

## Chapter 12 Japan Association of Forced Internees

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### Synopsis

As only juridical foundation officially authorized by the government to represent all internees, the Japan Association of Forced Internees (JAFI) was inaugurated with 15 directors and 40 councilors, elected Director Hideyuki Aizawa to serve as president and Director Yasuzo Aoki as director general, and has since been conducting vigorous activities on behalf of all the internees.

As an organization representing the internees, JAFI has and continues to conduct such tasks as defining the status of internees (whether prisoner of war or internee), actualizing compensations, carrying out consolation activities, and fulfilling the duty of handing down lessons to posterity, etc. on behalf of all internees.

Although not generally known, JAFI also holds an annual symposium in Moscow as an external activity for the purpose of comprehending and elucidating the actual situations surrounding the internment. JAFI considers this a very important activity and will later describe it in detail under the heading of “Activities.”

Regarding the problem of status, it is clear that they were “internees” and not “prisoners of war” (POW) under the directive issued by Imperial Headquarters, in Japan, and under the *Potsdam Declaration*, outside Japan, and JAFI is endeavoring to demonstrate and entrench this interpretation. In this connection, they are focusing particular efforts to have Russia to accept it.

As for the question of compensation, JAFI has consistently asserted that both countries concerned should fulfill their responsibilities for the injustice and sacrifice forced upon those who have already passed away and those who survived and were repatriated from forced internment in Siberia that was conducted in breach of the *Potsdam Declaration*.

JAFI’s campaign was originally launched to claim compensation. JAFI considered that

the government had granted generous victim benefits such as those to fallen soldiers, but treated internees wholly inadequately. JAFI understood that the government was to grant commensurate benefits to internees even if they made no such request, but the government failed to do. The internees commencing a campaign to claim compensation was therefore legitimate, having been triggered by the government compensating for damages caused by the seizure of a fishing boat. However, partly due to various incidents that occurred in connection with the repatriation such as the brainwashing of some internees in Siberia, the boosting of morale upon returning home with shouts of “Going ashore on *Tenno-jima* (Emperor’s Island),” the grilling of the repatriation ship’s captain, heated arguments among those aboard the ship, and rejecting the repatriation paperwork prepared onboard the vessel that annoyed the government, a “Decree in regard to maintaining order among returnees” was enacted on August 11, 1949. Such instances were apt to dampen public sympathy for the returnees, but these incidents occurred partly due to the long internment and brainwashing, for which those internees were not to blame. In fact, such a situation was only seen upon the return home, and subsequently most former internees generally readapted to society completely. Some internees failed to accept the status quo of the homeland, however, and were unfortunately stigmatized, had difficulty finding employment, and therefore had to live out the rest of their days without being able to return to their original lives.

Regarding the matters related to consolation, JAFI is requesting the government to allocate a budget for constructing a central monument and a memorial hall (reference library) when budgetary requests are made each year, and thus has taken up the request made by the former *Zen-yokukyo* before this foundation was established. However, since they felt it difficult to wait until a central monument could be constructed, JAFI has begun constructing local monuments, and also holding central and local memorial services for the dead, as well as annual visits to gravesites since the establishment of the foundation.

As part of its activities to hand down lessons to posterity, JAFI publishes *Yokuryushano-tameno zaidandayori* (“JAFI newsletter for internees”) for the purpose of enlightenment, holds annual local exhibitions and gatherings at many locations, and also calls for internees to contribute stories about their experiences in order to compile *Heiwano Ishizue*

(“Foundation for Peace”), with funding from the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation. Although many books recounting stories of the internee experience in Siberia have been published and school textbooks recently included a brief description of the internment in Siberia, JAFI does not consider such efforts sufficient, since some textbooks still fail to mention the fact at all. Therefore, they are working hard on this matter. Since there is no history book on this subject and publishing such a book remains a fundamental issue, it has been decided at the initiative of President Aizawa to compile a “History of Internment” in cooperation with the Prime Minister’s Office (currently the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications), the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation, and the Japan Association of Forced Internees. Through ongoing compilation and hard work, the book has finally be realized under the title, *The Japanese Internees and Forced Labor in the USSR after the Second World War*.

As seen above, JAFI has been acting on behalf of and representing all internees. This fact has recently become known nationally, and JAFI has been requested to reply to many inquiries and express its opinions on the issue of internment, not only from people involved in the internment issue, but also many academics, students, and other people in all walks of life who are concerned about the matter. Although JAFI is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications, it has close ties with the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare due to the nature of its duty, and is consequently being entrusted with more work from that ministry. Given JAFI’s long-time efforts in these activities, the general public has enjoyed a greater opportunity to make more requests for JAFI to provide consultation and research services.

## **Relationship between JAFI and the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation**

Although there were some twists and turns regarding the demand for compensation made by the

Central Conference of the All-Japan Council for Promotion of Claiming Compensation for Forced Internees after the War, the government moved toward settling the matter by establishing the Round-Table Conference on Issues of Healing the Wounds of War. As a result, the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation was newly established. The Japan Association of Forced Internees has a close relationship with the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation, and has been rendering cooperation in helping carrying out the activities of that public foundation.

As there is a record of a speech delivered by President Hideyuki Aizawa at a meeting of *Onkyu Kekkakusha (Onketsu)* (persons disqualified from receiving a retirement pension), in which we can see straightforward the background of the establishment and status quo of the Public Foundation for Peace. We would like to quote its full text here.

*Hideyuki Aizawa gave the following speech:*

On July 23 of this year (2002), there was an occasion for *Onketsu*-related persons to get together and consult each other. Mr. Miyazawa served as chairman, and as concurrently president of JAFI and an executive officer of the *Onketsu* group, I attended that meeting to participate in various discussions. The most important question raised there was what to do with the 40 billion yen of the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation in the future.

As a matter of course, there was a long story concerning the matter of raising those funds, and to be accurate, I must write about the matter only after a careful investigation, though initially I had the opportunity to join a mutual consultation at a meeting of *Onketsu* and internees in the USSR. At that time, there were three groups related to the issue of healing the wounds of the war, namely, the groups of internees in the USSR, the persons disqualified from receiving a retirement pension, that is, *Onketsu*, and returnees faced with the problem of compensation for their foreign properties.

Aside from the amounts of compensation and since compensation measures had already been taken twice for the returnees, some felt that further negotiations for compensating the returnees were unnecessary, and in fact, their organization was not very

firm. Therefore, the groups of internees in the USSR, that is, *Zen-yokukyo* and the *Onketsu* group, consulted with each other. At the meeting, I felt that they reached common agreement on internees in the USSR drawing the strongest public sympathy, because as many as 600,000 persons were interned and 10% of them died there, they were forced into hard labor in the harsh cold for years, some as long as ten years, and were still being treated more harshly than others. Moreover, they were treated that way long after the war ended. Therefore, they were drawing the most public sympathy, and among all issues of healing the wounds of war, the most important would be to consider the treatment of internees in the USSR.

Therefore, when top executives of the Parliamentary Leagues related to both groups gathered and discussed the matter, they reached agreement on an “operation” whereby JAFI would first make a dash to open a hole, through which the group of persons disqualified from receiving a retirement pension would then rush in. So, they advanced on with the Parliamentary League on the side of *Zen-yokukyo* in the first fight.

During the administration of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone’s Cabinet, the Round-Table Conference on Issues of Healing the Wounds of War was established as a private round-table conference headed by Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami to make diligent deliberations under the chair of Mr. Mizukami. As a result, it produced a verdict (report) recommending against paying individual compensation, although acknowledging that all persons concerned in each group were in a very pitiable situation. Therefore, activities to heal the wounds of war should be contemplated by focusing on such actions as creating documented records, constructing monuments to console the spirits of the dead, and memorial halls to exhibit the facts of war in order to leave tokens of such tragic events that occurred in connection with the war. Among the many comments on the verdict, there was a comment on the particularly pitiful situation of former internees in the USSR. (According to what Mr. Mizukami told me later, there were opinions that even individual compensation should be considered differently from the other cases for former internees in the USSR. But, there were also dissenting opinions asserting that such individual

compensation would affect the other cases, resulting in an extremely heavy burden on the government's finances. Therefore, the idea of compensating individuals was passed over.)

When this verdict (report) was issued, all groups concerned thus echoed a chorus of outrage that no compensation measures would be taken for individuals, and a campaign to present petitions was launched, mainly by the two groups. This storming campaign continued day after day with *Zen-yokukyo* of former internees in the USSR involved through the first fight following discussions as I mentioned above. As a result, though here I'll omit the transitions in detail for now, they managed to obtain a pledge to pass and enact a member bill to grant a bonus payment of 600,000 to a million yen per internee with the approval of all parties including the Communist Party shortly before the end of the Diet session. However, on the day before the date of the committee meeting, an objection was raised from the government side. A particularly strong objection was made by the then-Chief Cabinet Secretary Gotoda and the planned measure came to an end without being enacted. Following certain twists and turns, the case finally reached a certain form of disposition where a letter of recognition and a silver cup would be granted to all former internees in the USSR, plus a bonus payment of 100,000 yen in the form of a delivery bond to each internee, excluding those who were receiving a retirement pension or mutual aid pension.

