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Forcible Displacement of Koreans and Forced Labor Imposed on Them

The Fact-Finding Mission on Forced Korean Laborers

The Fact-Finding Mission on Forced Korean Laborers was formed in 1972 as a joint investigation team of Japanese lawyers, scholars and cultural leaders and Korean residents in Japan, and has since been engaged in activities to investigate the displacement of Koreans and forced labor imposed on them under the Japanese colonial rule of Korea. Our investigation team has gathered data and materials not only in Japan but also in the south and the north of Korea and the United States where it dispatched its researchers, and as such it is a fact-finding team organized to collect testimony by victims and assailants and confirm factual data.

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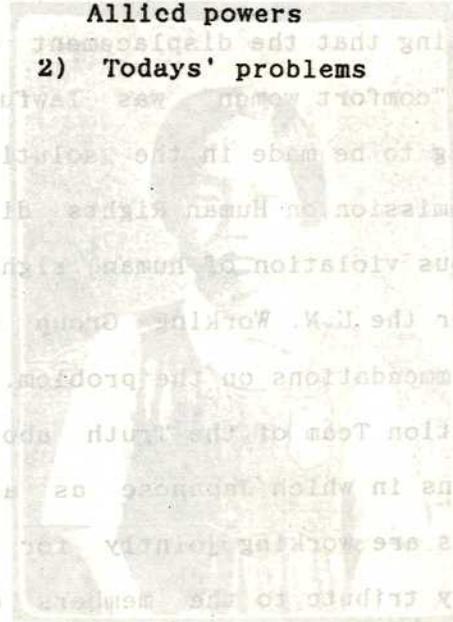
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Introduction

An ILO report released in March this year states that several millions of people are still in a state of slavery and forced labor in the world. Together with recent brutalities to women in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the problem of enslavement of Korean women as "comfort women" by the Japanese government and the former Japanese army is condemned by the international community. These problems originate in the period of World War II. The Japanese government has never investigated the truth about this problem, still less made any compensation to the victims. Not only that, the Japanese government has been insisting that the displacement of Koreans as forced laborers or "comfort women" was lawful. However, great progress is going to be made in the solution of this problem as the U.N. Commission on Human Rights discussed this problem as a serious violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms after the U.N. Working Group on Contemporary Slavery made recommendations on the problem.

On behalf of the Investigation Team of the Truth about Forcible Displacement of Koreans in which Japanese as assailants and Koreans as victims are working jointly for a new future, I would like to pay tribute to the members of the U.N. Working Group on Contemporary Slavery.

It is well known that Korean women were subjected to indescribable sexual insults and humiliation as "comfort

women". Apart from this fact, young Korean girls were forcibly taken to Japan as members of "women volunteer corps" to work in Japanese munitions factories and were made to work under inhuman conditions.

Photo 1 is a portrait of Li Jong Suk, now 61 years old, taken just before she was taken to Fujikoshi Factory, a munitions factory in Toyama Prefecture, in June 1944 as a 13-year-old girl. The recruitment guide said that if she worked in Japan as a member of a "women's volunteer corps, she would be given a diploma certifying completion of a girls' middle school course.



(Photo 1)

However, she had to receive military training for one month after she arrived at the factory on July 6 the same year. Some of her classmates, she said, became mentally ill because of hard work and lack of freedom, and were crying bitterly. "I want to go home." They were not paid wages, and though it is written in her labor note-book that the balance of her deposits is ¥87.76, even this amount was not paid.

These problems of "women's volunteer corps", "comfort women" and forced Korean laborers, who are victims of Japanese aggression on Korea, issued from the forcible displacement of Koreans and forced labor imposed upon them based on Japan's national policy. Koreans were placed not only under slavish conditions for as long as 41 years but also were doubly victimized by their forcible displacement and forced labor imposed on them. The damage done to Korean victims illegally is comparable to and is as serious as that done by the Nazis to Jews.

Brutalities and atrocities were perpetrated in various forms in the 20th century. However, there is no instance in which the military and police, even together with ordinary people, imposed forced labor on as many as 6 million people of a foreign nation and lynched and murdered many of them and no formal apology has yet been made for it since the end of World War II.

It is desired that the United Nations, not confining its attention to the problem of "comfort women", will show a positive response to the forcible displacement of Koreans and forced labor imposed on them.

In the following, I will outline these problems.

(Photo 1) A portrait of Li Jong Suk at the age of 13, taken before he was taken to Toyama Prefecture.

(* indicates a note by the investigation team. Materials are shown at the end of each section.)

(A) Soldiers and civilian employ-
ees for the army (Japan and
other Asian countries)
(B) Women's volunteer corps (at
coal mines, port and
harbor construction
sites in Japan)
(C) Those forcibly displaced or drafted accord-
ing to the Labor Mobilization Plan and the
National Mobilization Plan under the Nation-
al General Mobilization Law
(2) Those who are thought to have been forcibly
displaced under the National General Mobil-
ization Law and others
(3) Those who were forcibly displaced under
the National General Mobilization Law, im-

1. Forcible Displacement of Koreans

(Table 1)

Forced displacement of Koreans	(1) Coal mines, forced labor at construction site and munitions factories (in Korea, Japan, others)
	(2) "Comfort women" Those for the army (in places stationed by Japanese soldiers, military bases) Those for workers (at coal mines, port and harbor construction sites in Japan)
	(3) Women's volunteer corps (at munitions factories in Korea and Japan)
	(4) Soldiers and civilian employees for the army (Japan and other Asian countries)

- * () indicates places where Koreans were forcibly taken to.
- * (1) Those forcibly displaced or drafted according to the Labor Mobilization Plan and the National Mobilization Plan under the National General Mobilization Law
- * (2) Those who are thought to have been forcibly displaced under the National General Mobilization Law and others
- * (3) Those who were forcibly displaced under the National General Mobilization Law, Im-

perial ordinance or the "women's volunteer corps ordinance" (August 1944)

- * (4) Those who were drafted by the revised Military Service Law (August 1943) as soldiers or drafted as civilian employees of the army under the drafting ordinance.

The forcible displacement of Koreans is so called because Koreans were forcibly moved to Japan from colonial Korea according to the formal law and ordinances of Japan and some Koreans living in Japan were drafted in Japan as laborers or employees for the army so as to enable Japan to prosecute its aggressive war and because they were deprived of freedom and hard work was forced on them.

The Koreans thus displaced are classed into those who were taken from Korea to Japan under the labor mobilization plan and the national mobilization plan, which were implemented after 1939 according to the National General Mobilization Law, those who were drafted in Japan as laborers under the national drafting law, and also those soldiers, employees for the army, women's volunteer corps and "comfort women" who were drafted during World War II. They were all displaced forcibly by (1) abduction, (2) forcible recruitment through abuse of powers by the authorities and police, and (3) fraudulent methods.

The realities of the forcible displacement of Koreans in all its forms are such that it violates all the items of ILO's "convention on forced labor," as they were forcibly separated from their families, and as many of them are treated as "missing", and as the ashes of dead displaced Koreans are left uncared for. In this way, the human rights of these Koreans have been openly neglected by the Japanese government, which has so far shown no sincere attitude toward this problem.

The forcible displacement of Koreans took the form of plunder of labor force from a colonial country by a suzerain state, and the reality of it differed little from forced recruitment and forced labor indiscriminately imposed on the people of occupied areas by an occupying armed force. Furthermore, in Korea, the displacement of Koreans was carried out as a state policy of Japan in a planned way, so that the Japanese government can in no way shirk its responsibility for it.

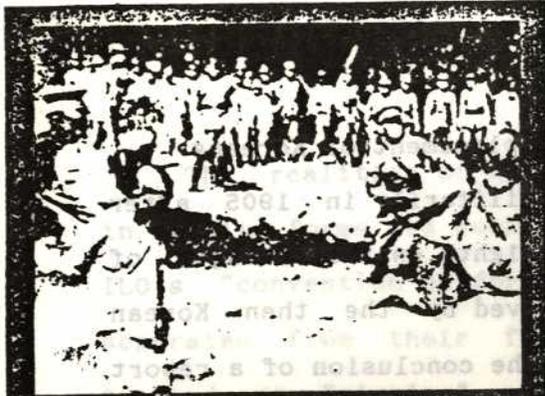
In this way, unmarried Korean women were drafted as "comfort girls" and young people in their 20s and 30s were forcibly displaced from their homes to work as forced laborers. Young girls, some 12-13 years old, were forcibly recruited as "women's volunteer corps". They numbered about 6 million or one-fourth of the total population of Korea in those days.

