

Position Paper of Korean-Japanese Civil Society on the Japanese Government's push to designate Sado Mine as a UNESCO World Heritage Site

We pay respect to the members of UNESCO World Heritage Committee and the International Council of Monuments and Sites(ICOMOS) for your efforts to ensure that world heritage sites of universal value are passed on to future generations.

In January 2023, the Japanese government submitted a nomination for the Sado Mine to be designated as the UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Japanese government's nomination focuses on the Sado Mine's heritage by limiting the period to the Edo period, calling it "the highest point of the traditional artisanal gold production system" and praising its production technology. ***Unfortunately, the nomination does not fully explain the "full history" of the Sado Mine, including the history of forced labor during the Edo period and the forced labor of Koreans during the Asia-Pacific War.***

We, the citizens of Korea and Japan, have been working together to address the history of wartime forced labor. In this regard, we express our grave concern and regret that the Japanese government is attempting to erase the history of forced labor of Koreans as a state policy during its colonization and war of aggression.

The Sado Mine was a site of forced labor of Koreans during the war, and this historical fact has already been brought to light by people's efforts to uncover the truth about forced labor. In 1992, Japanese people invited victims of Korean forced labor to testify at Sado. In addition, the official histories of Niigata Prefecture and Aikawa Town, where Sado Mine is located, record the historical facts of Korean forced labor. Investigations so far have revealed that more than 1,500 Koreans were forcibly mobilized and subjected to human rights violations of forced labor under harsh conditions.

When the Japanese government was inscribed by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 2015 for the "Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding, and Coal Industries of the Industrial Revolution in Meiji Japan" (hereinafter referred to as the Meiji Industrial Heritage), it acknowledged that it detained Koreans and others against their will during the war and forced them to work, and promised to set up an information center to remember the victims. ***However, the Industrial Heritage Information Center in Tokyo has not kept this promise. Instead of explaining the history of forced labor of Koreans, Chinese, and Allied Prisoners of war at Meiji Industrial Heritage sites, the center has exhibits that deny the historical fact of forced labor.***

In July 2021, the 44th session of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee concluded that the Government of Japan had failed to implement the Committee's decisions (39 COM 8B.14 & 42 COM 7B.10),

expressed "strong regret" for the lack of implementation, and adopted a decision (44 COM 7B.Add2) to develop an interpretation strategy for the "entire history" of the site, including the history of forced labor. In November 2022, the Japanese government submitted a report stating that it was "implementing in good faith." However, it is clear that the Japanese government is not fully implementing the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee and has been heavily criticized by Japanese media and citizens, as well as South Korea.

Despite the recommendation of the World Heritage Committee, the Japanese government is attempting to deny the history of forced labor in the "Industrial Heritage of Meiji Japan" and to inscribe the Sado Mine as a World Heritage Site without accounting for the forced labor. This attempt further undermines the dignity of the victims of forced mobilization and forced labor, and is contrary to the founding spirit of UNESCO. Furthermore, the Japanese government's denial of the history of human rights violations including wartime forced labor carries a significant risk of perpetuating distorted memories and passing on false values to future generations.

In recent decades, the Japanese government has reinforced nationalistic history education based on a history that promotes colonization and wars of aggression. The movement to deny Japan's war responsibility has been strengthened by the rise of historical denialism, which denies crimes against humanity and genocide, such as the Nanjing Massacre, forced labor, and the Japanese military "comfort women" issue. This is no different from the Holocaust denialists. In recent years, Japan has also seen a rise in hate speech and hate crimes, which runs counter to the international community's universal recognition of the country's commitment to greater freedom, equality, and democracy.

The Japanese government's attempt to use World Heritage as a tool of intolerant nationalism is a direct challenge to UNESCO's ideology of fostering a universal spirit of peace and respect for human rights. We would like to reiterate that the issue of Sado Mine's UNESCO inscription is not just a matter of historical conflict or politics between Japan and South Korea, but a matter of universal human rights.

This report aims to present a comprehensive picture of the history of forced labor of Koreans in the Sado Mine by collecting documents on forced labor unearthed by Japanese citizens and researchers, as well as testimonies from Korean victims. This report is the result of solidarity between the citizens of Japan and Korea, and is an effort to overcome the unfortunate history of colonization and wars of aggression, and to create a peaceful East Asia. It is with great pleasure that we present this report to you. We hope that our small actions will contribute to the realization of UNESCO's spirit of passing on our common heritage to future generations in order to realize a world full of peace and human rights.

11 April 2023

The Center for Historical Truth and Justice(Korea)
The Network for Research on Forced Labour Mobilization(Japan)

Korean-Japanese Citizens' Joint Investigation Report

Sado Mine and the Forced Labor of Koreans



If the Japanese government aims to have the Sado Mine registered as a World Heritage, it should acknowledge the forced labor of Koreans that took place there and explain the full history of the site.

Korean-Japanese Citizens' Joint Investigation Report

Sado Mine and the Forced Labor of Koreans

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Publication of this Joint Investigation Report

“Sado Mine and the Forced Labor of Koreans” is a joint investigation report by Korean and Japanese citizens, produced jointly by the Korean Center for Historical Truth and Justice and the Network for Research on Forced Labour Mobilization.

At the end of January 2022, the Japanese government decided to nominate Sado Mine as a World Heritage Site, but its nomination limits the period of heritage related to Sado Mine to the Edo Period with a focus on the praise of production techniques as developing from a traditional cottage industry to reach the highest level of gold production system. As with the “Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution,” the full history of the site is not visible, and there is no detailed explanation of the wartime forced labor there.

In a joint effort by Korean and Japanese citizens, the Center for Historical Truth and Justice and The Network for Research on Forced Labour Mobilization intend in this report to offer suggestions as to how the history of the Sado Mine should be explained. This joint investigation report sheds light not only on the brighter aspects of gold, silver, and copper production at Sado Mine, but also on its dark history of violent labor management and workplace accidents.

In writing this joint investigation report, we have learned a lot from investigative activities conducted since the early 1990s by residents of Sado and other places in Niigata in relation to Sado Mine and the forced labor of Koreans there. A paper titled “Sado Mine and Korean Labor Workers (1939–1945)” (2000) of Hirose Teizo, a former professor at Niigata University of International and Information Studies, was an important guide in our work. Even since 2019, new research on the forced labor of Koreans at the Sado Mine has been published in Japan and South Korea, and various materials such as historical documents and testimonies have been discovered. The Network for Research on Forced Labour Mobilization has provided numerous collections, photos, and lecture materials.

The Center for Historical Truth and Justice collected relevant data and analyzed records of the reports on damage suffered as a result of forced mobilization submitted to the Korean government of Korean victims. The information on the period and process of mobilization, the routes of movement, the working environment and treatment, and the victims’ lives after returning that was included records of the investigation on the damage reports gave a three-dimensional picture of the real conditions of the forced labor at Sado Mine. The records contain the names and details of the actual conditions of 124 victims of mobilization, as well as details of 18 deaths and the circumstances in which they happened.

In this report we have tried to portray the history of forced labor of Koreans in the Sado Mine from various angles by combining the historical documents of forced labor discovered by Japanese citizens

and researchers and the testimonies of Korean victims. Documenting the history of the harm caused by forced labor shows the faults and hypocrisy of those who deny the history of forced labor. The Japanese government and Mitsubishi Materials must acknowledge the history of forced labor during wartime, disclose materials relating to it, and take historical responsibility for the relief of victims.

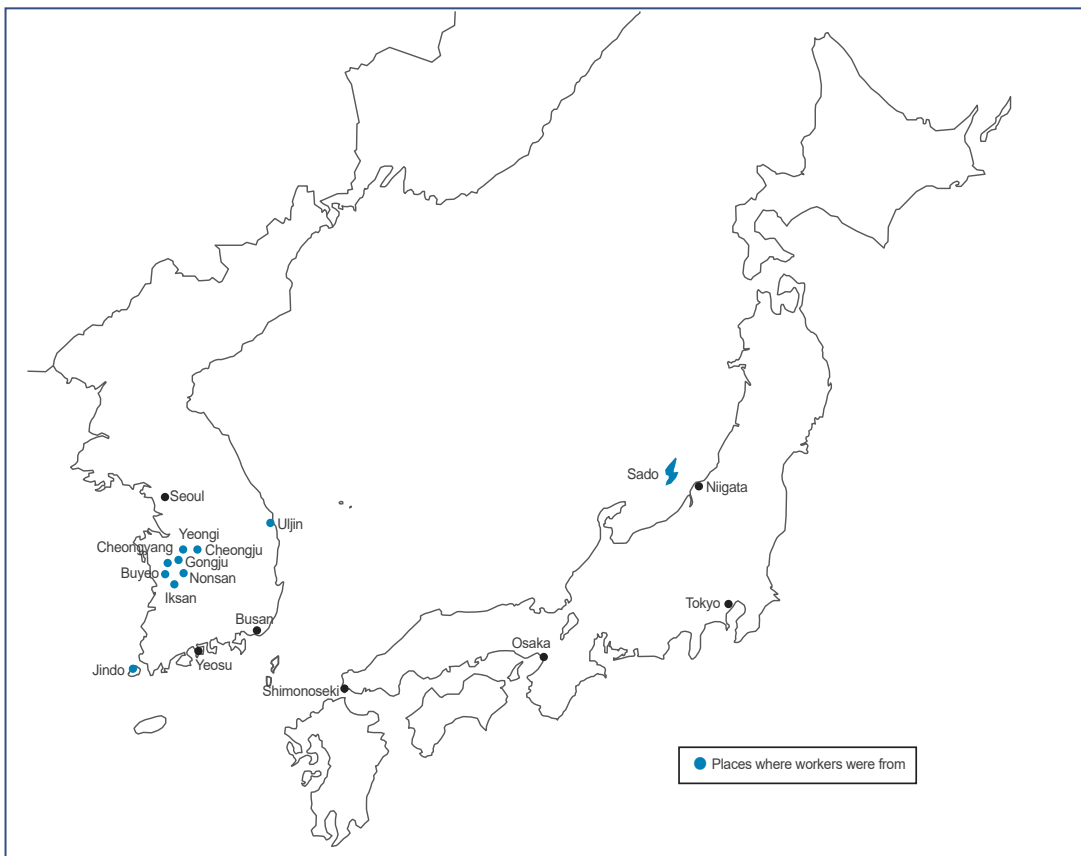
To convey the value of World Heritage to citizens of the world, we must remember the victims of forced labor and listen to what they have to say. We hope that this report created jointly by citizens of Korea and Japan will serve as a guide in understanding the full history of the Sado Mine.

Commentary

I. About Sado Mine

1. What kind of place is Sado Mine?

Sado Mine is a mine complex located on Sado Island in Niigata Prefecture. Sado Island is located about 45 kilometers west of Niigata City, Japan, and takes about two and a half hours to reach by ferry. The entire island belongs to the administrative division of Sado City. With an area of 854.34km², it is the largest island in Japan after the four main islands and Okinawa.



Map of the Places where Koreans Who Were Forcibly Taken to Sado Mine

Sado Mine produced gold, silver, and copper. In Nishimikawa, gold was mined from the Heian Period (794–1185). Meanwhile, silver mining began at Tsurushi in the mid-16th century. Both silver and gold were mined in Aikawa from the early 17th century. The center of the Sado Mine was the Aikawa Mine, which was directly managed by the Edo Shogunate (1603–1868). During the Edo period, 41 tons of gold, 1,781 tons of silver, and 876 tons of copper were mined.



Tomb of the Homeless (photo taken in February 2022)

Sado. The shogunate made use of the class system in the security management and penal system at the mine. In the latter half of the Edo period, homeless people from Edo and other places were rounded up and sent to the mine for forced labor. At the end of the shogunate, 28 people died in a fire in the mine, and a memorial monument to them remains. Many mine workers died prematurely as a result of pneumoconiosis (silicosis), smoke pollution, and accidents.

2. Management of Sado Mine in the modern era

From 1869, Sado Mine was directly managed by the Meiji government, and there was a push to introduce Western technology. Western-style vertical shafts were installed in the mine, and tools and materials such as gunpowder, water pumps, rock drills, tramlines, aerial cables, smelting facilities, and power generation facilities were also installed. In 1896, Sado Mine, along with Ikuno Mine and Osaka Smelting Factory, became owned by the Mitsubishi Joint Stock Company and later became part of Mitsubishi Mining Co., Ltd., after it was established in 1918.

Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and started the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. When gold was needed to pay for large-scale imports of military supplies, the Japanese government implemented a policy to increase gold production. At Sado Mine, a flotation plaza was built in the Kitazawa district. Thanks to this technological improvement and expansion of operations, 1,537 kg

of gold was produced in 1940. This was the highest on record since the start of the Meiji era. During the war, Koreans were mobilized, and in 1943, the mine switched mainly to mining copper.

After Japan's defeat in 1945, the metal division of Mitsubishi Mining changed its name to Taihei Mining in 1950, Mitsubishi Metal Mining in 1952, Mitsubishi Metals in 1973, and Mitsubishi Materials in 1990. Mining continued at Sado Mine under the manage-



Entrance to Doyu Pit, drilled in 1899 (photo taken in February 2022)

ment of Mitsubishi, but on a reduced scale as a result of the reckless digging during the war and a deterioration in the quality of the gold. Sado Kinzan(Sado Gold Mine), a subsidiary established in 1973, ceased operations in 1989. Currently, Sado Mine is currently operated as the “Historical Sado Gold Mine” by Golden Sado (established in 1970), a subsidiary of Mitsubishi Materials.

Sado Mine was the largest gold and silver mine in Japan. It is said that 78 tons of gold and 2,330 tons of silver were produced in Sado over 400 years. From 1896, when Mitsubishi began operating the mine, until 1989 when it was closed, 34 tons of gold, 445 tons of silver, and about 4,000 tons of copper were produced, and the Mitsubishi conglomerate made huge profits.

3. Labor management in the modern era

Mines in the modern era had a system of labor control called the 'hamba system'. Under the supervision of a foreman, workers were recruited from all over and made to stay in workers' dormitories called 'hamba', to keep them controlled. The supervisor of the hamba received a contractor's payment from the mining company to undertake the mining work, assigning tasks to workers, checking miners as they entered the pit, and supervising the work. This process led to violence and exploitation by middlemen in the control of workers.

In Sado Mine, the hamba system was called the 'heya system' (room system). The heyas (also called 'beyas') included Otsuka, Suzuki, Yasuda, Ota, and Sato Beya. The records for Otsuka Beya and Suzuki Beya reveal that there were 21 Koreans in these two places around the time of the 1920s. Looking at the regions of origin of 20 of them, 8 people came from Gyeongsangnam-do, 2 from Gyeongsangbuk-do, 3 from Gyeonggi-do, 2 from Chungcheongbuk-do, 2 from Chungcheongnam-do, 2 from Jeollanam-do, and 1 from Jeollabuk-do.

Mitsubishi's head office tried to shift from indirect employment by hamba to direct employment by the company in the late 1910s. However, the hamba contract system survived on site. In Sado, the control exercised through the heya system continued to exist, simply changing form. The mine relied on heya to recruit and manage workers. In 1930, Mitsubishi's head office proposed hiring two heya supervisors at the Sado Mine as full-time labor managers, moving workers to directly managed dormitories and making them direct employees. It has been reported that although the system was converted to direct employment, traces of the heya system remained until the mid-1930s.

At Sado Mine, a high proportion of workers in the metal mines belonged to heya, and the dis-



Memorial to the dead at the Suzuki Beya (photo taken in May 2022)

mantling of the system was delayed. According to the testimony of one resident, “Heya supervisors managed a lot of the miners, assigning them to work, and my blood ran cold because of the inhuman methods they used to manage people, with miners who tried to escape punished by being hung up with ropes and having their skin scorched by the smoke from green pine needles” (Kinzo Isobe, “Sado Gold Mine,” 1992). In other words, at Sado Mine, labor control under the heyaya system was violent.

4. Resistance from workers

When Mitsubishi Joint Stock Company took possession of the Sado Mine in 1896, it made operational changes seeking to increase profits. The company stopped mining in unprofitable pits, expanded the crushing and smelting facilities, reduced the number of miners, and implemented a policy to reduce the amount of rice sold to them at low prices. In turn, it strengthened labor management and on-site work.

In July 1899, about 100 miners at Sado Mine started a labor dispute. It was triggered when the company punished them for dozing off during overlong shifts of 12 hours. In the wake of this incident, the company allowed miners to work 8-hour shifts. In March 1900, around 600 people went on strike, demanding an increase in the provision of cheap rice or a corresponding increase in wages. The dispute was settled as the company showed a willingness to make improvements. However, the improvements were not good enough, and the workers’ demands for higher wages and shorter working hours continued.