The opinion that something must be done in countering the government's response of not considering individual compensation for *Onketsu* merged with another opinion that considered the measures decided for former internees in the USSR insufficient, thereby launching a movement by both groups plus the group of returnees in urging the government to finally resolve the issue of healing the wounds of war. As a result of repeated negotiations with the government, a settlement was reached whereby a fund of 20 billion yen would be raised and certain activities carried out using the interest earned on that fund. It was decided to raise the fund by allocating five billion yen per year. However, one objection asserted that 20 billion yen was inadequate for anything, and recommended adding another 20 billion yen. Eventually, a fund of 40 billion yen was raised over an

eight-year period.

Although the initial plan was to spend two billion yen a year, assuming a 5% rate of return, the activities were actually carried out using government subsidies for supplementing shortfalls in the planned earning of two billion yen per year plus amounts separately required for operating the foundation, until the planned amount of the fund was fully raised. The full amount of the fund—40 billion yen—was raised after entering the *Heisei* era (beginning in 1989), and the initially projected interest—two billion at 5% on 40 billion—proved far below what was originally planned due to lowered interest rates, and therefore, a considerably large subsidy was granted directly each year to carry out activities related to the groups of *Onketsu*, former internees in the USSR, and returnees.

Since there was such background, some people on the *Onketsu* side apparently felt that the government had done many things for internees in the USSR, even establishing a law, and since *Onketsu* took the initiative in efforts to raise the fund, the fund should be appropriated exclusively for *Onketsu*. However, the purpose of legislation for the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation clearly specifies a different purpose for that public foundation.

While it is clearly written in law that a 100,000-yen delivery bond, silver cup, and letter of recognition are to be granted to former internees in the USSR, there are no legal grounds for granting such a letter, silver cup, and bonus article at 30,000 yen per person to *Onketsu*, although it has already been decided. Therefore, the latter shall be effected in principle by appropriating the management profits of the foundation, though actually by taking budgetary steps. Although such a difference exists, after all, the question is how the amount of 40 billion yen will be treated from now on. This issue has remained since when the fund was initially being raised, and there have been many different opinions at different stages of its course.

One such opinion was that returnees have already received enough compensation and have been satisfied, and considering all parties concerned, *Zen-yokukyo* and *Onketsu* seemed to be the very parties most concerned about the matter, so both groups would be

entitled to dividing the fund and using 20 billion yen each. This idea was seriously discussed and considered, but nothing has yet to materialize.

At another meeting held in the meantime, we then discussed the matter as follows: Though there may be ideas about such a thing, the government may also want the full amount returned since the funding was provided to a foundation. When considering the background where the first half of the same amount of 40 billion had legal grounds, and the second half was allocated through budgetary steps, however, there could be an idea of returning 20 billion yen to the government and using the other 20 billion yen for ourselves. Otherwise, the amount remaining after deducting necessary expenses to construct the monuments and other anticipated costs could be returned to the government.

Although we failed to reach a conclusion, we closed that meeting with a promise to think things over and present the concrete ideas of all parties concerned at the next meeting to discuss the matter once again.

At the Japan Association of Forced Internees, we feel that settling with the government over how to use the money must now be resolved, because we must still construct a central monument and a memorial hall, compile a history of the internment, and carry out other activities left undone. Even apart from matters related to the USSR or Russia, there are still domestic issues, as well as the issues of the ongoing construction of regional monuments in certain prefectures. Moreover, the number of people concerned is rapidly decreasing.

I will briefly mention the matter of a central monument and memorial hall. Since the first thing that matters about the central monument is its location, I asked the Financial Bureau of the Ministry of Finance to submit a list of government-owned properties that are likely to be available, although all such properties are too much for one purpose, and not enough for two. Before that, we must realize the difficulty of obtaining real estate free of charge, making it difficult to find a good location, and in order to find a good location we must somehow make it free of charge. To do so requires taking legal measures.

As for constructing a memorial hall, *Showa-kan* already exists, but its nature is unclear. If

this facility is meant to be a memorial hall, some people will question the need to build another one. However, *Showa-kan* is actually a building owned by an association of bereaved families, and consequently has a purpose different from that of the memorial hall we are considering. In any case, we face a situation where we must quickly decide how to spend 20 billion yen.

The background of the matter is what I have already described.

### **(a) Process of Establishment**

With regard to the campaign of *Zen-yokukyo*, there used to be two factions of *Zen-yokukyo*—one loyal to Aizawa and the other loyal to Saito—because Rokuro Saito had spun off the All-Japan Council for Promotion of Claiming Compensation for Forced Internees After the War (hereinafter called “*Zen-yokukyo*”) and launched another organization in Yamagata Prefecture under the same abbreviated name of *Zen-yokukyo*.

While the Aizawa side continued to rely upon the conventional, temperate method of making requests by presenting petitions and solicitations to the government, the Saito side elected the method of filing lawsuits in court against the government, and consequently the campaign to claim compensation was always unable to bear fruit. The situation led to a conclusion, as had been reported by the Round-Table Conference on Issues of Healing the Wounds of War, that there remained nothing for the government to do for healing the wounds of war, except for conducting activities for consolation.

Due to various factors, however, it was decided to grant a 100,000-yen national bond, silver cup, and letter of recognition to each internee as special treatment, with relevant clauses provided in the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation law. Since this amount of 100,000 yen was not to be granted to those who were receiving a retirement pension and those whose internment period was added to the period for receiving a mutual aid pension, it was decided to present *mitsugasane* (“three piled”) silver cups to recipients of a retirement pension and mutual aid association members whose internment period was added to that for their pensions. This

treatment was specified in a written statement of understanding between the government and the LDP on January 23, 1989, which also states, “With the foregoing, all measures to be taken for the forced internees after the war shall have become definite and completed.”

Meanwhile, on the occasion of establishing the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation, the Prime Minister conversely permitted the Central Conference of the All-Japan Council for Promotion of Claiming Compensation for Forced Internees after the War, which had been expecting an organization of internees to be created for unifying all internees, to establish a juridical foundation on March 1, 1989. Thus, the Japan Association of Forced Internees was established.

Through negotiations between *Zen-yokukyo* and the government, it was also decided to grant 500 million yen to *Zen-yokukyo*, as announced by then-Secretary-General Shintaro Abe at a press conference. This amount of 500 million yen was decided to be granted to the Japan Association of Forced Internees on the occasion of its establishment. The written understanding between the government and the ruling party on January 23, 1989 stated, “Limited to fiscal 1989, a subsidy of 500 million yen shall be separately allotted to the public foundation for the purpose of activities to console the forced internees. The contents of said consolation activities shall be deliberated by the public foundation, while respecting the opinions of the people concerned.” The amount was then paid to the Japan Association of Forced Internees through the public foundation during September 1989, as prescribed by Supplementary Provision 2 of the written method of conducting activities by the Association.

## **(b) Purpose**

Article 3 of the Act of Endowment states: “The purpose of this Association shall be to cooperate with the government in taking measures related to the issues of healing the wounds of war, contribute to the enhancement of welfare of the forced internees after the war and general citizens by communicating the experiences of people who were interned on Soviet territory after the war as lessons for the future, and to expect eternal peace and prosperity of our country.”

Since being established, the Association has achieved significant results in fulfilling its purpose to assist the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation in carrying out its activities, as well as to accomplish its inherent mission.

### **(c) Activities**

Article 4 of the Act of Endowment states: “In order to achieve the purpose stated in the preceding Article, this Association shall conduct the following five activities listed below.”

1. Carrying out activities related to activities, etc. conducted by the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation in connection with the forced internees after the war
2. Collecting materials, issuing publications, and holding lecture meetings related to the internment
3. Investigative and consultative activities in connection with the forced internees after the war
4. Cooperation for various events to console the spirits of people who died during the internment
5. Other activities considered necessary to achieve the purpose of this Association

Based on these clauses, the Association has been carrying out its activities by representing all internees on their behalf, and in order to hand down lessons to posterity since its establishment, the major ones being as listed below.

### **(1) Investigation of Suffering, and Collecting Memoirs and Interviews on Internee Experiences**

By violating the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact* and ignoring the *Potsdam Declaration* as a signatory country, the USSR acquired certain territories, occupied four islands (known as the

northern territories) which Japan has never renounced, and moreover, abducted and interned not only soldiers and army civilian employees but also general Japanese citizens accounting for a total of more than 600,000 persons (with one estimate exceeding one million persons) in Siberia and other various regions, and caused the deaths of as many as 10% of all internees. For the purpose of handing down their experiences of toil and suffering to posterity by means of their written stories as well as by listening to them describe their experiences, the Association has been calling for drafts and conducting hearings every year since its establishment. The results are submitted to and compiled by the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation, which publishes *Heiwano Ishizue: Shiberia Yokuryusha ga Kataritsugu Rouku* (“Foundation for Peace: Toil Transmitted from Generation to Generation by Persons Forcibly Interned in Siberia”) each year for distribution nationwide so that it will be read by many people. Volume XIV was distributed in fiscal 2003.

