

Chapter 8 Deaths, Diseases and Other Tragedies

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Section 1 Execution by Firing Squad, Suicides and Escapes

It became clear from many materials that forced internees were brought to trial and executed by firing squad or shot instantly while attempting to escape. Concrete facts concerning the executions have also gradually come to light from related materials found by Russian researchers in recent years. However, no synthetic investigations have been conducted on those forced internees and those who were executed by shooting while attempting to escape or to get over the fence at the concentration camp. Therefore, total numbers of the forced internees and killed by the USSR is still unknown, regrettably.

The government of the USSR arrested anyone associated with the Japanese Special Services Agency. The arrested agents were sentenced without delay, and executed by firing squad. It also took a hostile attitude toward leading members of *Kyowakai*, an association for cooperation and harmony that supported Manchuria. In fact, the Special Services Agency was in charge of intelligence activities and the support group helped maintain the political foundations of Manchuria. They were, however, simply playing their role in the institution or organization, and their presence was quite different from that of the secret police who were at the center of the Soviet power mechanism and who wielded great executive authority. But the USSR viewed the Special Services Agency and their support groups as enemies and purposely exterminated them. As a result, many of those involved with the agency and its groups went missing, and they seem to have been executed secretly by firing squad or shot to death without a legitimate court trial.

There is no organized data in administrative agencies related to suicides and escapes. The best we can do now is to carry out limited investigations based on memoranda of forced internees, a summary of entries on the survey forms they made when they were repatriated and

partial statistic data prepared by the competent administrative agency.

1. Execution by Firing Squad

(1) Execution by Firing Squad for Political Crimes

A. Internees Executed by Firing Squad

In the Soviet era, the Soviet authorities kept secret executions of some Japanese internees by firing squad. This fact was known among the internees who exchanged information and through rumors about such acts. However, there was no progress in clarifying the state of affairs because of the delay in repatriating those imprisoned as war criminals that had information on these events. Japanese imprisoned as war criminals for long periods of time were sent back to Japan by the last repatriation ship in December 1956.

Based on an overall judgment made from the information they brought back, the manner in which internees had been executed became clear.

Yoshimitsu Baba referred to one such example in his journal (dated September 1, 1992) published by *Sakuhokukai* (Sakuhoku Association: “Sakuhoku” means the northern part), a group of long-term internees. According to his statement, the internees listed below are believed to have been executed by firing squad.

The following seven internees were sentenced to death by firing squad at a military trial that took place in the Primorsky Military District (Приморский Военный Округ) on June 30, 1946 and were executed in Vladivostok (Владивосток) on October 16, 1946 (buried in No. 6 Fort, 1.5 kilometers east of the municipal cemetery of Vladivostok).

Name	Date of Birth	Rank	Position
Tsutomu Yamashita	1904	Army Lt. Colonel	First deputy to Head of Harbin Special Services Agency
Masatami Makino	1897	Army Colonel	Commander of Special Forces, Harbin Special Services Agency
Toku Yoshida	1918	Army Captain	Assistant Chief of Special Forces Education and Research Team, Harbin Special Services Agency
Jun Murasawa	1910	Army Major	Second Deputy to Head of Harbin Special Services Agency
Kyuma Yamagata	1911	Army Major	Commander of No. 322 Information Squad, Harbin Special Services Agency.
Takeshi Ejima	1916	Army Major	Head of Sungari Branch, Harbin Special Services Agency
Chuzo Imaizumi	(unidentified)	Army Major	Chief of Special Forces Education and Research Team, Harbin Special Services Agency

On February 15 1947, the Military Board of the Supreme Court, USSR (Военная Коллегия Верховного суда СССР) sentenced the internees to be shot by a firing squad. On March 4 1947, the internees were executed in Moscow and buried after cremation in Donskoe (Донское) Cemetery, Moscow.

Naoto Ichikawa	1916	Army Major	Aid to Commander of Special Forces, Harbin Special Services Agency
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On February 1947, the Military Board of the Supreme Court of USSR sentenced the internee to be executed by a shooting. On March 4 1947, the internees were executed in Moscow and buried after cremation in Donskoe Cemetery, Moscow.

Saburo Arai	1917	Army Captain	Head of Suifenhe Army Special Services Agency
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Internee sentenced to execution by firing squad at the Military Court of Zabaikal-Amur District (Забайкальско-Амурский Окружной Суд) on December 29, 1945, and executed in Chita (Чита) on April 22, 1946. The graveyard he was buried in is unknown.

Koichi Kimura	1918	Army Major	Head of Bandzhidegen Branch, Army Special Services Agency
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Internee sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 15 years by the Second Red Army Military Court, confined in the Third Prison in Blagove (Благове). Later his whereabouts became unknown. (He is said to have been executed by firing squad according to information from other sources.)

Takumi Yuzurio	1917	Army Captain	Branch Head of Hailar (海拉爾) Army Special Services Agency
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Another internee, name unknown, was sentenced to execution by firing squad and put to death (He may overlap with someone else in the following list).

Later on July 17, 2000, the *Sankei Shinbun*⁽¹⁾ carried a report from a Russian researcher Kirichenko (Кириченко) concerning 15 internees who had been sentenced to execution by firing squad by the court and put to death. Those who listed here were tried and

sentenced, officially. Those are, therefore, not cases of accidental shootings. The three internees (Takumi Yuzurio, Jun Murasawa, and Naoto Ichikawa) described earlier in the material from Yoshimitsu Baba are included among the 15 internees.

Name	Year of Birth	Age	Rank & Position	Date Executed	Place of Execution
Hiroshi Hosokawa	1919	27	Sergeant or Corporal	2/26/1946	Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Южно-Сахалинск)
Shoichiro Deguchi	1893	53	Japanese Civilian	5/25/1946	Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
Saburo Takahashi	1921	25	Corporal or Superior Private	7/26/1946	Khabarovsk (Хабаровск)
Tomoharu Hayashi	1916	30	Lt. Colonel or Major	10/16/1946	Vladivostok
Shigeru Nakajima	1906	40	Chief of Foreign Affairs Section, Police Bureau of the Kwantung Chou	10/28/1946	Dailian (大連)
Masami Misawa	1917	29	Corporal or Leading Private	11/30/1946	Vladivostok
Kazue Tanaka	1920	27	Superior Private	1/21/1947	Vladivostok
Kotaro Nagai	1917	30	Japanese Civilian	2/26/1947	Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
Tatsuo Sugiura	1918	29	Unknown	4/3/1947	Khabarovsk
Misao	1892	55	Head of Kwangtung	3/13/1947	Moscow

Komatsu			Army Special Intelligence Department and Communication Information Department		
Shigeru Ohki	1888	59	Lt. General	4/9/1947	Moscow
Rokuro Uyama	1912	35	Military civilian employee	4/9/1947	Moscow

If there is any further progress in information disclosure by Russia, more details will become known about those executed by firing squad.

It is not clear if the same execution by shooting was carried against those who were isolated from the group and went missing immediately after a trial or were pronounced dead from disease after a long period of internment. We cannot rule out the possibility that some were poisoned to death.

B. Facts behind Decisions on Execution by Firing Squad

Little is known about how Japanese internees were sentenced to execution by firing squad because unfortunately most of them were isolated obeying the judgment.

Despite these circumstances, Shigeru Maeno, a long-term internee, who was sentenced to 25 years of hard labor for his career as former Deputy Head of the Legal Department of Manchukuo (effectively Minister of Justice, Manchukuo), authored a book titled *Soren Gokuso Iinen (Eleven Years in Soviet Prison)* ⁽²⁾, describing in detail his experience of forced internment by the USSR from the viewpoint of a legal expert. In the second volume of *Soren Gakuso Iinen*, Maeno devotes 10 pages to a full account of how Kyuma Yamagata, a major

serving as Staff Officer for the Kwantung Army (formerly served as Head of the Harbin Special Services Agency) was sentenced to death by firing squad. Although there are no redundancies in his description, we would like to give a summary rather than quoting the full 10 pages of the text.

- Before being transferred to the Staff Office of the Kwantung Army, Major Yamagata was a specialist in counter Soviet intelligence. As chief of No. 322 intelligence unit of the Harbin Special Services Agency, he was engaged in gathering intelligence on Soviet territories using Belarusian staff members. The Soviet authorities got hold of information about the intelligence activities of the Harbin Special Services Agency through confessions made by Belarusian staff members after the Soviet invasion. This led to a hunt for Major Yamagata, who was labeled as a criminal.
- After the Soviet declaration of war against Japan, Major Yamagata was ordered south to take home a group of families from the headquarters of the Kwantung Army in Xinjing (Changchun). The group led by Major Yamagata went down south to Pyongyang, but hesitated to enter the areas under US control. Even a specialist in Soviet intelligence like Major Yamagata miscalculated that the Soviet army who had unilaterally invaded Manchuria would treat Japanese more leniently than the US forces that had waged a fierce battle with Japan over an extended period. Major Yamagata was arrested and sent to the Primorsky Krai (Приморский Край).
- A trial for those working with the Harbin Special Services Agency was held in Vladivostok in June 1946. The suspects were gathered in Voroshilov Field Prison and Maeno shared a prison cell with Yamagata.
- Major Yamagata was broad-minded and had a positive outlook, never losing hope of gaining his freedom during the trial. He moved Maeno by speaking to him about his admirable ideas on how to rebuild war-defeated Japan.
- The trial opened few days after June 20. A colonel was the presiding judge, and a lieutenant colonel and a major assisted as the associate judges. The prosecutor and clerks sat on

the platform. There was no defense lawyer and no observers. There was no interpreter either, because the defendants could understand Russian. In the trial proceedings, the prosecutor made a statement about the facts that led to the public indictment and the presiding judge asked the defendants to accept the statement. It does not seem that the presiding judge made any further inquiries into whether or not the defendant accepted the prosecutor's statement.

- The defendants were made up of seven to eight members of the Harbin Special Services Agency. Presentation of the statements on the acceptance or denial of the charges was finished in two days. The attitude of the presiding judge toward the defendants was polite and he used the respectful honorific phrase “Вы (Vy)” the respectful form of the word for “you” to address the defendants. From the way the trial was conducted, Maeno could not help feeling that the result of the trial was top down and that the interrogation was a mere formality. For this reason, he thought that a decision would be made immediately thereafter.

- Although it was Sunday the next day, the guards came to pick up Yamagata after breakfast headed for the court. A sentence of execution by firing squad was handed down, as Maeno had feared. Defendants sentenced to capital punishment were normally isolated from internees and moved to the main prison. In Yamagata's case, however, he was put into a box-shaped car for convicts and left near an open area in the interment camp. Those forced internees in concentration camps were taken outside in groups for evening physical exercise and to relieve themselves. Becoming aware of the situation from rumors among the internees, Yamagata banged on his windowless box-like iron cell to let the Forced internees know that he had been sentenced to execution by firing squad and isolated. In a further attempt to draw their attention, Yamagata shouted out, “Staff Officer Yamagata is going to be executed by firing squad.” Sensing his desperate cries, his surprised co-inmates shouted “OK! We will make sure that your family knows.” Silence reigned within the box and no sound or voice was heard any more.