2. Japanese Policy of Forcible Displacement of Koreans

Japan began to occupy Korea militarily in 1905 after depriving Korea of its diplomatic rights on the strength of a treaty which had not been approved by the then Korean king. It is already confirmed in the conclusion of a report of the UN International Law Commission (ILC), (which was presented to the UN General Assembly in 1963) that this treaty of 1905 (the second Japan-Korea treaty) was not legally concluded even in the light of the practices of then accepted international law.

However, Japan annexed Korea in August 1910 on the basis of the treaty of 1905 which had not been ratified by the king, and through violence and plunder, and had enforced a ruthless colonial rule since then. From the first days of its occupation, the Japanese military and police were mobilized to deprive Korean of all their freedoms and rights, and dared to deprive them of their mother tongue and their ancestral names. As a result, Korea became a veritable living hell on earth.

On March 1, 1919, several hundreds of thousands of Koreans who demanded Korea's independence, were shot and burned to death (Photo 2), and after the Great Earthquake of the Kanto district, which occurred on Sept. 1, 1923, thousands of Koreans were murdered without any reason by the



(Photo 2)



(Photo 3)

Japanese army, and ordinary Japanese people joined in this mass murder of Koreans.

(Photo 2) Korean patriots who demanded Korea's independence were shot or burned to death after the March 1, 1919, uprising for independence.

(Photo 3) Koreans were mass-murdered after the Great Earthquake of 1923 in the Kanto district.

Japan deprived Koreans of their rice and foodstuff and confiscated large areas of their farmland and forests in the name of a land registration survey under the colonial regime of fascistic terror, hurling them into the depths of poverty, in order to turn Korea into an advance base for aggression against the Asian continent. While depriving Korea of its natural resources for the war, Japan carried out the policy of turning Koreans into subjects of the Emperor to deprive them of their national identity, and forcibly displaced large numbers of Koreans for the prosecution of the aggressive war.

1) National General Mobilization Law

In this situation, Japan started a full-scale aggression against China in 1937 and formulated the National Mobilization Law (April 1, 1938, Law No.55) in order to

plunder material and personnel resources on a large scale to carry out the war. (See Material 1)

Article 4 of the law state, "... draft Imperial subjects and make them serve the purposes of general mobilization ..."

Article 5, "... authorizes the government and local government entities as well as persons designated by the government to make Imperial subjects, Imperial corporations or any other organizations serve the purposes of national mobilization...."

Article 33, Any person who oppose a government order based on this Imperial ordinance shall be punished "by imprisonment for less than three years or a fine of less than ¥3,000".

The National General Mobilization Law came to be enforced in Korea by the Imperial ordinance dated May 4, 1938 "Concerning the enforcement of the National General Mobilization Law in Korea, Taiwan and Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin)."

As explained above, the National General Mobilization Law was a comprehensive ordinance-based law which stipulated (in Article 1) the aim and purpose of controlling and utilizing personnel and material resources for the purpose of prosecuting the war, concretely provides for labor affairs, material resources, finance, facilities, projects, prices of

commodities, publishing business and other matters, of which the concrete contents were to be spelled out by Imperial ordinances. Furthermore, Article 33 of the law states that any person who opposes an Imperial order shall be punished by imprisonment or a fine, without specifying the contents of offenses.

Since the formulation of this law, the forcible displacement of Koreans was carried out and forced labor was imposed on them in all forms on the strength of this law.

2) Labor mobilization plan

In order to promote wartime economic planning, the Planning Board directly under the Cabinet drew up every year a "labor mobilization plan" on the basis of the National Mobilization Law, and according to this plan, year-by-year numbers of forcibly displaced Koreans were decided by the Cabinet. (See Material 2)

The "Labor Mobilization Enforcement Plan Guideline for fiscal 1939" (Cabinet decision, dated July 4, 1939), includes the following articles.

Article 1, "Matters relating to the standard or the enforcement of labor mobilization in fiscal 1939 shall be decided on the basis of the imperial ordinance, "Concerning the Formulation of Enforcement Plans for National Mobilization of Fiscal 1939".

Article 7, "The above-mentioned demand shall be met by

the following supply sources." (Items 1-6 omitted)

7. Immigrant Koreans

Article 13, "Measures shall be taken to increase the number of Korean immigrants, and their labor shall be utilized for necessary work under a proper plan."

(Table 2: Target figures of labor supply classified by supply source (Table 2 attached to the Labor Mobilization Enforcement Guideline).

Classification	Males	Females	Total
Immigrant Koreans	85,000	-	85,000

(Immigrant Koreans means Koreans forcibly recruited to work in Japan)

The Labor Mobilization Plan" decided by the Cabinet clearly states the number of Koreans to be forcibly displaced and their destinations.

The plans for fiscal 1940 and for 1941 clearly describe the numbers of Koreans to be displaced and their destinations.

The following table sums up the "Labor Mobilization Plan Guidelines for fiscal 1940 and fiscal 1941 (Cabinet decisions date July 16, 1940, and Sept. 12, 1941).

(Table 3) Number of Koreans to be newly recruited in Korea (*with destinations)
(Based on the Labor Mobilization Enforcement Plan Guidelines for fiscal 1940 and fiscal 1941, decided by the cabinet on July 10, 1940 and Sept. 12, 1941)

Classification	FY1940	FY1941
Increase in labor demand		
Munitions industry		
Males	9200	7800
Females	1900	400
Total	11100	8200
Manufacturing, production increase plans		
Males	84700	103200
Females	2100	4500
Total	86800	107700
Incidental		
Males	32400	16400
Females	800	1700
Total	33200	18100
Export goods, daily necessities		
Males	1000	9000
Females	500	3300
Total	1500	14000
Transportation, communication		
Males	14600	13500
Females	700	500
Total	15300	14000
National defense construction		
Males		5700
Females		700

			6400
Subtotal	Males	141900	155600
	Females	6000	11000
	Total	147900	166700
Replacement for attrition	Males	96700	61700
	Females	53500	61200
	Total	150200	122900
Immigrants to Mainland Japan	Males	88800	81000
	Females	-	-
	Total	88800	81000
To Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin)	Males	8500	1200
	Females	-	-
	Total	8500	1200
To South Seas	Males	-	17600
	Females	-	-
	Total	-	17600
To Manchuria as colonial farmers	Males	20000	20000
	Females	10000	10000
	Total	30000	30000
Grand total	Males	355900	337300
	Females	69500	82300
	Total	425400	419600

(Table 4) Target figures of labor supply from Korea classified by supply source (* Persons to be forcibly displaced, and the numbers of Koreans to be forcibly displaced)

Classification		FY1940	FY1941
New school graduates	Males	42100	72300
	Females	14600	8800
	Total	56700	91100
Those formerly related to material mobilization	Males	7200	-
	Females	-	-
	Total	7200	-

Persons recruitable from areas other than the countryside	Males	56600	41600
	Females	-	11900
	Total	56600	53500
Persons recruitable from the countryside	Males	250000	215300
	Females	-	61400
	Total	250000	276700
Unemployed women	Males	-	-
	Females	54900	-
	Total	54900	-
Emigrants from Mainland Japan	Males	-	8100
	Females	-	200
	Total	-	8300
Grand total	Males	355900	337300
	Females	69500	82300
	Total	425400	419600

The places where they were taken forcibly were munitions factories and construction sites in Korea (See Table 3), Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin), the northeast (formerly Manchuria) of China. The largest numbers of Koreans who were forcibly taken there were (see Table 4) 250,000 Koreans and 276,000 (in fiscal 1940 and fiscal 1941) from the Korean countryside. The number of Koreans who were forcibly displaced in fiscal 1940 totaled 425,400, broken down into 355,900 males and 69,500 females. "New school graduates" in the table means graduates of elementary schools (12 years old) and middle schools (16 years old). The mobilization plans were carried out almost completely, as will be discussed in detail later.

Annual plans for forcible displacement of Koreans were worked out on the basis of the labor mobilization plan and the national mobilization plan, and Koreans were forcibly displaced from their homeland as forced laborers, "comfort women", women's volunteer corps members, soldiers and also as civilian employees of the army.