## **(2) Regional Exhibitions**

Since 1993, an annual exhibition attracting many visitors has been held at various locations throughout the country for allowing people to see what the actual conditions of internment were like, and to understand the toil and suffering of the internees.

Starting with the occasion of supporting an exhibition of drawings by Isamu Yoshida, who experienced internment and later drew more than related 200 drawings, held in Siberia at Vladivostok (Владивосток), Khabarovsk (Хабаровск), and Komsomolsk (Комсомольск) for one month each, regional exhibitions are currently held on various occasions every year.

In particular, the Association sponsored an exhibition of drawings and photographs related to the internment from September 7 to 24, 1995 at the exhibition hall of the Moscow Artists Union located at Kuznetsky Most (Кузнецкий Мост), a central street in Moscow (Москва) resulting in many citizens of Russia being deeply impressed.

Sponsored by: Japan Association of Forced Internees

Supported by: Prime Minister's Office; Japanese Embassy in Moscow; Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation; Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK); Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; Mutual Understanding Association (in Russia)

At the opening ceremony, the following persons delivered an address:

From Japan:

Hideyuki Aizawa, President of Japan Association of Forced Internees

From Russia:

Rostislav Rybakov (Ростислав Рыбаков), Director-General of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Science

Yevifonova (Евифанова), Director of MCX<sup>i</sup>

Aleksei Kirichenko (Алексей Кириченко), President, Mutual Understanding Association

Ambassador Koji Watanabe also joined the ribbon-cutting ceremony, together with Director General Aoki and other delegates, staff members of the Japanese embassy, members of a group of visitors who came via Moscow to console the dead, members of the press, and many eminent persons from various fields in Russia.

At the reception party that followed, Ambassador Koji Watanabe, Director General Yasuzo Aoki, Vice-Director Maksimenko (Максименко) of the Institute of Oriental Studies, and Vice-Director Abramov (Абрамов) of Russian State Archives delivered addresses, respectively<sup>ii</sup>. I would like to add that, many Russian citizens left notes of their various impressions of the event.

### **(3) Gatherings for Transmit the Stories from Generation to Generation**

There are too many people unaware of the internment in Siberia. In connection with the Second World War, people generally tend to regard Japan as an aggressor state and are so intent in accusing it harshly, that terrible things done by other countries are often overlooked or hidden behind that intent. Each country concerned must have its say, but history written to conceal certain facts would prove no good. We must first and foremost tell the truth, and must regret the regrettable and correct the correctable. It would also be important to convey and hand down the truth for the sake of posterity, and let it be judged by posterity. Nowadays, that important thing is not being practiced. Almost nothing is written about the internment in school textbooks.

In the final stages of the Second World War, Japan still maintained a peaceful relationship with the USSR as defined to extend during the effective period of the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact*. When Germany requested Japan to join its fight against the USSR, Japan declined in order to comply with the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact*. On the other hand, at the request of the Allied powers, the USSR unilaterally declared war and commenced hostilities against Japan in taking advantage of Japan's completely exhausted condition, achieved military victory after fighting for virtually one week before Japan's surrender, took over many Japanese interests, expanded its territory in breach of the *Potsdam Declaration*, and abducted and interned many Japanese. These facts should be condemned by the entire world. Because the internees must convey the truth to posterity based on the principle of "calling what is right 'right', and what is wrong 'wrong'," the campaign to transmit from generation to generation became a necessary mission for the Japan Association of Forced Internees.

Although the need to hold gatherings to transmit from generation to generation was keenly felt, such gatherings were not actually held for a long time. On April 19, 1995, however, President Aizawa and Director General Aoki were invited by the Nerima Ward Office in Tokyo to speak at *Kotobuki College* (which means lifelong learning program for the elderly) at Nerima Public Hall, and both gave lectures about the internment in Siberia that had an immediate and

major public response. Although the Association did not address such activities on a large scale until 1999, these lectures given at *Kotobuki College* of Nerima Ward marked the beginning of these activities.

From the standpoint of the long ongoing period of decrying the fact that Japanese school textbooks lacked any description of the historically important facts of the internment, only just recently have such descriptions been included in a few textbooks, but since the descriptions are too brief to convey the truth, the Association decided to hold these gatherings in order to convey the facts to “people who don’t know war” and have it transmitted from generation to generation.

In the initial fiscal year, the gatherings were only held in the prefectures of Fukushima and Gifu, but today gatherings are being held in a much wider area that includes a total of eight prefectures, and continue to expand each year. One role of the Japan Association of Forced Internees is to promote the importance of peace to the general public and achieve great results by conveying the tragedy of internment to as many persons as possible who are unaware of the internment and/or the war, even at small-scale gatherings, so that our future generations will never experience such a tragedy.

#### **(4) Research on Actual Situations**

JAFI considers research on the actual situations very important, and therefore has conducted research almost every year in a somewhat different manner depending on the year. Sometimes research was conducted on matters related to the main subject. The following describes that specific research in chronological (by fiscal year) order.

*1991:*

Compiled a booklet entitled, *Yokuryusha Dantaino Katudono Hensen (The transition of activities by internee organizations)*.

This booklet sequentially lists the events related to the internment that occurred in

each year from 1941 (when the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact* was concluded) to 1962, describes the demobilization work, formation and activities of various types of organizations concerned, and lists matters mainly related to the campaign to claim compensation as compiled sequentially by dates of occurrence in and after 1974 (when the campaign actually began).

*1993:*

Compiled a video program titled *Tomoyo Yasurakani Nemure* (“My friends, Requiescat in Pace”) that depicts the toil and suffering in Siberia through a documentary made on a pilgrimage to console the spirits of the dead (visits to graves), through the Image Box composed of former staff members of NHK.

*1994:*

JAFI conducted “Research on actual situations of Japan and USSR (Russia) relations in Historical Perspective.”

This study reports the results of research conducted by questionnaires sent to prefectural governments with regard to the relations between both countries in the past and at present. Of the 47 prefectures, 10 did not respond at all, and 14 replied that there was no applicable instance or were unable to identify any former internees, with some mentioning that no particular relations was existing, grasped, or comprehended. The results are outlined as follows:

With regard to the Burial Grounds of Russians in Japan, the responses have indicated an expectedly small number of only seven sites, but those dead were buried with all due respects and local people of good will continue maintain the grave grounds in a clean condition.

As for memorial halls, responses show that there are six facilities in Hokkaido, one in Iwate, and one in Shizuoka, for a total of eight in Japan. However, research until now has found that many prefectures have failed to grasp the actual situation in their jurisdiction, and consequently more facilities may become available upon conducting questionnaires in each city, town, and village.

It was found that there are 12 monuments, along with 39 cities having sister-city ties with municipalities in Russia.

*1995:*

The research on the situation of activities by the various groups in Japan related to forced internment after the war was carried out. In response to a questionnaire sent to 200 groups considered by the Association to be internee groups including groups of former soldiers. The Association asked about the situation of their current activities and received 112 valid responses, 23 responses with no entries made, and 65 groups did not respond at all.

Among the responses by groups that included the dates of their establishment, there were 62 groups (57.9%) established during the two decades from 1965 (*Showa* 40s and 50s), reflecting the period when most of these groups were founded. Familiarization ranked as the main purpose for establishing the groups (at 91%).

*1996 and 1997:*

With regard to all 60,000-odd persons recognized by the Japan Association of Forced Internees, research was conducted over two years by dividing the country into eastern and western regions. In this research, the Association asked for name of the then affiliated unit, whereabouts and occupation when the war ended, the place where interned, date of repatriation, name of the repatriation ship, port of landing, name of the internee and current address. A report compiled based on the results was submitted to the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation.

*1999:*

In fiscal 1999, research was conducted separately on the internees and groups related to the internees. Among the questionnaires sent to 3,500 individuals, about 500 were “returned to sender” because the relevant groups of former soldiers had been disbanded or mail could otherwise not be delivered, but 1,571 responses were received. A total of 182 questionnaires were sent to the groups, and their responses proved to be precious data, even though some

groups had disbanded and some did not reply.

JAFI submitted the report of the contract research and survey on the actual situations on the toil and suffering during the forced internment after the Second World War to the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation as the outcome of the investigate. The report contains the data on the conditions of victims, inadequately equipped work environment, highhandedness suffered during the military service of former Japanese soldiers, acts of violence in breach of international law, evaluation of the Russians, the Democratic Movement, reflections of the Japanese, and reflections of the war being compiled separately for individuals and for groups.

