goods, and stripped off their clothing, and confiscated watches and fountain pens without exception.

Many soldiers shouted out, “Domoi madam” (author’s note: “Davai madam”) to

women and girls, and raped them. Cases of women and their families committing suicide increased<sup>(8)</sup>.

These were the terrible circumstances in the Manchurian capital, Xijning.

Lieutenant General Hata, Chief of the General Staff of the Kwantung Army, protested to the Soviet forces, and on August 23 he also sent a telegram to Lt. Gen. Torashiro Tawabe, Vice-Chief of the General Staff in Tokyo, “Soviet leaders have reproved Soviet forces for their reckless actions against Japanese forces and Japanese people, but in reality, their unpardonable actions such as the unlawful firing of guns, pillaging, raping, robbing of motor vehicles passing through, etc., have been occurring frequently throughout Manchuria. Japanese forces now do not have any military power at all. In addition, there are anti-Japanese actions and actions that insult Japanese by the Manchurian army, Manchurian people and Korean people. The change of situation is far from reassuring, and the endurance of Japanese soldiers really cannot be seen without tears. Kwantung Army General Headquarters will turn over its office to Zabaikal Area Headquarters, and we will move to the former naval officers’ building. We sincerely expect central headquarters to take proper measures for the future of our nation, and hopefully stop the present endurance of our soldiers from coming to naught.”

This clearly shows how disordered the public peace had become in Manchuria.

Japanese people, mainly cultivation groups in the frontier near the border, were struck by the most tragic of fates when Soviet forces made their surprise attack and invaded Manchuria. In particular, it was extremely difficult for the cultivation groups that consisted only of the aged, women, and girls, to escape.

The Kwantung Army had determined that the area surrounded by the Jingtū line (Xinjing - Tumenxian) and the Iianjing line (Dalien - Xinjing) would be the defense line area when Soviet forces attacked the Kwantung Army. This was a military secret and ordinary Japanese people were not notified of it, so situations in which ordinary Japanese civilians were left behind after Japanese forces withdrew occurred everywhere.

The Japanese civilians living in Manchuria worked for the government, companies connected to the military, quasi-governmental and quasi-private companies based on national

policy, such as the Manchurian Railway and Manchurian Heavy Industry Development Company, as well as for ordinary private trading companies and stores. There were also many members of cultivation groups, and they all tended to feel no anxiety, trusting that the Japanese army would protect them, but the speed of the invasion by Soviet forces was unexpectedly rapid, and their evacuation was delayed, making the damage worse.

Important sections are quoted below from “Chapter 7 Houjin no Sokai to Hinan no Jokyo II: Shoubetsu Jokyo (Situation of Evacuation and Refuge of Japanese, II - Situation in Each Province)” in *Man Mou Shusenshi* (after p.66).

According to *Man Mou Shusenshi*, at 9 minutes after 1 a.m. on August 9, the state of emergency became an imminent danger to the citizens of Jiamusi in Sanjian province (三江省). The Japanese people, who lived in Sanjiang province and had never known the bitter experience of a defeated nation, panicked and didn't know what to do. Because they had previously placed too much trust in the prestige of the Kwantung Army, they could not get out of the bad habit of relying on other people's help even when they were in this desperate situation. On the 12th, the retreat of Japanese forces stationed there, and the advancement of Soviet forces with their irresistible strength, inspired the native residents to become rioters, and public pillaging started. In Sanjian province, four out of 26 people arrested by the Communist China Army as war criminals were put on peoples' trial and executed on May 3, 1946. In addition, many lives were lost due to execution by shooting or due to attacks by the native people.

In Yilan (依蘭), Fujin (富錦), Fuyuan (撫遠), Fuyangang (富延岡), Banzifang (板子房), Huachuanxian Prefecture (華川縣) and Zhang (張家屯), caused by the attack from Soviet Forces and assault from native people, many Japanese were killed or committed suicide.

Full-scale repatriation of Japanese residents in Sanjian province started on the 12th, centered on Jiamusi. The repatriation principles had not yet been determined as of the 10th, after the Japan-USSR war started. Only evacuation of Chiifuri (千振)(scheduled for 4,000 persons) was carried out by military and provincial order. But both the military commander and the chief of the Special Services Agency retreated to Yilan on the 11th, resulting in great confusion concerning the repatriation of the Japanese in Sanjiang province.

At this time, a private citizen, Kentaro Maeda, took the post of chairman of the citizens' association, and exercised great ability, so the evacuation of 30,000 Japanese from both inside and outside of Sanjian province was safely completed from Suihua.

Ordinary Japanese and the members of cultivation groups in areas along the railways, including those in Jiamusi city, were in time for the repatriation trains and were able to evacuate, but other Japanese people in the remote prefectures of Fuyuan, Tongjiang (同江), Fujin, Luobei (蘿北), and Foshan (佛山), and Japanese people in the prefectures of Tongha (通河), Fangzheng (方正), and Yilan, whose paths of retreat were intercepted, failed to escape, Resulting in many deaths and large numbers of missing persons.

In Mudan Jiang province, the air-raid alarms that suddenly sounded on the morning of August 8 were truly a bolt from the blue for the citizens of Mudan Jiang, who had never dreamed of the entry of Soviet forces into the war. On August 9, provincial vice-director Magome received instructions from the 5th Army headquarters in Yehe, saying that "Soviet forces have broken through at Suifenhe and Dongning, and the war situation seems likely to expand. In future, the Army will hold off the advancement of the enemy on the Muling line with all its power, but make preparations in consideration of the worst case." As the result of immediate consultation with the staff, including the governor of the province, they decided to issue a defense order, which was issued to the interior of the province at 4:00 a.m. on August 9. On the following day, the 10th, the first evacuation train arrived from the Dongning area. In addition, many families of military personnel at the eastern front, and the families of Manchurian Railway staff members, rushed into the city, and the citizens of Mudan Jiang confirmed for the first time the situation of the advancement of Soviet forces. Their anxiety and agitation reached a peak. On this day, Kenzo Isuko, provincial governor, directed the mayor of Mudan Jiang city, Yonemura, to evacuate Japanese residents to Haerbin in three days starting on August 11th. The provincial governor also broadcast the significance of the defense by himself, but this was not thoroughly conveyed to ordinary citizens. Mayor Yonemura immediately negotiated with the Mudan Jiang Railway concerning the allotment of trains, but normal operation of the train schedule was stopped as of that day, and therefore they could not set up a

plan for the allotment of trains.

The refugees who had fled in from the front got on board at any time they could, even under air-raid fire from Soviet forces, and refugee transportation to Haerbin was completed between the 11th and the 13th of August.

As mentioned above, due to the misjudgment by Japanese military leaders of the situation of Soviet forces, the handling of refugees had to start immediately, before it was possible to start preparations for the evacuation plan based on the evacuation principles previously determined at the July 22 defense meeting sponsored by the army. The repatriation of refugees was done first, followed by the repatriation of ordinary citizens.

About 500 of the ordinary citizens of Mudan Jiang city started to evacuate on August 10th without waiting for the repatriation order from the mayor.