3) Forcible displacement of Korean males
Korean males were forcibly displaced by the following three methods:

(1) Recruitment (September 1939 - January 1942)

(2) Method of arrangements by the authorities (February 1942 - August 1944)

(3) Drafting (September 1944 - August 1945)

(1) By the recruitment method, Japanese recruiters were licensed by the Welfare Ministry of the Japanese Government to employ an allotted number of Koreans, and they were also licensed to do recruiting work by the Government-General of Korea. They were allowed to recruit an allotted number of Koreans in designated areas and took them en masse to Mainland Japan.

Recruitment conditions, recruitment areas, periods of recruitment work, transportation methods and other matters were planned and controlled by the Welfare Ministry, the Government-General of Korea and their lower organizations.

Furthermore, the enterprises which were allowed to employ Korean workers were confined to mine, coal mine operators, construction contractors and others licensed by the Japanese government.

* The governor-general of Korea was an Army general appointed by the Japanese Emperor, and all the provincial governors and other local authorities were Japanese.

(Related instructions)

The "Instructions concerning requests for forcible emigration of Koreans to Mainland Japan" (Instruction No. 60 of the Welfare Ministry, dated July 29, 1939, addressed to local governors by the vice ministers of Welfare and Home Affairs) (see Material 3) expressly states concerning the emigration of Koreans to Mainland Japan that "The number of Korean workers to be emigrated to Mainland Japan through recruitment should not exceed the number designated every year in the labor mobilization plan," indicating the fact that the forcible displacement of Koreans was precisely labor mobilization under the National General Mobilization Law.

Furthermore, "Instructions concerning the emigration of Korean workers to Mainland Japan" (Instruction No. 580, dated July 31, 1939, addressed to local governors by the director of the Employment Department of the Welfare Minis-

try, the director of the Social Affairs Bureau of the same ministry, and the director of the Security Maintenance Bureau of the Home Ministry) (see Material 4) states that (4) The workers to be emigrated should be informed of the following rules." These rules include the following.

- a) To make them aware that they are to contribute to the state by engaging in essential industry in the present situation
- b) To receive special training at training centers after emigration to Mainland Japan
- c) Not to change their jobs
- d) To hold a membership card of organizations for cooperation and harmony with Japan (*organizations for suppression and supervision of Koreans under the guidance of the Home Ministry, Welfare Ministry, prefectural governors, heads of police stations)
- e) In case of a change of address, to make a report to such an organization for cooperation and harmony within five days
- f) No married person is allowed to call his wife and children to Mainland Japan during the training period.
- g) To obey the instructions of leaders of organizations for cooperation and harmony, policemen and

officials of employment agencies.

It is clear from the above that Koreans did not emigrate to Mainland Japan on their own accord. Our investigation showed that the Koreans taken to Japan were not informed of these important matters, still less their consent was asked for.

A person who was in charge of recruitment of Koreans with the Joban Coal Mine in Fukushima Prefecture said as follows, "I visited provincial offices of Korea and inform them of the number of Korean workers wanted by Joban Coal Mine. Then, the provincial officials concerned told me that there were many unemployed persons in such and such counties. Then, the county office told each village to supply a certain number of persons to be recruited. Most county chiefs were Japanese. Then, the county chief gathered a designated number of persons forcibly on his own responsibility by a designated date. No matter whether a person was the eldest son of his family or not. Then, a Japanese recruiter went to them with recruitment papers, and the desired number of Koreans were recruited without fail. The Japanese recruiter had only to lead them to Mainland Japan. However, there were many Koreans who jumped off the train on their way to Japan. This is the way we recruited Korean workers." ("Coal miners movements in the Joban district and other parts of the country from prewar days up to the spring

of 1949", 1958, by the Committee for Compilation of a History of Coal Miners' Trade Union Movements in Japan)

(2) Recruitment by government arrangements

Recruitment of Koreans by government-recommended Japanese enterprises started on Feb. 20, 1942 according to the "guideline for recruitment of Korean emigrants to Mainland Japan", dated Feb. 7, 1942, issued by the General Supervisor of Political Affairs of the Government-General of Korea to all the provincial governors. This guideline was based on the "guideline for emigration of Korean workers to Mainland Japan according to the labor mobilization enforcement plan" prepared by the Home Ministry, the Welfare Ministry, and the Government-General of Korea in November 1941, and its "enforcement rules" and also on the basis of "Procedures for Emigration of Korean workers to Mainland Japan."

When a Japanese enterprise permitted to employ Korean workers submitted an application to the Government-General of Korea for making arrangements for the emigration of Korean workers to Mainland Japan, and the Government-General of Korea examined and approved the number of Koreans to be recruited and allocated the number to the provinces of Korea. The provincial offices, on receiving the order, allocated the number of Koreans to be recruited to the lowest administrative units of myon through county heads and employment agencies, and the county office secured the

necessary number of Koreans on its own responsibility. It was the Korean Labor Affairs Association, established in June 1941, as an organization attached to the Government General of Korea that was in charge of transportation of Korean recruits inside Korea. In other words, the Government-General of Korea unified labor recruitment organizations under it and strengthened its control on the recruitment of Korean laborers.

(3) Recruitment by drafting (September 1944 - August 1945)

"Matters Concerning Emigration of Peninsular Workers (Note: derogative term for Korean workers)" (Instruction No. 39A of the Welfare Ministry, Cabinet decision of Aug. 8, 1944) (See Material 6)

1. Enforcement of new recruitment of emigrant workers

The general "requisitioning order" began to be applied to Koreans forcibly displaced from Japan in September 1944. The method of forcible displacement differed little from recruitment by government arrangements. In the latter case, Koreans were forced to work under forcibly concluded contracts with enterprises. However, according to the new method of recruitment by drafting, Korean workers were drafted as an administrative measure by state power, and later they were made to conclude contract with enterprises. In this way, the government's mobilization power of Korean

workers and employees for the army was further strengthened.

In this way, the forcible displacement of Koreans took the form of forced labor by state power in the names of the "labor mobilization plan" and the "national mobilization plan".

Furthermore, it is clear that there was intervention by state power in the more concrete methods of "recruitment" and "recruitment by government arrangements." Referring to the reason why Koreans were recruited in these names, the Administration Bureau of the Finance Ministry said, "There was danger that the enforcement of the drafting ordinance might cause misunderstanding and friction" ("A historical survey of overseas activities of Japanese" by the Administration Bureau of the Finance Ministry. As this statement shows, the Japanese Government used these names in order to prevent resistance on the part of Koreans and also to conceal the criminal nature of the forcible displacement of Koreans.

(Responses of the Japanese Government)

In the past, the Japanese government continued to insist that the recruitment (1) and the recruitment by government arrangements were not compulsory recruitment of Koreans forced on them by state power, although it admitted the fact that it carried out the "labor mobilization plan"

and the "national mobilization plan"

However, recently it has been making apologetic remarks in the face of research and discoveries of documents by private organizations and also under pressure of public opinion.

Kosuke Hori, the then Minister of Education, told a meeting of the Budget Committee of the House of Councilors (Upper House) (May 28, 1990, Diet records, No. 14) said, "... Japan forced unbearable things on Koreans. Because of shortage of labor in Mainland Japan, and it is written in records that about 700,000 Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan to do hard work in mines and at construction sites under the strict surveillance of the police, where they suffered from hunger, exhaustion and illness, and the rigors of winter." Even Japanese school text-books, which are censored by the Government, state that about 700,000 Koreans were forcibly displaced from their homes in Korea, including those who were employed by recruitment and the method of recruitment by government arrangements, and were made to work in Japan, and indirectly admit that these Koreans were forcibly displaced persons.

4) Forcible Recruitment of Korean Women

1) "Comfort women"

By "comfort women" we mean the Korean women who were

sent to the battle front under the control of the Japanese army and were forced to offer sexual service to Japanese soldiers. This practice began in the beginning of 1930, continued throughout Japanese aggression against China which began in 1937, until 1945. Almost all of them were unmarried Korean women, and they were forcibly made to serve Japanese soldiers as prostitutes without their consent. The number of such women is estimated at 200,000.

In reply to international criticisms, the Japanese Government says that it has apologized to the Korean people and is doing research work sincerely. However, it has published no documents at all concerning "comfort women" which are held by the Justice Ministry and the Police Agency. Because of the lack of data and materials, it is impossible to draw a full picture of this problem. However, here we will make clear this issue with presently available data and testimony. The material mentioned below was not included in the list of materials obtained and made public in July 1992 by the Japanese government as a result of its first research work. It is the material which our investigation team discovered in the Japanese National Public Document Archives and made public (Material 7).