On the actual situations of toil and suffering, research was carried out on the types of work, norms, and remarks about the whole of the labor. In other hand, in the life under the control, clothing, meals, shelter, repose and other matters were surveyed. Regarding the types of work, lumbering had the highest number of responses, followed by road construction, loading and unloading timber cargo, farm work, railroad construction, coal mining, and construction work. The total types of work numbered as many as 110, including miscellaneous services. About the life under the control, there was an overwhelmingly large number of responses complaining about the lack of adequate food (in terms of both quality and quantity) among the various replies about food, clothing and shelter, which immediately captured people's attention.

Research was also conducted on the situation involving brainwashing in what was called the "Democratic Movement", as well as the method, location, and existence of grave markers, etc. concerning Burial Ground of the dead.

Given the favorable timing of research conducted on the situation involving brainwashing, many internees were able to openly describe the truth of their experiences after concealing it for so long, and many revealed those dreadful experiences in a flood of emotion. The results of the study on responses to the questionnaire about the Democratic Movement, etc. proved to be very valuable reference data for the Association's activities.

To quote the results of the study here, about 60% of the respondents had reportedly participated in the Democratic Movement, and 40% of the total apparently participated actively and affirmatively. About 30% were neither negative nor affirmative, but were well aware of all

affairs going on there in detail and comprehended the overall situation. Another 30% or so were either indifferent, dissenting, or negative. Moreover, about 20% faced discrimination in the selection of those to be preferentially repatriated based on the extent of enthusiasm shown for the Democratic Movement or based on their background.

Among the responses, we will introduce a few here that apparently speak for most internees or inform people of facts they previously did not consider:

- Never erase the Siberian internment from history. I don't know why we were interned even now. I won't accept that. I want demand that war must never be made again. What miserable days I had to spend in my youth!

- After my repatriation, my neighbors looked at me coldly as a returnee from Siberia. Not only in my neighborhood, but wherever I went, I was discriminated against as a returnee from Siberia and was unable to find a job. Moreover, the police were watching me.

- After my repatriation, someone involved in the Democratic Movement begged me not to say anything about what happened in Siberia.

- Despite the fact that the Democratic Movement was launched as a scheme and at the direction of members of the USSR political department, and *Activs* (activists) were forced to cooperate with them, there was talk about Japanese having originated and conducted the movement voluntarily and spontaneously, before we knew it.

- I was offended by the movement in the beginning, but positively joined it from the second year, received *Activ* education in the third year, and became an organization lecturer in the fourth year. Thereafter, I was involved in struggles between opposing groups in grilling each other.

- Starting in 1948, the armed Soviet soldiers (watch soldiers) who guarded us were replaced by Japanese *Activs* who wore armbands marked “BK”.

In addition, there are many others.

For three years since 2001, the JAFI conducted a research study about the actual situations of toil and suffering incurred by forced internment after the Second World War. They took photos of various materials that the internees left in former USSR as evidence of their productive labor, particularly the architectures, railroads tracks, iron bridges, roads, buildings, residences, factories and may other things (such as the ruins of mines and detention camps) that remind people of the toil and suffering of the former internees. At the same time, they interviewed the people who are living around such sites about the circumstances at that time, in order to determine what the internees had achieved. Although some places were off-limits, they tried to collect as much materials as possible.

### **(5) Investigation of the Burial Grounds (work entrusted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare) and Collection of Remains (requested by the Ministry of Health and Welfare)**

Until fiscal 1996 and 1997, Burial Grounds were investigated by the Association for Consoling the Spirits of the Deceased in the Pacific War (hereinafter abbreviated as “the Pacific Association”) as work entrusted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare with the support of some researchers dispatched by this Association in response to a request for their cooperation from the Pacific Association. From fiscal 1998, however, this Association has been directly entrusted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare with this work.

In fiscal 1998, JAFI dispatched Yoshio Shiroichi, Shunji Hiramoto, and interpreter Mitsumochi Mori to the area around Komsomolsk (Комсомольск) to investigate at Gorin (Горин), Yeboron (Эворон), Duki (Дуки), Kosgrambo (Косграмбо), Uktur (Уктур), Gurskoe (Гурское), and Mabrinsk (Мабринск).

To Primorsky Krai (Приморский Край), they dispatched Seinosuke Shimizu and Torao Mochizuki to conduct an investigation at Gorbovka (Горбовка) village, two locations in Dalnerechensk (Дальнеченск), Mangou (Мангоу), Iman (Иман, part of Dalnerechensk), two locations in Nagornaya (Нагорная) village, Sandobak (Сандовак), Khanikheza (Ханихеза) village, two locations in Posholok Pavlofyodrovka (Пошолок Павлофедоровка) village, Shmakovka (Шмаковка), and two locations in the city of Lesozavodsk (Лесозаводск).

To Irkutsk Oblast (Иркутск Область), Toichi Watanabe and Yoshinori Tomita were dispatched to conduct an investigation at Chuksha (Чукша), Oktyabrsky (Октябрьский), Tareya (Таряя), Zakharovka(Захаровка), Nizhne-Udachnoe (Нижне-Удачное), Topolok (Тополок), Neverskaya (Неверская), Parachinka (Парачинка), two locations in Novochunka (Новочунка), Chekanovsky (Чекановский), Vikhorevka (Вихоревка), and the other two locations.

During fiscal 1999, two teams (Shoji Endo and Ichiro Yoshino, Chiaki Inaba and Torao Mochizuki) were dispatched to Primorsky Krai for conducting investigations at Rettikhovka (Реттиховка), Chernishevka (Чернишевка), Arsenyev (Арсеньев), Sysoevka (Сысоевка), Novosysoevka (Новосысоевка), Pokrovka (Покровка), Chuguevka (Чугуевка), Antopovka (Антоновка), Tabakheza (Табахеза), Primorsky (Приморский), Uglovoe (Угловое), Okeanskaya (Океанская), Ugolnaya (Угольная), Vladivostok (Владивосток), Danroiugol (Данройугол), Melniki (Мельники), and three locations in Nakhodka

In the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Toshimi Irie and Kiyoshi Aida investigated at Nikolaevka (Николаевка) in Khabarovsk (Хабаровск), Vyabikka (Вырабикская) in Birobidzan (Биробиджан), two locations in Vila (Била), Choprozel (Чопроцел), Londoko (Лондоко), Birakan (Биракан), Obluche (Облучье), and Khingansk (Хинганск).

In Chita Oblast (Читинская Область), Yagoro Fujii and Tadao Matsuoka surveyed at Belshino-Darasunsky (Велшино-Дарасунский) in Tungochon Raion (Тунгооченский район), Kholbon (Холбон), Balei (Балей), Kalangui (Калангуй), Vershino-Shakhtaminsky (Вершино-Шахтаминский) in Shelopuginsk Raion (Шелопугинский район), Kokui (Кокуй) and another location in Sretensk Raion (Сретенский район), Davenda (Давенда) in Mogoituisk

Raion (Моройгуйский район), and another location

During fiscal 2000, two teams were dispatched to Primorsky Krai as follows:

To the area around Antonovka (Антоновка), Chiaki Inaba and Torao Mochizuki were dispatched to conduct an investigation at Gorbusha (Горбуша), Kavalerovo (Кавалерово), Antonovka (Антоновка), Lenino (Ленино) and the other four locations; to the area around Lesozavodsk Raion (Лесозаводск), Shoji Endo and Kouta Doi were dispatched to investigate Burial Ground No. 5048 (Ministry of Health and Welfare's reference No.: the same applies hereinafter) in Iman, Burial Ground No. 5219 in the suburbs of Lesozavodsk Raion (Лесозаводск Район), Burial Ground No. 5216 in Posholok Pavlofyodrovka, Grodekovo (Гродеково), and Burial Ground No. 5076 in Mikhailovka (Михайловка).

In fiscal 2001, Shoji Endo and Torao Mochizuki were dispatched to Primorsky Krai for investigating Burial Grounds Nos. 5089, 5228, 5060, 5055, 5057, 5210, 5068 and 5067, and at two locations to which reference Nos. are not registered.

To the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Kamchatska Oblast (Камчатский Область), and Sakhalin Oblast (Сахалинская Область), Kiyoshi Aida and Masahiko Igarashi were dispatched for investigating Burial Grounds Nos. 0008, 0009, 0012, 0018, 9078, 9079, and 9001.

To Chita Oblast, Yagoro Fujii and Tadao Matsuoka were dispatched for investigating Burial Grounds Nos. 3002, 3020, 3021, 3023 and 3962.

From fiscal 2002, investigations were conducted at 69 Burial Ground sites listed by the survivors, but not in the list provided by the Russian side.

To Primorsky Krai, Shoji Endo and Torao Mochizuki were dispatch for an investigation at Nakhodka, Poset (Посъет), Kraskino (Краскино), Khorol' (Хороль), Buyanki (Буянки), Luchki (Лучки), Lipovtsy (Липовцы), Kamen-Rybolov (Камень-Рыболов), Astrakhanka (Астраханка), Ilchovka (Ильчовка), Plinka (Ильинка), the periphery of Khanka Lake (Озело Ханка) and two locations.