In Ningan (寧安) town, a total of 600 people, employees of the Manchurian Railway and their families, and 1,000 family members of military personnel, quickly evacuated to the Dunhua (敦化) area on the Tujia line before the iron bridge was blown up on August 12th.

The Tokainami (東海浪) Cultivation Group and Gotatsuwan Ogachi (哈達灣雄勝) Cultivation Group were attacked by the rebel Manchurian army, and were also attacked by Soviet forces and bandits in Machang (馬廠) and Suixi (綏西). Except for about 400 group members who managed to get out, they joined others in the fortress at Suifenhe, where they died in honorable defeat on August 14.

The outbreak of war had very quick and direct effects on Dongan (東安) province, east of the Manchurian-Soviet border, so ordinary Japanese who were living in the area along the railway were barely in time for the evacuation trains. But the members of cultivation groups in isolated district without a radio did not know that the USSR was participating in the war until two days after fighting started. When these cultivation group members finally found their way to the nearest railway stations, there were already no trains, and because Soviet forces had already invaded, Soviet forces while trying to evacuate unfortunately attacked them. In some evacuation groups absolutely everyone was annihilated. Some groups suffered plundering by native people conspiring with Soviet forces, and by rebel soldiers of the Manchurian army. Also

members of these cultivation groups wandered about in the mountains, exposed to the weather for many days, trying to avoid Soviet forces and native people, and were on the verge of starvation. In some cultivation groups nearly everyone died.

Fierce battles developed simultaneously in many locations when the Japan-Soviet war started, and there was great confusion in the delta zone between the Amur River and the Ussuri River.

The area surrounded by Raohe (饒河), Hutou, and Mishan (蜜山) in Dongan province was affected by fierce fighting. The half of the Japanese leaders, one city mayor and governors or vice governors of seven prefectures in Dongan Province, committed suicide or were killed in action. This indicates the severity of the damage to Japanese who lived in this province.

Also, Soviet forces blasted Dongan station, and Japanese people were strafed by Soviet forces' machine guns in Xiaowuzhan (小五站) in Boli (勃利) prefecture. Five hundred of the 790 members of the Kokudai (黒台) cultivation group died en route during evacuation. In Dahezhen (大和鎮), 30 tanks attacked Japanese who were evacuating and one rifle company of Soviet forces on August 13, and 30 of the evacuees were killed in this action. In Mashan, Japanese were attacked from both sides by Soviet tanks and by bandits, and on August 12th, and 421 Japanese were either killed in action or committed suicide. The Seiwa cultivation group was attacked by Soviet forces on August 27 while evacuating to Mudan Jiang, and many were killed or injured. Some Japanese joined the Japanese army in the Hutou fortress and died in honorable defeat, and almost all of the 2282 Japanese who died in Boli prefecture met their deaths here at the former Sado cultivation group site.

The Japanese in Binjiang (滨江) province fell into great confusion when the USSR entered the war, and group evacuations started one after another. Some of the Japanese in Acheng (阿城), Wuchang (五常), Dongxing (東興), and Anda (安達), the Japanese in each of Mulan (木蘭), Yanshou (延壽), and Shuangcheng (雙城) prefectures, and those in the greater part of Bayan (巴彥), were obliged to remain where they were, but the majority of other Japanese rushed for Haerbin during August. The Japanese who lived in Haerbin had no way to evacuate even if they had wanted to, and the war ended while they were making the determined

decision to die in honorable defeat. Only military families went south by day and night to the Tonghua area; their number was estimated at about 5,000.

The Japanese corps stationed in Haerbin was very weak when the USSR entered the war. They were inferior in strength and knew they could only keep defending Haerbin for three or four days; therefore they were severely panic-stricken when the USSR started the war. The Japanese army expected to be able to carry out a defensive battle for only a few days, after which it planned to move to a second battle line, and before they moved, it intended to use scorched-earth tactics, burning down Haerbin, particularly the Chuanjiadian (伝家甸) area which was the center of commerce and economy, in order to reduce to ashes the commodities accumulated by the Japanese over many years, so that Soviet forces could not use them.

This information was conveyed to private citizens, causing further public unrest and exciting public feelings. Therefore, the governing bodies of both Japan and Manchuria which were in Haerbin consulted together and asked the military authorities to prevent such disasters of war, but the war ended, so Haerbin escaped being burnt to ashes.

In Heihe province, because Soviet forces attacked the military bases along the banks of the Heilong Jiang River simultaneously as soon as the Japan-Soviet war started, the border police corps was immediately incorporated under the control of the Kwantung Army.

In addition, not only ex-servicemen, but also all healthy men aged 40 - 60 in both Heihe and Sunwu towns were drafted for defense, but this was later changed to an extraordinary draft only for ex-servicemen, and the others were released.

Ordinary Japanese civilians and people involved with cultivation groups evacuated all at once to the south toward Beian or Nenjiang, depending on the geographical environments of their places of residence. The residents along the Beihei line between Heihe and Sunwu were able to evacuate early using railroad trains, and there were almost no victims here during evacuation. However, the people who lived in other areas had no transportation facilities, so were able to use only horse-drawn carriages. They evacuated on foot through the densely forested Hsiao-hsing-an Ling and along their evacuation route, they suffered many times from pillaging by rioters. After all sorts of hardships over several tens of days, they barely managed

to reach the Beian and Nenjiang areas. An enormous number of people were killed during this evacuation and those who survived were in quite tragic condition.

As mentioned above, during their attempt to run away, the Japanese in Heihe province experienced the same sorts of unprecedented horrific difficulties, as did those people who lived in zones in direct contact with Soviet forces. All surviving Japanese completed their trek south by around September 1945, but the town of Heihe later became the last stop and pass-through point for Soviet work battalions entering from the central southern Manchurian area. Therefore, some Japanese were left here and other Japanese people were sent back here, so that in March 1946 over 3,500 Japanese (mainly those who had been sent back) were gathered here.

In the Beian province area, Soviet forces, invading with irresistible force, entered Beian on August 16 and Nenjiang on the 19th. After the entry of Soviet forces into these towns, disarmament of the remaining Kwantung Army and the collection of weapons from cultivation groups were carried out. Next, the extensive internment of large numbers of adult Japanese males was carried out. Even militia trainees from the cultivation groups were considered to be civilian employees of the army, and were interned and checked, then sent to Blagoveschensk, but for the majority of them their status was gradually clarified, and they were sent back.

Also, Beian and Suihua played roles as transit sites for the echelons going south, and as strategic points for refugee treatment, accepting the refugees from Heihe province (about 13,000 persons) headed for Beian, and the refugees from Sanjian province (about 30,000 persons) headed for Suihua.

Soviet forces retained large numbers of war criminals and members of cultivation groups, mainly in Beian. The entry of these internees into Soviet territory continued until October from the day when Soviet forces entered Beian; these internees were successively sent to Soviet territory together with soldiers. People who entered Soviet territory and who were regarded as war criminals were: government leaders, Kyowakai executives, policemen and persons with important occupations. About 2,000 members of the Shoka corps formed in Jiamusi, Sanjian province, who entered Soviet territory from Suihua after disarmament, were neither drafted soldiers nor deserters; they were ordinary Japanese civilians.