In May 1922, 150 mine workers gathered at the theater in Aikawa and resolved to call for a 50% increase in wages and 8-hour work days, and demand that their 1 day off each month be increased to 2 days. 120 people descended on the house of the person in charge of the mine, and 400 went on strike. This large-scale strike was settled through the mediation of the village leader with an agreement to improve the welfare of the mining workers and allow their unconditional return to work. The leaders of the dispute were arrested and sentenced for violating the Security Police Law.

In 1939, the mine reduced wages, locked the changing rooms and bathrooms until the end of working hours, and increased measures to control workers, including placing a fence at the entrance of Doyu Pit No.1 and locking it with a padlock after workers entered the pit. In response, the workers protested, going on strike and negotiating the withdrawal of such measures. In April of the following year, when



Mining by hand at Sado Mine (circa mid-1930s)



Female workers handpicking ore at the Sado Mine Concentrator (circa mid-1930s)



Mining by rock drill and hand at Sado Mine (1930s)

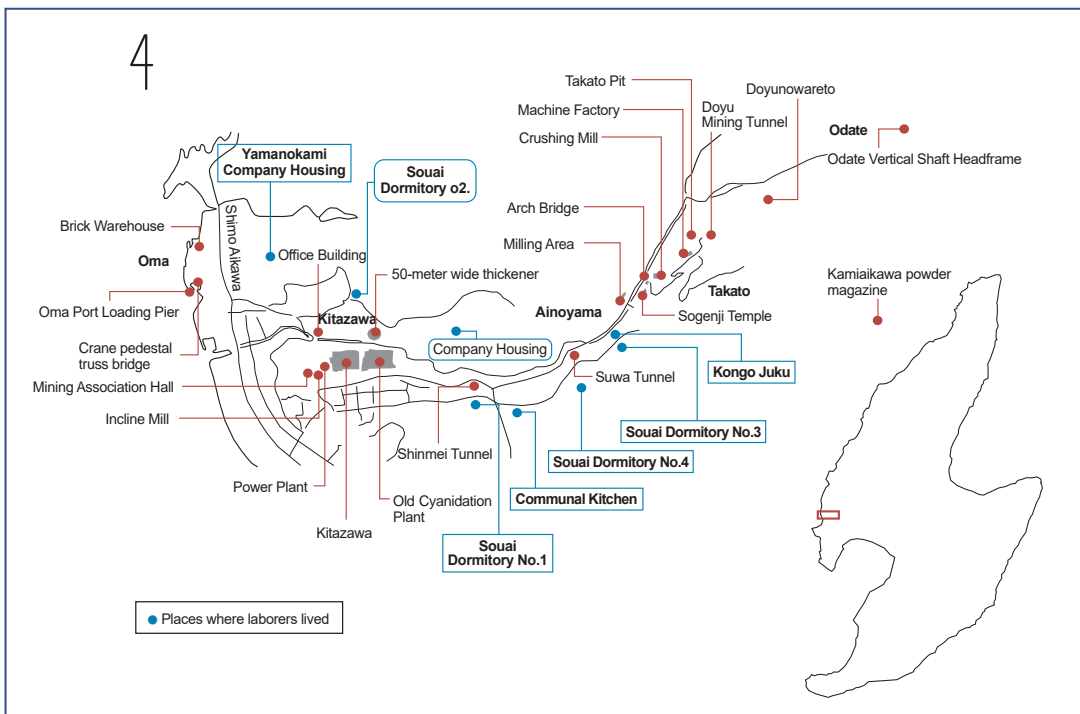
Koreans who had been mobilized went on strike, acting together to demand improvements in working conditions, some of them were arrested.

5. Modern era heritage at Sado Mine

The industrial heritage at Sado Mine is distributed across the areas of Odate, Takato, Ainoyama, Kitazawa, Oma, and Toji.

In Odate, there is the Odate Vertical Shaft, which was completed in 1877 as a facility for moving cages loaded with workers, materials, and mine cars up and down using a mine hoist. The current shaft was completed in 1940, when it was expanded to increase production.

Takato is the heart of the mine. It has the Takato Shaft (1887), the Doyu Pit (1899), a crushing mill (circa 1937), a warehouse for ore (1938), and a machine factory (circa 1939). The machine factory was where the repair and maintenance of storage battery-powered locomotives was carried out. A



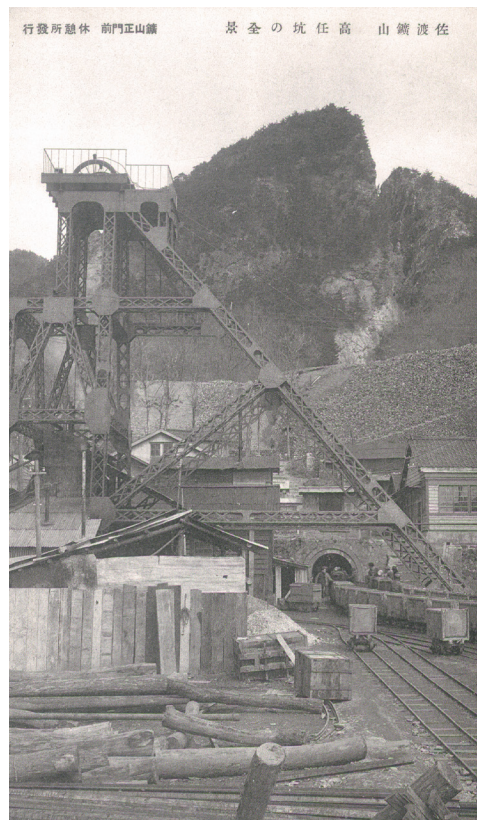
Map of the modern industrial heritage at Sado Mine



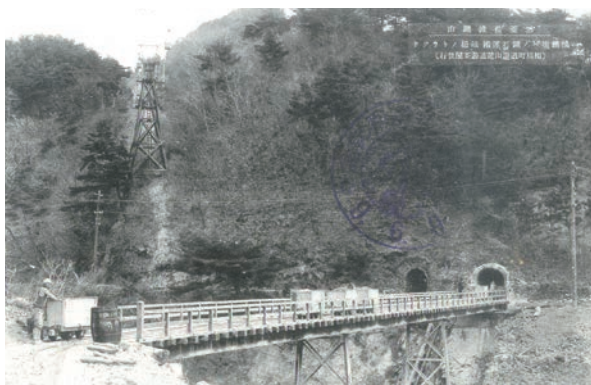
Wooden elevator in the Odate Mineshaft Tower (circa mid-1930s)



Panorama of the Ainoyama milling area, completed in 1925 (circa mid-1930s)



Takato Shaft tower and entrance to Doyu Pit (mid-1930s or later)



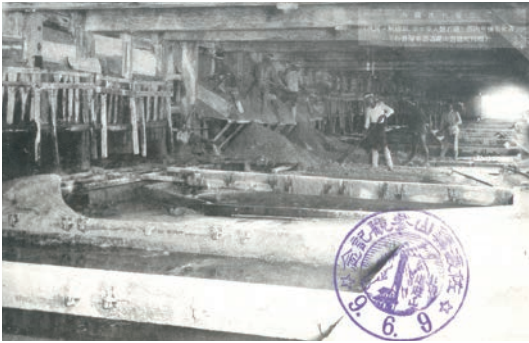
Iron bridge for transportation of ore between the Takato District and the Ainoyama No. 1 Milling Area (around the mid-1930s)

little further away is Kamiaikawa powder magazine (1939).

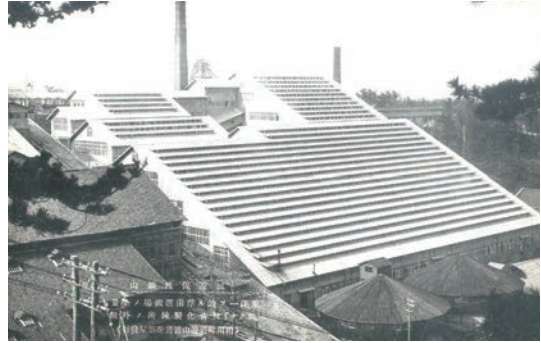
In Ainoyama, there are a milling area (reconstructed in 1925) and arched bridges. The milling area, where ore was crushed and refined, was shut in 1943. Between Ainoyama and Aikawa there remain the Suwa Tunnel and Shinmei Tunnel, which used to contain transportation tracks.

In Kitazawa, there is an old cyanidation plant (1892), a flotation plant (1940), a 50-meter wide thickener (1940), an incline mill (conveyor belt for material transport), a

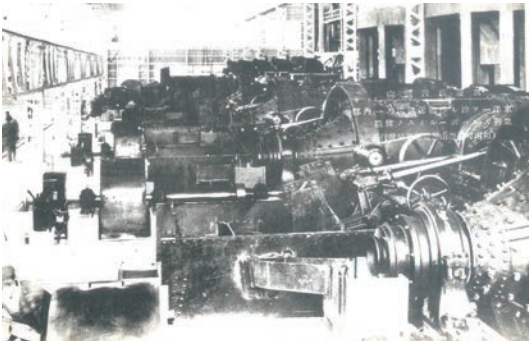
thermal power plant (1908), and a mine office (1936, now the Aikawa Folklore Museum). Cyanidation, or the cyanide process, is a smelting method in which gold and silver from ore are melted with potassium cyanide. Meanwhile, flotation is a method of recovering gold and silver by mixing the residue after recovering gold and silver with a flotation agent to float fine gold and silver with bubbles. The first phase of the flotation plant was completed in 1938 to increase production during wartime, while in 1940, expansion work was completed, allowing the plant to process 50,000 tons of ore per month. The



Inside of the Old Cyanidation Plant (circa mid-1930s)



Panorama of the Flotation Plant (circa 1940)



Inside of the Flotation Plant (circa 1940)



Loading pier before the construction of Oma Port: mine cars and aerial cables used for transportation (circa mid-1930s)

thickener was a concentrator for separating ore slurry from water by allowing it to settle as sediment.

Oma was a port for the mines, with a stone embankment (1882), a truss bridge (from where ore was tipped from mine cars on to barges), a loading pier (with loading equipment and tracks for cargo transport, circa 1938), a crane pedestal (for unloading, 1914), and brick warehouses.

In Toji, the Tojigawa Hydro Power Plant No.2 building (1919) remains.

While some exhibitions for sightseers at Golden Sado are about the modern era, the Edo period is the focus. Most of the mining facilities remaining at Sado Mine were built in modern times, but there is no detailed explanation of the history of labor at the site. The reason for the emphasis on gold production during the Edo era in Sado's tourism is believed to be to hide the profits made by Mitsubishi in the modern era.

The Sado City government's World Heritage Promotion Division has created a facility called "Kiharium Sado" with exhibitions about Sado Mine. Most of the exhibits are about mining technology and industrial heritage, and there is no mention of labor issues. Industrial heritage must be explained from multiple perspectives, including the aspects of capital, labor, and international relations.



Entrance to the Sado Kinzan Exhibition Archives (photo taken in August 2022)



Night View of Concentrator Plant (photo taken in May 2022)



The only place where photography is allowed in the Kirarium Sado exhibition room (taken in August 2022)



Workers' houses remaining in Singorocho (photo taken in May 2022)



Information board installed at Sado Kinzan. The board does not explain the labor done by homeless people at the mines as forced labor. In addition, the board says that the number of homeless people was small (photo taken in August 2022)



Monument erected at Sogenji Temple in 1934 for the repose of the souls of those who died at Sado Kinzan (photo taken in August 2022)

II. Forced Labor of Koreans

1. How was the forced mobilization of Koreans carried out?

Following its invasion of Manchuria in 1931, from 1937 Japan waged an all-out war of aggression against China. As a result, Japan strengthened its systems for the mobilization of people and materials from colonial Korea. It promoted a policy of Japanization, to turn Koreans into Japanese people, and established a labor mobilization plan that spanned a wide area, including Japan, Sakhalin, and the South Pacific Islands.

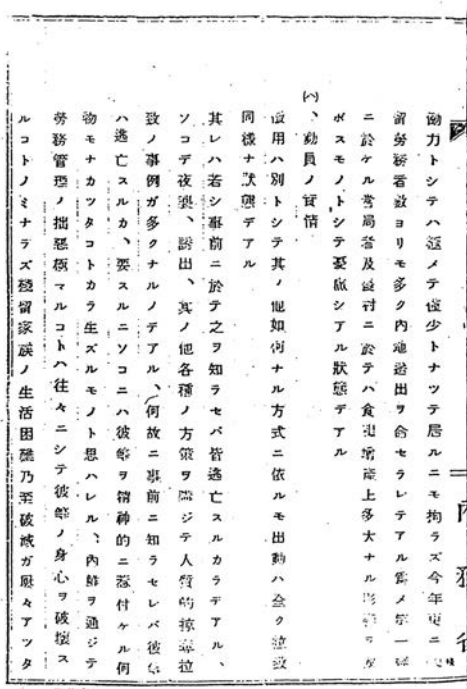
From 1939 to 1945, under the Japanese government's labor mobilization plan enticements and violence under the guise of various names, including "recruitment", "government agency services", and "conscription," were used to mobilize Koreans. This is what the forced mobilization of Koreans refers to, with about 800,000 people being mobilized as workers in Japan. Approximately 500,000 people were mobilized during the period from 1939 to the end of 1943, and about another 300,000 people were mobilized from 1944 to 1945.

Those mobilized were taken to coal mines and other mines, civil engineering construction sites, munitions factories and ports all over Japan. They were forced into a life subject to violent surveillance with no freedom of action, and were not even paid properly. They worked under harsh conditions in poor surroundings, and faced severe racial discrimination. They suffered from hunger and were often unable to return home even

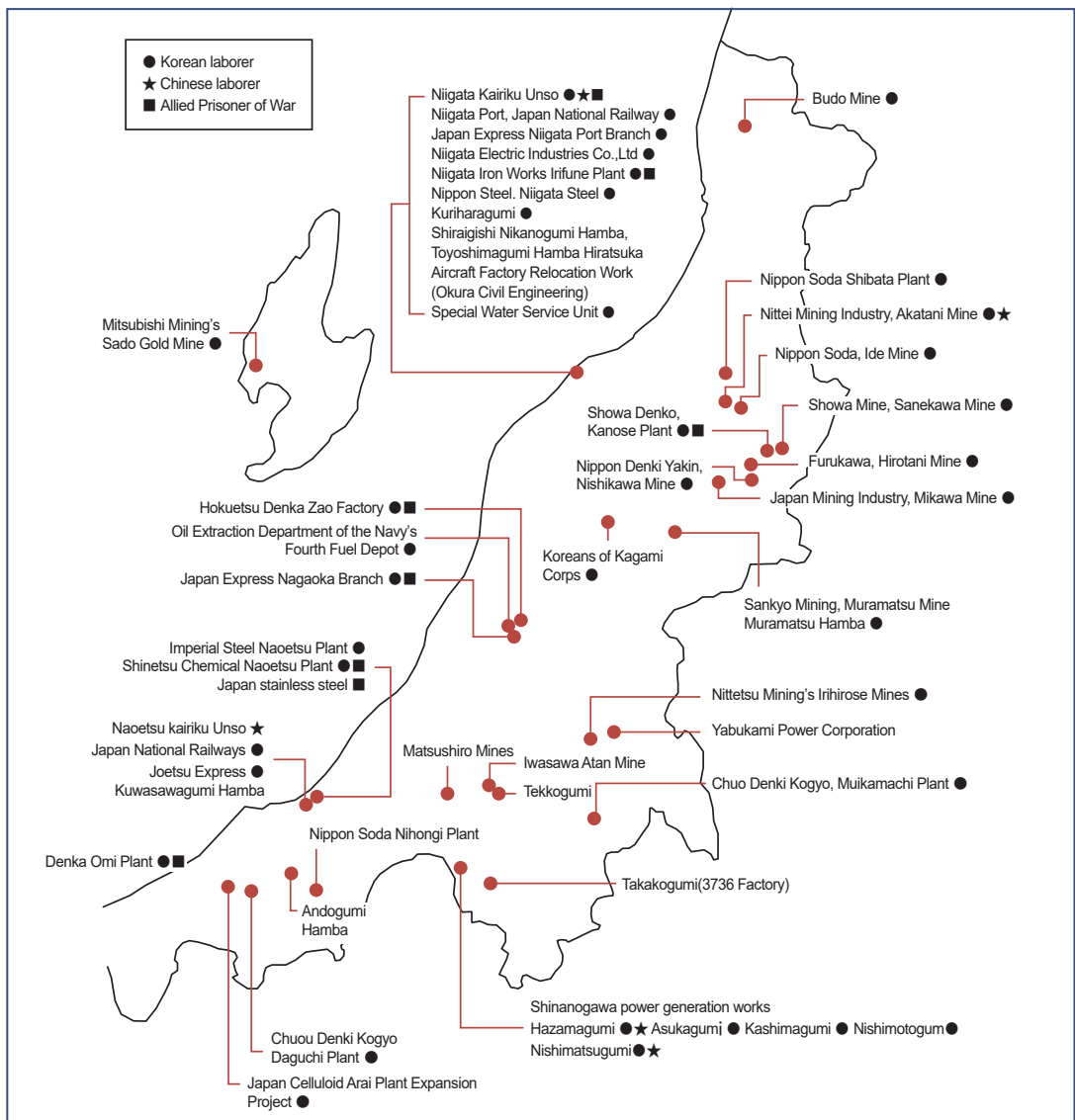
when their originally contracted period ended, as the periods were extended. The families they left behind also suffered destitution because their income was cut off. Some records at the time described the mobilization of Koreans as "rapacious hostage-taking and kidnapping" (小暮泰用, "Report," 1944).