A Cabinet decision was made on "Matters concerning the emigration of Chinese workers to Mainland Japan" (Nov. 27, 1942) as a compulsory measure according to the national

mobilization plan based on the National General Mobilization Law. This Cabinet decision clearly specifies the control measures of the Japanese government concerning all the processes of forcible displacement -- "emigration," "transportation", "employment" and "control."

Furthermore, a decision of the Third Department of the Planning Board, dated the same day as the Cabinet decision, expressly states, "Proper measures should be taken for the establishment of brothels and amusement facilities."

Furthermore, a secret document entitled "Enforcement rules for the supply of the first batch of Chinese workers (draft)" spells out a concrete measure and specifies the number of persons to be supplied as follows: "Method of recruiting comfort women, expenses and their transportation methods They should be recruited lawfully (six persons are estimated to be needed)"

Apart from this, "Matters concerning experimental emigration of Chinese workers to Mainland Japan and their treatment", an instruction dated Jan. 8, 1943 of the Security Maintenance Bureau of the Home Ministry to the Inspector-General of the Metropolitan Police and prefectural governors, includes an item concerning "brothels". These materials show that all the government authorities concerned, including the Welfare Ministry, the Inspector-General of the Metropolitan Government and prefectural governors,

and other government agencies were positively involved in promoting the forcible displacement of Koreans and Chinese. The investigation team confirmed by its survey in May 1992 that the above-mentioned plans were carried out.

The materials concerned are listed below chronologically together with the dates of their decision: Planning by the Planning Board -> Cabinet decision (Nov. 27, 1942) -> Enforcement rules by the Northern China Transportation and Labor Affairs Department for forcible displacement of Chinese from China (Jan. 8, 1943) -> instruction of the Security Bureau of the Home Ministry -> forcible displacement to a private enterprise in Kushiki Port in Toyama Prefecture (April 1943).

This clearly shows that the government agencies concerned made positive efforts to supply comfort women, instead of just being involved in it. This was precisely a state act of forcible displacement of Chinese women to Mainland Japan as comfort women.

From this fact, there is no doubt that the Japanese government hold materials and data concerning the forcible displacement of Korean comfort women whose number was far larger than that of Chinese comfort women.

However, at the time of the publication of the results of its first survey work, the Japanese completely ignored the above-mentioned material and is said to have told the

Chinese government and the Taiwanese government in July 1992 that "there were no materials showing forcible displacement of Chinese women."

2) Women's volunteer corps

It is said that an estimated 200,000 young Korean girls were mobilized to work in munitions factories to enable Japan to continue its aggressive war.

They were recruited under the "National Patriotic Labor Cooperation Ordinance," Imperial ordinance No.995, proclaimed in Nov. 22, 1941, which was based on the National General Mobilization Law. This Imperial ordinance was applied to Korean girls more than 14 years old and less than 25 years old, and the legal ground for it was shown as below.

Article 1: The women's volunteer corps is aimed at enabling women to serve the state as subjects of the Emperor according to the provision of Article 5 of the National General Mobilization Law, and the corps itself shall be controlled by this ordinance.

Article 3: This ordinance shall apply to males more than 14 years old and less than 40 years old and to females more than 14 years old and less than 25 years old.

Article 4: The period shall be 30 days or less per year. However, this period may be extended in

case there is a special reason or in case the person concerned so desires.

Article 16: The Minister of Welfare in this ordinance shall read the Governor-General in Korea..

(The period of 30 days was revised to be extended to 60 days in June 1943, and "less than 25 years old" to read "less than 40 years old.")

Korean women, who came to be recruited "legally" were organized into women's volunteer corps ostensibly on a voluntary basis, but actually by fraudulent methods.

Since Sept. 23, 1943, Korean males were prohibited from working in a total of 17 kinds of jobs including shop salespersons, ticket collectors, conductors and barbers, and Korean women less than 25 years old began to be organized into women's volunteer corps (according to a Cabinet decision on "labor policy for victory". This was followed by a decision on "Matters concerning the promotion of mobilization of women for labor." In this way, Korean women were recruited by fraudulent methods to organize themselves voluntarily into women's volunteer corps.

Furthermore, in order to mobilize Korean women en masse, the women's volunteer labor ordinance" (on Aug. 23,

1944, issued as an Imperial ordinance No. 519), was proclaimed which incorporated a clause for compulsory enrollment of women into women's voluntary corps. Since then, a literally forcible displacement of Korean women had been carried out. (The drafting of women started and the period of service as women's volunteer corps members was extended to one year by an instruction of the Welfare Ministry, dated Nov. 10, 1944,)

5) Forcible drafting of Koreans as soldiers or civilian employees of the army

Most of the Koreans mobilized for military tasks were as civilian employees of the army and were not as combatants. These Korean employees of the army were engaged in the construction of military bases, ports and harbors, airstrips and other military installations on the battle front.

Large numbers of Koreans were drafted under the national requisitioning ordinance (dated July 4, 1939, Imperial ordinance No.451) based on the National General Mobilization Law (April 1, 1938, Law No. 55). (See Material 9)

The "national requisitioning ordinance" (June 8, 1939, Imperial ordinance No.451)

Article 1: The drafting of Imperial subjects shall be carried out according to the provisions of this ordi-

nance based on Article 4 of the National General Mobilization Law.

Article 2: Unless there is a special reason, the drafting of personnel shall not be conducted except in case a specified number of persons are not obtained through national employment guidance offices or employment offices or through other means of recruitment.

Supplementary rule

This ordinance shall be enforced as from July 15, 1939, provided, however, that it shall be enforced as from Oct. 1, 1939 in Korea, Taiwan, Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin) and the Southern Pacific islands.

The laws and ordinances concerning the drafting of Koreans as soldiers are as follows.

"Ordinance concerning special army volunteers" enforced on April 3, 1938

"The Military Service Law, amended" enforced on Aug. 1, 1943

"Promulgation and enforcement of temporary enrollment rules of army special volunteers" on Oct. 20, 1943

3. Realities of Forcible Displacement of Koreans and Forced Labor Imposed on Them

About 4.5 million Koreans were displaced from Korea and about 1.5 million Koreans from their homes in Japan according to the "labor mobilization implementation plans" (1939-1941), the "national mobilization enforcement plans" (1942-1944), both of which were prepared by the Japanese government and specify the numbers and destinations of the displaced Koreans, and also according to data and materials submitted by the Government-General of Korea to the Imperial Diet (85th and 86th).

1) The number of displaced Koreans and their destinations

(1) Director-General Shimizu of the Employment Security Bureau of the Labor Ministry said in a government reply in the budget committee of the House of Councilors of the 118th Diet, "As a document, we can cite a report by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group. This report mentions a total of 667,084 Koreans ..."

The document from which the Japanese government quoted is shown in Table 5. The Japanese government, pleading that there were no relevant figures available, made public this figure 45 years after the termination of the war. However, as clearly stated in a note below the table, this table was submitted to the GHQ by the Japanese government (Labor Department of the Welfare Ministry).

(Table 5)

THE UNITED STATES
STRATEGIC BOMBING SURVEY

THE JAPANESE WARTIME
STANDARD OF LIVING
AND UTILIZATION OF
MANPOWER

Table FFF

Number of Korean Contract Workers Brought Into Japan
Proper Annually by Type of Work Assigned, 1939-45

Year ¹	Total number	Type of work assigned		Construction and civil engineering	Other work including factories
		Coal mining	Metal mining		
1939.....	38,700	24,279	5,042	9,379	1,546
1940.....	54,944	35,431	8,069	9,898	2,865
1941.....	53,492	32,099	8,938	9,540	13,100
1942.....	112,007	74,576	9,483	14,848	15,089
1943.....	122,237	65,208	13,660	28,280	130,462
1944.....	280,304	85,953	30,507	33,382	3,000
1945 ²	6,000	1,000	-----	2,000	-----
Total 1939-45 ³	667,684	318,546	75,749	107,327	166,062

¹ Fiscal year commencing on 1 Apr. of year indicated and ending 31 Mar. of following year.

² Estimated for first quarter of fiscal year (April through June).

³ Total number brought into Japan. Number of Koreans leaving Japan or transferring from previously assigned industry not available.