- Yamagata was executed in Vladivostok three and a half months later.

(2) Execution by Firing Squad as a Deterrent

Escapees from concentration camps were subjected to execution by firing squad as a deterrent until capital punishment was abolished on May 26, 1947. Escapees were taken to the execution ground from seven to ten days after their arrest without any procedures for trial and shot with a pistol from 15 meters away. It is said that up to three shots were fired to ensure that the person was dead. It is also reported that when mass executions were carried out in the USSR in those days, executioners shot the head of the convict from close range to save bullets, and at the same time kicked them in the back from behind to knock them down to avoid being spattered with blood. Compared with this type of killing, execution by firing squad as a deterrent to escapees took the form of a ritual. We hear that some forced internees and executed by firing squad were stripped naked and exhibited near the gates of the concentration camp to deter escapes. According to “Soren Yokryu Jijo Ggaiyo (An Outline of Actual Conditions of Internment in the USSR)⁽³⁾” compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, a survey of 7,022 soldiers and military civilian employees found that when one person was killed by firing squad, the execution was classified as an accident. Such case was accounting for 0.01% of the total.

Another survey of 1,540 general Japanese revealed that 37 persons were put to death by shoot, which were classified as accidents, making up 2% of the total. It seems that the staff members of the Special Services Agency who died by firing squad were not included in the survey. This explains why the number of the deaths of soldiers and military civilian employees were small. On the contrary, what does it mean to say that 2% of general Japanese civilians were killed by firing squad? Probably this indicates that many general Japanese forced internees failed in their escapes, and ended up being executed by firing squad.

2. Suicides

There is no statistical data on suicides among forced internees. But bits of related information can be picked up from the records of internees’ experiences.

Human beings essentially live belonging to “groups”. Even under adversity, people

rarely commit suicide as long as their groups are stable. For the internees, the group was their labor team. To get the labor team to set about their working tasks smoothly, the Soviet army appointed qualified Japanese as the leader of the labor team. The leader always had a difficult role to play in coordinating between the Soviet work supervisors and the Japanese forced internees. The qualities of the Soviet work supervisors were crucial for the Japanese leaders in successfully controlling their groups. In most cases, the work supervisors skimmed part of the food meant for the forced internees and raised the “norms” or work quota to gain their own credit. When Soviet supervisors’ vicious ways of doing things went to extremes such as blaming the Japanese group leaders for their proposals and resistance and reassigning them to other groups, the labor team stopped the function as a group, and each one of the team became to act selfishly. When the group got out of control, the weak suffered the worst of the consequences. In the work party, rank and years of enrollment in the army still carried weight and new recruits were always marginalized. The more some of the veterans suffered, the harder they made the newly recruited soldiers work. Some of the new recruits, who were the weakest in the group, were tortured by feelings of loneliness because of the bullying committed in a predicament beset with coldness, hunger and tiredness. In the solitude of darkness, many of them hanged themselves on a rope slung over a beam in the building.

According to “Soren Yokuryu Jijyo Gaiyo” described earlier, the suicide rates were 0.1% for soldiers and tails, and 0.5% for general Japanese. The numbers for the latter was five times as high as for the former. This suggests that, apart from the problem of bullying in the army, feelings of loneliness weighed on general Japanese.

3. Escapes

(1) Outline

The forced internees must have desperately wanted to escape from illegal internment by the USSR and the abuses that inevitably foreboded death. In fact, many were brave enough to

attempt “escape”. These escapes can be classified into two types according to the circumstances in which they were carried out. First category is jumping out of trains or other means of transport and escaped home to their families or acquaintances stealthily during the time they were being grouped into work battalions and transferred to Soviet territory through the areas occupied by the Soviet army. When the trains slowed down near a steep slope or curve, they took their chance to throw themselves with their baggage out of the train. Even if sentries shot at them repeatedly, they were unlikely to hit every target. Therefore, internees who were familiar with the geological features of the area and the layout of the railways were highly successful in escaping. However, a “manhunt” dragnet of Soviet soldiers awaited arrival of these escapees back at families. Those who had once experienced escape were reckless in fleeing the “manhunt”, and were often shot to death for suspicious acts.

Another type of escape was an attempt to flee following confinement in a concentration camp in Soviet territory. Naturally there were many who wanted to escape before the advent of another winter in the face of the harsh reality, since so many of their fellow internees had died from hunger and frostbite after being transferred to Soviet territory during that first winter. The year 1946 saw a large number of escapes. No doubt it was dangerous to attempt to slip into Manchuria across great rivers such as the Amur River and the Ussuri River after crossing the vastness of Soviet territory, evading the direct surveillance of internees and the dragnet of a powerful police state like the USSR. Although many took the risk, their probability of success was extremely low. However, some are reported to have been successful because they escaped in the relatively early days when Manchuria was still under the control of the Chinese army. There were few successful escapes after security improved in Soviet territory.

The government agency in charge of repatriation problem made no any studies, so corrects the materials on escapes, and much less the statistics data on the escape, are not available. Therefore, no related data are available as to how many-attempted escape and how many of them successfully returned home. This seems to be partly attributable to a privacy problem associated with the connotation of the word “escape” in the days immediately after the end of the war.

To conduct a survey on escapes, there would have been no way other than to check the record of experience left by every forced internees to try to shed as much light as possible on the reality of escapes.

(2) Purpose of Escape

Those who began to think about escaping seriously had an overwhelming desire to flee from the illegal treatment of internees by the USSR, who treated them as prison laborers, and the inhuman ways it dealt with them. Many of these internees took flight impulsively out of despair that they would most probably die if they continued life in the concentration camp. The flight from concentration camp risked internees to be shot, if they failed in his attempt. With the forced internees dragging on, some of the internees wished to expedite repatriation by letting people outside know about their predicament. They did not care if they failed or sacrificed themselves for their fellow Japanese. The internees came to find the purpose and significance of escape in these thoughts. They made preparations to draft a petition to the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross and to have all members carry it.

(3) Destinations of Escapees

The destinations of the escapees from Soviet concentration camps were the crossing points of the Amur River and the Ussuri River on the Manchurian side. It was generally thought that if escapees got out of Soviet territory they could somehow manage in Manchuria. Swimming across such large rivers was considered impracticable, so the best time for escape was naturally when the rivers were frozen, especially the period immediately before the ice started to melt.

Of course, the banks of the rivers were under close surveillance by the Soviet army and even if some escapees were lucky enough to make it that far, they often ended up being arrested, shot or dying from exhaustion.

(4) Punishment for Escape

In the early days, when forced internees were transferred to the USSR, many of them were fired at or actually shot dead even when they inadvertently approached the outer barbed wire fence in the concentration camp. Escape from the internment camp meant execution by firing squad. In those days in the USSR, there was a strange rule for the executioner who carried out the capital punishment. It said that if the executioner failed to kill a prisoner after three shots, the prisoner would be deported instead of executed.

According to the Shigetaka Onda's, *Siberia Yokuryu* ⁽⁴⁾ (p.143), although the author's fellow inmate was arrested and shot to death during an escape with him, he was spared execution because all three shots missed him and instead he was punished with 15 days on short rations and confinement in the guardhouse. The author notes that he was then taken to Pyongyang in North Korea released there and finally repatriated alive.

It is also reported that while the execution of escapees by firing squad was strictly enforced, Soviet guards were exceptionally lenient in some of the concentration camps.

In Teruhiko Koike's *Akai Hoshi no Moto ni Hi wo Motomete (Seeking the Sun Under the Red Stars)*, which was quoted in Onda's book, there is a story about two escapees who fled from a concentration camp in January 1946, but returned there the next day because of the unbearable cold outside and were then sent straight to work without punishment. This is possibly because the ways done by the commanders of the units related to the Soviet Interior Ministry, who were in charge of guards in the concentration camps, differed according to their personality and experience.

However, punishment for escape changed after the death penalty was replaced by 25 years' imprisonment by order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on May 26, 1947.

On page 334 of *Kanto Gun Sakusen Sanbo no Shogen (The Witness of a Staff Officer of the Kwangtung Army)* by Teigo Kusachi⁽⁵⁾, the author describes details of an event in which three Japanese long-term internees and a Mongolian failed in their attempts to escape. The four were arrested several days later, sent to court for a retrial and immediately sentenced to one year

in prison, besides an additional punishment.

(5) Preparations for Escape

A lot of preparations were required to carry out an escape. First of all, it was necessary to cut back on daily meals to save some food little by little. To keep black bread, salt and sugar, they were wrapped in small packets and buried at the workplace outside the concentration camp. Overcoats and shoes fit for walking (high boots were used for work) were also obtained by barter and hidden outside the concentration camp during work.

Those who were clever curried favor with Russian women army officers to obtain even maps and medicines. Although they lived in the USSR for a long time, the escapees were unfamiliar with the circumstances of daily life in the Soviet Union (unlike in Japan and Manchuria under Japanese rule, ordinary Soviet citizens were also targets of surveillance by the authorities), because their life was restricted to life in the concentration camps only. They were easily taken into custody because of their ignorance about the surveillance networks spread across the USSR to search for escaped prisoners and the system to check travelers on the trains. Those internees who succeeded in escaping were limited to those who knew their way around in the USSR and Manchuria, and knew about the climate there and the Soviet security maintenance system.

(6) Carrying Out the Escape Plan

Internees escaped when they were at workplaces outside the concentration camp, and when they were able to sneak out of the camp without being noticed by the guards. Even when internees escaped from the workplace, the Soviet guards, who were not good at roll calls, sometimes did not become aware of the escape until the next day. To sneak out of the camp, the time after noon on a Saturday, when they only worked in the morning, was used to make their escape. At that time of the day, the Soviet soldiers were normally intoxicated after heavy drinking to relax. The

escapees normally tried to run as far away as possible before the roll call on Monday. To escape from the concentration camp, the internees dug a hole under the outer fence or through gates that were under construction. Other internees who were asked to do that filled in the hole afterwards.

(7) Examples of Successful Escapes

Although the success rate was extremely low, only a strong will, physical strength and meticulous preparation made escape possible. Two examples of successful escapes are described in Shigetaka Onda's book mentioned above. One concerns Mr. H. of the Police Agency of Xing'an Province, Manchukuo, who was engaged in survey work on the extension of a railroad branch line. In March 1946, he fled from a concentration camp in Turma (Турма), north of Khabarovsk, traveled 200 kilometers on foot across Siberia in winter in seven days, walked across the Amur River immediately before the ice melted, and safely returned home via Huludao (葫蘆島) in November 1947, helped by the fact that it was still under the rule of the Chinese nationalist army. Another case involves Mr. K, who was a Lieutenant Paymaster of Japanese army. Full of vitality as a result of winter mountain climbing in his college days, he harbored a secret intention to make his escape across the frozen Ussuri River. Mr. K fled into Manchuria when the ice formed over the river and returned home.