Except for the early evacuation of some of the families of servicemen and of the employees of the Manchurian Railway, the evacuation to the south of ordinary Japanese in this province started around early September, based on instructions by Soviet forces, and was completed by the release of internees at the end of October. Other than some residents of Nenjiang and Taian (泰安街) who went south to Qiqihaer, the remaining Japanese went south to three large cities: Haerbin - Xinjing (Changchun) - Fengtian (Shenyang), mainly using the Binjiang line route. After they passed the winter in those cities, they were transferred to various other locations.

In Longjiang (龍江) province, not only the Japanese from that province, but also the Japanese from the northwest Manchurian area, started evacuating in successive groups as soon as the USSR started the war. The Japanese in various areas along the railways quickly started to move south, but the Japanese in some areas had to spend the winter in those areas. The Japanese in areas along the Jingbai (京白) line started their action earliest, around August 12th and 13th, and they reached Changchun in only three or four days, but the greater part of Japanese in this province gathered in Qiqihaer. The Japanese in the Gannan (甘南) and Nehe (訥河) areas could not gather in Qiqihaer and so they spent the winter in those areas.

The Japanese gathered in Qiqihaer were successively accommodated into concentration camps as these opened, but for the refugees who went south by train transport it was becoming less possible day by day for them to move, and the greater part of them had to spend the winter in Qiqihaer.

Japanese left behind after the Japanese army retreated within a week after the war started, had very little hope of going south, and it was urgently necessary for them to maintain food supplies, so in a disorderly way they took food out of the army and government warehouses, and each special company systematically developed a movement to accumulate goods. Manchurian capitalists became obsessed with speculation, converting money into commodities, and the middle-class native workers joined the Japanese in accumulating and keeping commodities, chasing the dream of making a fortune at a stroke. The coolie worker class rioted and attacked Japanese people's homes, plundering them of furniture and fixtures.

In Cando province, Soviet forces invaded simultaneously from three locations near the eastern border very early in the morning of August 9. The Japanese army corps nearby returned fire against the Soviet forces, but the Japanese army was defeated and retreated to the area near Mijiangtun (密江屯), where they made their last resistance before the war ended. Jikizo Nakamura, Commander of the 112th Division, committed suicide, and the various corps under his control were either captured or escaped. They were in a condition of total chaos.

From that time, the Japanese who had lived in areas near the border became penniless refugees who aimed to flee to Yanji. Once there, they dispersed and stayed everywhere in Yanji city, so the confusion in Yanji reached a peak. Citing the worsening food situation in Yanji city, Soviet forces ordered refugees who had fled into the city from neighboring areas to return to their original dwelling places. Therefore, the refugees from various locations left Yanji on foot to return to their original dwelling places. They left the aged and sick and weak behind in the city. Some lost their lives en route, and some had their property plundered along the way. Of those who arrived at their original dwelling places after many tribulations, many worked in the coalmines and by farming to survive the winter.

Also, among the Japanese who resided in North Korea, policemen, judicial officers, and administrators in particular, as well as a few ordinary Japanese civilians, were arrested by Soviet forces in North Korea. After some time in concentration camps in Pyongyang and Sanheli, they were taken to Yanji. The number was estimated to be about 3,500.

After June 1945, many corps arrived and was stationed there. Large quantities of military-use materials, clothing, provisions and fodder were carried into Tonghua province, but evacuation of the families of servicemen was done at desperate speed from the beginning of August.

After the USSR started the war, relocation of the Kwantung Army Headquarters and moving of the Manchurian Emperor to Dalizi (大栗子) indicated that Japan's struggle to avoid defeat had reached the crucial stage. In addition, after the refugees from Chungchun (長春) and northern Manchuria had successively flowed into this province, public peace had tended to break down, and the anxiety of Japanese residents had gradually been increasing. The end of the

Pacific War on August 15 was something Japanese people had never even dreamed of, and it was a great shock to them. The end of the Pacific War was a turning point after which the character of Manchurians and Koreans changed completely, and they started to work off their bad temper on the Japanese. The Manchurian Emperor declared his abdication in Dalizi and Manchuria was finally broken up. Within the Kwantung Army, a resistance group and surrender group confronted each other, and the most important thing, the rescue of ordinary Japanese people, came too late. In addition, public peace was disrupted and wild rumors spread. In this way, a hardship-filled life as refugees started for Japanese residents everywhere.

Also, in Jilin province, bombs were dropped several times on the area around Jilin city before daybreak on August 9, and more than 10 people were killed, so the public were upset. After people found that Soviet planes had done the bombing, Japanese residents became seriously anxious. Soviet forces that had broken through the eastern border and invaded Manchuria advanced to the town of Dunhua on the 17th, and entered Jilin city on the 19th. Japanese corps in the Mudan Jiang area, defeated in the fight on the eastern battle line, retreated in large numbers with their families to the Xinzhan (新站) and Dunhua areas, and the confusion peaked.

Before the end of the (Pacific) war, public peace was generally good in most parts of the province, but as soon as Soviet forces advanced into the province, rioters rose in revolt everywhere, and the damage suffered by Japanese people was truly enormous. The Dunhua area was an important location on the Jingtū line; so Soviet army headquarters were deliberately established here. Because over 10,000 Japanese soldiers had been stationed in this area before the end of the war and because the Soviet forces were very critical of Japanese people in particular, large numbers of Japanese were forcibly interned in the hangars at the airfield. The Soviet forces made the Japanese men perform hard labor, and forced the cultivation groups to move.

Japanese got out in groups of two or three and evacuated to Jilin city. The area east of the tunnel through Laoyeling (老爺嶺) about 40 km east of Jilin was already communist army territory, so evacuation was extremely difficult for ordinary Japanese. In addition, there were

many cases in which, during the absence of male family members who had been drafted, families in the cultivation groups in the backcountry committed group suicide due to the sad news that Japan had been defeated.

From August 11th, evacuation trains, mainly carrying the families of servicemen in Changchun, passed through Siping province every day. Japanese residents in the province were made nervous on seeing these trains and gradually became agitated, but there was no particularly great confusion throughout the province as a whole, and public peace was maintained relatively well. Japanese associations were established everywhere shortly after the end of the war, and these associations took charge of protecting Japanese people, whose lives were generally peaceful until winter.

Siping city was a key transportation point, and at the end of the war it played an important role as a transit base for evacuation. The Xian (西安) coalmine received many refugee laborers, and made them work at coal mining duties to earn their living until they were transferred.

In Andong (安東) province, the following matters had been determined as a result of the meeting held in Kwantung Army headquarters in April 1945. (1) Military weapons, provisions and fodder must be rapidly transferred to mainland Japan to support and reinforce its defense. (2) The Kwantung Army and the Manchurian government must give up depending on Japan, and must establish an independent and self-defense structure. (3) When the structure has suddenly been changed by a sudden change of situation, the provinces will request the support of the Japanese army in central and northern China, gather all Japanese people in Manchuria into the Chang xiang shan (長向山) zone and attempt thorough resistance. Andong province quickly attempted to start various preparations of its own, but the war ended before the province could start any actual preparations. Based on its geographic perspective, refugees from everywhere throughout Manchuria rushed into Andong province. About 60,000 refugees passed through it, headed for North Korea, and about 35,000 refugees who had fled into the province remained there.