To Khabarovsk Oblast, Gen-ichi Komoda and Hiroshi Uchida were dispatched to investigate four locations at Sovgavani (Совгавани), around Turma (Турма) Station, etc.

To Chita Oblast and Irkutsk Oblast (Иркутск Область), Kazuo Ohuchi and Seiji Katayama were

dispatched to investigate four locations around Khalagun (Халагун) and Taishet (Тайшет).

In addition to the above-mentioned requests made by the Ministry of Health and Welfare to people who experienced the internment, the Ministry dispatched its own staffs for investigations, but none of these investigations achieved satisfactory results. For one thing, the action was taken some 50-odd years after the war had ended. The number of remains collected through these investigations up to fiscal 2002 totals slightly less than 15,000 persons.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare requests the Japan Association of Forced Internees to cooperate in efforts by the Ministry to collect remains, and the Association is dispatching a few members to join them every year. Any identified remains collected are returned to the bereaved families, while unidentified remains are buried in Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery.

## **(6) Memorial Services (Central and Regional)**

Since its establishment, the Association has held a central memorial service every year at the grand hall of *Kudan Kaikan* in Tokyo (though sometimes at ANA Hotel Tokyo) with the Minister of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications (currently, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications) and other government officials and representatives of private sector organizations attending. Each time, a somber, large-scale ceremony is held with more than 1,000 people in attendance. Regional memorial services were held in the four prefectures of Shizuoka, Kumamoto, Iwate, and Hyogo in the first year, and thereafter have increased each year. Recently, as more regional monuments have been built, regional memorial services are now being held in more than ten prefectures.

## **(7) Remembrance Service (Visits to Victims' Graves)**

The JAFI arranges annual visits to the gravesites of internees in Siberia. As the Ministry of Health and Welfare is also implementing the same under the name of "Pilgrimages to console the spirits of the deceased," the Association is holding its event under the above-mentioned

name.

Some participants feel that pilgrimages to console the spirits of the deceased by the Ministry of Health and Welfare are only planned for bereaved families and information on the application in them is given by prefectural governments concerned, therefore, making it difficult for others concerned to know of the plans. In addition, since participants are limited to bereaved families, it is impossible for other internees to participate and listen to stories about the actual situations of internment during the course of travel like in those conducted by the Association. Therefore, a visit to gravesites conducted by the Association seems much more appealing. Since the visits to gravesites conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare are described later, I will omit them here.

Visits to gravesites and Burial Ground investigations conducted independently by the Association

Since 1990, the Association has been investigating Burial Grounds with the dual purposes of visiting the gravesites and submitting materials obtained on such occasions to the Ministry of Health and Welfare (currently the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare).

Regarding the visits to gravesites, since 1990 we have been dispatching groups to visit gravesites in various locations covering all regions concerned in the former USSR separately from visits dispatched by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. The major locations visited are listed below.

The first group organized by the Association to visit gravesites gathered at the Tokyu Hotel in Niigata on August 20, 1990 to hold a “group-forming ceremony.”

With Director Shinobu Yoshida serving as master of ceremonies, Director General Taizo Aoki delivered a formula, followed by an address by Group Leader Mokuo Kimura and a closing address by Director Zenzo Suzuki. In the meantime, interpreters Sekine and Ishii from Japan Travel Bureau, Inc., explained the entry procedures into the USSR. On the next day, the group was interviewed by local TV reporters (from four stations including NHK), and then the 50 members accompanied by officials from the Prime Minister’s Office and the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation, plus interpreters for a total of 54 persons, began their

journey in high spirits.

Since this group was the first “ visit to console the spirits of the deceased,” its itinerary of eight days, seven nights focused on Khabarovsk (Хабаровск) and was scheduled to return on August 28. This was the initial occasion of a series of visits to the gravesites.

Starting with this first visit to console the spirits of the deceased, the Association has been organizing groups for the same purpose, expanding the areas to be visited each year, and asking participants to write notes of their visit to gravesites, in order to distribute the notes among all participants and store the information as records.

*1st Time (1990)*

Khabarovsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Khor (Хол), Zabitaya (Забитая), Izvestkovy (Известковый), Birobidzian (Биробиджан).

*2nd Time (1991)*

Khabarovsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Khurmuli (Хурмули), Gorin, Yeboron, Vanino(Ванино), Sovgavani(Совгавань), Oroch(Орочи), Muli(Мули), and an another location.

*3rd Time (1992)*

Primorsky Krai: Khabarovsk, Dalnerechensk, Ussuriisk (Уссурийск), Vladivostok, and Artyom (Арём).

Khabarovsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Bila, Izvestkovaya, Tugma(Тырма), Yagdinya(Ягдынья), Chegdomin(Чегдомын), Urgal(Ургал), and Komsomolsk.

Amur Krai (Амур край): Khabarovsk, Blagoveshensk (Благовещенск), Belogorsk(Белогорск), Bureya(Буряя), and Raychikhinsk (Райчихинск).

Buryat Republic (Республика Бурятия): Khabarovsk, Ulan-Ude (Улан-Уде), Novoravlovka(Новопавловка), Zhipekchen(Жипехчен), Khalagun, and Chita.

Irkutsk Oblast: Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Cheremkhovo(Черемхово), Zima(Зима), Tugma,

Taushet, and Bratsk(Братск).

Krasnoyarsk (Красноярск): Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Achansk (Ачанск), and Abakan (Абакан).

*4th Time (1993)*

Primorsky Krai: Khabarovsk, Shmakovka(Шмаковка), Lesozavodsk(Лесозаводск), Semeonovka(Семеновка), Voroshilov(Ворошилов), Rettikhovka, Artyom, Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Suchan (Сучан)

Khabarovsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Khor, Komsomolsk, Khurmuli, Gorin, Yeboron, Urgal, Yagdeniya, Tyрма, Izvestkovy, and another location.

Chita Oblast and Buryat Republic: Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude, Novopavlovka, Zhipekhchen, Khilok(Хилок), Chita, Sherlovaуа(Щекловая), Borzua(Борзя), and another location.

Irkutsk A Group: Irkutsk, Cherenkhovo, Zima, Listbyanka(Листбянка) and another location.

Irkutsk B Group: Irkutsk, Listbyanka, Cherenkhovo, Taushet, Kvitok(Квиток), Bratsk

Altay Krai (Алтайский край): Irkutsk, Barnaul (Барнаул), Rubtsovsk (Рубцовск), Biisk (Бийск), Stalinsk (Сталинск), Abakan, and Krasnoyarsk.

Republic of Kazakhstan (Республика Казахстан):

Moscow(Москва), Karaganda(Караганда) and Alma-Ata (Алма-Ата).

*5th Time (1994)*

Primorsky Krai A Group: Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Suchan, Artyom

Primorsky Krai B Group: Khabarovsk, Iman, Semeonovka, Usuriisk, Vladivostok, and another location.

Khabarovsk Krai A Group: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Khurmuli, Gorin, Muli and Sovgavani.

Khabarovsk Krai B Group: Khabarovsk, Izvestkovaya, Telma, Moshka(Мошка), Birobidzan and another location.

Amur Oblast (Амурская Область): Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk, Belogorsk (Белогорск), Raychikhinsk, and Zabitaya.

Chita Krai A Group: Irkutsk, Chernishevsk(Чернишевск), Khabarovsk and another location.

Chita Krai B Group: Irkutsk, Chita, Khalagun, Novopavlovka, Ulan-Ude, Khabarovsk

Chita Krai C Group: Irkutsk, Cherenkhovo, Aleksandrovsk(Александровск) and Khabarovsk.

Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk Krai: Irkutsk, Blatsk, Tayshet, Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk

Republic of Uzbekistan (Республика Узбекистан): Irkutsk, Moscow, Tashkent(Ташкент), Angren(Ангрен), Begabad(Бегабад), Kokand(Коканд), Fergana(Фергана), Khabarovsk and another.

#### *6th Time (1995)*

(Primorsky Krai)

Vladivostok, Nakhotka, Partizansk(Партизанск), Artyom, Ussriysk, Arsenyev, Rettikhovka  
Khabarovsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Pivani (Пивань), Khurmuli, Birobidzan, Bila and Khor.

Amur Oblast: Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk, Raychikhinsk, Bureya, Belogorsk

Irkutsk Oblast: Irkutsk, Listbyanka, Cherenkhovo, Tayshet, Bratsk and another.

Republic of Kazakhstan: Moscow, Almaty(Алматы), Karaganda

Republic of Uzbekistan: Moscow, Tashkent, Angren, Begabad

#### *7th time (1996)*

Nakhotka Group: Vladivostok, Nakhotka, Partizansk, Kazanka(Казанка), Ussriysk, Kangauz(Кангауз) and another.

Arsenyev (Арсеньев) Group: Vladivostok, Ussriysk, Rettikhovka, Vyanki(Вьянки), Arsenyev, Tabakheza, and Sysoevka (Сысоевка).

Komsomolsk Group: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Gorin, Khurmuli, Muli, and Sovgavani.