Searches were conducted every time someone escaped. We hear that the remains of many other escapees were found rather than those who of the case. Therefore, it would be correct to presume that more internees than were supposed escaped from their miserable life. There are few records of failed escapes.

Section 2 Deaths from Disease and Accidents

1. Natural Environment and Living (Sanitary) Conditions

(1) Natural Environment Caused Deaths

The concentration camps were all located in areas of intense cold. The climate there was as harsh, as is described in Chapter 3, Part 6.

In the winters of 1945 to 1946, severe cold hit these areas and many died from the cold; in fact they froze to death in labor battalions (Рабочий Батальон) that had inadequate accommodation. Death and emaciation from the cold were not taken seriously in Japan. This is because the Soviet army sent back more than 47,000 weakened forced internees to Manchuria and North Korea just to evade its responsibility (In view of the fact that more than half of them died after being sent back, there seems to have been a large number of deaths well before the transfer.) and because they were excluded from the list of internees in the USSR, not taking into consideration the problem of deaths from the cold.

The book published recently, Russian writer Arkhangelsky's (Архангелский) *Кто Убил Принца Коное? (Who Killed Prince Konoe?)* ⁽⁶⁾, brings into question the improper treatment of forced internees, who were not provided with a living environment good enough to survive the winter. In areas where the concentration camp was built with no facilities, the internees were taken into a "dugout bunkers (землянка)" (log cabins built by digging a hole in the ground, making a framework with logs and covering the top with earth. Humidity was high inside the bunker and it did not keep out the cold), which were often built in pre-war days and near to collapse. In areas without these structures, the Japanese forced internees had to build dugout bunkers for themselves. A Russian book says that some of these hastily built bunkers had tents on the top. It is clear that it is not possible to survive in such a dwelling when it is freezing cold with temperature dropping to 35 to 40°C below zero. People can survive without food for a week, but will die from extreme cold overnight. Even if the freezing cold does not

lead them to death, it weaken their physical strength to such an extent that they could not recover. Only those who have experienced it can understand the fear of death resulting from sharp hypothermia. In some of the ill-equipped work battalions, one blanket was provided for every two people and no clothing for the cold weather.

Пленники Сталина: Сибирское Интернирование Японской Армии (Stalin's Captives: Siberian Interning of Japanese Army) ⁽⁷⁾, published in UKraine, and *Кто Убил Принца Коноэ?*, published in Russia, point out that the massive deaths among forced internees in the first winter after entering the Soviet territory were primarily due to the lack of protection against the cold and inadequate housing (heating) and clothing.

The document of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Soren Yokuryu Gaiyo (An Outline of Actual Conditions of Detention in the USSR)”⁽⁸⁾ classifies the causes of death into disease and accidents. Execution by firing squad, suicide and deaths from frostbite are included under accidental death. There is no description of death from the cold (See Table1 ‘the Causes of Death, including Disease and Accidents’).

In Japan, there is some material on individual cases of large numbers of internees dying from the cold [Documents from the Northeast Research Division of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs titled “Soryonai ni okeru Niffu Jokyo (Conditions of Japanese Prisoners of War in the Soviet Territories)” ⁽⁹⁾]. According to these documents, while Japanese military units interned in the Kurile Islands and South Sakhalin were being transferred to a concentration camp in Kolonepol’sk via Nikolaevsk-on-Amur (Никораевске-на-Амуре) in the coldest season, they started walking over the frozen ice in an attempt to escape to Hokkaido because of the unbearable cold, resulting in a group of about 400 dying from the severe cold on the ice. Future study and research is necessary to find out how many died from the cold among forced internees in the USSR.

On May 20, 1949, *TASS* reported an announcement at the Council of ministers (Совет Министров) meeting saying that about 70,880 out of 594,000 prisoners were released in combat areas in 1945. However, there is no evidence of the release and many believe those who died from the cold and were sent back were included in the above figures.

Endemic diseases such as those caused by bugs, parasites, bacteria, and viruses were prevalent in the vast Soviet territory besides fear of the cold. Some internees were infected with diseases through bugs, eating and drinking, and through wounds. Drinking water was not clean and it caused dysentery. Many forced internees died suddenly after eating poisonous plants and mushrooms. All concentration camps were located in areas where the environment was so harsh that human beings could not survive unless they were protected against the cold and provided with clean housing facilities, sufficient food and clothing as well as adequate medical care.

(2) Life (Health) Environment

A. Malnutrition (Death from Starvation)

The food allocated to forced internees by the USSR was far from sufficient for people engaged in hard labor. The quantity and quality of the food were inadequate and so a life-threatening crisis grew with the interruption and delay in the food supply and large-scale misappropriation of food by Soviet labor management personnel at the food supply stage. Malnutrition was a known disease, but the shortage of food also aggravated illnesses related to overwork, tuberculosis, respiratory diseases, and gastrointestinal disorders. It is wrong to describe deaths from a lack of food as caused by malnutrition. A more accurate description would be death from starvation.

B. Disease-Carrying Pests

A number of Lice, fleas, and bedbugs in the unsanitary living quarters, and infectious diseases such as typhus fever and relapsing fever carried by these harmful insects were spread widely. Throughout the night, these insects interrupted the sleep of the forced internees who were exhausted due to hard labor, and weakened them mentally and physically. The mortality rates from infectious diseases such as typhus fever transmitted through insects were almost equally

high as other symptoms resulting from malnutrition.

C. Grueling Work

The grueling work coupled with malnutrition sapped the physical strength of the forced internees. Though physically enfeebled, they were forced to meet exorbitant “norms” or work quotas under terrible work environments (mining and railroad construction, etc) in extremely cold weather that would have normally made hard labor impossible, and doing dangerous jobs such as blasting. This sapped their physical strength further and caused many work accidents. The work environment in the mines was worst that many forced internees who worked in the mines suffered from silicosis after they returned home.

D. Sanitation

A Sanitary Section (Санитария Часть) was provided in all concentration camps. It was staffed with one Soviet army doctor and one nurse as well one to two Japanese army doctors and two or three orderly. The capacity of patients was a simple sickroom with about 10 beds. Many Soviet army doctors were women, but the Japanese doctors were far more capable than their Soviet counterparts. First-aid treatment and diagnoses of mild cases only were given in the sanitary section. Patients with serious illnesses and those in need of long-term medical care were taken to the local hospital.

In the internment areas, there was a central hospital (Госпиталь) or first aid post (Лазарет) staffed with two or three Soviet doctors and about 10 Japanese doctors. Facilities in the ordinary concentration camps were mostly used as these medical institutions, which were hospitals in name only. Few medical supplies were available in the hospital and most antipyretics, antidiarrheals, sodium bicarbonate, and disinfectants were made in Japan or Germany. These medicines were in short supply, especially from 1945 to 1946. The salt as a field ration was hastily collected, dissolved in water and used for injections due to a lack of

saline solution. Although there were many tubercular patients, nutritional supplements and antibiotic medicines were not available at all. Few facilities were equipped with X-ray equipment or sun lamps. Even when available, they were rarely used.

After mid-1946, preventive measures against epidemics began to improve gradually with preventive injections given against infectious diseases (typhus fever, paratyphoid, typhoid and dysentery) and vaccinations also administered against smallpox. Quinine and atebrine were prescribed to prevent malaria.

Inspections for fleas, bedbugs and other harmful insects and delousing came to be strictly practiced along with the disinfection of rooms. Baths were scheduled once a week, at which time clothes were sterilized with heat, washed and changed.

Physical examinations (inspections of physical condition) were conducted once a month to certify internees' physical condition. Their physical condition was categorized into Class 1 and 2 (fit for hard work), Class 3 (fit for light work), Class 4 (the elderly and handicapped), and "OK (in Russian pronunciation, oka)" (enfeebled and requiring rest). To fulfill their work quotas, however, sick persons were often forced to do hard work.

2. Contracting Diseases and Fatalities

(1) Causes of Disease

- Infectious diseases from the sudden change in the living environment and the deterioration in the sanitary conditions (typhus fever, paratyphoid, typhoid fever, and dysentery)
- Tubercular diseases from the extremely hard work and overwork (pulmonary tuberculosis, tubercular pleurisy, intestinal tuberculosis, tubercular peritonitis, and tubercular meningitis) and respiratory diseases (cold, infiltration of the lungs, pneumonia, bronchitis, and pleurisy)
- External injuries, fractures, and bruises at work sites
- Frostbite from wearing inadequate clothing in the cold weather

Although these were the common causes of disease, there were also many endemic diseases such as malaria, relapsing fever, and encephalitis caused by forest ticks in some areas.

(2) Uneven Distribution of Deaths from Disease by Year

A. Overall Figures

It is difficult to calculate overall figures for deaths accurately, because available materials are limited. Taking this into consideration, however, we need to clarify the trends in the number of deaths.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan compiled the document “Soren Yokryu Gaiyo⁽¹⁰⁾” on the basis of the document “Shuyajo Gaiyo (An Outline of Concentration Camps)” prepared by the Demobilization Bureau.

According to the statistics, the numbers of deaths by year are as follows:

Year	Concentration Camps (979)	Work Battalions (73)	Total (1,052)
1945	9,135	950	10,085
1946	28,116	3,955	32,071
1947	6,984	681	7,665
1948	1,645	194	1,839
(1949)	(89)	(3)	(92)

(Note: Statistics for 1949 were compiled before the end of 1949.)

As it is clear from these statistics, the number of deaths from disease was high from 1945 to the first half of 1946. During this period, the USSR sent back 47,000 physically enfeebled internees to Manchuria and North Korea, but half of them died on the way. Assuming that the deaths among those sent back numbered 23,000, we can estimate that 64,000 forced internees died in a

period of one year and several months from 1945 to 1946.

In the period from immediately after the transfer of detainees to 1946, many died mainly from infectious diseases and malnutrition caused by fatigue from the prolonged transfer and forced marches, sudden changes in the weather and climate, and the deterioration in the living environment. After 1947, an increasing number of enfeebled internees grew weaker from long-term internment and died from tubercular diseases and respiratory diseases. Although the trends in deaths from disease differ between concentration camps and areas, they are summarized in table 1 ‘Causes of death, including disease and accidents.’