In Fengtian province, the Kwantung Army first advised Japanese residents to evacuate

to the inner area of the province and to Tonghua province, to cope with the emergency situation after the war with the USSR started. But ordinary Japanese were not enthusiastic about evacuation. About 38,600 people evacuated from the Shenyang area to the area south of Haicheng prefecture, but almost all of them later returned to their original addresses. Cities along railways in this province were the safest transit points for evacuation to Dalian or Korea and for returning to Japan, and refugees from the backcountry rushed into these cities after the end of the war. The largest number of Japanese gathered in Fushun in expectation of wintering there, and about 5,000 refugees flowed into Fushun from Luo xin (羅新) in North Korea.

Cities in Jinzhou province constructed tank traps and made efforts to maintain and disperse food supplies as soon as the war started, but no orders came from the central government to each place in the prefecture or to the “flags.” They could not obtain any information at all, so they could not set up any measures. Japanese army members stationed in each location moved out somewhere with their families without communicating with ordinary Japanese. In this chaotic situation, refugees from the front line area in Rehe (熱河) province successively flowed into Jinzhou province, mainly into Jinzhou city. The provincial authorities, worried about the worsening of the public peace resulting from the end of the war, decided to gather all Japanese people in the province into Jinzhou city. Therefore, at the end of August, the population of Japanese in Jinzhou city had doubled to over 40,000 because of the Japanese people evacuated from everywhere in Jinzhou province and from other places, causing confusion. Since the evacuation of Japanese in Jinzhou province was done as soon as the war ended and before Soviet forces advanced into the province, material and human damages caused by rioters were relatively insignificant. However, Japanese people and some cultivation groups in Heishan (黑山) prefecture who were late escaping had miserable experiences and rioters plundered their possessions.

The invasion of Soviet forces into Rehe province was later than for the other provinces, so Japanese people here were generally able to evacuate without encountering Soviet forces. When the USSR started the war, the Japanese army advocated scorched-earth tactics and the defense of Chengde town to the death, but provincial and public officials made about 6,000

Japanese women and girls who were in Chengde town evacuate from the Andong area on August 11th and 12th. After that, they made almost all Japanese males evacuate to the Jinzhou and Shenyang areas. Some Japanese from Xinglong (興隆) prefecture evacuated toward Beijing.

But the Japanese army insisted on defending Chengde town to the death, and put it about that the broadcast of the Imperial edict regarding the end of the war was only a rumor. Six hundred and fifty of the 1,350 Japanese who believed what the Japanese army said and cooperated with it until the end were taken away into Soviet territory.

One incident that should be specially mentioned is that all 50 members of the Japanese *Isshin* team, including its leader, Tominojo Minagawa, sent from the Rehe province public office and stationed in Huabei in Zunhua prefecture, were killed in the rebellion by Manchurian members when the war ended.

Soviet forces invaded Manjuur (滿州里) city in Xing'anbei (興安北) province as soon as war with the USSR started. All members of the border police team were killed, and other Japanese lost their chance to evacuate. All of them, including women and children, were detained, and all the men were sent to the USSR. The women and children were sent to Haerbin in October, and some went further, to Changchun and Shenyang (瀋陽).

Hailaer city was hit by air raids from early morning on August 9, and the evacuation order was issued at 1:00 p.m. All women and children completed evacuation to Qiqihaer and the Haerbin area within August 9. About 500 men stayed and entered the fortress. After continued to fight for about 10 days, the army surrendered; all of them were arrested and were later sent to the USSR. Meanwhile, Mayor Ando and police team leader Yamaguchi committed suicide, and on the 13<sup>th</sup>, the group of 57 women and children in No. 3 position committed mass suicide.

Charanton (札蘭屯) in Xing'andong (興安東) province took exclusive charge of accommodating refugees from Xing'anbei province after the war started. The public office for Xing'anbei province was temporarily located in Charanton, but it retreated to Qiqihaer on August 17. Ordinary Japanese completed their evacuation from the 16th to the 18th, but Counselor Sezaki was arrested by Soviet forces in Qiqihaer and entered the USSR in September.

About 3,000 members of cultivation groups in the province were evacuated to Qiqihaer and Charanton after the war started, and wintered there. Some went south to Dalian. Out of the approximately 1,000 Japanese who wintered in Charanton, about 300 died.

The Xing'anzhong (興安中) provincial office ordered the Japanese people in Gegenmiao to evacuate to the Jalaid Banner in the north, and this evacuation was safely carried out. But there were three major incidents during evacuations in Xing'an province. The incident involving Japanese in Xing'an town in Gegenmiao resulted in about 1,000 deaths. The Tokyo Xing'an Ebarago cultivation group (東京興安荏原郷開拓団) incident resulted in 600 deaths and 200 people missing. Also, communication was lost with all 395 members of the Tokyo Butsuryugo cultivation group (東京仏立郷開拓団). Just over 100 people, mostly women and children, spent the winter in and around the Xing'an Ling.

In Xing'annan province, the Japanese army issued the evacuation order on August 9, immediately after the war with the USSR started, and Japanese evacuated by train to Fengtian (Shenyang) and Chaoyangzhen (朝陽鎮) from the evening of 11th through the 12th.

In Linxi (林西) prefecture, Xing'anxi (興安西) province, Japanese people knew of the USSR's participation in the war. They sent all women and children to Chifeng (赤峰) on 11 trucks, and had them evacuate from Chifeng to Andong by train. They arrived at Andong on the 15th. Among the remaining men, the ex-servicemen's team intercepted Soviet forces in Linxi, but it was defeated and went south. After fighting with bandits en route they got out to Jinzhou, and later seem to have reached Andong (All information above is as stated in *Man Mou Shusenshi*.)

On August 15 in Haerbin, Manchurians rioted everywhere as soon as they learned that Japanese forces had surrendered. The flag of Chinese Nationalist Party, "Blue Sky with a White Sky," were hung at private homes, 3,000 soldiers of the Manchurian army stationed outside of Haerbin along the roads started rioting, there was large-scale plundering of military warehouses as well as of the public corporation for agricultural products, the sugar refining plant, tobacco plant and others, large numbers of Japanese were killed everywhere, and the public peace worsened to the extreme. A dangerous mood spread in Xinjing (Changchun). The Manchurian

army, munitions school and veterinary school were severely agitated, and the military police team joined them. Major Irie and Major Yamagishi, who went to suppress this, were killed in action.

The confusions of battle finally settled down around October 1945. Japanese residents, excluding servicemen and Japanese interned by Soviet forces or who were interned and being used by the army of the Nationalist Government of China and the Chinese communist army, gradually moved from evacuation action to preparations for the winter.

These circumstances are stated in detail in *Kiroku: Manshukoku no Shometsu to Zairyu Houjin (Record of the Disappearance of Manchuria and its Japanese Residents)*, *Man So Junan Ki (Memory of Suffering and Martyrdom in Manchuria and Soviet)*, and *Man Mou Shusenshi*. The following shows these circumstances in order by date, with reference to the date, place, and name of the incident as shown in *Kiroku: Manshukoku no Shometsu* (after p.132).