Izvestkovaya Group: Khabarovsk, Urgal, Yagdoniya, Tyрма, Bila, Izvestkovaya, Raychikhinsk, Blagoveshchensk and another.

Chita Group: Irkutsk, Chita, Yablonovaya, Balei(Балей) and another.

Tayshet Group: Irkutsk, Ussriysk, Tayshet, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibilsk(Новосибильск), Barnaul, Rubtsovsk (Рубцовск) Biisk and another.

*8th Time (1997)*

Primorsky Krai 1: Vladivostok, Suchan, Kazanka, Nakhotka, Artyom, Uglovoe (Угловое) and another.

Primorsky Krai 2: Vladivostok, Rettikhovka, Arsenyev, Khalaza(Халаза), Sysoevka , Tabakheza, Ussriysk

Khabarovsk Krai 1: Khabarovsk and Khor.

Khabarovsk Krai 2: Khabarovsk, Gorin, Khurmuli, Yeboron, Komsomolsk and Kosgrambo.

Khabarovsk Krai 3: Khabarovsk, Izvestkovy, Tyрма, Yagdoniya

Amur Oblast: Skovorodino(Сковородино), Zabitinsk(Забитинск), Belgorsk, Vreya, Raychikhinsk and Blagoveshchensk.

Irkutsk, Buryatand Chita Oblast 1: Zhipekhchen, Khalagun, Irkutsk

Chita Oblast 2: Chita, Kadala(Кадала), Novaya (Новая), Karimskoe(Каримское), Bugachacha, Borzya and Kalangui (Калангуй).

Republic of Kazakhstan: Almaty, Karaganda and Balkhash(Балхаш).

*9th Time (1998)*

Primorsky Krai: Vladivostok, Ussriysk, Suchan, Nakhotka and Artyom.

Khabarovsk Krai A: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Khurmuli, Gorin, Yeboron

Khabarovsk Krai B: Birobidzan, Izvestkovaya, Bila

Irkutsk Krai A: Irkutsk, Cherenkhovo, Zima and Tyрма.

Irkutsk Krai B: Blatsk, Kvitok and Tayshet.

Yelabuga A (Елабуга A): Yelabuga

Yelabuga B: Yelabuga, Rada(Рада), Marshansk(Маршанск), and Kirsanov (Кирсанов).

Yelabuga C: Rada, Marshansk, Kirsanov

*10th Time (1999)*

This year, all group members visiting to console the spirits of the deceased participated in a joint memorial service held at the Memorial Park for Peace and Consolation in Khabarovsk (Хабаровск).

Primorsky Krai: Vladivostok, Nakhotka, Suchan, Artyom, Voroshlov, Semyonovka, Iman and Khabarovsk.

Khabarovsk Krai 1: Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Khurmuli, Gorin, Yeboron and Muli.

Khabarovsk Krai 2: Khabarovsk, Birobidzan, Izvestkovaya, Tyrma, Urgal and another.

Irkutsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Cherenkhovo and Tayshet.

Krasnoyarsk and Barnaul Krai: Khabarovsk, Krasnoyarsk, Barnaul

*11th Time (2000)*

Vladivostok Krai: Vladivostok, Artyom, Suchan, Nakhotka

Voroshlov Krai: Sysoevka , Arsenyev, Ussriysk and the other two locations.

Khabarovsk Krai: Krasnaya Rechika (Красная Речка), Khor and Khabarovsk.

Komsomolsk Krai: Pivani, Komsomolsk, Gorin, Khurmuli, Kosgrambo, Poni(Пони), Vanino and Khabarovsk.

Blagoveshchensk Krai (Благовещенский Край): Komsomolsk, Zabitinsk, Rauchikhinsk, and Blagoveshchensk.

Chita Krai: Zabaikalsky(Забайкальский), Zhirekhchen, Chita, Droyanoi (Дровяной), and another location.

Irkutsk Krai: Cherenkhovo, Shamanka(Щаманка), Tayshet, Irkutsk and another location.

Krasnoyarsk Krai: Irkutsk, Yenisei(Енисей), Cheryomushki(Черемьшки), Nikolaevka, Prichal(Причал) and another location.

*12th Time (2001)*

This year, as former member Yoshiyuki Toya of the House of Representatives gathered applications to participate from many persons in Kumamoto, Director General Aoki requested the Russian side to hold a joint memorial service in Khabarovsk (Хабаровск) on the occasion of this group's visit there. This resulted in a large-scale ceremony participated by many people concerned from both Japan and Russia, along with a specially arranged band.

Vladivostok and Khabarovsk Group: Vladivostok, Nakhodka and Khabarovsk.

Khabarovsk Group: Khabarovsk, Nabor(Набор), Khor and another.

Tyrma Group: Khabarovsk, Izvestkovaya, Tyrma, Yagdoniya and another.

Semyonovka Group: Simakovka and Iman.

Vladivostok and Nakhodka Group: Ussriysk, Nakhodka, Suchan and Vladivostok.

Tayshet and Bratsk Group: Irkutsk, Bratsk, Tayshet and another.

Yakoda Group: Irkutsk, Petrovsk(Петровск), Khilok, Chita, Kalimskaya(Калимская), Bugachacha and Neverskaya.

*13th Time (2002)*

Primorsky Krai: Vladivostok, Ussriysk, Arsenyev, Artyom, Nakhodka, Partizansk and another.

Khabarovsk Krai A:

Khabarovsk, Pivani, Komsomolsk, Gorin, Khurmuli, Poni, Muli, Sovgavani, and Vanino.

Khabarovsk Krai B: Khabarovsk, Birobidzan, Izvestkovaya, Londoko, Tyrma, Urgal, Chegdomin, Yeboron, Gorin, Khurmuli, Komsomolsk, Piani(Пиани)

Amur Oblast: Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk, Zabitaya, Raichikha(Райчиха), and Bologorsk(Бологорск).

Irkutsk Krai: Irkutsk, Bratsk, Tayshet and another.

Krasnoyarsk Krai: Khabarovsk, Krasnoyarsk, Barnaul and Rubtsovsk.

Yelabuga Krai: Yelabuga, BolshoiVal(Большой Бал), Kazan(Казань), St. Petersburg(Санкт-Петербург).

The foregoing describes the situation of conducting visits to console the spirit of the deceased until fiscal 2002.

## **(8) Building Regional Monuments to Console the Spirits of Victims**

The Japan Association of Forced Internees is requesting the government to erect a central monument to console the spirits of the deceased at a prominent location to represent the country. Separately from this, the Association decided to grant subsidies in the amount of 5 million yen per monument to build a monument in each prefecture starting from 1993, and as of the end of fiscal 2002, monuments have been erected in 18 prefectures as listed below.

Hyogo: April 1993

Fukushima: August 1993

Niigata : August 1993

Kumamoto: August 1994

Hokkaido: August 1994

Ishikawa: October 1994

Shimane:October 1994

Hiroshima: March 1995

Okayama: May 1995

Tottori: December 1995

Chiba: March 1996

Gifu: October 1996

Ehime: December 1997

Nagano: September 1998

Kochi: November 2000

Kyoto: November 2000

Shiga: November 2000

Ibaraki: November 2002

Shizuoka: September 2003

## **(9) Japan-Russia Exchange Symposium**

During 1993, the Japan Association of Forced Internees (JAFI) received a facsimile message from reporter Takero Nagoshi at the Moscow branch of Jiji Press, stating that Kirichenko wanted to meet with Director General of JAFI, Yasuzo Aoki.

At that time, Kirichenko was considered allied with Rokuro Saito and opposed to JAFI, and supporting a much different philosophy than that held by JAFI. Therefore, Director General Aoki felt no need to see such a person, but later received information that Kirichenko had not been associated with Saito for the two past years, and began to consider meeting him once. Aoki eventually met Kirichenko two times in Tokyo.

At the meetings, Kirichenko claimed that he had thought Rokuro Saito's group was the only group of internees in Japan, but upon discovering the existence of another group, he wanted to contact it. He had parted ways with Rokuro Saito for already two years, and wanted to know about the thinking behind and situation of JAFI activities. In response, Director General Aoki said that his party was philosophically and fundamentally different from Saito's group. First and foremost, JAFI believed that the Russian President should formally apologize for the unjust internment of Japanese after the war.

Kirichenko replied that he had been unaware of people having such an opinion in Japan till then, and asked Director General Aoki whether he would be able to express that opinion in Moscow. Aoki stated that, as his personal conviction, he would be willing to repeat it

anywhere. Thus, it was decided that Kirichenko would hold a symposium in Moscow and invite Director General Aoki to join it.

The Japan side was informed of the Russian members to attend the symposium on June 6, 1993, just three days prior to Director General Aoki's departure from Japan.

As a result, a series of annual Japan-Russia symposiums began in 1993 and continue to date.

The First Japan-Russia Exchange Symposium was held in the conference room of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. on June 10, 1993.