Table 1: ‘Causes of death, including disease and accidents’

Disease	Number of Deaths According to Demobilization Bureau’s Data	Percentage of Soldiers and Military Civilian Employees	Number of Deaths According to Foreign Ministry’s Data	Percentage of General Japanese
Acute infectious diseases (dysentery, typhus fever, typhoid, etc.)	2,731	39%	134	9%
Malnutrition	2,570	37%	296	19%
Tuberculous diseases (pulmonary tuberculosis, intestinal tuberculosis, tuberculous	424	6%	159	10%

peritonitis, etc.)				
Respiratory diseases (infiltration of the lungs, pleurisy, pleurisy, etc.)	309	4%	79	5%
Pneumonia	308	4%	116	8%
Relapsing fever	130	2%	42	3%
Surgical diseases (excluding external injuries and fractures)	117	2%	-	-
Gastrointestinal diseases (stomach ulcers, diarrhea, enteritis, etc.)	23	0.3%	118	8%
Meningitis (encephalitis and meningitis caused by forest ticks)	4	0.05%	34	2%
Heart disease	7	0.1%	10	0.6%
Jaundice	1	0.01%	22	1%

(contagious jaundice, catarrhal jaundice)				
Other diseases (blood poisoning, appendicitis, spinal caries, beriberi, malaria, etc.)	4	0.05%	44	3%
Unknown diseases	-	-	165	11%
Total number of deaths from diseases	6,628	95%	1219	80%
Accidents				
External injuries	76	1%	120	9%
Fractures	14			
Death by Crushing	1		11	
Death from Poisoning	-	-	15	0.9%
Frostbite	21	0.3%	6	0.3%
Death by fire	-	-	9	0.5%
Execution by firing squad	1	0.01%	37	2%

Suicides	8	0.1%	8	0.5%
Others	-	-	7	0.5%
Total number of accidental deaths	121	1%	213	14%
Death from unknown causes	273	4%	108	6%
<p>Note 1</p> <p>The data from the Demobilization Bureau covers 36 concentration camps and 7,022 internees from 1945 to 1947. Note that the time and scope of the investigation are limited.</p> <p>Note 2</p> <p>Data on general Japanese is based on the original register of deceased internees at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. The period of investigation is from 1945 to July 1950, and the number of subjects is 1,540.</p>				

(Refer to Shibogennin Chosahyo (investigation into causes of death) in the document of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Soren Yokuryu Jijo Gaiyo," pp.55-56.)

B. Concrete Examples of Deaths That Occurred Frequently in Each District

- Tel'ma (ТЪЛМА) hospital in the Izvestkov (Известковский) district, Jewish Autonomous

Oblast

Year	Deaths	Major Causes
November 1945 to June 1946	1,480	Massive deaths from long forced marches immediately after entering the Soviet territory
July 1946 to December 1949	285	Overwork, malnutrition, typhus fever

- Novonikol'sk hospital in the Voroshilov district

Year	Deaths	Major Causes
1945	162	
1946	846	Malnutrition, dysentery, typhus fever
1947	61	
1948	25	
1949	4	

- Suchan hospital in the Suchan district

Year	Deaths	Major Causes
1945	25	
1946	603	Malnutrition, dysentery, typhus fever
1947	195	
1948	4	

- No.7 branch in the Taishtet district

Year	Deaths	Major Causes
1945 (November to December)	800	Malnutrition, tuberculosis, dysentery, typhus fever, frostbite

(Out of 2,000 persons, 800 (40%) died in one month.)

- Ebalin No 304 branch in the Kholmorin district

Year	Deaths	Major Causes
November (one month), 1945	300	Typhus fever

(Out of 1,000 persons, 300 (30%) died in one month.)

3. Accidental Deaths

(1) Percentages of Deaths from Disease and Accidents for Soldiers and Army Civilian Employees and General Japanese Citizens

	Soldiers & Army Civilian Employees	General Japanese Citizens
Death from disease	95%	80%
Accidental death	1%	14%
Cause of death unknown	4%	6%

(Few soldiers and army civilian employees, but many general Japanese civilians died in accidents.)

(2) Causes of Accidents

In many cases, the major cause of death was unexpected work accidents. In addition, there were accidents caused by the collapse of old buildings at the concentration camps and fires. A group of internees also had car accidents on their way to work.

Most accidental deaths were due to deficiencies in the Soviet forced internment system and the labor management that demanded unreasonable work quotas. The USSR is responsible for all of these accidental deaths.

Statistically, suicides and shootings were included under accidental death, but these should have been separated from what we generally call accidental death.

Major causes of accidental death are as follows:

- **Crushed under falling trees during tree felling in the forest**
- **Cave-ins during mining**
- **Accidents during construction work or machine operation**
- **Overtured vehicles**

- **Accidental blasts that occurred while using dynamite to build railroads**
- **Eating poisonous herbs and mushrooms to stave off starvation**

4. Disposition after the Death (Burials, etc)

In most cases, Russian appeared to be treating the dead roughly. The respect for the dead might have been different from that of Japanese, but this irritated the Japanese internees.

Postmortems were carried out on the dead in hospitals to identify the cause of death. Japanese army doctors in the presence of Soviet officials performed these postmortems. Mostly, it was a mere formality. Postmortem reports were drawn up.

Methods of burial (whether the clothes were removed or not and whether the body was placed in a coffin) differed between districts, which had their own methods of burial (In this section, the document of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, “Soren Yokuryu Jijo Gaiyo” was mainly used as a reference).

(1) Dissection and Postmortem Reports

By order of the Soviet authorities, Japanese army doctors performed a postmortem within 24 hours of death. They cut open the body with a surgical knife to check the medical condition, but did not conduct the type of examination that requires the collection of cells and germs for microscopic examination.

The method of preparing reports also differed slightly between districts.

In Mongolia, two copies of a death certificate (one in Russian and another in Japanese) were prepared, with the Russian copy normally submitted to the Regional Headquarters and the Japanese copy to the director of the hospital. A postmortem medical report was also prepared and submitted to the director of the hospital, who was required to forward it to the ministry of Health, USSR

Three copies of death-related documents, including one for the Japanese government,

were prepared in the Khabarovsk district. In this district, six death-related documents were also prepared at the sanitary section attached to No. 13 branch. They were the prisoner's card, a notice of death, a death certificate, a statement of the disposal of clothing, the prisoner's medical record, a burial permit and a sketch of the graveyard.

In Vladivostok district, a death certificate and a permit for removal of the dead body were prepared (in Russian language) for a dead. It seems that the death certificate was kept at the District Administrative Bureau.

In the Taishet (Тайшет) district, three copies of a report were prepared. The Russian authorities said that they would send one copy each to Irkutsk (Иркутск), Moscow (the Administration for POWs and Internment at the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs; GUPVI at NKVD), and the Japanese government. However, it is not clear if they actually did so.

(2) Burials and Graveyards

Some of the dead bodies were cremated at Zhipkhegen in the Kadala (Кадала) District, Chita Oblast and in a certain period of time immediately after the transfer of internees to the Soviet territory. All the rest were buried. In the early stages of transfer, the dead were buried naked after being stripped of their *juban*, which was worn under a kimono, and *hakamashita*, worn under a *hakama* (long pleated skirt worn over a *kimono*). However, this practice was gradually phased out. With a few exceptions, the dead came to be buried with their clothes on. In Portvanino (Портванино) Special Hospital in the Muli (Мули) district, Khabarovsk Krai and Okha (Оха) Hospital in North Sakhalin, It is said that the dead have been put in coffins and buried, but at other hospitals this was rarely done.

Where a large number of persons died at the same time, the dead were buried in the same mass grave at the same time. At No.5 Hospital in the Taishet district, 50 persons at a time were buried in a large grave because separate graves could not be dug in time for the burial. At this hospital, the dead bodies were kept covered under the snow when digging was impossible

in winter, and were buried when spring arrived.

At Novonilkol'sk Hospital in the Voroshilov district, the dead were undressed without a postmortem six hours after their death and were buried in the ground, with a piece of paper attached to the arm indicating the individual's name and date of birth. From 1947, however, the dead came to be buried with their *juban* and *hakamashita* on.

One graveyard was normally provided per concentration camp (or hospital). Two or three graveyards were also set up at concentration camps and hospitals where a large number of persons died. In some cases, several concentration camps jointly used the same graveyard. Surrounded by barbed wire, the graveyard normally had wooden posts of Japanese white birch. Some graveyards had no barbed wire. One grave marker was normally erected per one set of remains (with an inscription on the front saying this is the grave of the late Mr. so and so and one on the back showing the date of death). Where many died at the same time, their names were inscribed on one grave marker as needs demanded. There were various types of grave markers, such as a square sign, a cross and an epitaph. However, local soviet residents carried away the wooden outer fences of graveyards to use as fuel. This made it extremely difficult later for Japanese to discover the graveyards and gather the remains of the dead.

Section 3 Diseases, Injuries and Their Aftereffects

1. Diseases and Injuries

Statistical details of patients who suffered from diseases and injuries during their forced internment in the USSR, including those who were cured, are not found in the data available from the government agencies in charge of demobilization and repatriation. Statistics on the causes of diseases and injuries are shown on Table 1 "Byoki/Jiko tou Shibo Genin Chosa Hyo (Causes of death, including disease and accidents), Section 2, 2-(2)". This is based on a survey of 7,022 soldiers and tails and 1,540 general Japanese internees. It can be used as a reference for

assessing the trends in the diseases and injuries that afflicted internees. However, the statistics do not include all the diseases and injuries. After the Soviet Union had transferred about 600,000 of forced internees to Soviet territory, there was a large number of forced internees who were enfeebled beyond recovery from the cold and hunger. More than 47,000 sick internees were sent back to Manchuria and North Korea, but these numbers of sick and injured are not included in the statistics. Neither does the data include the diseases and injuries of those confined by the Soviet army in the concentration camps located in occupied areas and forced to serve as laborers. Table 1 “Causes of death, including disease and accidents” quoted earlier was compiled from survey forms filled in by individual returnees. Therefore, it would be necessary to refer to the memorandums of these returnees and other research materials for further details of diseases and injuries.

(1) Disease

A. Causes of Disease

The primary causes of disease were hard labor and the lack of adequate nutrition to withstand the harsh living environment. Malnutrition topped the list of diseases for soldiers, tails, and general Japanese internees, causing the largest number of deaths. Following their transfer to the Soviet territory, all of the forced internees became undernourished when they were confined in concentration camps that were ill prepared to accommodate them. Death from hunger was common among those who lost their lives. Malnutrition deprived the internees of their resistance to all sorts of diseases, increased the chances of contracting acute infectious diseases such as typhus fever and dysentery, and worsened the condition of those infected with such diseases. The forced internees potentially prone to tuberculosis – known as the national disease of Japanese in those days – saw their health deteriorating rapidly with the progress of malnutrition. Hard labor under such conditions resulted in physical breakdown in many parts of the body, resulting in pains in the lower back and the joints. Everyday meals without adequate

quantities of vegetables caused the forced detainees to develop symptoms of scurvy. Some of them picked wild grass and ate it boiled. However, this damaged their stomachs and they died from the harshness of the wild grass and poisonous herbs.

The next most rampant were infections like typhus fever and relapsing fever, spread by fleas and bedbug. In an environment without any change of clothes and chances of washing clothes, taking a bath and disinfecting their living quarters, it was impossible to prevent the propagation of these noxious insects and many of the forced internees contracted these diseases and died. It was also impossible to prevent the effects of fleas and other harmful insects until a hot-air delousing room was provided in all concentration camps.

In concentration camps for Germans, more than 1,000 internees are said to have caught typhus fever and died en masse. A similar case of mass infection broke out in many concentration camps for Japanese, too. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' material "Soren Yokuryu Jijo Gaiyo," typhus fever ranged at No 1 Branch in the Rubtsovsk (Рубцовск) district, Altay Krai (Алтайского Край) and about 100 internees died from the disease in 1945 another 1,000 or so in 1946.