According to a Home Ministry (Naimu-sho) police document, the "Report on the Situation Regarding the Migration of Koreans in Connection with the Mobilization of Labor" (as of the end of 1943), a total of 4,312 Koreans had been mobilized to Niigata Prefecture, 846 in 1939, 800 in 1940, 847 in 1941, 1,054 in 1942, and 765 by the end of 1943. In addition, according to the "Report on the Number of Newly Immigrated Korean Workers by Workplace in Showa 19," 5,000 people were scheduled to be mobilized in 1944. These documents indicate that more than 9,000 Koreans were mobilized to Niigata Prefecture between 1939 and 1945.

The areas of Niigata Prefecture to which people were mobilized included, in the mining industry, Mitsubishi Mining's Sado Mine and Nittetsu Mining's



小暮泰用, "Report" (to the Director of Management of the Home Ministry, July 31, 1944)



Map of Forced Mobilization of Koreans in Niigata Prefecture

Akatani Mines; the munitions factories of Niigata Iron Works and Nippon Kokan's Niigata Steel Works; Shinanogawa power generation works and the Tokyo Electric Lighting Corporation's Shinanogawa power generation works in terms of civil engineering sites; and Japanese Government Railways' Naoetsu Station and Niigata Port Station, and Niigata Kairiku Unso in terms of transportation service sites. Additionally, soldiers and civilian employees of the military were mobilized to the Special Water Service Unit and the Oil Extraction Department of the Navy's Fourth Fuel Depot. There were also places in Niigata Prefecture to which Chinese and Allied Forces POWs were forcibly mobilized.

2. How many Koreans were mobilized to Sado Mine?

Sado Mine received approval for the mobilization of 1,250 Koreans from 1939 to 1941 under the Japanese government's labor mobilization plan (Central Cooperation and Harmony Association (Chuo Kyowakai), "Report on the Situation regarding Immigrant Korean Laborers," 1942). During the first group mobilization, from February 1940 to the end of March 1942, Sado Mine mobilized 1,005 Koreans, from Nonsan, Buyeo, Gongju, Yeongi, and Cheongyang in Chungcheongnam-do (**page 35**). From notes (in a letter) by a labor officer at Sado Mine, it can be seen that there was a "recruitment" with the involvement of the Government-General of Korea, and that 100 people were recruited from Nonsan after the mobilization quota was assigned (**page 49**). Testimony also exists from a labor officer who mobilized 150 people in Buyeo in 1940 (**page 50**). About 50 Koreans were mobilized to Sado Mine's Takachi Branch Mine (**pages 44 and 63**).

Meanwhile, with the expansion of the war of aggression, the Japanese government organized cooperation and harmony associations for each prefecture in Japan to monitor and control Koreans living in Japan, and set up sub-branches of these associations in the jurisdictional area covered by each police station. In the early days of mobilization, Sado Mine was the site in Niigata Prefecture to which the biggest number of people were mobilized. Some even invited their families to join them. That was a labor management measure, intended to prevent people escaping and help them settle down (**page 44**).

In 1943, in accordance with the government's Gold Mine Stoppage Ordinance, gold mining at Sado Mine was suspended. According to a document from that time, titled the "Plan for Relocation of Laborers in accordance with the Gold Mining Stoppage," it was planned to send 735 Koreans from Sado Mine to the Hosokura Mine, Ikuno Mine (including Akenobe Mine), and Naoshima Smelter, which were all also affiliated with Mitsubishi Mining. However, according to a report on Sado Mine made to the Korean Labor Management Research Council in June 1943, only 130 people were transferred ("On Peninsula Labor Management"). At Sado Mine, the focus was now on mining copper, and it is believed that the plan to transfer laborers away was changed because of the demand for labor to keep these operations running.

The total number of Koreans decreased as those mobilized in the early days either fled or returned home. Sado Mine mobilized 514 Koreans in 1944 and 1945 to maintain its production readiness (**page 43**). Korea's investigation of the reports from the victims of forced mobilization shows that during this period mobilization was carried out in Iksan in Jeollabuk-do, Cheongju in Chungcheongbuk-do, Jindo in Jeollanam-do, and Uljin in Gangwon-do. When added to the 1,005 Koreans mobilized to Sado Mine from 1940 to March 1942, the 514 people mobilized in 1944 and 1945 bring the total to more than 1,500 people.

Number of Koreans Forcibly Mobilized to Sado Mine (1940–1945)

Year	Number of Koreans Forcibly Mobilized	Breakdown
1940	646	98 from Nonsan in February, 248 from Nonsan, Buyeo, and Gongju in May, 300 from Nonsan and Buyeo in December
1941	280	153 from Nonsan, Buyeo, and Yeongi in June, 127 from Nonsan and Cheongyang in October
1942	79	79 from Cheongyang in March (total of 1,005 people from February 1940 to March 1942)

1943		Transfers to Hosokura, Akenobe, etc. following the gold mining suspension
1944	263	Mobilizations from Iksan around January (according to testimony), mobilizations in July (according to an article in the Niigata Nippo newspaper), mobilizations from Cheongju and Jindo (both according to testimony)
1945	251	Mobilizations from Uljin in January (according to an article in the Asahi Shimbun (Niigata version), Tobacco Distribution Register), mobilizations from Jindo and other places in Jeollanam-do in March (according to testimony)
Total	1,519	

Sources: "A History of Sado Mine" by Hirai Eiichi, Sado Mining Office, 1950; "On Peninsula Labor Management" by Sado Mining Office, 1943; newspaper articles, etc.



Koreans Departing from Sado Mine for Enlistment ("Niigata Nippo," September 6, 1944)

In 1944, physical inspections for the military draft were conducted targeting Koreans for the first time, and eight Koreans at Sado Mine were enlisted in the military in September ([page 45](#)). According to testimony, the mobilization of soldiers also continued in 1945 ([page 58](#)). There were people who, having already been mobilized to work at the Sado Mine, were then drafted again, this time into the Japanese

army.

In 1945, underground facilities were built all over Japan to prepare for air raids, and Koreans were sent to underground facility construction sites from Sado Mine too. A total of 189 Koreans were sent to Saitama and 219 to Fukushima, leaving 244 Koreans at the Sado Mine at the time of liberation on August 15. After Liberation, those sent to Saitama and Fukushima returned to Sado, and in September 1945, the number of Koreans in the Sado Mine was about 570. There were also Koreans who had fled from the sites to which they had been dispatched ([page 41](#)). The names of Koreans who were sent to Fukushima and Saitama are recorded in the "Souai Dormitory Tobacco Distribution Register" ([page 40](#)). There is also testimony that they were mobilized from Jindo, Jeollanam-do, and sent to Fukushima ([page 72](#)).

3. Working conditions for the Koreans

The Koreans who were mobilized to Sado Mine were monitored by the company and the police. Sado Mine made all workers join a patriotic industrial association called the "Cooperation and Harmony Association." This patriotic industrial association was an organization that the government introduced after dissolving labor unions. It was an organization designed to usurp workers' rights and mobilize workers to war. Koreans were also forced to join the Aikawa Branch of the Niigata Cooperation and Harmony Association, which was a police-based organization, subjecting them to further monitoring and control.

The management policy of Sado Mine was to make Koreans Japanese to incorporate them into Japan's wartime efforts to increase production, but they were always strictly controlled because they

were Koreans. The policy was that, while they would be given what was necessary, they were “treated strictly when strictness was needed,” “those whose work or conduct were poor” were treated “with a very severe attitude,” and those with bad attitudes to training were placed in the Kongo Juku (金剛塾) for “special discipline.” Long-term absentees were summoned and “disciplined” by a labor officer (“On Peninsular Labor Management”). There are also testimonies that the labor officer used violence to sanction them (*pages 55, 60, 63, etc.*). The memoirs of one labor officer contain a record of the use of violence to make people work (*page 50*). So, the “severe attitude” and “discipline” of Sado Mine included violent sanctions. Sado Mine deprived Koreans of their ethnicity and used enhanced surveillance to force them to work. This is to say that there was control and coercion based on racial discrimination.

Work for the mobilized Koreans was concentrated on sites inside the pit. In May 1943, 481 Koreans were deployed inside the pit, compared to 165 Japanese, making up 75% of the workers inside the pit. By job type, 123 Koreans versus 27 Japanese were assigned to drilling rock, 56 Koreans versus 39 Japanese were assigned to underpinning, 294 Koreans versus 80 Japanese were assigned to transporting, and 8 Koreans versus 19 Japanese in driving inside the pit. Of the 584 registered Koreans, more than 80% were assigned to labor inside the pits. Although they had been mobilized from rural areas and were not familiar with mining work, the Koreans were put into the pits in large numbers.

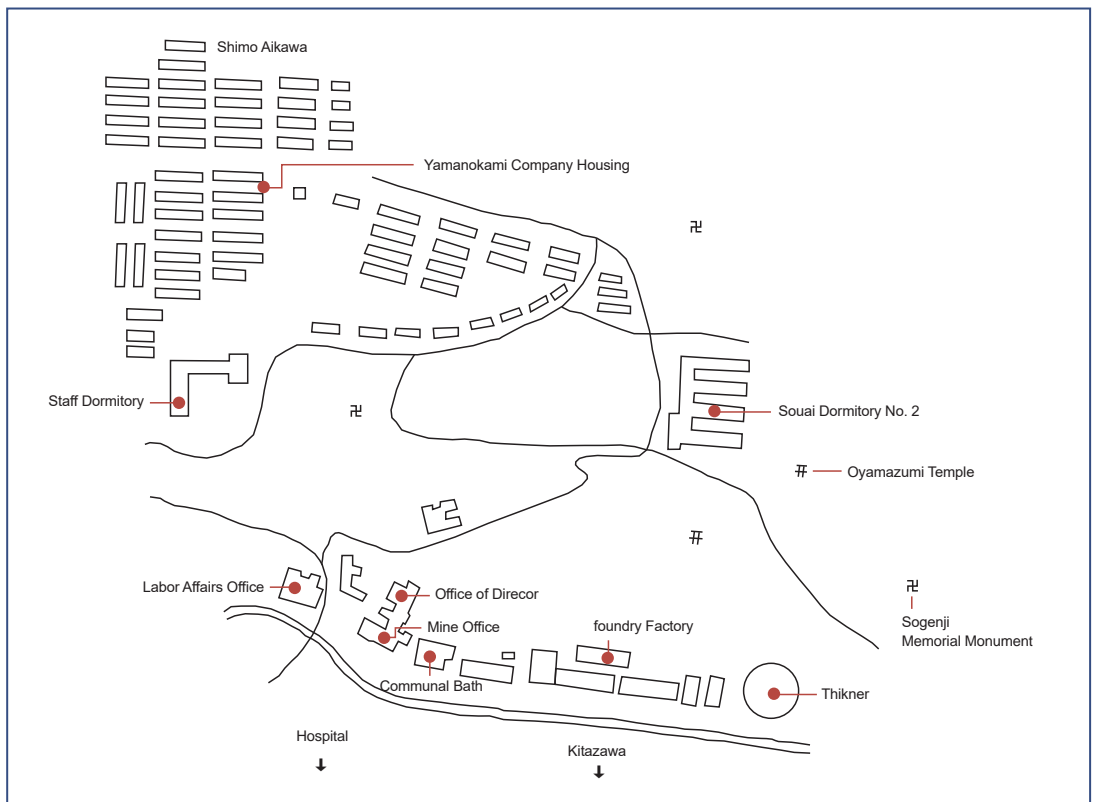
Assignment of Work at Sado Mine by Job Type (as of May 1943)

	Drilling rock	Under pinning	Transportation	Driving inside the pit	Outside transportation	Craft-work	Earth-moving	Refining ore	Handy-men	Other	Total
Koreans	123	56	294	8	49	3	21	19	11		584
Japanese	27	39	80	19	17	23	46	85	52	321	709
Ratio	4.5	1.4	3.6	0.4	2.8	0.13	0.46	0.22	0.21		0.82

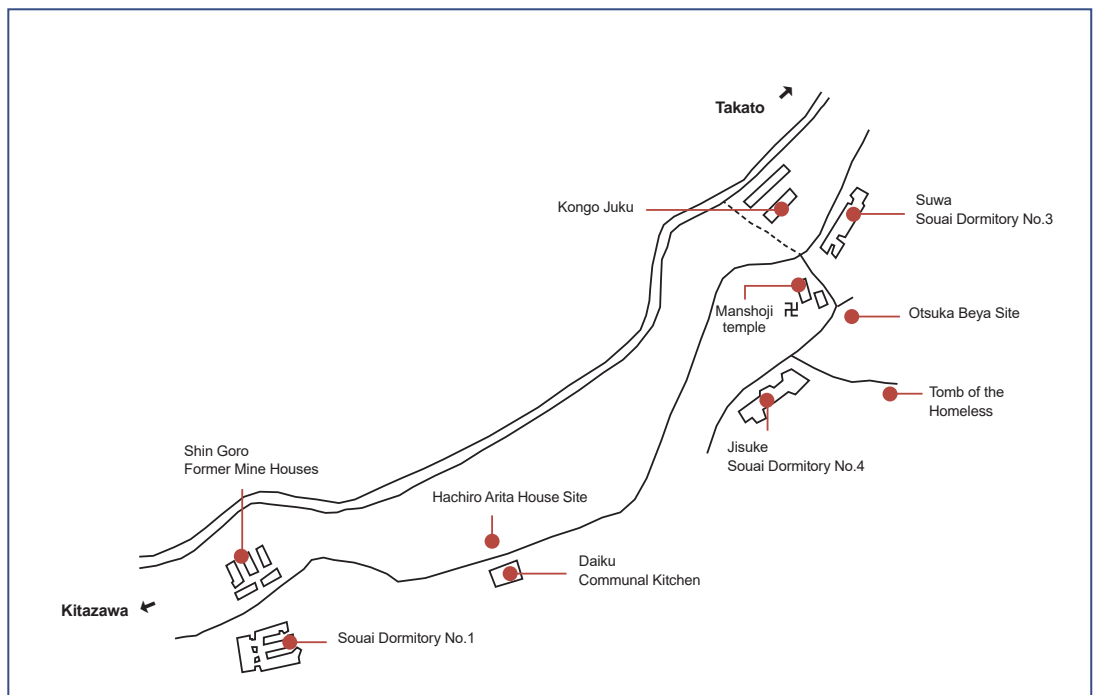
Source: “On Peninsula Labor Management,” Sado Mining Office, 1943

The average wage in April 1943 was about JPY 84 (“On Peninsula Labor Management”). As stipulated, laborers could receive a certain amount of extra remuneration for taking only two days off a month and increasing the amount of overtime worked. However, the policy of Sado Mine was to make people put their wages into savings deposits and pay out as little to them as possible. This was to prevent people from running away. After deducting the amount for savings, food expenses, bedding expenses, etc., the amount paid out was around the level of pocket money. The net pay, in other words, was set low. When people were not able to work, there were cases where they incurred deficits because of various deductions.