June 1945	Dunhua prefecture, Jilin province	Dunhua Japanese execution incident (Executed by shooting: six persons, Missing: more than 20 persons)
August 9, 1945	Mitsushang prefecture, Dongan province	Kokudai cultivation group (黒台開拓団) incident in which the aged and infants dropped dead (Dead: About 500 persons)
August 9, 1945	Hutou, Hulin (虎林) prefecture, Dongan province	Death in honorable defeat in Hutou Fortress (About 300 Japanese died in honorable defeat here.)
August 9, 1945	Manzhouli city, Xing'anbei province	Incident involving returning Manchuri National Police team fire (More than 10 people died in this action.)
August 9, 1945	Manzhouli city, Xing'anbei province	Women and children were shot dead in Manzhouli (about 30 people).
August 9, 1945	Dalaymor city, Xing'anbei province	Explosion in the Dalaymor coalmine (more than 10 people injured)
August 10, 1945	Dongan station, Dongan province	Incident involving explosion at Dongan station ammunition warehouse (700 people killed or injured)
August 10, 1945	Donghai (東海) station,	Bombing near Donghai station by Soviet

	Dongan province	forces (Missing: about 480 people)
August 10, 1945	Suiyang (綏陽) prefecture, Mudan Jiang province	Suixi (綏西) incident (attack on evacuation train) (Deaths: over 100; refugees dispersed in all directions)
August 10-30, 1945	Dunhua prefecture, Jilin province	Riot in Guan di shan (官地山) mountains (Dead or missing: about 3,000)
August 12, 1945	Location 2 km from Xiaowuzhan, Boli prefecture, Dongan province	Boli prefecture Xiaowuzhan incident (Missing: about 200 persons)
August 12, 1945	Linkou (林口) prefecture, Dongan province	Mashan incident (Killed in action or committed suicide: 421 persons)
August 12, 1945	Tonjiang prefecture, Sanjiang province	Fuyang (富延岡) incident (killed in action, committed suicide, or missing: about 420 persons)
August 13, 1945	Paoching (宝清) prefecture, Dongan province	Dahezhen (大和鎮) incident (died honorably in battle: 30, prisoners: 42, missing: about 80 persons)
August 13, 1945	Xigaku (西額) Banner, Xing'anbei province	Incident involving Counselor Tachikawa and his party (dead or missing: more than 40 people)
August 14, 1945	Suiyang prefecture, Mudan Jiang province	Died honorably in battle in Suifunhe fortification (About 450 Japanese died honorably in battle.)
August 14, 1945	Xikeqianqi (西科前) Banner, Xing'anzhong province	Gegenmiao incident (killed in action or committed suicide: over 1,000 persons)
August 15, 1945	Ningan (蘭西) prefecture, Mudan Jiang province	Incident in which Tokainami cultivation group members were shot dead (37 persons are known to have been shot dead, and a further 18 are assumed to have been shot dead.)
August 15, 1945	Hulan (呼蘭) prefecture, Hinjiang province	Hulan river crossing incident (missing: 40 people)
August 15, 1945	Haerbin city	Riot by Manchurian citizens accompanying rebellion by Haerbin Manchurian army and police (dead or injured: about 300)
August 15, 1945	Everywhere around	The so-called "Haerbin man-hunt"

	Haerbin	incident” (total: 332 persons). Haerbin (about 10 persons were executed by shooting, about 20 died of illness) Hailin (7 people executed by shooting). Mudan Jiang (five people executed by shooting, 30 died of illness, 200 were burned to death) (missing: 60 persons)
August 15, 1945	Tu men town, Yanji prefecture, Kandao province	Tu men station bombing incident (About 300 people were killed or injured.)
August 16, 1945	Ningan prefecture, Mudan Jiang province	Machang incident (At least 18 people were massacred; how many others were killed is unknown.)
August 16, 1945	Zhaozhou (肇州) prefecture, Hinjiang province	Zhaozhou incident (Dead: 96, missing: 65)
August 16, 1945	Hulan prefecture, Hinjiang province	Field operation cargo depot incident (suicides: 38 persons)
August 16, 1945	Yanshou prefecture, Hinjiang province	Kyoka cultivation group Zhaoyantunbuluo (趙硯屯) incident (suicides: 44 persons)
August 16, 1945	Haerbin city	Jianshang army (江上軍) rebellion incident (21 people killed or injured)
August 16, 1945	Rehe province	Isshin-tai incident (About 90 people were killed.)
August 17, 1945	Huachuan (樺川) prefecture, Sanjiang province	Banzifang incident (All males either died in action or committed suicide.)
August 17, 1945	5 Xikeqianqi, Xing’anzhong province	Tokyo cultivation group annihilation incident (Shuang ming zi incident) (About 1,000 people were annihilated.)
August 17, 1945	50 km west of Kailu (開魯), Xing’annan province	Dobrsun incident (suicides: 30 persons, missing: 75 persons)
August 17, 1945	Haerbin city	Attack in the area near Haerbin Cement Company (About 30 people were killed or injured.)
August 18, 1945	Xing’anbei province	Hailaer offensive and defensive battle (suicides: 60 persons; missing: about 80

		persons; 230 people were taken away)
August 18, 1945	Bin (浜) prefecture, Binjiang province	Hinzhou (浜省) rebellion corps attack incident (Datakaituotuanfeixishi (楊家燒鍋) incident) (suicides: 358 persons)
August 18, 1945	Bin prefecture, Binjiang province	Dashitoushan (大石頭) incident (Yorii cultivation group) (Dead: 56 persons)
August 18, 1945	Yanshou prefecture, Binjiang province	Daito cultivation group attacked by bandits (committed suicide or died in action: 150 people)
August 20, 1945	Yilan prefecture, Sanjiang province	Woken River (倭青河) incident (A total of about 100 people were annihilated.)
August 20, 1945	Tonghe prefecture, Sanjiang province	Xiaogudong (小古洞) incident (suicides: 212 persons)
August 25, 1945	Boli prefecture, Dongan province	Sado cultivation group site incident (died in action or committed suicide: over 2,000 people)
August 27, 1945	Fuyu (富裕) prefecture, Lungjiang province	Ashu (巫州) cultivation group incident (suicides: 365 persons) Handai (班代) cultivation group incident (suicides: 94 persons)
August 27, 1945	Ihe (葦河) prefecture, Binjiang province	Murder of citizens who remained in Ihe town (50 people were murdered.)
August 1945	Ihe prefecture, Hinjiang province	Kanagawa cultivation group suicide & execution incident (suicides: about 60 people, shot dead: about 60 people)
September 4, 1945	Fuxin (阜新), Jinzhou province	Fuxin Haizhou (殘留) area rioters uprising incident (About 110 people died or were injured.)
September 10, 1945	Panshi (磐石) prefecture, Jilin province	Incident involving bandits in Ming cheng mountains (Missing: over 129 people)
September 10, 1945	Anshan city, Fengtian province	Incident in which Chinese communist army arrested war criminal suspects (died in jail: two people, shot dead: six people, missing: eight people)
September 20, 1945	Longjingjie (龍井街), Yanji prefecture, Cando province	Massacre of Japanese by Korean Communist youth alliance (About 30 Japanese were massacred.)