Harmful insects were also found in outdoor workplaces. In the tundra, many water holes formed in summer, where mosquitoes and gnats bred. Forest ticks attacked internees at work, infecting them with malaria and various kinds of encephalitis. There existed the pathogens of endemics in various parts of Siberia. Some of these diseases defied a clear diagnosis. These diseases seem to have remained dormant in some of the internees only to appear after they returned home.

Many people also became infected with dysentery. Few of the regions where the concentration camps were located had a proper water supply system. Dysentery also caused many deaths because of the unsanitary food supplied, the water the internees drank to wet their throats, the polluted grass and fruit they picked from the fields and ate to satisfy their hunger, and unsanitary toilets. Even when a internee had diarrhea, no medicine was available. Patients died, excreting mucous stools containing dysentery germs.

Tuberculosis germs also raged. The cramped living quarters provided a small space

just enough to lay the body down to sleep. The forced internees, who lived together with terminally ill tuberculosis patients, contracted the disease and other respiratory diseases by heavily breathing in the tuberculosis germs contained in their coughs and phlegm in the badly-ventilated rooms. Those infected with acute tuberculosis saw their condition deteriorating quickly. Infection with tuberculosis was especially violent in Dambadarzha, Mongolia and the death of the tuberculosis patients accounted for more than 40% of the total death.

There were latent causes of more serious illnesses, in addition to those tangible diseases.

Many of the internees who worked in the mines, especially down the pit, inhaled large quantities of minute mineral particles during their work and consequently became candidates for silicosis. Mine dust in the pits was a problem that troubled all mine workers in those days, but it was not viewed as a likely cause of serious disease, and therefore the work continued.

B. Extremely Bad Health Administration

Hard labor unsurprisingly damaged the health of the undernourished forced internees. Many fell into a condition in which they were hardly fit for work, but the labor management personnel did not permit them to stay away, simply because of the need to fill the work quotas. Even if a internee had the symptoms of a cold, diarrhea or other non-fatal disease, he was not allowed to be absent from work unless his temperature was higher than 38°C. If the ratio of patients to workers reached a certain limit, those beyond the ceiling were not recognized as patients, no matter how serious their condition was. The condition of many patients thus worsened rapidly and it took them a prolonged period to recover from their illnesses.

Japanese army doctors were also working in the sanitary sections in the concentration camps, but they could not treat patients due to the dire shortage of medicines and medical equipment. The best the doctors could do was to advise internees to rest and stay quiet as much as possible to prevent physical exhaustion. However, this passive measure to preserve physical strength was no use where the internees were forced into hard labor everyday. When dysentery

was widespread and a large number of forced internees were suffering from diarrhea, a medic in the work squad came up with the idea of drinking a cup of powdered cinders with every meal, and this is reported to have been highly effective in preventing diarrhea. Forced internees helped one another by exchanging information about edible wild plants.

(2) Injuries

Injuries from work accidents were the most common. Soviet labor supervisors forced exorbitant work quotas on the forced internees, whose physical strength was weakened through malnutrition. Extremely enfeebled by hard labor in arduous conditions in the cold season and continually buzzed by harmful insects in the summer, they were forced to work transporting heavy goods, felling trees, constructing railroads, and working down the mines, all of which were jobs normally done by manual workers. As a result, the internees suffered many external injuries, fractures and sprains. Heavy injuries that were sometimes fatal were daily happenings.

Besides accidents directly related to work, a vehicle carrying internees to a work site overturned and resulted in many deaths. A tragic accident also occurred when a building occupied by internees (No. 2 Branch in the Kadala district) collapsed, leaving about 30 persons dead and another 70 injured.

2. The aftereffects

(1) Outline

After their return to Japan, a large number of internees suffered from the aftereffects of the diseases they had caught or the injuries they had sustained during their internment.

When Japan accepted repatriates, it was in great confusion following its defeat in the war, and the country was hardly ready to provide adequate assistance to returnees with these kinds of aftereffects, who were scattered around the country and starting their new lives. Many

internees died from overwork, malnutrition and cold in the worst of living environments. Some died from tuberculosis – which was then known as Japan’s national disease – during their internment, but others returned home with chronic tuberculosis and suffered from its aftereffects. Although soldiers and civil army employees who had tuberculosis should have failed their physical examinations for conscription, many internees returned home with the disease. Quite a number of ex-internees who became aware that they had a respiratory disorder after their return to Japan realized that they had contracted tuberculosis.

Silicosis was recognized as a typical and serious respiratory aftereffect that occurred a certain time after internees had returned to their home country, which had no subjective symptoms immediately after repatriation. As many as 50,000 persons were forced to work down the mine during their internment. Those who inhaled massive quantities of rock dust in that terrible work environment fell ill with silicosis after they returned home. Being unable to receive any effective diagnosis or treatment, many of the returnees had died from this disease unknown until 1955.

It was Dr. Chiro Nawata, Kagoshima University, Japan, who first revealed Siberian silicosis. Dr. Nawata and volunteers from the national liaison association for Siberian silicosis investigated the way of relief, but it was a difficult proposition at that time to make it fully known to the returnees that the unexplained symptoms affecting many internees was silicosis. Even those who were fortunate enough to know about silicosis and were diagnosed with the disease relatively early became disabled in various ways of life because of the lack of effective treatment. They suffered greatly from respiratory and blood circulation problems over a long period of time.

Besides silicosis, there were the aftereffects of another disease that seemed to have been endemic in Siberia and central Asia.

Regrettably, this has not been recognized as a disease resulting from life in internment, because no systematic investigation or research has been done, and there is no accurate data. Notes written by internees and verbal reports from the families of those who died from suspicious symptoms suggest that they caught this disease by allowing bacteria, rickettsia, and

viruses that cause endemics to enter their body through the water, food and the bites of harmful insects when they were physically enfeebled. Unfortunately, no detailed investigation or research was possible at that time, so no organized data is available.

(2) Silicosis

A. Outline

Many of the internees who managed to return home from Siberia complained of a disorder related to the circulatory and respiratory systems. As these patients, however, dispersed around the whole of country, they had no opportunities to exchange information with each other and were mostly diagnosed with a lung disease, usually “tuberculosis”. Because no tuberculosis germs were detected in their phlegm, they had some doubts whether they had the disease, but numbers of patients were treated for tuberculosis. Of course, the patients with silicosis did not pull through by the treatment for tuberculosis treatment, and the harmful side effects of the medicine for silicosis made their illness worse.

In 1952, Dr. Nawata, who was treating tuberculosis patients, found a condition different from tuberculosis in some of his sick patients and identified it as silicosis. Since silicosis was a typical occupational disease, Dr. Nawata traced the professional careers of these patients and found that they had been internees in Siberia who had been engaged in mining in the worst possible work environment.

Starting in 1955, these patients with Siberian silicosis, who were scattered around the country, started to die one after another without the appropriate diagnosis and treatment.

In the USSR, about 50,000 Japanese were forcibly employed at hard labor in the metal and coal mine. In the mines no any ventilation facilities were equipped with, and dust was swirling around continually.

Dr. Nawata made efforts toward rescuing the status of these patients, as a step towards providing medical diagnosis and treatment. He issued medical certificates for pension benefits

so that Siberian silicosis patients could receive state compensation for the sicknesses and injuries they suffered in the line of duty. The Kyushu region had a great number of Siberian silicosis patients, but it was difficult to estimate how many such patients were there across the country.

In 1970, Dr. Nawata submitted a written report to the Ministry of Health and Welfare. A newspaper carried the contents of the report, and prompted the government to take the measures against silicosis. A relief campaign for Siberian silicosis patients was launched nationwide. In 1985, a question-and-answer session on this issue was held in the Diet, leading to action by the government to provide medical benefits to Siberian silicosis patients under the law for special assistance to the war's sick and wounded (On material for Siberian silicosis, we mainly referred to the book by Yasuo Yamamoto: "Siberian Silicosis and the Aftereffects of Internment in the USSR⁽¹¹⁾").

B. Names of Diseases and Conditions

Name of disease: Silicosis

- Sequelae (1) Pulmonary emphysema (2) Chronic bronchitis (3) Respiratory disorders (obstructive ventilatory impairment, restrictive ventilatory impairment and combined ventilatory impairment), and (4) Pulmonary heart disease
- Complications (1) Tuberculosis (2) Cardinal symptoms (3) Others (side effects of medication erroneously administered for tuberculosis treatment)

At the end of the bronchi of both lungs there are lung cells, subdivisions of the pulmonary lobules. In the capillary vessels on the surface of the lung cells, the respiratory function is at work decarbonating the blood and providing it with oxygen. Many of the lung cells vital for breathing will be destroyed by dust (including silicic acid) inhaled during work in the mines, resulting in the loss of respiratory function. With the weak of this function, it becomes impossible to do hard labor or physical exercise. Inhaled dust deposits onto the lung cells and

the function of the lungs normally continues to weaken with time because the dust remains.

In Japan, symptoms of silicosis usually appear after more than 10 years of work down the mine and continuous inhalation of small amounts of dust. Siberian silicosis was characterized by its violent surfacing in later years for the patients, who all inhaled heavy quantities of dust in the worst living and working environment and in an exhausted physical condition, despite only experiencing six months to two years of forced labor.

Lung disorders resulting from silicosis progress with age. It is well known that the resulting burden on the heart that pump the blood into the lungs causes right ventricular failure and pulmonary heart disease. The complication that silicosis patients are most likely to develop is tuberculosis. There is no denying that such a complication took a sudden turn for the worse due to malnutrition, overwork, cold and other unfavorable conditions. Symptoms are as follows:

- (1) Coughing and production of phlegm,
- (2) Getting out of breath and throbbing,
- (3) Being prone to the cold,
- (4) Breathing difficulties,
- (5) X-ray photographs show a granular shadow.

C. Causes

It is clear that dust inhaled during forced labor under the worst working conditions down the mine caused Siberian silicosis. Soviet co-workers in the mines already knew that the dust would cause a lung disease. It is said that the Soviet prisoners warned the Japanese internees that the disease was fatal. A miserable death from silicosis was common knowledge among the Soviet convicts, who had started their forced labor more than 10 years before the Japanese internees. The persons controlling the forced labor in those days were well aware of the fact, but they simply forced the prisoners working in the mines to meet their norms or work quotas, ignoring all humanitarian considerations for their health.

The first silicosis patients discovered among the Japanese internees after they returned home were those who had been engaged in digging tungsten ore and wolframite ore in the Bugachacha mine in the Chita Oblast. These ores made up a black vein surrounded by hard

layers of quartz. To mine the vein and excavate the shaft, the bedrock was drilled with a rock drills. Dynamite was stuffed into the holes and blasted to collect the ores. A rock drilling daily norm is said to have been 14 shafts, each 1.3 meters deep, or 20 holes in the mine vein, each one meter in diameter. Amidst the powder smoke from the blasting done by the forward squad, the dust and the soot of the kerosene lamps, the hard labor continued, with the miners covering their mouths only with towels and without wearing masks. The rock boring machines were seized from Germany and Japan. These machines were obsolete, and the dust blown back into the faces of the machine operators by the compressed air entered their lungs during the drilling. The fact that many who died early from Siberian silicosis were drill operators tells us how much dust they breathed in during their work.