Source: Data submitted by Labor Bureau, Welfare Department.

Apart from the insincere attitude of the Japanese government, this figure was extremely conservatively estimated by the government for fear of being tried as war criminals. Table 6, which was compiled by the Finance Ministry of the Japanese government, gives the number as 724,727. In this way, there are discrepancies between the numbers given by the government.

(2) Survey by the investigation team

As explained above, the Japanese government confines the number of displaced Koreans to those who were taken to Mainland Japan, and the number itself is most conservatively estimated. Because of the insincere attitude of the Japanese government and its failure to publish related data and materials, it was only through the efforts of private researchers and private investigation teams that a more accurate number of displaced Koreans and their destinations have been revealed so far. Though the data and materials used by us are limited, our investigation team estimates the number of displaced Koreans as follows.

(Table 7) Koreans who were forcibly recruited in Korea and forced Korean laborers in Korea

* "A Historical Survey of Overseas Activities of Japanese," by the Management Bureau of the Finance Ministry of Japan

(Table 6)

Forcibly displacement of Koreans (the number of Korean laborers displaced to Japan Mainland)							
	number	number of mobilization					Total
		coal mining	metal mining	construction	factories, etc		
1939	85,000	34,659	5,787	12,674	-	53,120	
1940	97,300	38,176	9,081	9,249	2,892	59,398	
1941	100,000	39,819	9,416	10,965	6,898	67,098	
1942	130,000	77,993	7,632	18,929	15,167	119,721	
1943	155,000	68,317	13,763	31,615	14,601	128,296	
1944	290,000	82,859	21,442	24,376	157,795	286,472	
1945	50,000	797	229	836	8,760	10,622	
Total	907,300	342,620	67,350	108,644	206,113	724,727	

(Table 7) Koreans who were forcibly recruited in Korea and forced Korean laborers in Korea

	Recruitment in county	Recruitment by government arrangement	Drafting	Total
1939	113,096	45,286		158,382
1940	170,664	61,527		232,171
1941	313,731	46,887		360,618
1942	333,976	49,030	90	383,096
1943	685,733	58,924	648	745,305
1944	2,453,021	76,617	19,655	2,549,293
1945	?	44,263	23,286	67,549
Total	4,070,201	382,534	43,679	4,496,414

(in 10 volumes. Chapter 21 "Korea and Korean Rule" of Volume 9 was not completed as of 1947. All the volumes were printed by July 1950) (Material 10)

(Table 8) Koreans who were displaced from Korea to areas outside Korea and forced labor imposed on them

- * "Labor mobilization plan" and "national mobilization plan", both annual plans. (Material 2)

- * "A Historical Survey of Overseas Activities of Japanese," by the Management Bureau of the Finance Ministry of Japan (in 10 volumes. Chapter 21 "Korea and Korean Rule" of Volume 9 was not completed as of 1947. All the volumes were printed by July 1950) (Material 10)

- * "Materials concerning government explanations in the 85th and the 86th Imperial Diet" (Material 11)

- * The number of Koreans who were displaced from their homes in Japan in 1939-1943 are based on "Matters concerning an increase in police force accompanying the organizational change of police for Koreans living in Mainland Japan" (Cabinet decision dated Dec. 7, 1943), and "Matters concerning the five Imperial ordinances including one concerning the employment of temporary employees by the Home Affairs Department" (Cabinet decision dated Dec. 30, 1944). Both these documents are preserved at the National Public Document Archives.

(Table 8) Koreans who were displaced from Korea to areas outside Korea and forced labor imposed on them

		1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
Japan Mainland	Mobilization plan	85,000	88,800	81,000	120,000	150,000	390,000		914,800
	number of recruitment	79,660	87,133	75,155	122,262	117,943	286,432	400,000	1,168,585
To Russia and to Karafuto	Mobilization plan		8,500	1,200	6,500	3,300			19,500
	number of recruitment	3,301	2,605	1,451	5,945	2,811			16,113
To South Seas	Mobilization plan			17,800	3,500	1,700			23,000
	number of recruitment			9,249	16,159	5,242	5,885		36,535
To east-northern district	Mobilization plan								0
	number of recruitment	145	656	284	293	390	1,617	467	3,852
To China	Mobilization plan								0
	number of recruitment		25	13	50	16	294	347	745
To Japan Mainland	Mobilization plan		65	5,396	4,171	4,691	24,071	31,603	69,997
	number of recruitment			4,895	3,871	2,341	201,189	9,786	222,082
Total	Mobilization plan	85,000	97,300	100,000	130,000	155,000	390,000	0	957,300
	number of recruitment	83,106	90,484	96,443	152,751	133,434	519,488	442,203	1,517,909

The number of Koreans who were forcibly displaced in Japan is an estimate by our investigation team. The grounds for this estimation are explained below.

The U.S. Air Force began air raids on Mainland Japan in order to light back and carry out a decisive battle against the enemy in Mainland Japan. The Japanese started constructing underground factories for the production of aircraft and military bases in March 1942.

After the war, the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group conducted a survey of underground factories and issued a report on the results of its research work. According to the report, underground factories were constructed in about 100 places throughout Japan, including one with a tunnel length of 10 kilometers. The report notes that a total of 2.5 million persons were employed for the underground evacuation of aircraft factories from March to August 1942, and a larger part of the labor force used was Koreans and Chinese POWs. ("The Japanese Aircraft Industry," Vol. 15, 1946, of the Report of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group, compiled and published by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group.)

As it is estimated that about 10,000 Chinese POWs were engaged in this work, it is believed that underground factories were constructed almost entirely by a total of about 2,500,000 Koreans and Chinese POWs.

* The number of Koreans who were forcibly displaced in Japan, is an estimate by our investigation team. The grounds for this estimation are explained below.

The U.S. Air Force began air-raids on Mainland Japan. In order to fight back and carry out a decisive battle against the enemy in Mainland Japan, the Japanese empire started constructing underground factories for the production of aircraft and military bases in March 1945.

After the war, the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group conducted a survey of underground factories and issue a report on the results of its research work. According to the report, underground factories were constructed in about 100 places throughout Japan, including one with a total tunnel length of 10 kilometers. The report notes that "a total of 7.5 million persons were employed for the underground evacuation of aircraft factories from March to August 1945, and a larger part of the labor force used was Koreans and Chinese POWs." ("The Japanese aircraft industry" Vol. 15, 1946, of the "Report of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group," compiled and published by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group)

As it is estimated that about 10,000 Chinese POWs were engaged in this work, it is believed that underground factories were constructed almost entirely by a total of about

7.5 million forced Korean laborers.

Furthermore, a large number of military bases were constructed in the Pacific areas, for the construction of most of which forced Korean laborers were employed. At the present stage of our investigation, it is estimated by analyzing the areas of such military bases and installations that approximately a total of 14 million Korean laborers were mobilized for the purpose.

(Table 9)

	No. of places	Total area	Total Mo. persons mobilized
Underground factories	101	665414.83m2 (excluding 10 factories whose areas are not known)	7.5 million
Military bases, etc.	549	123408.2m2 (excluding 101 bases, etc. whose areas are not known)	14 million
Total	660	1899482.03m2	21.5 million

- 2) Indiscriminate drafting and their labor management
 - 1) Forcible displacement by the method of "slave hunting"
- Naoakira Mizuno, then director-general of the Financial Affairs Bureau of the Government-General of Korea, testifies

as follows. "The worst of the crimes committed was the act of requisitioning human beings. This was because in Mainland Japan there was a need for coal miners, as all young able-bodied Japanese became soldiers. About 60% of the coal miners were Koreans. It was also Koreans who built port and harbors, and naval ports." (Materials on Modern Korea -- "Selections of important documents concerning the Government-General of Korea" Vol. 3)

Koreans who were put in a rightless state, were drafted as forced laborers as if they were hunted slaves.