There were two types of savings: deposits deducted from wages by the Cooperation and Harmony Association (Patriotic Industrial Association) and the company’s ‘Thrift’ deposits. It was reported that the amounts deducted by the Cooperation and Harmony Association were decided as agreed with the Association or at the laborer’s choice (“Investigation Report on Peninsular Laborers”). However, in reality, they were forced savings. It appears that ‘Thrift’ deposits were deposits made into an account created by the company. When people wanted to get their savings back, the proposed use was investigated, and if deemed necessary, the person was given permission to withdraw. In other words, the savings were forcibly deducted from wages, and the company’s permission was required to get them back. People were also forced to buy patriotic bonds and savings bonds.



Yamanokami Company Housing and 2nd Souai Dormitory



Souai Dormitory No.1,3, and 4



Site of Souai Dormitory 1 (photo taken in May 2022)



Site of the Yamanokami Company Housing (photo taken in May 2022)



Site of the communal kitchen (photo taken in February 2022)

Koreans were generally accommodated in dormitories called Souai Dormitories, but those accompanied by their family were put into company housing (**page 35**). Souai Dormitory 1 was located in Shingoro Town, Souai Dormitory 2 and the Yamanokami Company Housing were located near the mine office in Kitazawa. The Koreans who brought their families were accommodated in the Yamanokami Company Housing. Souai Dormitory 3 was located in Suwa Town, and Souai Dormitory 4 was located

in Chisuke Town. There was a communal kitchen in Daiku Town, and mobilized Koreans had meals there. At the time of mobilization, the amount of food per person was about one *doe* (a Korean unit of measurement for volume, approx. equal to 1.8 liters) a day, but it is reported that, as the rationing system was implemented, people ate a mixture of sweet potatoes, radishes, and dried noodles. The testimonies of the mobilized Koreans and their bereaved families show that hunger was more painful than labor (**pages 66, 70, 71, etc.**).

The policy of Sado Mine regarding the extension of contract periods was to make people understand the “national necessity” of extending the contract period and “to keep everyone working anyhow” (“On Peninsula Labor Management”). There was also a tactic of giving incentives if the contract period was extended (**page 62**). Two-thirds of those mobilized were forced to remain on the site (**page 35**).

In April 1944, Mitsubishi Mining was designated as a munitions company, and most of the people working there were conscripted for munitions service. During this period, when those who had been mobilized by government agencies in Korea entered the site, they were treated as military conscripts as they were considered conscripted for munitions service. Under the labor controls of the general mobilization system, they were regarded as “industrial soldiers” and were subjected to forced labor in circumstances that could result in punishment under the slogan of “a struggle to the death to increase production” (**page 46**).

Annual Production of Sado Mine during the Forced Mobilization of Koreans (unit: kg)

Year	Gold	Silver	Copper
1939	1,499.4	22,788	—
1940	1,537.9	24,494	—
1941	1,279.5	21,933	139,691
1942	1,101.0	22,955	83,843
1943	709.5	19,911	867,856
1944	531.8	16,819	890,876
1945	243.8	5,539	179,957

Source: Saburo Fumoto, "Historical Stories of the Sado Gold and Silver Mine," 1956

4. Were there any Koreans who resisted or escaped?

On February 17, 1940, Koreans went on strike, demanding better treatment. At that time, there was no dormitory that could accommodate them all, so just over 40 people were housed in the Shinbo Dormitory owned by one of the mine staff. However, because it was operated under a contract system and the meals were poor, those who stayed there were unhappy and requested improvements ("Tokkou Geppou (特高月報)," March 1940). Shinbo Dormitory was a 'hamba' (workers dormitory) owned by Muneyoshi Shinbo, an employee of the Labor Division.

In addition, 97 Koreans who had been mobilized from Nonsan in February 1940 went on strike from April 11 to 13, demanding a wage increase and claiming that the wages they had received for March were different from the conditions given when they were recruited. All these Koreans refused to work and did not respond to requests urging them to enter the pit. This dispute shows that their mobilization by "recruitment" was achieved using false enticements. Wages were low because of the production-based pay system that set the contract unit price, and in addition, laborers even had to pay for their own work boots and carbide fuel for their portable lamps. Meals and welfare were also insufficient. There is evidence that Japanese workers also fought in support of the strike by Korean workers ([page 37](#)).

The mine management said that the dispute had been caused by language barriers, an inability to communicate because the level of intelligence and understanding among the laborers was lower than had been imagined, misunderstandings about the working conditions because those conducting the recruitment in Korea did not have any knowledge of the content of the work, and the fact that following the instigation of two or three rogues with bad attitudes, the Koreans had showed their characteristic slyness and willingness to follow someone blindly. Countermeasures cited included strict disciplining of those with bad attitudes, repatriation to their homeland, and strict daily management ("Investigation Report on Peninsular Laborers"). The kinds of expression used show the mine's discrimination and prejudice against Koreans. They were not considered humans but cattle or horses.

On the other hand, if Koreans who had been brought to Japan in groups as part of the government's labor mobilization plan escaped, they were put on the wanted list all over the country ([page 38](#)). In December 1941, when Japan expanded the war into the Asia-Pacific region, the Labor Adjustment

Ordinance was promulgated. If people ran away from a workplace designated by the Labor Adjustment Ordinance, they were punished for violation of that Ordinance. Sado Mine became a workplace designated by the Ordinance. In March 1945, the Labor Adjustment Ordinance was incorporated into the National Labor Mobilization Ordinance, and fleeing became a violation of that Ordinance instead. At that time, there was no freedom to change jobs or quit.

The Koreans who were mobilized to Sado Mine were put in a situation where they had poor meals, low wages, and were unable to quit or change their jobs. Therefore, to gain freedom, they had no choice but to run away (**page 39**). Their testimony also shows that escape was not easy (**page 64**). The mine cited “free self-indulgence,” “flightiness,” “the tendency to follow blindly,” and “plans made before being mobilized” as reasons for escape (“On Peninsula Labor Management”). However, according to the memoirs of one labor officer, it can be seen that people fled in resistance to the violence used to force them to work and because their periods of labor were extended (**page 50**).

The question as to whether this was forced labor is whether the work was done under the threat of punishment or whether it was done of the laborer’s own free will. The mobilized Koreans were subject to the threat of punishment and were forced to work against their will.

5. Were there any injuries or deaths?

The names of seven Koreans are recorded in the “List of Industrial Workers who Died on the Job,” written by the Great Japan Patriotic Industrial Association. The fatalities in this document are those who died in industrial accidents. The dead from 1940 to 1942 are recorded there. For instance, Kim Joo-hwan slipped and fell into a pit, smashed his skull, and died (“Tokkou Geppou (特高月報),” December 1941). It seems that 菅原啓夫 also died at that time, but his real name is unknown. Only his adopted Japanese name has reached the present.

Koreans who died at Sado Mine (confirmed dead)

Name	Year of birth (age)	Address	Circumstances of mobilization and death
Yoo Ho-jong	(25)	Unknown	Died as a result of a fall from the cage at Takachi Branch Mine on September 28, 1940
南原元東	(25)	Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do	Died as a result of an industrial accident in March 1941
Park Gil-dong	1905	Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do	Died after being hit by falling rocks in Odake Pit No.1 on July 19, 1941
Kim Joo-hwan	1916	Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do	December 20, 1941, bone fractures and crushed skull. 金城珠煥
菅原啓夫	(26)	Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do	Died as a result of an industrial accident in December 1941
Choi Jong-eui	1919	Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do	Died as a result of an industrial accident at Su-wa-cho 43 on January 6, 1942. 富山鍾義
Yeo Gyu-up	1918	Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do	Died of illness at Sado Mine hospital on March 11, 1942

Lee Byeong-gi	(19)	Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do	Died in a mechanical accident on April 17, 1942. 延李秉箕
Yoon Ik-seong	1911	Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do	Mobilized in 1940 and died at Sado Mine Hospital on April 15, 1942 following an industrial accident
Lee Byeong-jun	(28)	Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do	Mobilized in September 1941 and died as a result of a fall in the pit in June 1942 (lunar calendar)
水原定浩	(26)	Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do	Died as a result of an industrial accident in October 1942
Ahn Hee-won	1917	Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do	Mobilized in 1941, seriously injured by falling rocks two years later, hospitalized, and dismissed, and then died in Japan.
Ryu Seong-hyeon	1917	Cheonghang, Chungcheongnam-do	Died at Sado Mine hospital on August 13, 1943 following a fall
Choi Byeong-yang	1920	Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do	Mobilized in 1942 and died inside the pit (tunnel) on July 2, 1944. Ashes received.
Park Su-dong	1904	Cheongju, Chungcheongbuk-do	Died at Sado Mine hospital on February 5, 1945
Sin Su-myeong	1903	Cheongju, Chungcheongbuk-do	Mobilized in 1944 and died as a result of a pit collapse on February 17, 1945
Lee Chang-su	1913	Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do	Died at Shimo Aikawa Mine company housing 196 on March 2, 1945

Sources: Great Japan Patriotic Industrial Association, "List of Industrial Workers who Died on the Job," 1942, Korean field investigation data, data from the Korean "Records of the Investigation into Reports of Damages Suffered as a Result of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Colonial Rule," newspaper articles, etc.



Lee Gil-ja giving testimony about his father, Lee Byeong-jun, who died in an accident at Sado Mine (1992)*



Jeong Byeong-ho testifying about injuries suffered at Sado Mine (1992)*

A Korean investigation into the victims also revealed several additional deaths. There are those who were dismissed following serious injuries and who later died of those injuries. There were also many people who died of pneumoconiosis within a few years after returning home (**page 53, etc.**).

There were insufficient measures to address labor accidents and disease. There were also some people who contracted pneumoconiosis (silicosis) within a few years. Those who became unable to work following mine accidents were dismissed. A report by the company contains provisions for disability benefits and survivor benefits to be paid in the event of occupational accidents and deaths. However, in practice, responses were lacking; for instance accidents were not regarded as occupational accidents.

Keisuke Nomura was a pastor at Sado Church. In September 1944, he was conscripted into Sado Mine and forced to work in the ore storage facility outside the mine. While handling a mine car he suffered a spinal injury. However, the mine did not regard it as a work-related accident, and he had to bear

the costs of treatment on his own. Before his wounds had healed, he received another draft notice (Hosuke Nomura's testimony and book, "Walk in the Spirit," Gospel Mission Church, 1993). This was the reality at the time.

There are still amounts of unpaid wages that the Koreans at Sado Mine did not receive when they returned home. The sum is JPY 231,059.59. The total number of creditors is 1,140 (**page 41**). The rights to claim these deposits expired after 10 years and they were incorporated into the national treasury of Japan. These unpaid balances may also include welfare pension benefits. There is no record of the Koreans being notified about these unpaid deposit amounts. According to testimony, no benefits from the welfare pension were paid, and the costs of treatment for pneumoconiosis after returning home were borne by the sufferers themselves (**page 52**).

III. Significance of Displaying Information about Forced Labor at World Heritage Sites

1. Are there World Heritage sites that show information about their history of forced labor?

UNESCO was established in the wake of the Second World War, as humanity reflected on the horrors of war experienced by humankind, with the aim of constructing the defenses of peace in the minds of humankind. UNESCO's World Heritage calls for the formation of intellectual and spiritual solidarity among humankind. World Heritage sites include remains related to "negative heritage," such as the slave trade and forced labor, and explanations of industrial heritage in various regions include such history.

The streets of Potosí in Bolivia are remains connected with the Potosí mines of the period of Spanish colonial rule. Potosí boasted a world-class output of silver, but it was mined using the forced labor of the indigenous people.

The remains of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in Poland show Germany's policy of extermination of Jewish people and forced labor during the war.

In Germany's Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex and Völklingen Ironworks, there are historical exhibitions that include the history of forced labor during the war.

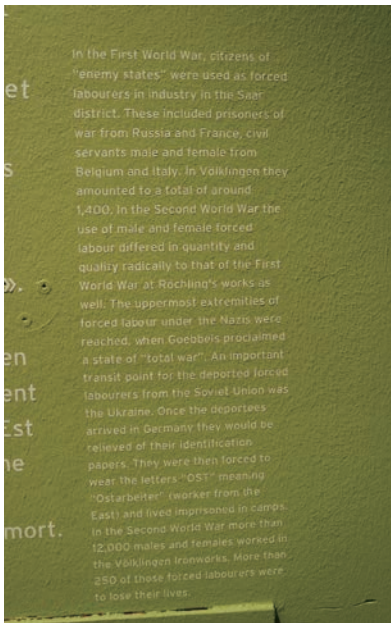
By showing the "negative heritage" of forced labor, they have become a legacy that can foster international understanding and has universal value.



Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex (provided by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO)



Völklingen Ironworks Museum (provided by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO)



Exhibition panels explaining forced labor at the Völklingen Ironworks Museum (provided by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO)

[Translation]

During World War I, citizens of "enemy countries" worked as forced laborers in industry in the Saarland. These included not only POWs from Russia and France but also men and women from Belgium and Italy. In the case of Völklingen Ironworks, there were a total of 1,400 forced laborers. Forced labor during World War II was fundamentally, qualitatively and quantitatively different from that of World War I, as was the case at the Röchling workshop. Forced labor reached its peak under Nazi rule when Goebbels declared a state of "all-out war." An important stopover for forced laborers taken from the Soviet Union was Ukraine. As soon as the forcibly transported people arrived in Germany, their IDs were taken away. They were then forced to wear a label that read "OST," meaning "workers from the eastern region," and lived in detention in a concentration camp. During World War II, more than 12,000 men and women worked at the Völklingen Ironworks. More than 250 of these forced laborers lost their lives.

2. How did the movement to find out the truth about forced mobilization begin?

Under the Japanese government's labor mobilization plan, 800,000 Koreans were forcibly mobilized from Korea to Japan. This was an illegal act against humanity.

Civic groups in Sado and Niigata have conducted investigations into the facts of forced mobilization since 1991, and in 1992 and 1995, they invited victims of forced mobilization to Japan and held rallies at which people gave testimony. In Sado, a "rally to commemorate the workers of Sado Mine" has been held since 2015. At this rally, they also pay tribute to Koreans who were mobilized during wartime and



Jeong Byeong-ho (left) and Kim Ju-hyeong (right) testifying in Nonsan in 1991*



Yoon Jong-kwang (left) and Roh Byeong-gu (right) testifying in Sado in 1995



Kim Pyeong-sun giving testimony about Kim Moon-guk in Niigata City in 1995*



2015 Rally to Commemorate the Workers of Sado Mine (Sado City)

died.

As democratization progressed in Korea, there was a strengthening in the movement for victims of forced labor and their bereaved families. Truth Commission on Forced Mobilization under the Japanese Imperialism Republic of Korea was established as a government agency in 2004. Reports of the victims forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine came to this committee, and the reality of the damage of forced mobilization has been revealed through the statements of the victims and a review of relevant documents.

Victims of forced labor have the right to obtain effective relief. The “Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law,” adopted by the United Nations in December 2005, clarifies that when providing victim relief, measures required include effective measures aimed at cessation of continuous violations, verification of facts and public disclosure of the truth, a search for the whereabouts of the disappeared, assistance in the recovery, identification and reburial of the bodies, an official declaration or a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation, and rights of the victim and persons closely connected, public apology, including acknowledgement of the facts and acceptance of responsibility, judicial and administrative sanctions against persons liable for the violations, commemorations and tributes to the victims, and inclusion of an accurate account of the violations in international human rights law and international humanitarian law training and in education material at all levels.

A ruling by the Korean Supreme Court in 2018 ordering relief for victims of forced labor came about as a result of this history of fact-finding activities and the establishment of victims' rights. This judgment acknowledges the facts of forced mobilization and forced labor and, at the same time, recognizes the right of victims of forced mobilization to claim compensation for illegal acts against humanity by Japanese companies.

3. What are the problems with the World Heritage Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution?

When Japan sought the inscription of the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution as World Heritage, criticism was raised that the history of forced labor at the sites of the Takashima, Hashima, Miike



Entrance to the Industrial Heritage Information Center

coal mines, Nagasaki Shipyard, and Yahata Ironworks during the war should be presented. At the time of the inscription of these sites as World Heritage in 2015, the Japanese government made a remark at the General Assembly of the World Heritage Committee that during the war, “there were a large number of Koreans and others who were brought against their will and forced to work under harsh conditions,” and “Japan is prepared to incorporate appropriate measures into the in-

terpretative strategy to remember the victims, such as the establishment of information center.” However, after these remarks, the Japanese government commented that “forced to work” did not mean “forced labor” and did “not constitute forced labor under international law.”