According to a study by Dr. Nawata, dust that sticks to lung cells was less than a few tens of microns (one millionth of a meter) in length, on average about one micron. Dust particles 0.25 to 3 microns long were the most harmful.

“Soviet Mines and Siberian Silicosis Patients” (from Dr. Nawata’s material)

Major mines that produced the silicosis patients and the ores mined

-Chita Oblast:

Bugacchacha, Berkha, and Kalangui tungsten ore mines, Skovorodino and Tabenda molybdenum mines, and Darasun gold mine

-Republic of Kazakhstan (ex. Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic):

Tekeli zinc mine, Dzhoronbet gold mine, Voroshilov and Dzheckazgan copper mine, and Karaganda coal mine

-Kemerovo Oblast:

Anzherka coal mine

-Buryat Republic (ex. Buryat Autonomous Republic):

Beluomayka molybdenum mine

-Others:

Raychikha, Moroyd, Baingol, Giauda, and Bugachacha coal mines

D. Diagnosis and Treatment

Unfortunately, there are no specific remedies or surgical means to remove silicic acid deeply adsorbed on the lung cells. The most important tentative cures for silicosis are treatment of symptoms, overall maintenance of health, and the prevention of progress in diseases by following a healthy lifestyle.

However, the mental and physical agonies of silicosis patients lessened as the cause of the disease was clarified, and it became known that conservative treatment and a healthy lifestyle would alleviate the symptoms. Another contributing factor was that silicosis patients felt less insecure about their lives with the procedures for government compensation well under way.

E. Number of Persons with Silicosis and the Death Rate

We do not have exact figures for those with silicosis. However, it is obvious that all miners who inhaled suffered subsequent physical disorders and aftereffects to varying degrees, considering that about 50,000 internees were forced into labor in the mines all of which were in the worst of working environments.

Diagnoses and treatments given to the returnees were described earlier. From Dr. Nawata's survey reports and the following statistics, it is possible to infer roughly how the Siberian silicosis patients spent their days after returning home.

-Conditions from immediately after returning home to 1947

Mine workers who inhaled mostly quartz dust in Bugachacha, Berkha, Shakhtama, and Kalangui	Death rate: 46.7%
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-Mine workers who inhaled mostly lead ore dust	Death rate: 30.4%
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in Tekeli

(The difference in death rates is considered due to the difference in the properties of the dust.)

Abnormally high death rates shown in this record suggest the seriousness of physical disorders in the lives of the survivors. Among those recognized as survivors based on the 1974 statistics, there were many who were in critical condition.

Section 4 Visits to Burials and Collection of Remains

1. Background to Visits to Burials in Former Soviet Territory and the Collection of Remains

The Japanese government requested the Soviet government many times to allow investigation of the burials for internees, visits to their graves and the collection of remains. Visits to only a few burials were granted after 1961.

Projects for a full-scale investigation of the burials, visits to the graves and the collection of remains stalled because many of the burials were then off-limits amid the growing confrontation between the West and the East.

The USSR informed Japan on the locations of 26 burials from 1959 to 1974, and visits to these graves began gradually. In 1989, when moves toward perestroika were brewing in the Soviet Union, visits to three burials in Artyom, Zavitaya, and Vladivostok, which had not been authorized, were carried out, tentatively completing visits to a total of at least 26 burials.

Nine top Japanese politicians and Diet members, including prime ministers, foreign ministers and the lower house speaker, have made great efforts toward achieving visits to the burials from the time. Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina requested Soviet Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin a permission to visit to the burials in 1966, and the requests were made until Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama requested his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze in

1990.

After the speaker of the House of Representative, Michita Sakata requested Andrei Gromyko, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, to permit the investigation of burials and the collection of remains in 1985. Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe and Sosuke Uno persistently made the same requests to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze. In addition to these requests on a foreign minister level, these outstanding issues were continuously discussed to work out solutions at the regular working-level meetings between Japan and the USSR.

The Japanese government proposed drafting “an agreement on the settlement of the problems of Japanese internees in the USSR” at the consultation meetings prior to an April 1991 visit to Japan by President Mikhail Gorbachev, who was pushing ahead with perestroika.

At the regular meeting between Japanese and Soviet Foreign Ministers in September 1990, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that he wanted to fully investigate the Japanese who were buried, and the Soviet government in December of the same year proposed a draft of the agreement. As a result of consultations that followed, an agreement concerning the Japanese who were interned in concentration camps in the Soviet territory was concluded between the Japanese government and the government of the USSR in April 1991 when President Gorbachev visited Japan.

Under this agreement, a basic framework was decided covering details of the visits to the burials and the collection of remains. A list of about 38,000 deaths (this figure turned out to be about 36,000 after elimination of duplications based on a later survey) was submitted at the same time along with materials for 549 burials.

Visits to new burials (in the Chita and Khabarovsk Krajs) other than the 26 burials mentioned earlier and the first collection of remains were carried out between September and October 1991.

A full-scale collection of remains started in the following year, 1992.

(Material from the Ministry of Labor and Health: “Soren Yokuryuchu Shibousha no

Ikotsu Shuushuu, Bosan no Keii too (Background to the Collection of the Remains of Persons Who Died During Internment in the USSR and Visits to Graves)⁽¹²⁾” was used as a reference in this section. Figures concerning the visits to the graves and the collection of the remains in section 2 and 3 were also quoted from the same material.)

2. Visits to Graves and Future Problems

(1) Visits to Graves in Burials in Soviet Territory

Visits to the graves in burials in the Soviet territory continued in a small way because a few visits were permitted in 1961 even before the conclusion of the 1991 agreement.

By 1989, it was possible to make the rounds of “26 cemeteries” in particular, visits to which were granted by the USSR in 1974.

When the agreement was made, the Soviet Union provided 549 materials on burials, making it possible to plan visits to new burials. Visits to the new burials were given first priority wherever possible.

The following visits to cemeteries were made after 1991:

1991

Chita Oblast (5 burials): two officers in charge and 14 members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai (9 burials): three officers in charge and 20 members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 14 burials visited (including 14 new burials), five officers in charge, 34 members of bereaved families.

1992

Chita Oblast (13 burials): Four officers in charge and 33 members of bereaved families.

Irkutsk Oblast (10 burials): Two officers in charge and 11 members of bereaved families.
Khabarovsk Krai (15 burials): Two officers in charge and 30 members of bereaved families.
Primorsky Krai (8 burials): Two officers in charge and 19 members of bereaved families.
Annual total: 46 burials visited (including 40 new burials), 10 officers in charge and 93 members of bereaved families.

1993

Khabarovsk Krai (25 burials): three officers in charge and 24 members of bereaved families.
Chita Oblast (nine burials): two officers in charge and 11 members of bereaved families
Irkutsk Oblast (12 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.
Annual total: 46 burials visited (including 31 new burials), seven officers in charge and 43 members of bereaved families (Diphtheria spread in the Russian Far East this year, affecting visits to graves).

1994

Amur Oblast (6 burials): two officers in charge and 13 members of bereaved families.
Khabarovsk Krai (8 burials): two officers in charge and 14 members of bereaved families.
Altai Krai (6 burials): two officers in charge and 14 members of bereaved families.
Krasnoyarsk Krai (9 burials): two officers and 14 members of bereaved families.
Irkutsk Oblast (11 burials): two officers in charge and 10 members of bereaved families.
Buryat Republic (8 burials): one officer in charge and two members of bereaved families.
Primorsky Krai (22 burials): three officers in charge and 25 members of bereaved families.
Annual total: 70 burials visited (including 55 new burials), 14 officers in charge, 92 members of bereaved families.

1995

Chita Oblast (16 burials): two officers in charge and 10 members of bereaved families.

Kemerovo Oblast (5 burials): two officers in charge and four members of bereaved families.

Amur Oblast (8 burials): two officers in charge and nine members of bereaved families.

Krasnoyarsk Krai (7 burials): two officers in charge and five members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai (6 burials): three officers in charge and 20 members of bereaved families.

Republic of Kazakhstan (8 burials): two officers in charge and nine members of bereaved families

Primorsky Krai (17 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.

Republic of Uzbekistan (7burials): two officers in charge and three members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 73 burials visited (including 48 new burials), 17 officers in charge, 68 members of bereaved families.

1996

Chita Oblast (8 burials): two officers in charge and 14 members of bereaved families.

Tambov Oblast and Moscow Oblast (8 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.

Altai Krai (4 burials): one officer in charge and seven members of bereaved families.

Irkutsk Oblast (10 burials): two officers in charge and 19 members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai (21 burials): two officers in charge and 31 members of bereaved families

UKraine (3 burials): two officers in charge and four members of bereaved families

Primorsky Krai (8 burials): two officers in charge and 10 members of bereaved families.
Annual total: 62 burials visited (including 23 new burials), 13 officers in charge, 93 members of bereaved families

1997

Chita Oblast and Buryat Republic (11 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.

Irkutsk Oblast (11 burials): two officers in charge and 10 members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai (11 burials): two officers in charge and 16 members of bereaved families.

Altai Krai (3 burials): two officers in charge and nine members of bereaved families.

Primorsky Krai (9 burials): two officers in charge and five members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 45 burials (including 11 new burials), 10 officers in charge and 48 members of bereaved families

1998

Krasnoyarsk Krai and Republic of Khakas(8 burials): two officers in charge and three members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai, Jewish Autonomous Oblast and Amur Oblast (18 burials): three officers in charge and 25 members of bereaved families.

Republic of Tatarstan (2 burials): two officers in charge and six members of bereaved families.

Republic of Kazakhstan (7 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.

Chita Oblast and Irkutsk Oblast (20 burials): two officers in charge and 19 members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 55 burials visited (including 28 new burials), 11 officers in charge and 61 members of bereaved families.

1999

Khabarovsk Krai (5 burials): two officers in charge and 11 members of bereaved families.

Republic of Khakas (3 burials): two officers in charge and three members of bereaved families.

Primorsky Krai (5 burials): three officers in charge and nine members of bereaved families.

Chita Oblast (3 burials): two officers in charge and 16 members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 16 burials visited (including 11 new burials), nine officers in charge and 39 members of bereaved families.

2000

Irkutsk Oblast (6 burials): two officers in charge and eight members of bereaved families.

Amur Oblast (2 burials): two officers in charge and four members of bereaved families.

Chita Oblast and Buryat Republic (6 burials): two officers in charge and three members of bereaved families.

Khabarovsk Krai (8 burials): two officers in charge and 10 members of bereaved families.

Primorsky Krai (4 burials): two officers in charge and three members of bereaved families.

Annual total: 26 burials visited (including six new burials), 10 officers in charge and 28 members of bereaved families.