"It was impossible to recruit an allotted number of Koreans if their consent were to be obtained. So, labor affairs officers of county and myon offices suddenly raided homes with male adults in the dead of the night or at dawn while they were asleep. Furthermore, they gathered Korean men working on the field and made them board a truck without telling them any reason at all. These Koreans thus barbarously gathered were organized into groups and were sent to coal mines in Kyushu and Hokkaido. ("Myths about Korea," Takuichiro Kamata, 1950)

Kim Dae Shik, who was drafted in February 1943 in North Kyongsang Province and was transported to the Hoshu Coal Mine in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan, told a story of how he and his fellow Koreans were hunted down like slaves. "I was raided by a policeman and an officer of the myon office

while asleep in my home, and was handcuffed to be taken to a gathering place in the county, and was transported to Japan forcibly. The number of my Korean compatriots who were captured like myself in my county was 125, of which 80 were moved to Japan in their ordinary Korean costume. We were strictly guarded on our way to Japan. So much so that when I went to a toilet aboard the train, as many as seven labor affairs officers followed me". (Interview with Kim in April 1974)

Naturally, Koreans frequently refused to be taken forcibly to Japan or tried to escape. According to a report by the Security Maintenance Bureau (in charge of the security maintenance of forced Korean laborers) of the Home Ministry, about 35% of the forcibly displaced Koreans escaped unable to endure forced labor imposed on them and maltreatment.

As a measure to counter the increasing number of Koreans who refused to be recruited or their mounting resistance, the Japanese government indiscriminately drafted Koreans, even those suffering from contagious diseases, in the closing days of the war.

The "document concerning the immigration of Peninsular workers", prepared by Naigai Steel Works, in Koto-ku, Tokyo, which was discovered by our investigation team in 1991 at Komazawa University, Tokyo, (see Table 10), 100 Koreans

(Table 10) "Document concerning the immigration of Peninsular workers" prepared by Naigai Steel Works, in Koto-ku, Tokyo, which was discovered by our investigation team in 1991 at Komazawa University, Tokyo.

<p>一、募集地は各地方 当内外の鋼材、鉄鋼製品、輸送、貯蔵、加工、製造、修理、検査、包装、出荷、運送、保管、廃棄、処理、その他一切の業務に必要とする労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>二、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>三、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>四、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>五、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>六、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>七、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>八、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>九、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>	<p>十、募集地は各地方 本工場は、朝鮮半島の各地方に、労働者を募集し、之を本工場に送り、労働せしむることを目的とする。</p>
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aged 17-19, were forcibly taken to Japan from Kangyong Province (presently in the north of Korea) in March 1944. The Epidemic Prevention Department of the Government-General of Korea warned the recruiting officers that it was necessary to conduct a medical checkup of the persons to be taken to Japan, saying that typhus fever was prevalent in the area where they came from. But this warning was ignored, and they were forcibly taken to Japan. As a result, typhus spread in the dormitories of the workers of Naigai Steel Works. According to a report submitted by the enterprise to the Metropolitan Police Board, as many as 81 typhus patients from the factory were being isolated at an isolation hospital on May 1, 1944.

(2) From the lists prepared by the Japanese government About 47% of the Koreans forcibly displaced to work in Japan were destined to coal mines, 9.3%-11.4% to metal mines, and these workplaces accounted for more than half (56.6%-68.67%) of the forced Korean workers. This distribution of forced Korean workers was decided as a government policy from the planning stage of the National General Mobilization Law. Needless to say, the forcibly displaced Korean workers were not free to choose their occupations, and were forced to work in the most dangerous workplaces under the worst working conditions.

(Industry-wise breakdown of forced Korean workers)
 Out of the jobs in the dangerous coal mines and metal mines, Korean workers were made to engage in mining work in the underground pits. The Welfare Ministry states in a report that 80-90% of the workers in the pit were Koreans." (Internal document of the Welfare Ministry, dated Sept. 26, 1941).

In munitions factories, construction sites and other workplaces, the most hazardous work was done by forced Korean workers.

(Fig. 11) Industry-wise breakdown of forced Korean workers

	Finance Ministry (1)	Welfare Ministry (2)
Coal mines	47.3%	47.37%
Metal mines	9.3%	11.3%
Civil engineering	15.0%	16.1%
Other factories	28.4%	24.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

* (1) "A Historical Survey of Overseas Activities of Japanese," by the Management Bureau of the Finance Ministry of Japan (in 10 volumes, Chapter 21 "Korea and Korean Rule" of Volume 9 was not completed as of 1947. All the volumes were printed by July 1950) (Material 10)

* (2) The "U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Group report,"

submitted by the Labor Affairs Department of the Welfare Ministry of Japan (Table 5)

(Labor Management)

The Japanese government, which had been denying the presence of any materials concerning forcible displacement of Koreans, admitted in August 1990 in face of mounting international criticisms that a list of forced Korean laborers had been discovered in the library of the Welfare Ministry. The names of 66,940 were found on the list, broken down into 7,212 who were "recruited", 49,182 who were either recruited by government arrangements or "drafted," and 13,430 who were unclassifiable. (Refer to a separate volume, entitled "The List of Forced Korean Laborers Provided by the Japanese Government")

The Japanese government handed this list to the authorities of south Korea, but no part of it has yet been made public. We are now analyzing the contents of the list. The following table, which shows the results of our so far completed investigation of forced Korean laborers who worked in Hyogo Prefecture, shows that 13,430 Koreans were forced to work in 122 places in the prefecture. The methods employed for their recruitment are also given in the table.

(Table 12) Breakdown of forced Korean workers in Hyogo Prefecture (classified according to the methods of recruit-

ment)

Recruitment, etc	1,407	10.5%
Government arrangements	3,698	27.5%
Drafting	6,995	52.1%
Government arrangements and drafting	1,034	7.7%
Persons not elsewhere classified, no record	295	2.2%
Volunteer corps member	1	0.0%
Total	13,430	100.0%

The above-mentioned breakdown of forced Korean laborers according to the methods of recruitment shows that 6,995 (52.1%) were drafted, 27.5% of the total were recruited by "government arrangements", and 7.7% were recruited by "government arrangements and drafting". This means that 11,727 (87.3%) were either drafted or recruited by government arrangements.

(Table 13) Reasons for leaving jobs

Japan's defeat	6,155	45.8%
Escapees, missing, deaths	4,767	35.5%
Return home before termination of contract term	127	0.9%
Illness, deportation before termination of contract term	352	2.6%
Job change, leaving job before	302	2.2%

termination of contract term

For joining the army	63	0.5%
Termination of contract term	796	5.9%
Dismissal, etc.	331	2.5%
Persons not elsewhere classified, no record	537	4.0%
Total	13,430	100.0%

What is remarkable about the above table (Table 13) is the fact that as many as 4,767 persons, or 35.5% of the total, are classed as "escapees, missing and deaths." Furthermore, even after the contract term of two or three years was terminated, the contracts were forcibly renewed for a further period. As a result, those who left their jobs after termination of their contract terms were only 796 persons, or 5.9%.

It is believed that the Japanese government was ordered by the Allied Powers to submit data and materials concerning forced labor for the sake of the Military Tribunal for the Far East. It is unthinkable that the Japanese authorities who had been in charge of forcible displacement of Koreans made a correct report on the matter for which they might be prosecuted.

However, even this material, which is undoubtedly limited in scope and content, clearly shows how cruel and inhumane the labor forced on Korean workers was.

Our investigation team located Paek Chi In (who now live in Pyongyang, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), and visited him in August 1991 to obtain his testimony. (His name is found in Line 8 from above, on Page 141 of "Results of research of Korean workers, Hyogo Prefecture 2/3" by the Labor Ministry of Japan, which is to be submitted by our investigation team as material.)

Paek was forcibly brought to the Akenobu Mine in Hyogo Prefecture together with 150 other Koreans in April 1944 when he was 16 years old. "Arriving at the mine, we were made to wear our number tags on our chests, and were made to do rock drilling work in the most dangerous pits. The shacks where we were herded together at night were surrounded doubly and trebly by barbed wire fences. Despite this, Korean workers continued to escape one after another. One day, an unsuccessful escapee was lynched before us as an example. The captured escapee was hung from the ceiling head-down, and was beaten with sticks and whips. When he fell unconscious, the overseers poured water from a teapot into his nostrils. It was an execution carried out before our eyes. I had not seen this lynched Korean since then.

Probably he died soon after that."

The labor management of Koreans by private enterprises was aimed at increasing production for the prosecution of the war, and it was done in close cooperation with the

police authorities. As will be clear from the "Request for the assignment of policemen in connection with the increased number of Peninsular workers" (Materials for the conference of factory managers" by Nippon Mining Co., Ltd., 1941), together with an increase in the number of forced Korean workers, there was a substantial increase in the number of police officers in charge of Koreans. (One policeman per 550 Korean workers was assigned according to a document on "Cabinet approval" in December 1943.) This shows how private enterprises and police cooperated with each other closely in order to prevent the escape and resistance of Korean workers.