September 20, 1945	Benxi city, Fengtian province	Japanese officials killed by shooting (About 50 people were shot dead.) Chinese Communist Political Division
September 1945	Shenyang city, Fengtian province	Heilungdan (黑龍團) incident (arrested: about 100 persons)
September 1945	Shenyang city, Fengtian province	Public Safety team attack incident (arrested: about 40 persons)
October 2, 1945	Tanghe prefecture, Sanjiang province	Zhangjiatun incident (suicides: 37 persons, missing: over 200 people)
October 25, 1945	Andong city, Andong prefecture	Tangchizishi (湯池子) incident (About 20 people died in action.)
October 29, 1945	Tieling (鉄嶺) city, Fengtian province	October 29th incident (died in jail: two people, assumed to have died: 25 people)
December 4, 1945	Tieling city, Fengtian province	Chinese communist army arrested war criminal suspects (16 people were executed.)
December 28, 1945	Andong city, Andong province	December 28th incident (arrested: more than 20 people, shot dead: six people)
December 31, 1945	Yanji city, Cando prefecture	War criminal suspects release incident (missing: over 200 people)
December 1945	Haerbin city	The first purge of Japanese (About 500 people were taken away.)
December 1945	Andong city, Andong province	War criminals massacre incident (massacred: about 300 people)
January 10, 1946	Tonghua city, Tonghua province	January 10th incident (massacred: about 125 people)
February 3, 1946	Tonghua city, Tonghua province	Tonghua incident (massacred: about 800 people)
March 20, 1946	Liaoyang city, Fengtian province	Incident in which Manchurian Railway Spinning Company's employees were shot dead (15 people were shot dead.)
April 10, 1946	Gongzhuling city, Jilin province	Drafting of Japanese women and children to the civil war between the Chinese nationalist army and the Chinese communist army (More than 200 were drafted.)
April 14-18, 1946	Changchun city, Jilin	Details of damage resulting from street

	province	fighting between the Chinese nationalist army and Chinese communist army in Changchun (Dead: 146, injured: 269, forced to work: 12,000, houses completely burnt: 21, houses otherwise destroyed: over 100)
April 18, 1946	Siping city, Siping province	Offensive and defensive battle between Chinese nationalist army and Chinese communist army in Siping (dead: 76, injured: 1,203)
April 26, 1946	Yanji city, Cando province	Yamato “ordinary” school incident (30 people were killed.)
April 1946	Haerbin city	Second purge of Japanese (About 30 people were executed, missing: about 270 people)
April 1946	Antu (安图) prefecture, Cando province	Dadianzi incident (15 people were shot dead.)
April 1946	Tonghua city, Tonghua province	Tonghua women and children were forced to work. (Missing: about 300 people)
May 3, 1946	Huachuan prefecture, Sanjiang province	Execution of Tejima, vice-director of Sanjiang province, and others (26 persons were executed by the People’s Court.)
May 20, 1946	Jilin city, Jilin province	Goto Railway Bureau Director and others were abducted and taken away (Missing: more than 50 people)
May 24, 1946	Changcun city	Incident in which a large number of the Japanese in Changchun were taken away (1,051 people)
June 19, 1946	Heihe town, Heihe province	Heihe incident (Massacred: over 200 people)
September 20, 1946	Linjiang prefecture, Tonghua province	Linjiang incident (Around 100 people died or were injured, massacred: 13 people)

Details have not been given here, but we can understand the circumstances under which many Japanese were persecuted by Soviet soldiers and native people, and many Japanese people became victims of the civil war between the Chinese nationalist army and the Chinese communist army which advanced into Manchuria as time passed.

## **Wintering**

Confusion caused by battles in the Manchurian and North Korean areas finally settled down around October 1945. The remaining Japanese, excluding some Japanese civilians and servicemen retained by Soviet forces or interned and used by the Chinese nationalist army and Chinese communist army, started to move from evacuation activities to preparations for the winter. In other words, the majority of Japanese gathered in cities in central and southern Manchuria, although some stayed in the borderlands. In North Korea, many Japanese gathered in cities in Xianjingnandao and in the area near Pyongyang, and decided to spend the winter there. The majority of Japanese who gathered in these places were refugees who had left their dwellings and lost their jobs. During the six months of winter, infectious diseases broke out everywhere due to shortages of provisions and medicine, and crowded lodgings, and a great many people died of malnutrition or eruptive typhus.

The former Manchuria became an area controlled by Soviet forces according to Order No. 1. Soviet forces withdrew from the former Manchuria in April 1946, without taking any measures concerning repatriation of the Japanese in Manchuria to their mother country.<sup>(9)</sup>

## **Section 6 Other Japanese Residents in Areas Occupied by Soviet Forces**

### **South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands**

The USSR considered that its own sovereignty would extend into South Sakhalin and Kurile Islands after the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference. Therefore the USSR took measures here that differed from those used for Manchuria.

At that time, the only land-based border line between Japan and the USSR was on Sakhalin. Japan, which had been concerned about movements by the USSR, was seriously interested in the national defense of Sakhalin, and despite the Japan and Soviet Union Neutrality Pact, Japan always gave daily consideration to the defense of Sakhalin.

The 88th Engineering Regiment on Sakhalin scattered to various locations in platoon units and took charge of providing technical guidance for the construction of positions for the infantry. The leaders of the Sakhalin Government Office also cooperated with them completely. The Sakhalin Food Corporation estimated the amount of food to be rationed out to a total of 500,000 people (natives of the island and seasonal laborers) for one whole year as 600,000 *koku* (1 *koku*=5.119 US bushels)(1 *koku* of rice per person + wheat flour, etc.: converted, this equals a total of 100,000 *koku* of rice), and constructed warehouses to store food in almost all towns and villages so that it could always maintain stores of food<sup>(10)</sup>.

After the USSR declared war on Japan, Soviet forces carried out reconnaissance and attack flights targeting the surveillance corps in the Sakhalin border area on August 9 and 10, and started to move south on the morning of the 11th.

After Soviet planes bombed important areas in South Sakhalin, there were battles between Soviet forces and the Japanese army, and many ordinary Japanese were killed in these battles.

In the afternoon of August 22, Soviet planes attacked Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, and many of the aged people, women, and children, who had gathered in the plaza in front of the station

for emergency evacuation, were killed. This was more than two hours after the time when the ceasefire negotiations had been settled in Makarov (Макаров)<sup>(11)</sup>.

In spite of this, the next day's newspaper did not mention this incident, reporting only that a "general ceasefire agreement" had been settled between the Japanese army and Soviet forces in Sakhalin on August 22." Late at night on August 23, Soviet forces' advance troops entered Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk<sup>(12)</sup>.

Maj. Gen. Alimov (Алимов) advanced to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, immediately took control of the Toyohara (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk) Broadcasting Station, and forced it to stop broadcasting. He also took over the Hokkaido Colonial Bank's Toyohara Branch, the core of Sakhalin's economy and finance. On the 27th, the Soviet forces supreme commander issued an order for the continuation of each general distribution center and of various industries, set up the USSR's own South Sakhalin Police Duty Headquarters, and indicated the matters to be observed.