The Industrial Heritage Information Center opened in Tokyo in March 2020 following the Japanese

The World Heritage Committee,

1. *Having examined Document WHC/21/44.COM/7B.Add.2,*
2. *Recalling Decisions **39 COM 8B.14** and **42 COM 7B.10**, adopted at its 39th (Bonn, 2015) and 42nd session (Manama, 2018) sessions respectively,*
3. *Welcomes the UNESCO/ICOMOS mission which took place in June 2021 to the Industrial Heritage Information Center (IHIC) in Tokyo;*
4. *Takes note with satisfaction that the State Party has met a number of its commitments and complied with a number of aspects of the Committee’s relevant decisions;*
5. *Strongly regrets however that the State Party has not yet fully implemented the relevant decisions;*
6. *Requests, in this regard, the State Party to fully take into account, in the implementation of the relevant decisions, the conclusions of the mission report, which include the following topics:*
 - a) *Interpretive strategy showing how each site contributes to Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and allows an understanding of the full history of each site,*
 - b) *Measures to allow an understanding of a large number of Koreans and others brought against their will and forced to work under harsh conditions, and the Japanese government’s requisition policy,*
 - c) *Incorporation into the interpretive strategy of appropriate measures to remember the victims such as the establishment of an information center,*
 - d) *Best international practice for interpretation strategies on the interpretation of the full history of the property both during and outside the period covered by its OUV and in the digital interpretation materials,*
 - e) *Continuing dialogue between the concerned parties;*
7. *Further requests the State party to submit by **1 December 2022** to the World Heritage Centre an updated state of conservation report of the property and the implementation of the above, for examination by World Heritage Committee at its 46th session in 2023.*

government's promise to establish an information center. However, the exhibitions of the Industrial Heritage Information Center claim that there was no forced labor, taking the Hashima Coal Mine (Gunkanjima) as an example, and there were no exhibits to remember the victims.

UNESCO and ICOMOS visited the Industrial Heritage Information Center in June 2021, and published a report in July. The report notes that "some aspects cannot be described as a full history because they deal only briefly if at all with the period leading up to and during the Second World War"; that "The information displayed gives the impression that conscripted workers from other countries were considered to be Japanese nationals at the time and were treated as such. The oral testimonies displayed, which were all related to Hashima Island, convey the message that there were no instances of such people being forced to work there. The mission has therefore concluded that the interpretive measures to allow an understanding of those brought against their will and forced to work are currently insufficient"; that "there is no display that could be characterised as adequately serving the purpose of remembering the victims"; "that in relation to the full history the interpretation strategy, for the period after the OUV, falls short of international best practice"; and "that future dialogue is important and should be pursued." Also in July 2021, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee received the report and adopted a resolution calling for improvement, expressing "strong regret" about the exhibitions.

UNESCO and ICOMOS have called on the Japanese government to show the full history, present the reality of forced labor, display exhibits in memory of the victims, learn from best international practice, and engage in dialogue with relevant countries. However, the Japanese government has shown no willingness to make improvements.

Prior to the report, in April 2021, the Suga Cabinet passed a Cabinet decision that school textbook descriptions of forced conscription and forced labor of Koreans were not appropriate. Moreover, the textbook makers were asked to revise their history textbooks so that they were written according to the government's views. Such acts of denial of the history of forced conscription and forced labor trample on the dignity of the victims of forced labor yet again.

4. What are the problems with the nomination dossier for Sado Mine as a World Heritage site?

In 2020, Niigata Prefecture and Sado City changed the registration name from "the Sado complex of heritage mines, primarily gold mines" to "Sado Island Gold Mines." At the end of December 2021, the Council of the Agency for Cultural Affairs decided that "Sado Island Gold Mines" should be a candidate for nomination as a World Heritage site but the Japanese government demanded a comprehensive review. The Japanese government initially tried to put off the nomination, but in February 2022, the Liberal Democratic Party nominated "Sado Island Gold Mines" as a UNESCO World Heritage site because of pressure from a nationalist group arguing for a "history war."

The Japanese government's nomination dossier for the "Sado Island Gold Mines" (Description of Property, 2022) records the following: "the Sado Gold Mine is "the apex of a human gold production system developed from a craft industry," and in its heyday, it was "a mine without precedent that produced the largest amount and highest quality of gold seen globally." The production technology of Sado Gold Mine is stated to have used "high level excavation technology and smelting technology" that achieved "purity beyond mechanized mines and the world's largest production volume," that

meets the standard for inscription as World Heritage since it is a technological collective entity that shows an important stage in human history. The production system of Sado Gold Mine is based on the “long-term and strategic mine management of the Tokugawa Shogunate,” and it corresponds to the required evidence of a cultural tradition that is the criterion for registration because there is a ‘culture derived from the mine that was cultivated by the people.’”

The description of the property in the nomination dossier limits the period to gold production during the Edo period, glorifies the production by traditional handicraft techniques, and states that it is the apex of a globally unprecedented gold production system. Neither the fact that various ores such as gold, silver, and copper were mined at Sado Mine nor the entire history of Sado Mine has been presented. Nor have the working conditions in the mines at that time been presented. In the late Edo period, the Shogunate press-ganged homeless people, packing them into palanquins and sending them from Edo to Sado for forced labor in order to complete drainage works at the Sado Mine. Many of the workers at the mining sites had their lives cut short because of dust, smoke pollution, and accidents. Under the feudal system, the mining of gold and silver was maintained through exploitation of the common people and forced labor, a system that ignored human rights. Rather than evaluating the Tokugawa Shogunate’s mining management in a positive way, as the nomination dossier for Sado Gold Mine does, the problems of the Shogunate’s rule and the system of labor should be properly explained. The nomination dossier does not give a sufficient explanation of the relationships between capital and labor at the Sado Mine in the modern era, nor does it explain the history of forced labor of Koreans during the war.

As noted in relation to the Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution, the interpretation of Sado Mine should present the entire history of the site, the actual conditions relating to forced labor, and exhibits should be displayed that remember the victims. In addition, Japan must learn from best international practices and be willing to engage in dialogue with relevant countries. During the war, more than 1,500 Koreans were forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine. The Japanese government and Mitsubishi Materials must acknowledge this history of forced mobilization and be prepared to take historical responsibility for the relief of victims of forced mobilization. Such an attitude will generate international sympathy for its cause.

Materials

I. Historical Materials on the Actual Conditions of Forced Labor of Koreans

1. Japan Mining Association, “Investigation Report on Peninsular Laborers,” “Japan Mining Association Materials,” Vol. 78, December 1940

Stored in the National Archives of Japan,
included in Vol. 2 of the “Collection of Documents on Korean Issues,”
(朝鮮問題資料叢書) edited by Park Kyeong-sik, Institute for Asian Studies, 1981

[illegible]

Following the start of the forced mobilization of Koreans in 1939, the Japan Mining Association investigated the situation regarding management of Koreans in each region's mines, including the management situation at Mitsubishi Mining's Sado Mine.

The six items investigated were (1) matters related to instruction and training facilities, (2) matters related to treatment of laborers, (3) the status of remittances and savings, (4) causes of disputes and strikes and measures taken to deal with them, (5) "handling of bad laborers," and (6) "opinions on the kind of work suitable for Koreans."

Koreans were mobilized from Chungcheongnam-do to work at Sado Mine in February 1940, and a dispute arose in April of the same year. The cause of the dispute and measures to address it are included in the report. It can be seen that Sado Mine regarded Koreans as low-intelligence beings and mobilized them using enticement, in other words, deceit. It can also be seen that the mine discriminated against Koreans, viewing them as cunning and prone to following blindly. These points show the discrimination against Koreans at that time.

2. Sado Mine Works, “On Peninsula Labor Management,” 1943

Included in “Collected Materials on Wartime Forced Mobilization of Koreans, Chinese, and Allied Forces POWs Vol II,” (戰時下朝鮮人中國人聯合軍俘虜強制連行資料集Ⅱ) edited by Shigeru Nagasawa, Ryokuin Shobō (緑蔭書房) 1992

In June 1943, the Tokyo Mining Supervision Bureau, the Great Japan Patriotic Industrial Association, and the Tokyo Regional Mining Division held a “Research Council on the Management of Korean Labor” at Sado Mine. This research council was established to strengthen policy for the management of Koreans as the forced mobilization of Koreans progressed. “On Peninsula Labor Management” is a report that was submitted to this research council.

The report covers six items: (1) management policy, (2) the current situation regarding management, (3) payment of wages and the calculation method, (4) an overview of welfare facilities, (5) issues regarding salary regulations (rations, etc.), and (6) effective methods of contract renewal.

According to this report, Sado Mine mobilized 1,005 Koreans between 1940 and 1942, and by May 1943, 10 people had died and 148 people had fled. It can also be seen that Koreans were housed collectively in the Yamanokami company housing and Souai Dormitories 1, 3, and 4, and that Koreans were assigned in large numbers to work at mining sites inside the pit. The report also reveals that the necessity of extending contract periods was emphasized, and that mandatory membership of the Patriotic Industrial Association was typical management policy.

Status of Mobilization and Movements of Koreans at Sado Mine (as of May 1943)

(Unit: person)

Month & year of mobilization		February 1940	May 1940	December 1940	June 1941	October 1941	March 1942	Total
Type of mobilization		Recruitment	Recruitment	Recruitment	Recruitment	Recruitment	Recruitment	2
Hometown		Nonsan	Nonsan Buyeo Gongju	Nonsan Buyeo	Nonsan Buyeo Yeongi	Nonsan Cheongyang	Cheongyang	0
Number mobilized		98	248	300	153	127	79	1,005
Term of Employment		3	3	3	2	2	2	
Reductions in worker numbers	Death	1	3	0	3	2	1	10
	Runaway	14	46	51	19	12	6	148

Reductions in worker numbers	Repatriation Because of injuries Sustained on Duty	2	0	1	2	1	0	6
	Repatriation because of illness	8	10	6	4	0	2	30
	Repatriation because of bad work	6	12	3	3	1	0	25
	Temporary return home	2	29	31	5	5	0	72
	Transfer	1	31	74	24	0	0	130
	Total	34	131	166	60	21	9	421
Present no. of workers		64	117	134	93	106	70	584
Procedure for Contract Extension		Completion	Completion		Completion			

Source: Sado Mine Works, "On Peninsula Labor Management," 1943

Accommodation of Koreans at Sado Mine (as of May 1943)

(Unit: person)

Housing	Yamanokami Company Housing	Souai Dormitory 1	Souai Dormitory 3	Souai Dormitory 4	Other	Total
No. Enrolled	117	185	157	124	1	584
No. Actually Present	116	156	135	117		535
Operation Rate	83%	89.30%	87.30%	84.50%		

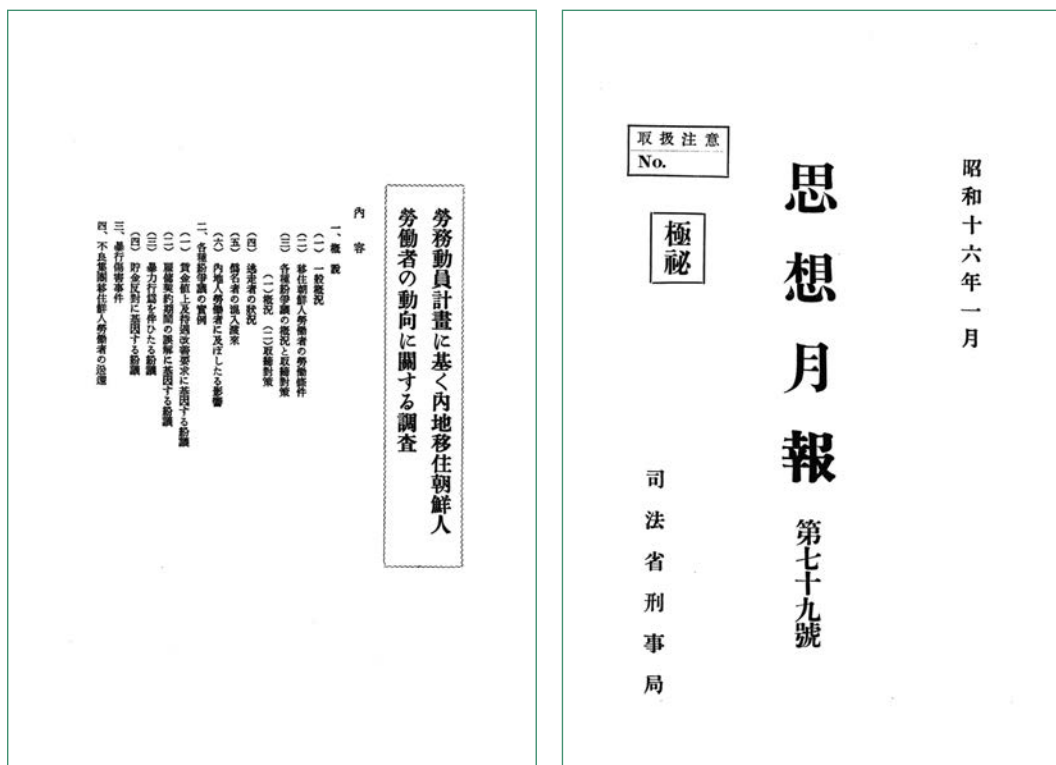
Source: Sado Mine Works, "On Peninsula Labor Management," 1943

3. "Investigation on the Movements of Korean Workers pursuant to the Labor Mobilization Plan," Ministry of Justice Criminal Affairs Bureau, "Shisō Geppō (思想月報)," No. 79, January 1941

Stored in the National Archives of Japan, included in Volume IV of the "Collection of Materials on Relations of Koreans in Japan" (在日朝鮮人關係資料集成) edited by Park Gyeong-sik, San-ichi Shobō (三一書房), 1976

"Shisō Geppō" was a magazine with the character of a mouthpiece of the Japanese Ministry of Justice's Criminal Affairs Bureau, containing content on investigations into "violations of the Peace Preservation Law" by Thought Prosecutors working in the Thought Section that had been established within the Ministry of Justice's Criminal Affairs Bureau. The Thought Prosecutors paid attention to disputes

raised by Koreans who had been forcibly mobilized and investigated the details of these disputes. This document contains a detailed report of the situation relating to the April 1940 dispute at the Sado Mine.



Cover and Table of Contents

At that time, 42 Koreans were accommodated in Suwa Souai Dormitory and 54 in Souai Dormitory 3. The document says that wages were settled after the completion of work on April 10, 1940, but the amount did not match the terms that had been given in Korea. After returning to the dormitories, the Koreans decided not to work the next day and to make a complaint to the labor officer. On the 11th, all 97 people refused to work. Following this move, 199 Japanese workers inside the pit joined them in refusing to work. On the 12th, the Korean and Japanese workers joined forces and carried out collective action. When the police arrested two Japanese and three Koreans, the Koreans fled into the mountains. The police adopted a policy of taking "thorough measures" and arrested 12 people. The next day, the Koreans resumed work on the condition that their treatment would be improved, but the three men identified as the instigators of the dispute, Yoon Gi-byeong, Hong Soo-bong, and Im Gye-taek, were repatriated to Nonsan, their domicile of origin, by the mine.

4. Karafuto Prefecture, “Police Gazette,” No. 551, December 15, 1941

Stored in the National Archives of Sakhalin Province,
included in Volume III of the “Collection of Police Materials on Pre-War Korean Relations - Karafuto
Prefecture Police Department Documents” (戦前朝鮮人關係警察資料集 樺太庁警察部文書)
edited by Shigeru Nagasawa, Ryokuin Shobō (緑陰書房) , 2006

The Karafuto Prefecture Police Department’s “Police Gazette” has a section titled “Group Migrant Korean Laborers Wanted as Runaways.” It has an article about four Koreans who fled from Mitsubishi’s Sado mining operations in November 1941, which contains the following:

Ham Yeon-tae, 伊原吉一 - (24 years old), Sangcheon-ri, Hongsan-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Approx. 5 feet (shaku (尺)), 4 inches (sun (寸)), 164 cm tall, white skin, long face, parted hair, looks like a native Japanese at first glance, wearing a dark blue jumper, black pants, or a brown suit jacket and trousers

Jo Ok-dong, 月山玉同 - (30 years old) Sawol-ri, Gwangseok-myeon, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Approx. 5 feet, 4 inches, 164 cm tall, white skin, tanned skin, dark eyebrows, shaved hair, wearing a suit, a brown shirt, rubber shoes

Yun Seong-byeong - (25 years old), Sawol-ri, Gwangseok-myeon, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Approx. 5 feet, 5 inches, 165 cm tall, round face, dark skin, big eyes, long hair, fat body, wearing a dark blue jumper, black pants, work shoes, no hat

Lee Hwa-sil, 高本政元 - (27 years old), Ippo 85, Yanghwa-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Approx. 5 feet, 5 inches, 165 cm tall, dark skin, round face, long parted bangs, good physique, wearing a light blue jumper, light black pants, or a dark blue suit jacket and trousers

In this way, the police of Niigata Prefecture wrote down the names of Koreans who fled from the mine, their place of origin, their appearance, and the details of how they were dressed, and made them wanted men throughout the country. The wanted document was circulated from Niigata as far as Sakhalin

5. Japanese Home Ministry Police Affairs Bureau, “Tokko Geppō,” 1942–1943

Included in Vols. IV and V of the “Collection of Materials on Relations of Koreans in Japan,”
edited by Park Gyeong-sik, , San-ichi Shobō, 1976

This “Tokko Geppō (特高月報)” is a monthly report published by the Special Higher Police, established under the Japanese Home Ministry Police Affairs Bureau. It has a record of investigations closely monitoring the movements of Koreans in Japan.