(3) Maltreatment at labor camps (working hours, contract terms, wages)

(Working hours)

The working hours at most workplaces were 10-12 hours, and the contract terms were 2-3 years. However, even after the termination of their contract terms, most Korean workers were forced to renew their contracts.

Kiichi Ashino, a Japanese who worked at the Mitsubishi Bibai Coal Mine in Bibai, Hokkaido, told us as follows. "Counting Korean workers doing work in the shaft where I worked, there were about 300 of them. Unlike Japanese miners, Koreans were given work norms, and were compelled to work many more hours until they fulfilled their norms. There

were overseers with a cudgel who inspected their work. They worked about three times more than we Japanese. They often asked for water, but we could not bring ourselves to give water to them, because they were beaten if they were found to have obtained water from us. If they just spoke to us, they were also beaten.

"Moreover, if they fell ill, and if their illness was not so serious, they were not allowed to consult a doctor. There was no choice for aged and weak Koreans but to die." (Interviewed by our investigation team in Hokkaido)

(Labor camps, treatment)

There were separate shacks for Japanese, Korean and Chinese workers, and mutual visits among them were prohibited.

Particularly, Koreans were discriminated against other workers, and they were also discriminated in meals. A Japanese who were in charge of Korean workers in those days, testifies as follows.

"A large number of drafted (*forcibly displaced) Korean workers came to our mine. They were put in one shack and had to sleep there without putting off their rubber-soled cloth shoes. Six to seven persons were put in a room with a space of about 10 square meters." (The "Coal Miners Trade Union Movements in the Joban district and other parts of the

country from prewar days to the spring of 1949," compiled by the Committee for the Compilation of a history of Coal Miners' Trade Union Movements in Japan)

"The shacks each with a space of about 50 square meters were not partitioned at all (*accommodating about 20-30 persons) and Koreans and Japanese were put in separate shacks. The head of a shack for Koreans was a Korean, but all the Korean workers were supervised in a way by Japanese workers." ("A research report on the working conditions of Peninsular laborers")

These facts show that the shacks in which Korean workers were put were concentration camps. These shacks were strictly fenced around to prevent their escape. Guards were patrolling not only in the place near the shacks but also on roads and at stations day and night, and there were policemen and army police who questioned suspicious-looking persons.

Murder by violence and hard work were a matter of daily occurrence.

"There were always whips, wooden swords, bamboo swords, oak clubs and other tools for lynching hung on the walls of the labor affairs office. They used these to beat us. When I complained about stale soybean cake flakes in food, I was taken to the labor affairs office where they beat me in turn with a whip for four hours. They whipped me on my back so

that all the skin on my back peeled off." (Testimony collected by our investigation team in Hokkaido in April 1973).

About 1,000 Koreans were taken to the Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi Prefecture and worked there from 1940. Many of them died in cave-in and other accidents and also because of silicosis. Some others were murdered. Because of food shortage, "We picked rotten sweet potatoes and ate them, and many fell ill because of malnutrition, and we saw dead bodies with straitened feet like radishes being carried away on a pushcart." "Korean workers who were unable to work because of illness were bound to electric light poles and were beaten, and I saw many more miserable scenes." "When Korean workers were unable to go down the pit because of illness, the Japanese overseers gave them electric shocks by putting electric wire to their feet. It often happened that we were gathered in a court beside the ore storehouse and were made to witness a Korean worker being whipped as an example." ("The history of Ashio Mine Workers Trade Unions", 1958, compiled by the Trade Union of Ashio Mine Workers, and transcripts from stenographic records)

About 1,000 forced Korean laborers were used as employees of the Navy to construct a naval munitions factory at Tagajo in Miyagi Prefecture. As it was a secret factory, each shack of workers was guarded by a big dog, and the workers slept there using a long wooden pillow. Many work-

ers died there. Dead Koreans were carried in a horse-drawn cart to a field nearby and were buried there. Furthermore it is said that dead Koreans were thrown in the concrete mixers to build concrete girders of a bridge, but the Japanese government has so far done nothing to ascertain the fact. Nor has a memorial service been held for them.

The Japanese government does not give any accurate figures of those who died under harsh conditions of forced labor. However, it is estimated that about 300,000 forced Korean laborers died in Japan alone. No contact has yet been made to the families of the deceased about their death.

(Wages)

Table 14 shows that 78% of Korean laborers received monthly wages of less than ¥50 against 18% for Japanese workers. Generally speaking, the wage of Koreans was half that of Japanese.

(Table 14) Wages of Korean workers compared with those of Japanese

	Less than ¥30	¥30-50	¥50-70	¥70-90	¥90-110	¥110 or over	Total
Japanese	3.7%	14.0%	21.3%	22.1%	20.6%	18.3%	100%
Koreans							

36.1% 38.9% 12.3% 6.8% 2.1% 3.8% 100%

*(No. of persons covered) 877 Japanese, 324 Koreans

* "A survey report on the working conditions of Peninsular workers." (May 1943), by the Labor Science Research Institute

For instance, more than 10,000 Korean workers were employed by Japan Iron and Steel (presently, Nippon Steel Corporation, the world's largest steel maker). According to a history of the company, the average attendance rate of Japanese workers was 74% and that of Korean workers 81% at its Chongjin Iron Works. But the average monthly wage of Korean workers there was ¥80 against ¥154 for the Japanese.

But traveling expenses to Japan, meal expenses and expenses for work shoes were deducted from this low wage of Korean workers, and they were forced to deposit almost all the remainder, because if they had money, they could escape.

According to materials prepared by Japan Iron and Steel, which our investigation team discovered at Komazawa University in January 1992, out of the total deposits and unpaid wages of 5,500 Korean workers at six of the company's factories, ¥664,000 remained unreimbursed or unpaid.

On this basis, our investigation team estimates that the forced deposits by and unpaid wages of Korean workers, which are in the custody of the Japanese government amount to some ¥50 million, which will amount to about ¥290 billion at current value. (In this estimation, the calculation was

made on the basis of a minimum number of 330,000 forced Korean workers as on Aug. 15, 1945, according to the materials in the possession of the Japanese government.)

(Unpaid wages, deposits in trust)

Why is it that these problems have been left unsettled for 47 years since the termination of World War II. Forced Korean workers, who greeted the liberation of Korea on Aug. 15, 1945, unfolded protest movements in many parts of Japan demanding reimbursement and payment of their forced deposits

and unpaid wages. In response to this, the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers occupying Japan then, issued a memorandum to the Japanese government ordering it to ensure that no Japanese enterprise take a discriminatory attitude to Koreans and that no such treatment be allowed to be taken." (SCAPIN360, Nov. 28, 1945) The Japanese government, afraid of being prosecuted for committing war crimes, ordered enterprises to submit data on the amounts of unpaid wages and the lists of the names of depositors to the Custody Department of the Justice Ministry. According to Japanese law, Japanese enterprises were obligated then to inform the persons concerned of the fact that the amounts of money had been deposited with the Custody Department. However, the Japanese government told the enterprises concerned that there was no need to inform the Koreans concerned about it,

on the ground that the situation in Korea was unstable then. As a result, the unpaid wages are supposed to be kept in the vaults of the Bank of Japan. Since last year, Koreans have been suing the Japanese government demanding payment of their unpaid wages. However, the Japanese government refuses to publish the list of Koreans concerned on ground of protection of privacy, and turns down the suit instituted by them, declaring that now that more than 10 years have passed since the case transpired, the statute of limitation has run out.

The Japanese enterprises which employed forced Korean laborers include many enterprises affiliated with the Sumitomo, Mitsubishi and Mitsui groups, construction companies such as Kajima Corp., Obayashi-Gumi and Kumagaigumi, and such well-known motor companies as Toyota, Nissan and Mazda (See Material 11). These big enterprises amassed fabulous profits by employing forced Korean laborers. They have not yet settled the questions of forced deposits and unpaid wages, questions which should be settled before that of compensation to them. Needless to say, none of them have yet made a formal apology or paid compensations to them.

The Japanese government, instead of fulfilling its own responsibility for these facts, has not yet made a serious survey of the matter. On the contrary, it has made compensations to these enterprises for what it calls damage due to

the employment of forced Korean workers.