New hardships for the 280,000 Japanese left in Sakhalin under Soviet occupation started<sup>(13)</sup> on the day when the USSR began its military administration of the entire island.

Because the food warehouse was controlled by Soviet soldiers, the Toyohara Branch of the Sakhalin Government Office where many refugees were staying, had its officials bring their wristwatches to the Soviet sentries and distract them, then carried out rice, etc., and supplied food to the refugees.

The USSR made each town hold bazaars. Bazaars functioned as safety valves for the people's economy in the lives of the Soviets, who didn't have much in the way of riches. People could get anything at the bazaars, including tobacco, clothing, etc. Japanese people called these bazaars "thieves' markets," and were often surprised to see goods that had been stolen from them for sale there.

In the initial stages of military administration, tragic incidents occurred continuously<sup>(14)</sup> because of language problems and because Soviet soldiers had grown wild from fighting a bloody war.

In consideration of the situation on Sakhalin and at the request of the Japanese army,

the governor of the Sakhalin Government Office decided to evacuate the aged, women, and children from Sakhalin to Hokkaido after Soviet forces began to participate in the war, and he started their emergency evacuation from Korsakov (Корсаков) and Nevel'sk (Невельск) to Wakkanai and Otaru in Hokkaido. Soviet forces finally prohibited this on August 23, 1945, so the Governor was forced to stop this emergency evacuation.

About 76,000 people were urgently evacuated to Hokkaido by this transportation. Meanwhile, three ships, the Ogasawara-maru, No. 2 Shinko-maru, and Taito-maru, were attacked and sunk by an unidentified submarine off Mashike-cho and Tomamae-cho, Hokkaido, resulting in about 1,700 deaths.

Shigetaka Onda's *Shiberia Yokuryu (Detention in Siberia)* explains about this unidentified submarine as follows. At the time, because there were supposedly no data identifying the submarine as a Soviet submarine, it was said that an "unidentified submarine" had attacked the ships. However, there was testimony stating, "It was definitely a Soviet submarine" from the captain of a Japanese ship that was sunk; he was proficient in identifying foreign warships and other ships. (Secret documents opened to the public in Russia after the USSR collapsed clarified the fact that this attack was made by a Soviet submarine.)

The Ogasawara-maru (1,400 tons) was hit by torpedoes at 4:30 a.m. on August 22 and sank off Rumoi. Among the 700 people (crew and passengers) on board, only 60 survived.<sup>(15)</sup>

Special gunboat No. 2 Shinko-maru (2,700 tons) was struck by torpedoes 33 km northwest of Rumoi at 5:13 a.m. on August 22, and its stern was damaged. Among the 4,000 people (crew and passengers) on board, about 800 were killed or injured. This ship did not sink.

On the same day, at 9:52 a.m., the Taito-maru (2,000 tons) was hit by torpedoes and sank 25 km west of Rumoi. Of the 800 people (crew and passengers) on board, 100 were rescued.

In addition, the freighter Noto-maru (1,100 tons) was attacked in the Soya strait and sunk by three planes with Soviet markings.

It is a fact that US forces protested to the USSR concerning these unlawful military actions. According to the "Report of United States Strategic Bombing Survey (Report of

USSBS),” when the USSR delegation group arrived at MacArthur’s headquarters in Manila to attend the surrender document signing ceremony on the US battleship Missouri, the US side officially protested to the USSR concerning the August 22 attacks by its submarine. This was included in an official written report. The “United States Strategic Bombing Survey” was the official organ sent from the US to survey both the degree of damage inflicted upon Japan by US air forces, and Japan’s current circumstances <sup>(16)</sup>.

Concerning repatriation from Sakhalin, in addition to the emergency evacuation carried out by the Sakhalin Government Office, many Japanese took passage in secret one after another and escaped from the south shores of Sakhalin for Hokkaido by stealth, evading the strict surveillance of Soviet forces. About 24,000 Japanese moved to Hokkaido from August 1945 to around March 1946.

On the other hand, we must also mention that there were innumerable victims, including people who committed suicide.

Such tragic incidents are too many to mention in detail, but the following is one example.

In Wakkanai, on a hill overlooking the Soya strait, there is a monument to telephone operators, the “monument for nine girls who died in the performance of their duties.” The inscription says, “On August 20, 1945, nine girls working in the Karafuto (Sakhalin) Maoka telephone exchange received strict orders from the Japanese army, and potassium cyanide was given to each girl, then they went to sit at the telephone exchange stand for their last job. As soon as Soviet forces landed, they took the potassium cyanide as the Japanese army had ordered, and exerting their last greatest strength they hit the keys, leaving as their last words, ‘Everyone, this is our last and final transmission. Goodbye to you all.’ They took their own young lives that had been filled with dreams. We must not go to war again. We hope to console the souls of these nine maidens with our prayers for peace. August 15, 1963 ” according to *Karafuto 1945nen Natsu* (Sakhalin, Summer of 1945) <sup>(17)</sup>.

In this pitiful incident, nine young telephone operators stayed at their posts in Sakhalin when the Russians invaded, even though Japan had already surrendered. They carried

out their duties to the end, and all of them committed suicide to avoid capture by the Soviet troops.

This was a really tragic incident, involving such young girls who completed their duties and killed themselves.

South Sakhalin fell into the hands of Soviet forces on August 25, then the First Far East Area army sent troops who started to invade the Kurile Islands on August 28.

According to *Великая Отечественная война Советского Союза*, Marshal Vasilevsky, Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Force in Far East unofficially announced the preparation and execution of the operation for invasion of the northern Kurile Islands to the corps in the Kamchatka area at 3:00 p.m., August 15. He said that they would first carry out operations to land on Shumush Island and Paramushir Island, that they would land on Onkotan Island next, and would occupy the northern Kurile Islands by August 25. Soviet forces started bombarding Shumush Island on August 14. The Japanese army had immediately suspended its battle action on August 15 because of the Imperial Rescript concerning the end of the war, but Soviet forces started a landing attack before daybreak on August 18, so the Japanese army returned fire in self-defense, and a fierce battle developed.

In the evening of that same day, the Japanese army obeyed the Area Army's order, "Suspend battle action immediately." The ceasefire agreement was concluded on a Soviet warship on August 23, and disarmament was completed on the 25th<sup>(18)</sup>.

As mentioned above, after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, the USSR intended to strongly expand the areas it occupied. The USSR completely occupied the Habomai Islands at the southern end of the Kurile Islands on September 5. Soviet forces actually continued their attacks until September 5. We should keep in mind that the meaning of "the end of the war" for the USSR was a date much later than September 2, when Japan signed the document of surrender on the USS Missouri.

About 17,000 Japanese had been living in the Kurile Islands, mainly on the South Kurile Islands, and a considerable number of them managed to leave while Soviet forces were moving south, but the Japanese islanders who remained were forced to stay.

Fishermen who worked in the summer, and seasonal laborers, lived in the North Kurile Islands, which were bases for the northern-sea fisheries, but the majority had already returned to Hokkaido when the war between the USSR and Japan started<sup>(19)</sup>.