Regarding the Sado Mine, it has articles on “escapes and arrests (violation of the Labor Adjustment Ordinance),” a request for treatment improvement in February 1940, a wage increase strike in April 1940, and a protest against arrest for gambling in April 1942.

Among these articles, the following relate to escapes and arrests (violation of the Labor Adjustment Ordinance).

In 1942, there was a case in which four Korean laborers planned to escape because of their low wages and lack of food and paid a fee to other Koreans who helped them escape. The Koreans who were arrested for this incident were subject to a stay of prosecution in November 1942 (“Tokko Geppō,” November 7, 1942).

In January 1943, four Korean laborers from Sado Mine planned to escape on the grounds that their wages were lower than those of free laborers and were caught trying to escape using a motorized fishing boat obtained with the help of a Korean junk dealer and two Japanese fishermen. The people involved were arrested, but two of the Koreans, who fled on January 11, were fined JPY 40. The article says that the other two also fled again (“Tokko Geppō,” January 11, 1943).

In March 1943, a Korean laborer at the Sado Mine Works, whose adopted Japanese name was 新田錫陳, was arrested while escaping from his workplace and sent to the Inspection Bureau for “violation of the Labor Adjustment Ordinance.” Another Korean, with the adopted Japanese name 金山政治, escaped in April of the same year and another, 川本榮錫, in May, before being arrested and sent to the prosecutor’s office for “violation of the Labor Adjustment Ordinance” (“Tokko Geppō,” April 14, April 25, and May 10, 1943).

6. “Souai Dormitory(Sang-aeryo) Tobacco Distribution Register”

(Stored at the Sado History Museum)

The “Souai Dormitory Tobacco Distribution Register” (相愛寮煙草配給臺帳) is a document related to the Souai Dormitories, which accommodated Koreans. This material was stored in the Tomita tobacco store (Daikumachi Post Office), which distributed cigarettes to Sado Mine. There are ledgers for Souai Dormitories 1, 3, and 4, which contain information such as the names of personnel who were accommodated in the Souai Dormitories from October 1944 to July 1946 and transfer reports relating to them. From this, it can be seen that Mitsubishi’s Sado Mine sent a list of names and dates of birth of people who were accommodated in the Souai Dormitories to the Tomita tobacco store, and requested to store to take care of distributing cigarette rations.

workers who had returned to the dormitory from Niigata Prison. It is also possible to see the circumstances in which a large number of Korean laborers returned to Korea via Osaka in October 1945.

Honma Torao (pen name Isobe Kinzo) was born in Sado, became a newspaper reporter, and was then appointed as the director of the Sado History Museum. He collected the tobacco distribution register for Mitsubishi Mining's Sado Mine Souai Dormitories, which had been left at a local tobacco store, and introduced it to people who were interested in it. A civic group was later given the list and conducted field investigations in Korea from 1991 and invited victims of mobilization to join a gathering. Currently, the original list is held at the Sado History Museum, and a copy is kept by the "Gathering Connecting Sado and Korea."

7. Aikawa Police Station, "A Case concerning the Movements of Korean Immigrant Laborers after the Armistice," September 11, 1945, Special Higher Division of Niigata Prefectural Police Department, "Showa 20 Japan-Korea Relations File ② - Report of the Police Chief"

"Collection of Materials on Korean Issues"

edited by Park Gyeong-sik, Volume 13, Asiatic Research Institute, 1990

The Special Higher Police investigated and reported on the movements of Koreans even after the defeat. The data is contained in the Special Higher Division of Niigata Prefectural Police Department's "Japan-Korea Relations File" for the year Showa 20 (昭和20年内鮮関係書類綴). It also has a report on the movements and thinking of Koreans in the Sado Mine. In 1945, 189 Koreans were dispatched from Sado Mine to Saitama Prefecture and 219 Koreans to Fukushima Prefecture, and as of August 15th, it can be seen that the number of Koreans at the mine was 244, with 319 having returned from where they had been dispatched to, and 89 people having escaped. The document also reports on the food situation, as well as the general opinions, words, and actions of the Koreans.

8. Original Register of Deposits Not Paid Out (Receipt No. 229)

Information Disclosure Document, Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau, Japan

This data shows that Sado Mine deposited amounts payable to Koreans with the Japanese government.

Koreans at the Sado Mine began to return to Korea in October 1945. Koreans as a group demanded payment of their deposits from Sado Mine, as well as a list of Korean workers, but the mine decided to hand over

When Korean workers were at the mine, their treatment, wage system, and methods used to motivate them to work were largely the same as those for Japanese workers. They mainly worked as miners within the pit and were paid in accordance with the amount of income based on piece prices, with a bonus for hard work given in accordance with the previous month's work performance. The amount of rice distributed depended the number of dependents and the number of days worked, and a bonus for hard work was issued twice a year. In general, the company rented company housing free of charge to laborers accompanied by their family members, and public bath facilities, rice, soybean paste, soy sauce, and other daily necessities were provided at low prices by the Buying Association. When a family member was injured or ill, they could receive medical treatment. Single people were accommodated in dormitories (three locations), and no fees were charged for the dormitory. Meals were the same as those provided to Japanese people, and they cost 50 sen a day (the difference in actual expenses was borne by the company), while bedding was rented at 50 sen per month for a set, and the cost of electricity, heating, and baths was borne by the company. Daily necessities such as other work necessities, clothes, and shoes were purchased and sold at low prices through the Buying Association, and vegetables were supplied from the farms directly managed by the mine because vegetables were scarce.

In addition, Korean laborers were made to enroll in group life insurance when they had worked continuously for three months or more, and the company paid all insurance premiums while workers were in post. In the case of unfortunate events, an insurance benefit of JPY 300 was provided, and there was no distinction between Japan and Korea in terms of aid for accidents and retirement salary. At the time they immigrated, it was common for one person to eat 1.8 liters of rice per day, but the amount and frequency of food were gradually reduced. In particular, no additional cooked rice was provided after rice rationing was implemented. When there was a particular lack in the rice ration, the meal was replaced with mixed dishes of sweet potatoes, radishes, and dried noodles.

In Showa 19 and 20, the number of Korean laborers increased to 514, and they were the overwhelming majority of the labor force. Perhaps because of good training or guidance, they were able to be returned home without the violent behavior seen in other provinces, even at the end of the war.

10. Newspaper Articles



“Follow-up Report on the Takachi village disaster, the progress of drainage work, and discovery of bodies,” “Niigata Mainichi Shimbun,” October 1, 1940

This article reports that Koreans and Japanese were killed in the accident. Yoo Ho-jong (25 years old), who was mobilized to the Sado Mine's Takachi Branch Mine, died following a cage fall on September 28, 1940.



“Peninsular warriors producing gold, about 600 people at Sado Mine Works,” “Niigata Shimbun,” April 14, 1941

By April 1941, 600 Koreans had been forcibly mobilized to the Sado Mine under the 1940 quota. About 50 of them brought their families, and were housed in the Yamanokami company housing. In April and May of that year, there was a plan to bring in more families. More than 100 Koreans lived with their families at the Sado Mine. Making people bring their families over was a way that the mine used to manage their labor, preventing escapes and helping to settle people in. The Koreans were called “warriors” and were forced to work to increase production.



“Sado Mine instructs peninsular laborers,” “Niigata Nippo” March 24, 1944

Sado Mine opened a health-care center in February 1944 for the sake of improving health. Mental training was also conducted there, and people were forced to bow towards the east and recite the oath of allegiance to the Japanese emperor when they got out of bed. They were also made to do physical training and receive treatment at Souai Dormitory 1. After the treatment, there was moral instruction from the labor section staff. As such, this was nominally a place for Koreans to “take good care of their health,” but in fact, it was a place where Koreans were forced to promise to give their loyalty to the country and to strive to increase production.



光榮と感激に溢れ

佐渡鑛山から半島青年晴の入隊

軍服と旗の波、送られて佐渡鑛山を下つてゆく八人の半島出身者があゝ見送る人も見送られる人も皆一様に深い感激と涙りに満ちた中では秘かに涙さへ流してある。これは鑛山に働く半島青年が徴兵検査に合格賜れて入隊する朝の光景である。朝鮮に徴兵制度が布かれその第一回の検査に佐

渡鑛山半島人總長屋は十名の甲種合格者を出したのであつたが、今回
柳村益夫、白川三喜、新井光郎、金米相増、柳川吉男、石原公益、石原國周、南登益
の八人は愈々晴れの入隊をする事になつた。今まで大本營発表の戦果を聞いて湧き立つ感激を唯剣の

これまでの劇切れない氣持は一遍にふつ飛んでしまひ今や佐渡鑛山半島人總長屋は、感激と光榮と誇りと喜びに包まれてゐる。出發の日の朝鑛山から贈られた竹越鑛山長以下幹部等を入りの國旗を肩にかけた八人は「皆さん有難う元氣に征つて参ります。誓つて米英を壓滅します」と豪邁の詞も譲りし

く勇躍征途についた。圖は出發する半島壯士。

“A young man from the peninsula at Sado Mine officially enlists in the military, overflowing with glory and emotion,” “Niigata Nippo,” September 6, 1944

In September 1944, when eight Koreans at Sado Mine entered the military, the mine had them put a Japanese flag on their shoulders and held a send-off party. They were forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and then drafted again, this time into the Japanese army.

II. Documents from Local Governments concerning the Actual Conditions of Forced Labor of Koreans

1. “Niigata Prefectural History 8, Modern Period 3,” Niigata Prefecture, 1988

第2節 戦後の県民生活

昭和十八年六月東京監獄管理局東京地方監獄部会、佐渡監山を会場に朝鮮人労働管理研究協議会を開催した。その要綱に添えられた佐渡監業所の報告は、移入者総計一〇〇五名、死者一〇八人、公私傷逝三六八人、不良送還一五八人、逃走一四八人などで現在員数五八四人にすぎなかった。

昭和十八年四月の花札賭博を理由とした検挙に対する審判で十一月の待遇を不満として逃走。十八年に入っても民族差別賃金を不満とする連に四件も続いた。

昭和十五年二月四月朝鮮人労働者が応募条件との食い違いなどをめぐり待遇改善を要求し、ついにストライキに突入した。しかし会社側はこの要請を曲解し、「一部労働者の誤解に基づく偶発的事故」にして、朝鮮人の「知能程度が想像以上に低きため」、「三不良分子の煽動に乘じ半島人特有の狡猾性、付和雷同性を現したる」などと露骨な「劣等民族観」を隠そうとしなかった。したがってひとまず労働条件の改善を約束したものの、本心とはほど遠く、「悪質者に対しては罰金送還を為し」、「警察と緊密なる連絡を執り厳重説諭戒を為し、固く将来を戒めつて指導」をし、「手綱」をゆるめざる管理を必要」との結論に至っている。佐渡監業所を以て、したがって十七年四月の花札賭博を理由とした検挙に対する審判で十一月の待遇を不満として逃走。十八年に入っても民族差別賃金を不満とする連に四件も続いた。

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第4章 太平洋戦争と県民

たり、さらに文の執念が実り殉難碑建立に成功した。さらに十七年、国策会社日鉄鉱業の入丘瀬珪石鉱山における採掘開始で、只見川の敷設をはじめ輸送手段が整備をみるが、工夫も多数流れ込み、やがて徴用の朝鮮人が送り込まれた。ただこゝでも「協和」の「努力」とは裏腹に、食糧難もあって犠牲者も出たし、虐待も通でもあったと文は証言している。

朝鮮人強制労働 昭和十四（一九三九）年に始まった労働員計画は、名称こそ「募集」（官給飯）「費用」と変化した。運行と指導 するものの、朝鮮人を強制的に進行した事実においては間違であった。本県では十五年末現在募集認可数一八五〇人、移住者数八八〇人であった。家族持ちが六八一人いながら、家族を呼び寄せたものは三五世帯八一人にすぎず、移住者の本意さがわからず、しかし十七年一月では移住者一七〇八人に、十八年六月には家族と合わせて二二一人に達するのである。これより先、同年三月強制進行を除く在日朝鮮人への徴兵制実施の手頭として司法省の行った全国一斉調査によると、県下三九八市町村中一九九市町村に朝鮮人男子四四四二名が居住していたことがわかる（「朝鮮人労働者の状況」昭和十五年九月）。

ではその就労事業所はどこで、そこでの勤務環境はいかなるものであったのだろうか。中央協和会の十七年六月刊行「移入朝鮮人労働者状況調査」（小沢有造、在日朝鮮人による）、県下では三菱鉱業佐渡監山の八〇二名を筆頭に、金属の日本山業三川、日曹鉱業飯盛、土産関係の新潟鉄道および東京電燈の両信濃川発電工事にかわる飛鳥、岡、西谷、鹿島、西本の各組である。工場では電気化学工業青森の合計八か所に当該一三三六名が配属されたことがわかる。もちろんこの数字には従前から「自由」渡航者は含まれない。

このうち最多数を擁する三菱鉱業佐渡監山を例にその労働管理の一端を探ろう。すでに昭和十六年七月現在、

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In Niigata, there have been activities to investigate the history of Zainichi(Koreans living in Japan), including the history of forced mobilization, and the results of this research are reflected in “Niigata Prefectural History 8, Modern Period 3” (1988). The section on “Forcibly Mobilized Koreans” in the chapter “The Pacific War and the Residents of Niigata Prefecture” states, “the labor mobilization plan, which started in Showa 14 [1939], was variously termed “recruitment,” “arrangements by the government,” and “conscription,” but the fact that Koreans were forcibly mobilized did not change.” The prefectural history also describes the circumstances of the mobilization of Koreans to the Sado Mine.