A total of 29 persons participated in the symposium, including:

Russian side:

(1) Aleksey Kirichenko, Director, International Academic Exchange Department, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

(2) Mikhail Kapitsa (Михаил Капица), Former Vice Foreign Minister and Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

(3) Yuri Gankovsky (Юри Ганковский), Chief Professor in charge of Prisoners of War, Institute of American Studies

(4) V. V. Kotlyakov (В. В. Котляков), Professor, Russian Committee for Campaign Veterinary

(5) Pavel Blischenko (Павел Блищенко), Vice President and Professor, International Law Association

(6) A. S. Prokopenko (А.С. Прокопенко), Chief Consultant, Committee for Rehabilitation of Victims of Suppression by Stalin

(7) Virtor Bondarev (Виктор Бондарев), Director, Central State Special Archive of the Russian Federation

(8) Vladimir Motrevich (Владимир Мотревич), Professor, Ekaterinburg (Sverdovsk)

(9) I. M. Khanok (И. М. Ханок), President, Peace Foundation of Yelabuga (Елабуга) City

Also present were several other prominent persons including:

Representative of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Director of Japan department)

Representatives of the institute of studies on military history and the public prosecutor's office, and others

Japanese side:

Japan Association of Forced Internees:

Yasuzo Aoki, Director General

Zenzo Suzuki, Director

Masao Kimura, Interpreter

Yukie Aoki, Advisor

Observers:

Two officials from the Japanese Embassy in Moscow

Press: Four members from *Jiji Press*, *Sekainippo*, and *Izvestia(Известия)*

Since Director General Aoki covered the key subject of this symposium in his address, we would like to introduce its essence here.

*Summary of the address by Director General Aoki*

Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Kirichenko, I have been able to visit Moscow to participate in this “symposium” on the issue of internment. First of all, I would like to thank all the people of the sponsoring organization that have managed to hold such a large-scale symposium with the participation of so many prominent members of various fields and walks of life in Russia.

To briefly speak about the preliminary discussions I had with Dr. Kirichenko, I discovered that only the group of internees headed by Mr. Rokuro Saito was previously known in Russia, but Dr. Kirichenko heard from a reporter working for *Jiji Press* that there was another group in the form of a juridical foundation, and he wanted to hear the opinions from the viewpoint of the group in order to deepen understanding between the two countries. This is why I decided to visit Russia.

*After the greeting in the beginning, he went to the main issue:*

We take the position of defining those persons generally called “Japanese prisoners of war” in Russia as “forced internees.” Because, at that time, the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact* was still in effect, and Japan believed that the USSR would not enter the war against Japan. The facts that the USSR violated the Pact, unilaterally invaded Manchuria, and abducted not only military and civilian personnel, but also general citizens for internment and forced labor for long periods, resulting in the sacrifice of more than 60,000 lives, are

indisputable. (-- partly omitted --)

When former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakano recently visited Russia and met with President Boris Yeltsin (Борис Елицин), I heard that such issues like these were also mentioned. I believe that if your President would visit Japan as soon as possible and apologize to the Japanese as the leader of the nation that succeeded the former Soviet state, admitting an error as “an error” and without laying the blame on the reign of Stalin, it would enable to find a solution to the issue. (-- partly omitted --)

It cannot be denied that there is a deep-seated feeling of dissatisfaction among the Japanese for not having heard words of apology from the USSR (today's Russia) concerning these disastrous, historical acts of violent injustice. (-- partly omitted--)

Since the internee issue has yet to be resolved, the war will never come to an end. As one of the internees, I wish to seek mutual understanding, and take another step forward.

The September issue of *Zaidandayori* (“JAFI newsletter”) outlines the proceedings of this first symposium. In response to this symposium, *The Sekai Nippo* newspaper ran an article featuring interviews held after the symposium.

According to Kirichenko, the people concerned on the Russian side had a meeting to discuss whether a formal apology should be made. At that time, everyone except Kirichenko felt that no apology was necessary, but when Director General Aoki expressed his unrestrained opinions at the symposium and requested an apology, many Russian attendees expressed genuine sympathy. Thus, the first symposium is considered to have achieved a great success.

As described above, the first symposium proved to be a forum for exchanging mutual opinions and it was decided to hold a series of such symposiums every year thereafter.

The second symposium was held at the same venue on June 29, 1994 with a new Japanese member, Seiichi Ishizaki, being added. I will omit details of the attendees from the Russian side here, but every year many prominent persons and people concerned with the internee issue have been participating.

At the beginning of the second symposium, Dr. Kirichenko commented, "I think the report from last year's symposium as submitted to the President's Office led to President Yeltsin's words of apology when he visited Japan in October." The symposium then proceeded to the main topic of discussion.

The third symposium (in 1995) was held with President Hideyuki Aizawa of this Association also attending. Details are reported in *Zaidandayori* ("JAFI newsletter") No. 15.

Director General Aoki said that although he expressed his views about the "compensation" issue at the second symposium, the Russian side made no comment, and though he would return to the subject later, he would first ask President Aizawa to make a salutation to commence the symposium.

President Aizawa stated follows:

Essentially, Japan and Russia must maintain friendly relations as neighboring countries. Though they wish to have such a relationship, the Northern Territories issue involving the four islands and this issue of internees pose a major hurdle.

I will not mention to the issue of the four islands today, but would like to express my opinion about the internee issue. I hear that Stalin not only intentionally breached the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact* and the *Potsdam Declaration*, but also planned to use Japanese soldiers for slave labor in Siberia prior to the end of the war. I wish this factual relevance would be clarified.

As a prerequisite for friendly relations between both countries, mutual understanding is also inevitable. To achieve mutual understanding, both nations must acknowledge historical facts. In this context, I think the exhibition of drawings and photographs that opened yesterday is significant. (An exhibition of drawings and photographs related to the internment had been held in Moscow the day before the date of the symposium under the sponsorship of this Association.)

In order to promote friendship and amity between Japan and Russia, I consider it necessary to mutually study the various issues including that of internment."

President Aizawa expressed his opinion as stated above, addressed many other points as well, and then closed his speech by leaving the matter up to the Q&A session that followed.

The participants then expressed opinions and/or raised questions, followed by lively discussions about the question regarding status as “POWs or internees,” the issue of compensation, and many others from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. with a break taken in midstream.

At the fourth symposium (in 1996), Ichiro Suetsugu, head of *Anzenhosho Mondai Kenkyukai* (“Association for Studies on Security Issues”), participated as a guest of honor.

At the fifth symposium (in 1997), President Aizawa again participated. He also visited and had meetings at Russia’s Federal Archives Agency, the Public Corporation of Communications and Telegraph, Second Department of the Far East, the Asian Bureau of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Russia-Japan Society, the Military Memorial, the Center for Rehabilitation of Victims of Public Documents/Information and Political Suppression of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Document Preservation and Conservation Center, and others. At the symposium, Kirichenko and then-Executive Director Suzuki of the Association engaged in heated debate over Kirichenko’s comments about the concentration camps having recorded financial balances in the red.

At the sixth symposium (in 1998), Professor Ichiro Takizawa of Edogawa University and Secretary Hiroyuki Okada of the Japanese embassy in Moscow also participated.

At the seventh symposium (in 1999), in addition to President Hideyuki Aizawa, Professor Ichiro Takizawa, Professor Koichi Arai of Kyorin University, Professor Ken-ichi Iida of the National Defense Academy, Secretary Hiroyuki Okada, and Director Kazuo Takenoshita of the First General Service Section of the Ministry of Health and Welfare also participated. Director General Aoki unfortunately had to cancel participation just prior to making the trip due

to aneurysm surgery, and asked Director Zenzo Suzuki to act on his behalf.

At the eighth symposium (in 2000), Professor Ichiro Takizawa, Secretary Hiroyuki Okada, and three special correspondents—Arita (Kyodo News Service), Sasagawa (Nippon Television)<sup>iii</sup>, and Tsutomu Saito (*Sankei Shimbun*)—attended as observers,

On this occasion, discussions were held about a method of working out a consensus document to publicly announce the symposium's achievements.

At the ninth symposium (in 2001), the issue of preparing a consensus document was discussed based on comments by then-Executive Director Suzuki regarding the ages of participants that could preclude their attendance at later symposiums, and thus desiring a certain conclusion by next year. As a result, both parties prepared drafts of a document, checked its integrity with their counterparts, and then made final drafts in Japanese and Russian. It was decided to have the drafts signed by the presidents of both organizations at the lecture meeting for reporting on the symposium to be held in Japan, and then submit the drafts to the governments of the respective countries.

*For reference:*

Mr. Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi

Mr. President of Russian Federation Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin (Владимир Владимирович Путин)

Statement of Joint Request

The Central Conference of the Japan Association of Forced Internees (based in Tokyo) and

the Mutual Understanding Promotion Association for Cooperating with the Japanese Former Forced Internees (based in Moscow) have held the Japan-Russia Symposium on Issues of Japanese Forced Internees in Moscow every year since 1993.

As you know, the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declared war against Japan on August 9, 1945, thereby breaching its own promise “to comply with the duties, terms and conditions until April 26, 1946 as specified in the neutrality pact concluded with Japan.”