(2) Visits to Graves in Mongolia

In Mongolia under the control of the Soviet Union, 14,000 persons, mostly soldiers and military civilian employees (including 1200 general Japanese and police officers), were interned in 63 concentration camps and forced into hard labor. Of these forced internees, about 1,700 died from overwork, malnutrition and poor sanitation, and 12,300 returned to Japan in groups by

October 1947.

Those who died in Mongolia were buried in burials provided around the concentration camps and hospitals. With the Japanese government, the council for resolving the issue of unrepatriated persons requested the Mongolian government permission for investigation into the conditions of burials and unrepatriated persons as well as visits to the graves of the dead. In March 1966, the Mongolian government agreed to their requests, and eight members of bereaved families, three Diet members, and four government officials visited three major burials in August the same year.

A large-scale visit to the graves, including 33 members of bereaved families, was organized later in 1972, enabling them to set up grave markers in 1982 in the Dambadarzha burial, the largest one in Mongolia.

Since visits to graves other than the three mentioned above had not been done, the Japanese government requested its Mongolian counterpart to provide information on the remaining burials and to permit the collection of remains and visits to the graves in February 1991. In March of the same year, the Mongolian government complied with the request and submitted a list of 1,597 dead persons who had been buried in 16 burials. When the Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu visited Mongolia in August of the same year, he obtained the agreement of the Mongolian government to fully cooperate in visits to the graves and the collection of remains. In October 1992, after the collapse of the USSR, an investigation team was sent to Mongolia to prepare for the collection of remains and visits to the graves. Starting from 1993, the following full-scale visits to graves were made:

1993: Visits to six graves in burials

1994: Visits to four graves in burials

1995: Visits to four graves in burials

1996: Visits to eight graves in burials

(The Ministry of Health and Welfare's material "16 Maisouchi no Jokyo (Conditions at 16 Burials)"⁽¹³⁾ was used as a reference.)

(3) Future Problems with Visits to Graves

A look at the visits to graves in former Soviet territories by the year clearly shows certain tendencies; the number of visits to graves in new burials has been in decline as the number of participants from the bereaved families decrease. Meanwhile, the collection of remains done at the time of the visits to the graves has been on the increase, especially in Mongolia where the materials on burials is precise.

There are some who think that visits to graves in areas where no remains are left will naturally take the form of a pilgrimage to console the spirits of the deceased. Concerning the visits to graves in the burials, the bereaved families are rapidly aging and the time is approaching to reconsider with what attitude and in what manner we can best comfort the spirits of the deceased internees who sacrificed their precious lives for the country.

Many Japanese internees were also killed and buried in the former Manchuria and North Korea. Despite requests by the Japanese government, the Chinese government has not given permission to visit the graves of Japanese, giving as their reason the national sentiment of the Chinese people. Nothing has been done diplomatically about similar situations in North Korea because Japan has no diplomatic relations with that country.

3. Records on the Collection of Remains and Future Problems

Under the agreement reached with President Gorbachev during his visit to Japan in 1991, the collection of remains in former Soviet territories got into full swing and emphasis necessarily shifted from simple visits to the graves to activities involving the investigation of new burials and the collection of remains.

Prime Minister Kaifu's visit to Mongolia in 1991 paved the way for the collection of remains in Mongolia. It began from 1994 following a survey of burials based on materials provided by the Mongolian government.

(1) Collection of Remains in Former Soviet Territories

The first collection of remains in Soviet territory was conducted experimentally at the Travyanaya burial ground in the Chita Oblast in 1991, and 56 sets of remains were gathered.

For burials holding more than 100 dead persons in Soviet territory, full-scale collection of remains began from the next year, 1992 and continued for five years from 1991 to 1996.

Records on the collection of remains are as follows:

1992

Magadan Oblast (two sites, including Magadan): 49 persons on the list 49 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (five sites, including Bugachacha): 469 persons on the list 469 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk Oblast (Nevel'skaya): 401 persons on the list 128 sets of remains collected.

Khabarovsk Krai (Birobidzhan, Jewish Autonomous Oblast): 259 persons on the list 184 sets of remain collected.

Primorsky Krai (Partizansk): 295 persons on the list 75 sets of remains collected

Annual total: 905 sets of remains collected.

1993

Khabarovsk Krai (Birobidzhan, Jewish Autonomous Oblast): 290 persons on the list 81 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (2 sites, including Bugachacha): 884 persons on the list 407 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk (Nevel'skaya): 401 persons on the list 268 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (Artyom): 171 persons on the list 142 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 898 sets of remains collected.

(Diphtheria raged across the Russian Far East in 1993 and restricted the collection of remains)

1994

Khabarovsk Krai (2 sites, including the Bira, Jewish autonomous Oblast): 476 persons on the list 108 sets of remains collected.

Amur Oblast (Raichikhinsk): 332 persons on the list 148 sets of remains collected.

Altai Krai(Zarinsk): 73 persons on the list 69 sets of remains collected.

Krasnoyarsk Krai (Zaozyornaya): 282 persons on the list 92 sets of remains collected.

Moscow Oblast (2 sites, including Moscow city): 12 persons on the list 10 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk Oblast (Kvitok): 612 persons on the list 217 sets of remain collected.

Buryat Republic (two sites, including Onokhoi): 15 persons on the list 10 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (Partizansk): 295 persons on the list 152 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 806 sets of remains collected

1995

Kemerovo Oblast (3 sites, including Leninsk and Kuznetsk): 232 persons on the list 185 sets of remains collected.

Krasnoyarsk Krai (Zaozyornaya): 282 persons on the list 187 sets of remains collected.

Khabarovsk Krai (2 sites, including the Kul'dur, Jewish autonomous Oblast): 492 persons on the list 86 sets of remains collected.

Amur Oblast (Raichikhinsk): 317 persons on the list 166 sets of remains collected.

Sverdlovsk Oblast (Nizhniy and Tagil): 18 persons on the list 17 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (3 sites, including Petrovsk): 440 persons on the list 279 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (2 sites, including Partizansk): 369 persons on the list 83 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Kazakhstan (Karakanda): 244 persons on the list 105 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 1,108 sets of remains collected

1996

Irkutsk Oblast (Kvitok): 612 persons on the list 281 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (5 sites, including Partizansk): 469 persons on the list 364 sets of remains collected.

Altai Krai (3 sites, including Matysh): 127 persons on the list 12 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Khakas (Abakan): 147 persons on the list 144 sets of remains collected.

Khabarovsk Krai (2 sites, including Kul'dur, Jewish autonomous region): 466 persons on the list 233 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (Zhipkhengen): 634 persons on the list 552 sets of remains collected.

Ivanovo Oblast (Lezhenevo, Ivanovo City): Four persons on the list Four sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 1,590 sets of remains collected

1997

Khabarovsk Krai (2 sites, including Tel'ma): 1,247 persons on the list 343 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (two sites, including Karymsk): 301 persons on the list 161 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (three sites including Ussuiysk): 377 persons on the list 226 sets of remains collected.

Buryat Republic (Khandagai): 30 persons on the list 31 sets of remains collected.

Tambov Oblast (Tambov): 24 persons on the list 17 sets of remains collected.

Orengul Oblast (Mednogorsk): 39 persons on the list 35 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Kazakhstan (Karaganda): 244 persons on the list 135 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 948 sets of remains collected.

1998

Khabarovsk Krai (4 sites, including Komsomolsk-on-Amur): 3,217 persons on the list 557 sets of remains collected.

Amur Oblast (2 sites, including Bol'shoi Kamen naval base): 139 persons on the list 139 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (2 sites, including Verkhniĭ Nar'm Верхний Нарым): 763 persons on the list 683 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (2 sites, including Partizansk): 71 persons on the list 68 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk Oblast (2 sites, including Cheremkhovo): 688 persons on the list 671 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Kazakhstan (2 sites, including Dzhambul Oblast): 39 persons on the list 33 sets of remains collected.

Krasnoyarsk Krai (2 sites, including Krasnoyarsk): 171 persons on the list 144 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Tatarstan (Yelabuga): 86 persons on the list 76 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 2,371 sets of remains collected

1999

Khabarovsk Krai (2 sites, including Vanino): 282 persons on the list 219 sets of remains collected.

Amur Oblast (2 sites, including Razdol'naya): 554 persons on the list 58 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (2 sites, including Gal'ka): 363 persons on the list 310 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (2 sites, including Partizansk): 224 persons on the list 81 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk Oblast (2 sites, including Cheremkhovo): 319 persons on the list 102 sets of remains collected.

Krasnoyarsk Krai (Krasnoyarsk): 92 persons on the list 22 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Khakasiya (2 sites, including Sonsky): 83 persons on the list 84 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 876 sets of remains collected

2000

Khabarovsk Krai (Vanino): 98 persons on the list 71 sets of remains collected.

Chita Oblast (2 sites, including Budara): 49 persons on the list 40 sets of remains collected.

Primorsky Krai (Partizansk): 131 persons on the list 84 sets of remains collected.

Amur Oblast (2 sites, including Tygda): 69 persons on the list 56 sets of remains collected.

Irkutsk Oblast (3 sites, including Toporok): 182 persons on the list 199 sets of remains collected.

Republic of Khakas (Abakan): 285 persons on the list 183 sets of remains collected.

Buryat Autonomous Republic (Khandagai): 73 persons on the list 73 sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 706 sets of remains collected.

A total of 10,264 sets of remains have been collected from former Soviet territories since 1991. Of these, 120 sets of remains have been delivered to the bereaved families as their identities were established from their possessions buried in the graves.

(2) Collection of remains in Mongolia

The Japanese government received a list of 1,597 dead persons from the Mongolian government. The results of on-site investigations conducted prior to the collection of remains showed that there were two factors: (i) burials indicated in the related materials from the Mongolian government closely matched those actually in existence and (ii) the dead were exposed to the elements without being buried. It is still impossible to identify three burials out of 16 shown by the Mongolian government. In Mongolia, unlike in the Soviet Union, the collection of remains was carried out efficiently because the burials were located close to each other. Personal information was included in the materials provided by the Mongolian government and many of the descriptions contained in that information were extremely helpful in establishing the identities of the remains.

The remains collected in Mongolia are as follows (Ministry of Health and Welfare's material: "16 Maisouchi no Jokyō"⁽¹⁴⁾ was used as a reference):

1994

Algatuy: 33 persons on the list, one set of remains collected (finished).

Nalayh: 12 persons on the list, seven sets of remains collected (finished).

Shokhoitsagaybulag: 10 persons on the list, 10 sets of remains collected (finished).

Ugiy-nor: Five persons on the list, three sets of remains collected.

Annual total: 21 sets of remains collected.

1995

Ogtar Zhargalant: 35 persons on the list, 29 sets of remain collected (finished).

Uher Cholot: 4 persons on the list, three sets of remain collected (finished).

Zuun Hara: 44 persons on the list, 44 sets of remain collected (finished).

Annual total: 76 sets of remains collected.

1996

Remains were not collected.

The collection of remains was suspended due to the spread of an epidemic in Mongolia.

1997

Yuru: 96 persons on the list, 94 sets of remains collected.

Zunburen: 19 persons on the list 14 sets of remains collected (finished).

Annual total: 108 sets of remains collected.