3) Sexual aggression

(Comfort women)

When our investigation team visited Okinawa in 1972, Ms. Kiku Kaneshima, who worked as a cook preparing meals for comfort women, testified as follows. "Excepting one girl who was 19 years old, all the women were in their 20s. They came here together with the Koga unit of the Japanese Army around September 1944. ... In the morning, they did chores, carrying bags of grains, digging trenches, felling trees just as ordinary soldiers did. They served soldiers in the day time and officers at night. Soldiers with their tickets formed a line in front of the brothel. The women were always saying, 'I don't know when I will die. So I want to return home as soon as possible,' 'I want to meet my mother,' and 'I want to see my father.' On a moonlit night they would sing Korean songs sadly."

Pae Pong Gi, who was forced to serve Japanese soldiers in Okinawa, said, "I was cheated in Pusan by a recruiter who said that I would earn big money if I went to Singapore. Actually, I was made a comfort woman. When I knew that I was going to be one, I felt all my blood flowing backward in my body. I felt my heart would burst and I could not stop trembling. I cried loudly how such a thing as this could

happen to me. I will never forget what I went through then. Even today, I feel that all things are a pain to me and I cannot have a peaceful mind even a day," so she told her life filled with pain and agony.

(Women's volunteer corps)

During the war, about 4,000 women volunteer corps members were forced to work at the Kanegafuchi Seoul Factory in Seoul, South Korea. Taisuke Mukaino, 66, who worked there then, testified as follow. "The Korean girls were aged between 12 and 18. The dormitories for them were run-down wooden buildings and they were given meals different from those for the Japanese workers. They were forced to work 12 hours a day, and when they fell into a dose during work, they were whipped. I heard them crying "Aigo!" every day when they were whipped on their backs. There were Japanese soldiers and military policemen in the factory keeping a watch on the Korean girls, and sometimes some of them were lynched as an example. Suffering from hard work and malnutrition under heavy working conditions, they looked like so many white candles, as they had lost weight and seldom went out when there was sunshin. I thought nearly 70% of them were suffering from tuberculosis." (Interview at his home in Hyogo Prefecture in 1992)

4) Forced labor imposed on Koreans as employees of the army

As Japan's aggressive war spread from the Asian continent to the Pacific, Koreans were drafted as employees of the army and were mobilized for the construction of military bases and as guards for POWs. The number of Koreans drafted in this way was about 384,000, who were to work not only in Mainland Japan, but also in China and Southeast Asia. As many as 140,000 of them are listed as "dead or missing." (Material 12)

No Japanese relief laws are applied to them, who, the government says, are not Japanese nationals.

4. Problems and Illegality

The forcible displacement of Koreans is a crime against humanity.

The Articles of the Military Tribunal for the Far East and the Nuremberg International Military Court expressly state that inhuman acts against civilians including murder, slavery and others, should be tried as war crimes notwithstanding the domestic laws of the assailant countries concerned. Furthermore, Japan violated ILO's convention on forced labor of 1932, which is ratified by Japan.

Why has the Japanese government left this problem unsolved for 48 years since the end of World War II?

1) Postwar responses of the Japanese government to the Allied powers

The Cairo Declaration of November 1943 states that the three above-mentioned powers (the United States, Britain and China), noting the slavish conditions of the Korean people, are determined that Korea should in time be a free and independent country. Furthermore, Article 8 of the Potsdam Declaration provides that the articles of the Cairo Declaration should be enforced. Accepting this declaration, Japan surrendered unconditionally on Aug. 15, 1945.

Furthermore, the peace treaty of Japan with the Allies concluded on Sept. 8, 1951, provides in Article 2(a) that Japan shall recognize the independence of Korea and shall renounce all its rights and claims to Korea, including those to Cheju, Koebun and Ullung islands.

In this way, the Japanese government recognized the Cairo Declaration which stated that the Korean people were in a slavish state, and surrendered by accepting the Potsdam Declaration, and resolved in the peace treaty with the Allied countries that Korea be made a free and independent state. This means that the Japanese government intended to return Korea to a state where it had been before Japan's aggression on the basis of the premise that the Korean people should be liberated from their slavish state under

its colonial rule, and recognized its obligation in the peace treaty to recover Korea to a state where it had been before its occupation by Japan.

Furthermore, the statement by a spokesman for SCAP concerning status and Treatment of Koreans in Japan, dated Nov. 20, 1946, says that "Since the beginning of the occupation of Japan, it has been the policy of the occupation authorities to treat Koreans as liberated people and take all possible measures for their welfare according to the policy decision of the United States and later of the Allied Powers. Measures were taken quickly to release Koreans detained for political reasons from prison and liberate those who were virtually slave workers." This statement recognizes that forced labor imposed on displaced Korean people was virtually slave labor.

In view of these declarations and treaty, the forcible displacement of Korean should naturally have been tried as a criminal case by the Military Tribunal for the Far East.

However, the Military Tribunal for the Far East, which began in May 1946, did not sufficiently try war crimes committed by the Japanese army in Asia. The period of time covered by the Military Tribunal for the Far East was from 1928 to 1945, but the Japanese rule of Korea and Taiwan was not included in the trial. In other words, the Allied Powers tried only Japan's aggressive acts in Southeast Asia

on the basis of the premise that Japan's rule of Korea and Taiwan was an established fact.

Furthermore, the Military Tribunal for the Far East classified "ordinary war crimes" as "Class B and C war crimes" and attached importance to forced labor imposed on Allied POWs and their maltreatment. Furthermore, the Japanese Foreign Office prepared a detailed research report on forcibly displaced Chinese, because China was one of the victorious powers.

Table 15 shows a "survey of Koreans, Chinese and POWs as regular employees in factories and mines" as of June 1944. Of these, Koreans were the largest in number and most of them were forcibly displaced persons. Victims were the largest in number among them. However, regrettably, no trial was held for the crimes against Koreans.

(Table 15)

Survey of Korean and Chinese Workers Previously Introduced in Groups and Prisoners of War Among Regularly Employed Workers in Factories and Mines, Japan Proper, 30 June 1944¹

	Total regular workers	Total Korean, Chinese, and P'OV workers	Korean workers	Chinese workers	Prisoners of war
Factory workers.....	7,700,273	82,650	60,119	3,602	9,929
Male.....	5,512,896	80,745	67,222	3,594	9,929
Female.....	2,277,377	1,905	1,897	8	
Mine workers.....	633,754	148,935	140,788	2,328	5,819
Male.....	527,018	148,506	140,419	2,328	5,819
Female.....	106,736	369	369		

¹ This Survey covers only group movements of Korean and Chinese workers into Japan proper. Koreans and Chinese who migrated to Japan individually before the war are not included. Figures also do not include day workers.

Source: Cabinet Bureau of Statistics.

the same as Table 5 in page 35

2) Today's problems

The Japanese government has never made a formal apology for the colonial rule of Korea or the war crimes committed against Korean people during World War II, nor has it made any compensation for it.

In May 1990, or 45 years after the termination of World War II, the then Kaifu government of Japan apologized, saying, "I would like to humbly reflect on the fact that in a certain period in the past the people of the Korean Peninsula suffered unbearable pains because of the acts of our country and I would like to express my frank feeling of apology to them." Similarly, Miyazawa, the present prime minister of Japan, said similar words of apology. These expressions of apology admit Japan's criminal acts during its colonial rule of Korea as illegal acts in the light of international law. While saying words of apology, they all deny Japan's responsibility for compensation.

At present, the Japanese government insists that the forcible displacement of Koreans and the issue of "comfort women" were legal and lawful acts according to the then Japanese laws and ordinances concerned and that therefore Japan has no responsibility for compensation. However, faced with growing international criticisms, the Japanese government intends to politically settle only the problem of "comfort women" not by making a compensation to them but by

setting up a fund for their relief. This does not mean a real solution at all. The Japanese government should first fully disclose the truth about the forcible displacement of Koreans, and on this basis, should recognize its responsibility for it and make a compensation.

The forcible displacement of Koreans should naturally have been strictly punished as a war crime just as Nazi's brutalities were, by making clear where the responsibility rested and due compensations should have been made in the postwar period. But nothing has yet been done in this respect. Those who close their eyes to their past acts, cannot see their present, and may repeat their history of inflicting damage on others. The survivors of the forcible displacement are already advanced in age.

It is our sincere desire that the U.N. Working Group on Contemporary Slavery will make a positive study of the matter for its solution, in consideration of its importance and urgency.

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