2. “History of Sado Aikawa, Modern and Contemporary,” Aikawa-cho, 1995

動機三か月以上の者には生命保険料の全額を会社が負担し、死亡のばあいには三〇〇円を限度に保険金を会社から支払っていた。また言語障害をとり除くのに、補習学校を会社で設営し、国民学校四年終了程度以上の者を「上」国語をある程度理解するものを「中」、全然理解できない者を「初」級の三等級にわけ、「講習」および国語知識の教化に動めたとし、このほか福利施設なども種々の目配りがみられた。

しかし昭和十五年二月、九八人の第一陣が到着した早々、四〇人の朝鮮労働者が会社に押しかけて待遇改善の要求をし会社がこれを認めた。同年四月には三分の賃金支給をうけた九七人が「応募時の条件と違ふ」として賃上げのストライキを決行し主謀者三人が強制送還されたらしい（『特高月報』から）。国籍の異なる人々への労務管理が、かなり難しくなったことがわかる。当時の労務担当者によると「給与のほかに食費（当時一日五十銭）や寝具代（一組月五十銭）のほか、無料支給と思っていた地下足袋などの作業必需品がすべて本人持ちだったほか、労務や勤労課職員の一部に極端な差別意識を持った人たちがかなりいたなど、当時の朝鮮人労働者の不満の原因を回想している。相川に残る朝鮮人宿舎への煙草配給台帳（第一・第三・第四相愛寮）によると、この台帳に登録された朝鮮人は、おおよそ四六〇人、昭和十八、二十年在寮のもので、すべて生年月日（本籍は不明）が記載されている。これによると登録時の平均年齢は二八・七八歳で、三〇歳未満の若い人たちが大半を占めていた。

記録が町にはほとんど残っていないが、昭和二十年八月、敗戦が色濃くなったところ、佐渡鉱山の朝鮮人の多くは特別挺身隊」として埼玉と福島県に出張動員される。同年九月十一日、相川警察署長から新潟県知事に出された「休戦時に於ける朝鮮人労働者ノ動静ニ関スル件」によると、第一次特別挺身隊として一八九人が埼玉県に、第二次分として二一九人が福島県に、計四〇八人それぞれ集団派遣された。鉱山に残留することになった朝鮮人労働者は二四四人として残されている。

表6 職 種 別

職 種	朝鮮人	内地人	比率
岩柱	123	27	4.5
支 柱	56	39	1.4
運 搬	294	80	3.6
内運転	8	19	0.4
外運転	49	17	2.8
工 作	3	23	0.13
整 地	21	46	0.46
製 錬	19	85	0.22
雑 夫	11	52	0.21
其 他		321	
計	584	709	0.82

賃金（給与）については内鮮の区別はないと報告されている。昭和十六年七月の朝鮮人労働者数が三三二人であったとき、平均稼働日数が約二八日、平均月収が六六・七七円、ほかに皆勤奨励金などがあり、共同宿舎（寮）が含費無料で徴収を免じられていた（前掲「新潟県史」という。なお「労務研究協議会」に鉱業所から提出した調査資料によると、社宅の無料貸与のほか、共同浴場も無料であり、

在員数は五八四人とされている。つぎに宿舎および宿舍別人数・宿舍別の稼働率（八坑作業数）なども示されている。「山之神社宅」一七人（稼働率八三・三パーセント）、「第一相愛寮」一八五人（稼働率八九・三パーセント）、「第三相愛寮」一五七人（稼働率八七・三パーセント）、「第四相愛寮」二四四人（稼働率八四・五パーセント）、その他現在員」となっている。四つの宿舎の五八四人（在籍数）の稼働率は各宿舎とも八〇パーセントを超えていて、朝鮮の人たちは想像以上によく働いていたといえるのであり、収容されていた「山之神社宅」は町北端の下山之神町、「第一相愛寮」は新五郎町、「第三相愛寮」は諏訪町、「第四相愛寮」はそれに隣接して治助町に建てられていたことがわかっていく。

つぎに労働の職種を内地人と朝鮮人の比率（表6）でみておこう。内地人に比べて一倍以上を朝鮮の人たちが請負っていた作業職種は「整地」「運搬」の主として坑内労働に多くみられる。当時の鉱山関係者の話によると、前出の相川海岸浜砂利採取などの同作業により多く内地人が働き、労働条件の劣る坑内の採掘はより多く朝鮮人が受けていたとされ、出征・徴用などで内地人の不足、老齢化を朝鮮人労働者が分担する傾向を強いられていた。一方労働の対価である賃金（給与）については内鮮の区別はないと報告されている。昭和十六年七月の朝鮮人労働者数が三三二人であったとき、平均稼働日数が約二八日、平均月収が六六・七七円、ほかに皆勤奨励金などがあり、共同宿舎（寮）が含費無料で徴収を免じられていた（前掲「新潟県史」という。なお「労務研究協議会」に鉱業所から提出した調査資料によると、社宅の無料貸与のほか、共同浴場も無料であり、

The results of the Niigata civic group's investigations into the forced mobilizations to Sado Mine are also reflected in “Sado Aikawa History, Modern and Contemporary” (佐渡相川の歴史 通史編 近現代) (1995) published by Aikawa-cho, Niigata Prefecture (now Sado City). The history of Aikawa-cho introduces the specific circumstances of the mobilization of the Koreans and examples of disputes, while noting the “abnormality of the forced taking of Koreans to Sado Mine”.

III. Records of Japanese Labor Officers

1. “Memoirs of Sugimoto Soji,” 1974

Held by the Gathering Connecting Sado and Korea



This is a memoir by Sugimoto Soji, a labor officer at Mitsubishi's Sado Mine (on outdoor duty). It is a letter sent to Honma Torao, who was investigating the history of the Sado Mine in 1974.

Sugimoto's memoir states that, prior to the “recruitment,” he wrote down and submitted the desired region of recruitment, the period of employment, and the type of job, and the Japanese Government General of Korea, provincial governments, and county offices were approached through “diplomatic tactics” so that the mine could receive an assignment of laborers from the desired region. The memoir says that the method used for the recruitment was ‘arrangements by government offices’, with the labor officer in the county office pressing the labor officer in the local district office to recruit people, and once the police had conducted background checks on the recruits’ ideology, they would be shipped across the sea. It also describes the diplomacy (hospitality) used when dealing with the people working for the local district and the police at this time. Mitsubishi's Sado Mine gathered 100 people, using hospitality to obtain a mobilization quota from Nonsan-gun in Chungcheongnam-do, and conducting



"The history of oppression of Korean workers in Sado Mine has been revealed," "Niigata Nippo," November 9, 1991

helped guide an escape from the island, and the fact that the leader, whom he trusted the most, left even his family in the care of his friend and ran away.

The memoir of this labor officer clearly shows that in mobilizing labor, the "recruitment" by the government and Japanese companies was made with the involvement of the Japanese Government General of Korea and was not a free labor contract, and escape attempts often took place because of resistance to the violence used to force labor and the extension of contract terms.

2. "Shibuya Seiji Audio Materials," 1973 and 1979

Held by the Gathering Connecting Sado and Korea

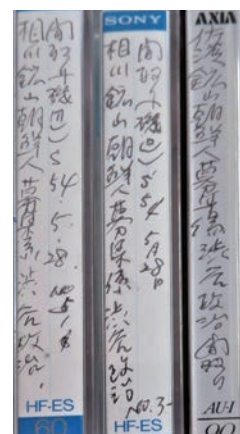
This is an audio record of interviews by Honma Torao of Shibuya Seiji, who was a labor officer (on desk duty) at Sado Mine.

Shibuya taught Japanese to Koreans at the mine. He was dispatched to Korea as a recruiter in October 1940, and asked the Japanese Government General of Korea to recruit 300 people from Nonsan-gun. As a result, 150 people each were allocated from Nonsan and Buyeo in November. He entertained the county governor of Buyeo and others, and the local area authorities gave notification of the recruitment. He accompanied a doctor to examine the target

a group mobilization in places such as Gwangseok-myeon. The letter also says that the Busan Sales Office of the Hiroshima Railway Bureau was asked to provide a schedule for running the trains required for the mobilization.

Sugimoto also describes how, "On the other hand, a policy of oppression was adopted to deal with those who worked poorly, and I couldn't bear to witness the violence when they were brought to the Labor Section and beaten." He also says that "the use of oppression to make people work and dissatisfaction with meals" led to escapes, and at one time, a group of 10 or more people ran away together. The letter describes how watchtowers were placed at the wharfs to increase surveillance because people escaped by motorized sailboat from places such as Ryotsu and Washizaki.

He continues, "I think it is undoubtedly true that from their point of view, they were forced to work, and half of them gave themselves up to despair as the one-year recruitment period was extended to several years." He also mentioned a case in which someone "refused to the end, despite all oppression, to disclose" the name of a colleague who had



IV. Testimonies and Records of Victims of Forced Labor

1. Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Yoo Bong-cheol: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine around 1940. He gathered on the school campus in Nonsan, and about 100 people were taken from Nonsan Station to Sado via Busan. It was the same with Kim Moon-guk in the same village. The person who came to recruit was Sugimoto Soji. He was accommodated in the third dormitory (manager of dormitory Sugimoto) and was assigned to work on rock drilling for money. He came back home halfway because his eldest brother was ill, but he returned without getting his savings back

Kim Moon-guk: Born in 1913, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine around 1940. He was accommodated in the third dormitory, but he brought his family in and lived in the company housing of Yamanokami. He did rock drilling. After returning home, he was short of breath because of pneumoconiosis, so he could barely breathe by folding the blanket and leaning his back on it, and he died in his 40s. He sold his fields and paddies to get treatment and support his family, and he owed a huge amount of debt.



Kim Pyeong-sun talks about his father Kim Moon-guk's mobilization to Sado in 1992*

Baek Soon-gi: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine around 1942 and worked there. He ate so little that he was always hungry. After working on Sado Island for two years, he escaped and worked in Saitama Prefecture. The salary he received added to his younger brother's tuition, who was studying abroad in Tokyo. After liberation, he returned home and suffered from chronic bronchitis for the rest of his life.

Yeo Gyu-eop: Born in 1918, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized during the Japanese occupation and died in the hospital of the Sado Mining Office at 7, Hiromamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun at 6:00 a.m. on March 11, 1942. It was not an accident within the pit, but he died after suffering from the illness for two or three days. His family members testified that a colleague brought his cremated ashes, and they sprinkled them on the mountain.)

Yeo Gyu-sang: Born in 1917, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In October 1942, he was forcibly mobilized by the police and the labor affairs section of the Myeon office and worked in Sado Mine. His letter saying that he was working in a gold mine came to his family.

He said that he was arrested and beaten while trying to escape around May 1944. After liberation in 1945, he returned home around December.

Yeo Gyu-tae: Born in 1915, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

A labor officer at the Seongdong-myeon Office and a policeman at the police substation rejected his begging elderly parents and family members and forcibly mobilized him. A few months later, a letter arrived saying that he was working in a gold mine on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture, Japan. It is said that he worked with explosives within the pit. Before the mobilization, it was said that he had a strong physique and was as strong as Hercules, but when he returned in September 1943, he was skinny, his face had turned black, and his body was sick.

Ahn Hee-won: Born in 1917, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine in 1940 and was seriously injured by rocks falling from the ceiling of the pit while working. He was hospitalized and treated but was fired from Sado Mine. His relative sent a letter to his bereaved family saying that on the way home, he stopped by a relative's house in Ehime Prefecture and died there. Nam Soo-ryong, who was mobilized with him, talked about the accident of being hit by falling rocks after returning home.

Kim Jong-won: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around July 1940, he was mobilized to Sado Mine and worked as a miner from September. Later, he brought his family in and lived together. According to Kim Jong-won's "Occupational Ability Reporting Pocket Notebook," the daily wage was JPY 3 and JPY 70. Moreover, according to the "Insurance Premium Receipt Book," from August 1941 to March 1943, JPY 1.20 were paid to the bill collector every month. In March 1943, he was fired and returned home. After returning home, his family testified that he suffered from pneumoconiosis.



Ahn Hee-won (left) and Nam Soo-ryong (right)*

Gang Sin-do: Born in 1910, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine and worked as a miner from September 1940. He was injured in an explosion while on duty. In the "Occupational Ability Reporting Pocket Notebook," it is recorded that he worked at Sado Mine until March 1942 and his daily wage was JPY 2.50. In December 1940, he lived at 164 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, Niigata Prefecture. His wife and son also returned home with him together after living in Sado. He suffered from pneumoconiosis and died in December 1959.

Lee Dong-rae: Born 1915, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked as a miner. He was mobilized along with Kim Jong-won and Kang Sin-do, etc. After returning home, he coughed badly and was unable to work.

He died in July 1960 without getting adequate treatment because of his poor financial circumstances.

Lee Gi-yong: Born in 1914, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around October 1941, he was chosen by a Myeon employee and forcibly mobilized. After traveling via Busan for three days, he was deployed to Sado Mine. At first, he did manual labor and transported things, but later, he worked as a tram driver. He was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. Five or six people lived together in one room, and they could not escape because of the severe surveillance. There is a group photo of about 100 people who were victims of forced labor from Yangchon-myeon and their families. The contract was for three years, but it was not kept. Around September 1945, he obtained a ship on his own and returned home.

Kim Jong-sun: Born in 1920, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around October 1941, he was forcibly mobilized in Yangchon-myeon. After traveling via Busan for three days, he was deployed to Sado Mine. In the mine, he was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo and worked as a miner until Korea was liberated in August 1945. Although Korea was liberated, he could not return home because he did not receive the money he was supposed to receive, but he returned home in January of the following year. There is a group photo of forcibly mobilized victims and their families from Yangchon-myeon.

Lee Sang-sun: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around October 1941, he was forcibly mobilized in Yangchon-myeon. After traveling via Busan for three days, he was deployed to Sado Mine. He was responsible for loading the wagons with stones mined from the mine. He was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. After liberation, he returned home in September 1945. There is a group photo of forcibly mobilized victims and their families from Yangchon-myeon.

Go Yong-ju: Born in 1914, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized with six people from Bangok-ri together. He also brought his family in and went over to Japan with his wife and two children. In October 1943, his second daughter was born at 201 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. In the mine, he entered the pit, and he drilled blast holes or transported ore. After liberation, all the companions returned home together. Because he did hard labor in the mine, he suffered from pneumoconiosis after returning home and died early.

Kim Jong-cheol: Born in 1919, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine in Niigata Prefecture together with six people from Bangok-ri. He did things such as drilling blasting holes in the underground tunnel, breaking stones by blasting dynamite, and carrying the broken stones in handcarts. His three front teeth were broken in a rockfall accident. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo. He expected that he could make money, but he returned home without making any money. He returned home about a month later after the liberation. He suffered from pneumoconiosis, an occupational disease, because of too much work and died before the age of 60. Most of the people who were mobilized from Geosari and Myeongam-ri, Yangchon-myeon, also suffered from bad lungs.

Jeon Seong-rok: Born in 1910, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around the fall of 1940, many people, including Yoo Cheon-il, were mobilized to Sado Mine. After returning home, he had a meeting with his colleagues called 'Gathering of Colleagues who Returned Home Together'.

Yoo Cheon-il: Born in 1907, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around the autumn of 1940, he was mobilized to Sado Mine with Jeon Seong-mo and many others. The following year, his wife and daughter went over to Japan, where they lived, and he returned home with them after liberation. There is a group photo taken with the mobilized people from Yangchon-myeon on August 14, 1943.

Park Pal-seong: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized with Yoo Cheon-il and others from Yangchon-myeon and worked at Sado Mine. The mobilized people lived next to one another in accommodations like a dormitory, and they all worked within the pit. Because it was an island, he couldn't get out until Korea was liberated.

Kim Soo-gap: Born in 1911, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In May 1942, he was mobilized to work at Sado Mine in Japan together with Kim Soo-cheol from the same village. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo. After returning home in 1945, he suffered from the sequelae.

Kim Soo-cheol: Born in 1914, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In May 1942, he was mobilized to work at Sado Mine in Japan with Kim Soo-gap from the same village. He brought his wife to Japan and lived with her together. In March 1945, his eldest son was born in Shimookawa, Aikawamachi. After liberation, he returned home and suffered from the sequelae.

Kim Yeong-chan: Born in 1919, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Together with the people of Yangchon-myeon, he was mobilized to Sado Mine in Niigata Prefecture, Japan. In the mine, he was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo, and he worked to mine ore. There was a time when he saw a colleague die in an accident where a tunnel collapsed and he ran away but was caught and beaten badly. He was always hungry because he had nothing to eat. After liberation, he was single, so he stayed in Japan without returning home immediately with the intention of earning money and returning home.



Group Photo of Victims of Mobilization to Sado (birthplace unknown, June 14, 1944)*

Song Byung-ju: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked there until August 1945. Kim Soo-gap and Kim Soo-cheol are photographed together in a photo titled "Commemorated in Sado with a dear friend in

the origin year 2603.” He did a hauling job outside the pit. He was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo.

Yoon Soo-bok: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized in 1941 and worked in Sado Mine. The following year, he brought his wife and two children in to Sado and lived with them. In 1942, his second son was born at 164 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, and his eldest daughter died at the same place in 1944. At Sado Mine, he worked to mine gold with a rock drill. He made his lunch box at the company housing and went to work. After liberation, he paid the price of two sacks of rice for the ship fare and arrived in Busan after two to three days. He couldn't bring money with him. After returning home, he suffered from lung disease and died.

Lee Gil-bong: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Five or six people, including Yoon Soo-bok, were mobilized together. In December 1941, his eldest son was born at 164 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. At this address, he lived with other mobilized families and was forced to work. Meanwhile, when his sickness became worse and he was unable to work, he returned home before liberation.

Park Byeong-hak: Born in 1908, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked until around 1944 when he returned home after developing asthma. Yoon Soo-bok's son, who worked with him, testified that he met him, and they lived at Sado Mine.

Yang Joo-seok: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked there, and then returned home after liberation. Yoon Soo-bok's son, who worked with him, testified that he met him and they lived at Sado Mine. During the holidays, he visited Yoon Soo-bok's house to exchange greetings and interacted closely with him. He suffered from pneumoconiosis and died in January 1966.