## **North Korea and Kanto province**

Soviet forces invaded North Korea at daybreak on August 9. The Japanese army accepted the ceasefire order when it retreated to Gumaoshan on August 18.

Japanese people in North Korea remained at their workplaces even after Soviet forces started the war, but they lost their jobs when the war ended, and Koreans in people's courts accused many Japanese. In addition, they were forced to give away their possessions and faced insistent demands that they leave. Therefore Japanese people gradually gathered in various cities and were forced into a condition in which they had no choice but to evacuate to South Korea. Meanwhile, over 3,000 Japanese civilians were taken to Soviet territory, together with Japanese soldiers, when Soviet forces advanced<sup>(20)</sup>.

An estimated 270,000 to 280,000 ordinary Japanese were living in Korea north of the 38th parallel when the Pacific War ended. In addition, after the war between the USSR and Japan started, about 70,000 ordinary Japanese who lived in the former Manchuria went south by train to North Korea for repatriation to Japan. They were accommodated in schools and private homes in each place in North Korea where their trains stopped, because Soviet forces intercepted traffic at the 38th parallel. Of these, about 30,000 people, noting the circumstances in North Korea after the war ended, went back to the former Manchuria. Many of the Japanese left in North Korea were the aged, women, or children, with no capacity to earn a living, so they remained as refugees in various places in North Korea, receiving aid from Japanese associations. After the onset of winter, however, due to shortages of food and clothing, about 25,000 died of malnutrition and the prevailing infectious diseases such as eruptive typhus<sup>(21)</sup>.

Immediately after Soviet forces advanced into North Korea, the USSR started to establish administrative power handled by Koreans.

The USSR requisitioned administrative powers one after another from the Japanese side, and transferred these powers to the people's committee in each area. The North Korean Administrative Bureau was established in November 1945, and the North Korean People's Committee was established in February 1946, so that the administrative power of North Korea was almost unified. However, North Korea declared itself to be the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in September 1948. Soviet forces completed their withdrawal from North Korea in November 1948.

The Japanese who had wintered in North Korea started to move in groups in the spring of 1946, and by June over 100,000 Japanese were accommodated in South Korea. This escape action continued until the Soviet forces commander issued an order on June 4, 1946 prohibiting southward movement.

In addition, the Soviet forces commander announced concrete conditions concerning the handling of the remaining Japanese, and made efforts to prevent unrest among the Japanese, but Japanese people other than the technicians who had been interned and were being used in plants and mines, etc., could not expect to earn a stable living. From the last 10 days of July until mid-October, about 90,000 Japanese were forced to leave and go to South Korea, with the tacit permission of Soviet forces and the North Korean side, and later, in and after 1948, about 1,000 more Japanese got out to South Korea.

The North Korean People's Committee forcibly detained and used about 1,000 Japanese technicians in various plants and mines including the Supung (水豊) power plant and iron works. These people returned to Japan one after another when they were released from this interment, but 15 were arrested by Soviet forces as war criminals and transferred to Soviet territory.

Also, persons connected with judicial administration who had been directly involved in suppression of the national independence movement in Korea before the end of the war, particularly police officers, had already been interned by Soviet forces, but people who had not yet been arrested, and people released by the USSR, were later interned again by the North Korean side, and about 70 people were interned in the people's education center in Sinuiju (新

義州). After repatriation was completed in June 1948, 15 people remained in Pyongyang prison as convicts. There is definite evidence that they were sentenced to punishments ranging from three years in jail to penal servitude for life, but it is said that when the US Army advanced to Pyongyang at the time of the disturbances in Korea, there was not one Japanese in that prison.

Soviet forces advanced to Ryojun (旅順: presently integrated to Dalian) in Kwantung Province on August 23 and ordered the removal of all-Japanese from the old city area. In addition, Soviet forces ordered the Japanese living in Ryojun to move to Dalian, so that, excluding technicians involved with the Manchurian Railway and the electric industry, and physicians and midwives, most Japanese had moved to Dalian. At that time, quite large numbers of Japanese who had flowed in from Manchuria were estimated to be in Dalian, in addition to the Japanese who had moved to Dalian from Ryojun.

Public peace was temporarily disturbed after the war ended, but Dalian gradually became calm again, and economic activities by ordinary Japanese people were permitted to a certain degree, so that the Japanese in Dalian were living more stable lives than they had in the former Manchuria<sup>(22)</sup>.

## Notes

- (1) Takushiro Hattori, *Daitoa Senso Zenshi*, Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1965, p.856. (Takushiro Hattori, *A Complete History of the Pacific War*, Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1965, p. 856.)
- (2) Shigetaka Onda, *Shiberia Yokuryu*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p.33 (Shigetake Onda, *Internment in Siberia*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p.33).
- (3) Kazumasa Sato, *Saigo no Kantogun*, Tokyo: Sankei Shuppan, 1986 (Kazumasa Sato, *The Last of the Kwantung Army*, Tokyo: Sankei Shuppan, 1986).
- (4) Onda, *Shiberia Yokuryu*, p. 26.
- (5) Masumi Sakuma and Shizue Shibata (eds.), *Manshukoku no Shometsu to Zairyu Hojin*, Tokyo: Nonburu Sha, 1997, p.106 (Masami Sakuma and Shizue Shibata (eds.), *Disappearance of Manchukuo and Japanese Residents*, Tokyo: Nonburu Sha, 1997, p. 106.)

- (6) Editing Committee for 50 years of War Victims in War Victims Relief Bureau, Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan (supervised), *Engo 50nen Shi*, Tokyo: Gyousei, 1997, p.505 [Editing Committee for 50 years of War Victims' Relief in War Victims' Relief Bureau, Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan (supervised), *50 Years of Repatriate Relief*, Tokyo: Gyousei, 1997, p. 505].
- (7) Noboru Kojima, *Manchu Teikoku III*, Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 1972, pp.310-311 (Noboru Kojima, *Manchu Empire Vol. III*, Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 1972, pp. 310-311).
- (8) *ibid.*, p. 312.
- (9) *Engo 50nen Shi*, p. 37.
- (10) Toshio Kaneko, *Karafuto 1945nen Natsu*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972, pp.20-21 (Toshio Kaneko, *Sakhalin: Summer of 1945*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972, pp. 20-21).
- (11) *ibid.*, p. 389.
- (12) *ibid.*, p. 395.
- (13) *ibid.*, p. 398.
- (14) *ibid.*, p. 399.
- (15) Onda, *Shiberia Yokryu*, p.49.
- (16) *ibid.*, p.50.
- (17) Kaneko, *Karafuto*, p.327.
- (18) *Hattori*, Daitoa, p.975.
- (19) *Engo 50nen Shi*, p. 33.
- (20) "Manshu, Hokusen, Karafuto, Chishima ni Okeru Nihonjin no Nisso Kaisen Igo no Gaikyo," Unrepatriated Persons Survey Division in War Victims' Relief Bureau, Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan, Tokyo, May 1959, p. 17.
- (21) *ibid.*, p. 345.
- (22) *Engo 50nen Shi*, p.33.