1998

Bojir-Buran: 252 persons on the list, 250 sets of remains collected (kept in good condition).

Sukhbator: 198 persons on the list, 237 sets of remains collected (kept in good condition).

Yuru: 96 persons on the list, two sets of remains collected (finished).

Annual total: 489 sets of remains collected.

1999

Dambadarzha: 835 persons on the list, 807 sets of remains collected (kept in good condition).

Annual total: 807 sets of remains collected.

A total of 1,501 sets of remains were collected in Mongolia. A further collection has been suspended until new materials become available.

(3) Repatriation of remains from South Sakhalin

Accurate materials do not exist because of the confusion following the invasion of the Soviet

army into South Sakhalin. However, it is estimated that about 600 sets of remains are buried near the border. In 1990, a fact-finding mission was sent to South Sakhalin to investigate and to take back the remains of the war dead. The mission brought back 16 sets of remains. A group was sent almost every other year thereafter to collect remains, with 27 sets of remains gathered in 1991, 32 sets in 1993, 28 sets in 1995, 40 sets in 1997, 32 sets in 1990, and 14 sets in 2000. In addition, the Socialist Party of Japan collected and brought back four sets of remains in 1990. In the same year, 23 sets of remains were received from the Soviet Union (of which, seven sets are remains collected on Shumshu Island).

A total of 216 sets of remains were collected on South Sakhalin.

[Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare's material: "Karafuto Senbotsusha Ikotsu no Kikan (Repatriation of the Remains of the War Dead from Sakhalin)⁽¹⁵⁾" was used as a reference for the collection of remains from South Sakhalin.]

(4) Future Problems with the Collection of Remains

As the data on the collection of remains in former Soviet territories shows, the conditions of burials have changed which made it more difficult to gather remains every year. As the former internees and their bereaved families grew older, they also found it harder to participate in the collection of remains. In September 2000, under these situations, Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori ordered that the collection of remains in all known burials to be completed between 2001 and 2002. In accordance with his instruction, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare worked to complete the collection of remains (estimated to number 4,500 sets) by 2002. The Japanese government decided to pay all of the travel expenses and hotel expenses for the bereaved families and former internees participating in the collection of remains (they had to pay one third of all expenses themselves up to then). It was also decided that, after the collection of remains in all known burials is almost completed, further collections of remains would be planned when preliminary indications of a burial ground appear.

In light of advances in DNA testing technology for identifying the dead in recent years,

the teeth and a part of the hard bones are kept with the ashes instead of cremating the whole body to prepare for the future assessment. Of course, DNA tests involve some cost and therefore budgetary measures would become necessary if they were to be introduced for identifying the remains.

4. Construction of a Memorial to the War Dead

With the progress in the collection of remains in the known burials and the aging of the bereaved families as well as the former internees, visits to the graves as done in the past have taken on a slightly different meaning. The difficulty of making such visits has become a real problem. Projects have been implemented to build monuments to console the spirits of forced internees and dead in former Soviet territories and to offer sincere prayers for the eternal peace of their souls by visiting the monuments whenever possible.

(1) Monuments Built by the Japanese Government

In the former Soviet territories, Japanese government built the following three monuments.

-Monument to the Japanese Dead

Construction site: Khabarovsk, Khabarovsk Krai, Russia.

Construction date: July 1995

-Monument to the Japanese War Dead in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands

Construction site: Smirnykh, Sakharlin Oblast, Russia

Construction date: November 1996

-Monument to the Japanese Dead

Construction site: Dambadarzha district, Ulan Bator, Mongolia.

Construction date: October 2001

(Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's material: "Kaigai Senbotsusha Ireihitou Konryu Jokyo (Construction of Monuments to the War Dead Overseas)"⁽¹⁶⁾ was used as a reference.)

(2) Monuments Built by Private Organizations

The following monuments were built by private organizations in the former Soviet territories and former Manchuria region: (Among the various organizations for forced internees, "Yagoda Society" and its inner group are most active in the construction of monuments.)

The Yagoda Society and its inner groups built the following eight monuments:

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the dead (made of black granite)

Constructor: "Yagoda Society" and "Dotokudai Shichikiseikai (the association of the 7th graduation class from the Dotokudai Army Academy)".

Construction site: Bugachacha village, Chita Oblast (the cemetery of second coal mine).

Construction year: 1992

-Monument to the war dead (3.35m high stainless monument on a 2.5m high pedestal)

Constructor: Japan Committee for the Construction of Chita Peace Monument for the War Dead (management and maintenance entrusted to Chita City).

Construction site: a hill facing the Tovsky Factory Street in Chita City (the hill of monument for loyal spirit of the troops in Siberia)

Construction year: 1996

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the war dead (made of natural stone)

Constructor: volunteer members of "Jinshikai."

Construction site: Bugachacha village, Chita Oblast, Russia (the Cemetery of the first coal mine).

Construction year: 1997

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the war dead (made of black granite)

Constructor: volunteer members of Dotokudai Shichikiseikai

Construction site: Olkha village, Irkutsk Oblast (cemetery by a village)

Construction year: 2001

-Monument to the war dead (made of light pink granite)

Constructor: volunteer members of “Tokyo Yagoda Society” and “Dotokudai Shichikiseikai.”

Construction site: Petrovsk-Zabaykal'sky City, Chita Oblast, Russia (the cemetery of Special field hospital).

Construction date: 2001

-Monument to the war dead (made of light pink granite)

Constructor: volunteer members of “Tokyo Yagoda Society” and “Dotokudai Shichikiseikai.”

Construction site: Khilok, Chita Oblast, Russia (the cemetery of special field hospital).

Construction year: 2001

-Monument to the war dead (made of light pink granite)

Constructor: volunteer members of “Tokyo Yagoda Society” and “Dotokudai Shichikiseikai”

Construction site: Karymskaya, Chita Oblast, Russia (the cemetery of Special field hospital)

Construction year: 2001

-Monument to the war dead (made of light pink granite)

Constructor: volunteer members of “Tokyo Yagoda Society” and “Dotokudai Shichikiseikai”

Construction site: Bolshoi Nevel, Amur Oblast, Russia, (the cemetery of special field hospital)

Construction year: 2001

(Mr. Shunichi Sugimura at the secretariat of Tokyo Yagoda Society provided materials for the construction of Yagoda Society related monuments.)

Monuments built by other organizations

-Monument to mourn the souls of the dead

Constructor: Yelabuga Izokukai (an association of bereaved families of the war dead in Yelabuga).

Construction site: Yelabuga, Republic of Tatarstan, Russia

Construction year: 1990

-Monument for perpetual Japanese-Chinese (Chinese-Japanese) friendship

Constructor: Hutou Goodwill Association for Japanese-Chinese Friendship

Construction site: Hēilóngjiāng Shěng, China (Hutouyaosai, Hulinxian Province, former Manchuria. 中国黑龍江省虎林市虎頭鎮)

Construction year: 1991

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the war dead

Constructor: an association for recording the experiences of prisoners of war

Construction site: Komsomolsk, Khabarovsk Krai, Russia

Construction year: 1991

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the Japanese war dead

Constructor: Aleksandrovka Buriyan Society

Construction site: Aleksandrovka village, Amur Oblast, Russia.

Construction year: 1993

-Cemetery for Japanese

Construct: the Association for the Khonkhotuy South Manchuria Railways. Co.

Construction site: Khokhotui , Chita Oblast, Russia.

Construction year: 1995

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the war dead

Constructor: the Sumire Association for Manchurian No. 209 Unit

Construction site: Kharagen village, Khilok administrative district, Chita Oblast (the cemetery for concentration camp).

Construction year: 1995

-Monument for consoling the souls of the war dead

Constructor: the Zhipkhegen Association

Construction site: Zhipkhegen-Sunkhara, Chita Oblast, Russia (the cemetery for concentration camp).

Construction date: 1997

-Monument for the repose of the souls of the war dead (small-sized)

Constructor: the Fifth Chapter of the War-Comrades Association

Construction site: Kalangui, Chita Oblast, Russia (the cemetery for concentration camp)

Construction year: (unknown)

(Details given above were extracted from the materials: “Zenkoku no Kakushudantai no Katsudo Jokyō Chōsa (Investigation of Activities by Various Organizations across the Country) ⁽¹⁷⁾” and “Jutaku Gyomu Kekka Houkokusho (Report on the Results of Contracted Work) ⁽¹⁸⁾.”)

(3) Monuments Built by the Russia

-Monument to the war dead (Made of black granite. The names of the dead were inscribed in Russian.)

Constructor: Kokuy Shipyard and Kokuy City

Construction site: Kokuy Town, Chita Oblast

Construction year: 1992

-Monument to the war dead (made of concrete)

Constructor: Petrovsk-Zabaykal'sky City

Construction site: Petrovsk-Zabaykal'sky City, Chita Oblast

Construction date: 1992

Notes:

- (1) *Sankei Shimbun*, July 17, 2000 (based on information provided by a A.A. Kirichenko).
- (2) Shigeru Maeno, *Soren Gokuso 11nen*, vol.2, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979, p.65.
- (3) K'7-1-2/2-1-1, Soren Yokuryu Jijo Gaikyo, "Chosho: Houjin Yokuryu Jijo Gaikyo," the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, p. 55.
- (4) Shigetaka Onda, *Shiberia Yokuryu*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p.138 and 151.
- (5) Teigo Kusachi, *Kantogun Sakusen Sanbo no Shogen*, Tokyo: Fuyoshobo, 1979, p.334.
- (6) V. A. Arkhangelsky, Ichiro Takizawa (translate), *Purinsu Konoe Satsujin Jiken*, Tokyo: Shinchousha, 2000, p.192.
- (7) V. Karpov, Ryoji Nagase (translate), *Shiberia Yokuryu Sutarin no Horyotachi Soren kimitsu Shiryo ga kataru Zenyo*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbun Press, 2001, p. 107.
- (8) K'7-1-2/2-1-1, pp.55-56.
- (9) K'7-1-2/2-1, Showa 21nen, Soryo Nai ni Okeru Nichfu Jokyo 6, "Sorenchiku Houjn Hikiage Kakuchi Jokyo/ Soren Hondo no Bu," the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo.
- (10) K'7-1-2/2-1-1, pp.47-48.
- (11) Yasuo Yamamoto, *Shiberia Keihai: Yokryu no Kouisho*, Shiberia Keihai Zenkoku Renraku kai, 1983.
- (12) "Soren Yokuryuchu Shiboshano Ikotsu Shushu, Bosan no Keitouto," Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2001.
- (13) "16 Maisou Chi no Jokyo," Reference Document, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2001.
- (14) Ibid
- (15) "Karafuto Senbotsusha Ikotsu no Kikan," Reference Document, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2001.
- (16) "Kaigai Senbotsusha Ireihitou Konryu Jokyo," Reference Document, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2001.
- (17) "Zenkoku no Kakushu Dantai no Katsudo Jokyo Chosa" National Association for Forced Internees, 1995.

(18) *Jutaku Gyomu Kekka Houkokusho*, National Association for Internees, 1999.