In addition, when it took this aggressive action after signing the *Potsdam Declaration* dated July 26, 1945, the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics also ignored Item 9 of said international instrument that provided for the return of disarmed Japanese military forces to their homeland. Instead, the Soviet government transferred more than 500,000 Japanese (estimated since the precise number is unknown) to Soviet territory by unjust methods, and sent them to concentration camps run by the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Tens of thousands of Japanese died in these camps due to severe living and work conditions. Moreover, the families of the deceased were not notified for a long time.

To our regret, both countries that signed the *Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration for Restoring Relations* in 1956 failed to address the issue of the Japanese internees and virtually ignored this issue, despite the fact that a number of unresolved issues remain to date.

We urgently request your support and cooperation in establishing a Japan-Russia Joint Government Committee consisting of representatives of a Russian state organization that could provide final clarification of the issue of Japanese internees, the Central Conference of Japan Association of Forced Internees and the Mutual Understanding Promotion Association for Cooperating with the Japanese Former Forced Internees.

In particular, we consider it necessary to finally determine the total number of Japanese who were transferred to Soviet territory and the number who died thereafter, complete the investigation, verify and make arrangements regarding burial grounds for the

dead, review the cases of Japanese who had been pronounced guilty in military tribunals, study the issue of acknowledging the status of Japanese who had been illegally detained in concentration camps as internees, not as prisoners of war, and the issue of wage compensation for the slave labor performed by Japanese internees in Soviet territory.

Since there are many people concerned about this issue in Japan, we look forward to an affirmative resolution thereof.

Yours very truly,

August 31, 2002

Hideyuki Aizawa

President,

Central Conference of Japan Association of Forced Internees

Aleksey A. Kirichenko

President,

Mutual Understanding Promotion Association for Cooperating with the Japanese Former  
Forced Internees

President Hideyuki Aizawa also attended the tenth symposium (in 2002), and stressed the importance of the compensation issue that should be resolved together with the territorial issue. The Association also pointed out that the agreement of 1991, which provided for a list of all internees to be delivered, the maintenance of burial grounds, and return of things left behind by the internees, had not been fully implemented. In fact, the list received of the dead only included about 40,000 persons, although about 60,000 persons actually died, and a list of all internees had yet to be delivered to Japan. Therefore, we had to microphotograph all the files concerned that had been stored in the Central Archives at a cost of about 100,000,000 yen borne

by the Japanese government. The Association mentioned that a written statement pertaining to a joint request covering these matters had been prepared and submitted to President Putin and Prime Minister Koizumi, respectively. The Association also explained the progress made on the matters up until then and their assertion of being “internees” and not “prisoners of war” among others. Director General Aoki and Executive Director Suzuki then made respective comments, followed by a break before continuing the session for discussions.

The eleventh symposium (in 2003) was held at IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russia) with a delegation led by Director General Aoki and Executive Director Suzuki participating. That year President Aizawa was unable to attend, and since it was recognized as an important occasion for establishing the Japan-Russia Joint Government Committee, Director Aoki made comprehensive preparations before attending this symposium.

At this series of annual symposiums, the Association has not only discussed matters of how to cope with the internee issue and of their former status (POWs or internees), but also pointed out various problems remaining between Japan and Russia, and considered how to take appropriate steps to resolve those problems. As a result, we decided to cooperate in submitting a written request to the respective governments for the purpose of resolution, and have reached a stage where we can recommend each government to establish an organization to conduct joint research.

Incidentally, at the discretion of Dr. Kirichenko, the Japanese delegates each year are allowed to visit some facilities related to the internment and meet with key persons, including entry into relevant facilities and access to materials not publicly open, thus making each visit to Russia very significant. On one such occasion we found a clue to obtaining interrogation records on as many as 500,000 internees. These records were made available to the Association by means of microphotography, and it took them until 2002 to take all the records to the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Copies of those records are now accessible to anyone. Since

these records were entered naturally in Russian—in running hand-- except for the signatures of the principals, the records must be translated in order to read the entries. It has been decided to contract JAFI to undertake the translation work.

These records of personal interrogations include entries on as many as 41 items as follows:

Full name, family name, year of birth, place of birth, address before induction, ethnic group, native language, other languages learned, nationality, party membership, religion, education, occupation and discipline before enlistment, length of service, location of affiliated enemy force, whether drafted or voluntarily enlisted, time of induction (enlistment), branch of service, affiliation before becoming POW, register No., class or title, military position, medals awarded, whether captured or voluntarily surrendered, time and location of becoming a POW, marital status (single or married), full names, ages, occupations & address of wife and children, full names, ages, occupations & address of parents, class status, father's social status and financial standing, social and financial status of POW, past experience of residing in the USSR, family member(s) residing in the USSR, experience of being placed under trial or investigation, experience of staying in foreign countries, concrete activities before induction, signature of the principal and date of entry in the record, body build, record of transfers as POW, and others.

## **(10) Lecture meetings for reporting the exchanges**

Every year since the second symposium, a lecture meeting for reporting information obtained during the visit to Moscow and discussions held at that year's symposium with guest speaker(s) invited from Moscow has been held on the occasion of the Central Memorial Service in Tokyo.

*Zaidandayori* ("JAFI newsletter") No. 12 includes the full proceedings of this first lecture meeting for reporting on the symposium. Though I would leave the details up to said publication, this lecture meeting began with the sponsor's address from Director General Aoki and included lectures by Mr. Seiichi Ishizaki, Dr. Kirichenko, and Ms. Logovaya (Логовая) in this order.

Mr. Ishizaki began his lecture by mentioning the apology expressed by President Yeltsin as the 50<sup>th</sup> year after the end of the war was approaching, and then talked about the USSR declaring war on Japan, the internment, the Aoki-Kirichenko meeting, the first and second symposiums, the Tambov (Тамбов) Conference, plans for future, things about Rokuro Saito, the compensation issue, the claims for compensation by foreign countries, internees' claim for compensation, the parties to contact for claim for compensation, and other matters.

Dr. Kirichenko then stood on the platform to deliver his lecture. He talked about the Soviet-Japan war, the *Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact*, thoughts of Stalin and Japan, the Soviet decision to declare war and Stalin's intentions, situations after the *Yalta Conference* and the conflict between the USSR and the US, the atomic bombings, an analysis of situations, battles other than in Manchuria, the aftermath of the war, Detective No. 9898 stating that "POWs are war trophies," the supply of necessities, the status of whether POWs or internees, the issue of compensation, the profit/loss of concentration camps, a comparison between German and Japanese POWs, liability for compensation, labor certificates, and other matters.

We would like to add that in closing his lecture Dr. Kirichenko said, "If someone asks me what was the most prudent document ever made concerning Japan, I would say that it was Emperor Hirohito's Imperial message of August 14, 1945. This message, which was prepared amidst great agony over the collapse of the state and nation, is based on earnest wishes for peacemaking. It seems as if the Emperor was calling for the Japanese people to overcome the tragedy of loss and make persistent efforts to resolve future issues."

At this symposium, the people concerned from the Russian embassy in Tokyo, the Japanese Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation were present as observers.

## **(11) Public Relations, Consulting service, Research, etc.**

For the purpose of public relations, JAFI issue and distribute *Yokuryushano-tameno zaidandayori* ("JAFI newsletter for internees") several times every year to the people concerned

throughout the country. The Association receives many responses from the recipients who express sympathy and encouragement about the articles on reports regarding the symposiums and their assertions, thus reflecting the extent of the echo.

JAFI also provide consulting services for internees upon request through both their central and regional organizations. Although each regional organization provides consulting services, many inquires are also received by the central headquarters.

## **(12) Compiling the History of Internment**

As this paper briefly mentioned in the paragraph concerning a compilation of “activities to hand down lessons to posterity” in the Synopsis, it was decided at the initiative of President Aizawa to compile a “History of Internment” in cooperation with the three organizations. The Association was involved in the work starting with selecting the placement of the secretariat and editorial committee members, and frequently consulted with their competent authority—the Prime Minister’s Office at the time—and the Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation. As a result, we decided to place the secretariat in the Public Foundation and work began by gathering each party’s ideas about the composition and table of contents of the book being considered. We would add that Seiichi Ishizaki, who JAFI recommended as an editorial committee member, became ill during the stage of electing the committee members, for which we feel he regrets.

Of course, we rendered cooperation for making a more accurate, more substantial history of the internment by supplying historical materials and data collected by both JAFI and individual internees. In particular, we would like to add that they provided ample materials and data generally considered difficult to obtain, such as chronological tables related to Japan and the USSR, the serial numbers of concentration camps, and other subjects.

## **Notes by the translator**

- <sup>i</sup> The first name of Ms. Yevifonova is unfortunately unknown,
- <sup>ii</sup> The first names of Vice Director Maksimenko and Vice Director Abramov are unfortunately unknown.
- <sup>iii</sup> The first names of Mr. Arita and Mr. Sasagawa are unfortunately unknown.