Im Won-seok: Born in 1919, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine and subjected to forced labor. He worked in the same place as Yang Joo-seok from the same village. It is said that he even fought with the field superintendent so as not to lose to the Japanese.

Park Jae-seol: Born in 1914, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized from the Myeon office and worked as a miner in Sado Mine. After that, his wife and children were also brought to Japan, and his eldest son was born in February 1942 and the second son in July 1944 at 164 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. He was in charge of blasting in the mine. He returned home after liberation. He suffered from pneumoconiosis and died in January 1963.

Park Jae-hoon: Born in 1917, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around October 1940, he was forcibly mobilized and worked at Sado Mine. His eldest son was born at 167 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, in April 1943. He returned home after liberation.)

Baek Nam-hyeong: Born 1901, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized On June 20, 1941, and worked as a miner at Sado Mine. He was mobilized with his younger brother Baek Nam-jeong, and his wife and six children and his younger brother's family also came to Sado. His brother-in-law Kwak Dae-dong was also mobilized to Sado. Both daughters worked together too. Because of hard work every day, he suffered from high fever, headache, body aches, and severe coughing.

Baek Nam-jeong: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized on June 20, 1941, and worked as a miner at Sado Mine. He was mobilized along with his elder brother Baek Nam-hyeong, and after that, his wife and children, as well as his elder brother's family, also came to Japan. In January 1942, his eldest son was born at 197 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. He returned home on September 10, 1946. After suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, he died in February 1957.

Kim Han-bae: Born in 1918, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized from his hometown of Nonsan to Sado Mine along with Baek Nam-hyeong and five or six others. In the mine, he worked as a miner to mine gold. His younger brother Kim Yeong-bae was also mobilized and was in Kobe, so they exchanged correspondence. After liberation, he returned home with his younger brother.

Kwak Dae-dong: Born in 1921, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1942, he was mobilized to Sado Island with Choi Jae-pil and others and worked to mine ore. He returned home in 1946 but was unable to work because of the sequelae of forced labor. Whenever he was drunk, he cursed until he sobered up, saying, "Japanese bastards, filthy bastards!" Thus, his wife and young children had to take care of their livelihood. His children, who had to give up their studies, had a reproachful childhood.

Choi Jae-pil: Born in 1916, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked with Kim Sam-oh-jang and Kwak Dae-dong. Baek Nam-hyeong's second daughter testified that she witnessed the victim come to the Sado Mine in 1942. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo.

Kim Sam-oh-jang: Born in 1908, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around December 1940, he was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and worked there. Two months after being mobilized, he also brought his wife and two daughters in to Japan and lived with them together. In October 1941, his eldest son was born at 1 Sa, Gap 33 of the company housing of Yamakami in Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. After returning home as Korea was liberated in 1945, he suffered from the hardships of life and died in September 1950.

Kim Jong-myeong: Born in 1925, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized around July 1941 and was forced to work at Sado Mine. At that time, recruiters went from town to town to recruit. He was young, so he didn't understand well what he was doing and applied. He was told he was going to the smelter and went alone from the village. About 16 people

gathered in front of the inn in Nonsan, went to Busan, passed Hakata Port, and arrived in Niigata Prefecture. He worked at Sado Mine for five to six months, breaking ore and gathering gold and silver, and he started at 8:00 a.m. and left at 6:00 p.m. In a wooden dormitory, 16 people (mobilized from the same hometown) lived together. After witnessing an accident where a person from Buyeo died from being caught in a belt, three people fled to Niigata Port together. He went to Kyoto, where his younger uncle lived, and worked at a factory in Kyoto for seven months. He returned to the dormitory in September 1944.

Park Chang-soon: Born in 1925, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1942, a police officer from Daejeon came along with a Japanese and took him away. He was placed at a workshop with a machine (pulverizer) called Conical Bowl in Sado Mine. He was drafted from Aikawa in March 1945 and was assigned to Unit 222 of the Kwantung Army in the 19th Division in Yongsan, and then he returned home from Fengtian after liberation.



Park Chang-soon Testifying at the Nonsan Investigation in 1992*

Kim Cheol-su: Born in 1911, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized and worked at Sado Mine. There remains a photo that reads, "Warriors who were Loyal to the Country by Producing Gold in Sado Mine," dated October 20, 1940. After liberation, he returned home in September 1945.

Oh Deok-geun: Born in 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized by the recruiting group. He stayed for one night at a ryokan in Nonsan, arrived in Busan by train, stayed for one night, took a ferry to Shimonoseki, and arrived at Sado Island in Niigata Prefecture by car and boat. A group of people went together, but there were so many underground tunnels that it was impossible to know which tunnel the people who came from the same village as him went to work in. The salary was not much, and he was told that it would be put into saving separately, but he did not receive it when he returned home. He returned home in January 1945 before liberation.

Nam Tae-woo: Born in 1906, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine together with five other people, including Lee Sam-bok, from the same village and was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. After returning home, he could not even farm because of the aftereffects (cough), suffered, and died.

Lee Sam-bok: Born in 1907, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine with five other people, including Nam Tae-woo, from the same village and subjected to forced labor, and then returned to Korea. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo.

Min Yeong-seok: Born 1912, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was recruited by the Myeon office and forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine. After arriving at Sado Mine via Busan, he worked at a gold mine. The accommodation was in a row at the bottom of the

mountain, and it was a tatami room. Families lived in the lower living quarters, and singles lived in the upper living quarters. The gold mine was away from the accommodation, and he had to cross an iron bridge. The upper part of the mountain peak was split in half. He worked night and day shifts. In October 1942, his third son was born at 201 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. After liberation, he returned to Busan.

Kim Bae-san: Born in 1921, Nonsan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine and did the work of drilling rocks, and later drove a tram carrying stones. In 1944, he married the daughter of Baek Nam-hyeong. When he returned home after liberation, he took his sick mother-in-law to Shimonoseki, but the patient was not allowed to get on the ship, so only the two of them returned to Korea first.

2. Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Yoon Ik-seong: Born in 1911, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized in 1940. In an accident while working, he died at the hospital of Sado Mining Office, 7 Hiromamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, at 3:00 p.m. on April 15, 1942. His family members testified that Koreans and Japanese who were mobilized together brought the ashes.

Jo Han-gu: Born in 1919, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized along with about 30 people from Buyeo-gun. He went over to Japan by train and ship, and was placed in a gold mine on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture. As soon as he arrived, he was put to work, and during the mining operation, the rock collapsed, causing many deaths and injuries. In May 1943, he was mobilized to work at Mitsubishi Mining's Hosokura Mining Office in Miyagi Prefecture and escaped from the mine on January 30, 1944. He returned to his hometown in May of the same year. His name, address, and escape record are recorded in the Hosokura Mine Directory.

Hwang Chang-seok: Born in 1913, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1940, he was forcibly mobilized and worked as a miner in Sado Mine. At that time, one person was assigned to each village, but when no one responded to the recruitment, the village leader sent him out. A year later, his wife and son were also called to Japan. In September 1942, his fourth son was born at 196 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, and in June 1945, his fifth son was born at 176, Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. After liberation in 1945, he returned to Korea. As a result of forced labor for mining gold, he contracted pneumoconiosis and died early.

Yoon Jae-ok: Born in 1913, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In 1941, he was forcibly mobilized on behalf of his eldest brother and worked as a miner at Sado Mine. His wife was also called to Japan, and in November 1943, his eldest daughter was born at 165 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. There is a photo taken with 11 people who were mobilized from Hongsan-myeon. After liberation, he returned to Korea with his family, but he suffered from lung problems and could not find a job for the rest of his life. He died in January 1967.

Park Gil-dong: Born in 1905, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine and died in a rockfall accident that occurred during the suspension of No. 36 of Pit 1 of the Odate Pit at Sado Mining Office at 11:00 a.m. on July 19, 1941. According to the testimony of his bereaved family, the Japanese brought his ashes after his death in person, and at this time, the bereaved family received the death compensation and maintained their livelihood. There is a record of his death in the “List of Industrial Workers who Died at their Work.”

Lee Sang-yeon: Born in 1922, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Three people from Jito-ri, Jangam-myeon, together were subjected to an identity check at the Myeon office. They were gathered at the Buyeo-gun Office around October 1941 and were forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine via Daejeon and Busan. He was told that he was going to Japan without knowing the working conditions. At Sado Mine, he did the work of drilling holes in rocks, transporting broken rocks, and building wooden posts from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. There was a lot of water in the pit, so he had to scoop it out. About 20 people worked as a team. The Japanese always monitored them, such as taking the roll call twice a day, and kicked them for being lazy. The coworkers got along without any problems, well enough that there were no cases of bullying or beating anyone. He sent his salary home for several months but later used it because of a lack of living expenses. After liberation, he returned home in November 1945.

Sim Seong-taek: Born in 1917, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

After receiving a notice from the labor circle, he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. His two children were born in March 1943 and March 1945 at 165 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. In addition, Ahn Chang-seon, who returned home first, sent a postcard to the victims at the company housing of Yamanokami in Aikawamachi in March 1943. After liberation, he returned to his hometown with his family.

Lee Sook: Born in 1918, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around October 1940, he was mobilized to the Sado Mine of Mitsubishi Mining on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture, Japan. He was placed in the Concentrating Plaza (the breaking ground) and worked to crush ore. On April 17, 1942, when his uncle Lee Byeong-gi, who worked with him at the Concentrating Plaza, died in a mechanical accident, he returned to Korea to recover his ashes.

Lee Byeong-gi: Born in 1924, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture, Japan. He was deployed in the Concentrating Plaza (the breaking ground) at the mining office and worked to crush ore. On April 17, 1942, he died in a mechanical accident while working. His nephew Lee Sook, who worked in the same workshop, returned home after recovering his remains. There is a record of his death in the “List of Industrial Workers who Died at their Work.”

Lee Chang-su: Born in 1913, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. On March 2, 1945, at 9:00 p.m., he died at 196 Shimoaikawa Mine's company housing, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun.

Woo Jong-ha: Born in 1910, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forced to work in Sado Mine. His wife and three children also crossed over to Sado. He worked two shifts and suffered from pneumoconiosis because of mining labor, as well as suffered serious sequelae, such as pulmonary tuberculosis, hemoptysis, and dyspnea.

Lee Man-su: Born in 1910, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized around 1941 and forced to work in a gold mine on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture. His wife was also called to Sado, and his eldest son was born in 1942 at 115 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. After liberation in 1945, he returned home around January 1946.

Kim Eun-bae: Born in 1917, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was suddenly forcibly mobilized ahead of his marriage in 1941. He worked on a rock drill at Sado Mine and was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. Hunger was the most painful to him. After liberation, he returned to Korea in the winter and got married the following year, but he suffered all his life coughing a lot because of bad lungs.

Ahn Chang-seon: Born in 1901, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine. The deposit details from July 8, 1941, to July 8, 1942, are recorded in the "Hardwork Savings Passbook" of the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi. There is also a postcard addressed to the victim at the address of the 3rd Sang-aeryo in Suwamachi, Aikawamachi, in May 1942. Judging from the fact that the postcard indicating that he had left Sado on March 12, 1943, and arrived safely in Yeosu via Osaka and Shimonoseki was sent to Sim Seongtaek at the company housing of Yamanokami, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, Niigata Prefecture, it can be seen that the time of his returning home was March 1943.

Kim Yeong-gi: Born in 1913, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

According to the "National Labor Pocket Notebook," he built a support post at the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi Mining Co., Ltd. from June 1941 to April 1943. On April 27, 1943, he transferred to Akenobe Mine of Mitsubishi Mining in Hyogo Prefecture, where he also built a support post and mined ore. He suffered serious injuries to both legs and thighs while doing the operation of blasting in the dead end of the pit. After being hospitalized, he returned home in January 1944. During the operation, he suffered nerve damage, and his feet trembled, causing him to suffer severe sequelae to the extent that he could not even do farm work because of loss of labor, such as hearing loss caused by a ruptured eardrum.

Lee Gwang-gu: Born in 1919, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized from the Myeon office and worked to mine ore in Sado Mine. After that, his wife was also called to Japan, and his eldest son was born at 197 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, in October 1942. They returned together after liberation.

Ra Yong-gi: Born in 1911, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was dispatched to Sado Mine as a laborer and missed the children he had left behind after working for three years, so he ran away and returned to Korea after a month. He suffered from pneumoconiosis.

3. Yeongi-gun / Gongju-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Park Byeong-soon: Born in 1922, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1941, about 40 people from Yeongi-gun were mobilized together to Sado Mine via Busan. After arriving, they received square-bashing and bayonet training for three weeks. He worked two shifts in the ore-mining department. He ate noodles made from sweet potato as a meal, bought cigarettes, and smoked them. Alcohol was provided three to four times a month. The accommodation was a tatami room, and there were many lice and fleas. He got JPY 1.50 a day. There were two or three fugitives per month. He worked for three years and six months. The victim's father sent a telegram asking him to return to Korea as soon as possible on the grounds of his marriage, and he returned home in May 1945.

Lee Chung-heon: Born in 1923, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized in the middle of the night in June 1941 and worked at Sado Mine in Japan for more than two years from June 22. He was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. On October 10, 1943, he received a "Certificate of Citation" and a "Gift of Money" from the Sado Mining Office. On April 11, 1943, he took a group photo with colleagues from the neighboring village of Jeonui-myeon in front of a bridge on Shimo Aikawa Beach.

Certificate of Citation

Lee Chung-heon

The above person has been employed in our mining office since June 22, Showa 16. He has taken the lead in the first line of industry in the current situation and decided to continue working for another two years even after the two-year contract had expired. This is to recognize the real critical situation and respond to the state's request; his working spirit sets an example for many people. For this, he is awarded a gift of money and is commended for it.

October 10, Showa 18

Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi Mining Co., Ltd.

Hwang Seong-eok: Born in 1908, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In 1941, he was forcibly mobilized by a Myeon clerk and worked in Sado Mine. In the postal savings passbook, the address is recorded as the inside of 4 Sa, No. 69, Yamanokami, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, Niigata Prefecture. Even after the contract period had expired, he was detained and returned to Busan after liberation.

Choi Jong-gap: Born in 1920, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1941, when he turned 22, he was mobilized without knowing where he was going. At Sado Mine, he worked as a carpenter to install struts in the pit. He worked three shifts for a week, and he had a meal in Hamba and ate a packed lunch while working. There was a wooden name tag to check attendance. He received a small salary in return for his work and lived a life of only eating and sleeping. After working for about three years and eight months, he injured his back and leg, making it difficult

to work. He had to get married just in time, so he returned home with the permission of the person in charge.

Lee Bong-seok: Born in 1910, Gongju-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1940, he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. His wife also went over to Japan, and in June 1942, his eldest daughter was born at 1226 Kitatatsushima, Takachi Village, Sado-gun (Mt. Takachiji). He sent letters home several times so his family knew that the site where he was mobilized was Sado Mining Office. On his way home the following year after liberation, his ship broke down, so he drifted for a few days and returned home with only a few clothes. He suffered from pneumoconiosis for 30 years or so.

Jeong Heon-sang: Born in 1919, Gongju-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

After being mobilized to Sado Mine, he brought his wife and eldest son to Japan, and they lived together. His eldest daughter was born in 1942, and his second son was born in 1945 at 164 Shimoaikawa, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun. His first daughter died in 1943. He returned home after liberation but suffered from pneumoconiosis and died in October 1962.

4. Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Noh Byeong-gu: Born in 1923, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In 1941, he was ordered to go to Sado Mine, and he was mobilized from Cheongyang via Busan. At first, he entered the Kongo Juku and received the education to make Koreans the Japanese and technology training every morning and evening. The manager of the dormitory was in charge of education, so he said, "I'll give you a punishment if you don't obey nicely," and he was beaten by the manager. He did rock drilling. There were people who died in a pit fall accident, an elevator accident, a short circuit accident, and a blast accident. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo. After liberation, he returned home. As an aftereffect, he had bad lungs and a severe cough. Lee Byeong-jun, who was mobilized together from Cheongyang, died in a pit accident.



Noh Byeong-gu talks about his experience of forced mobilization in Sado in 1995*

Lee Sang-ho: Born in 1913, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In 1941, he was mobilized to Sado Mine and was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo, and he transported ore. While watching Hwatu, he was assaulted by the first dormitory manager, and he was even called to the dormitory manager's office and almost lynched. The compatriots protested all at once but were suppressed by the police. He ran away from the mine, but he never managed to escape. The mine provided compensation to local residents when they reported that "people from the peninsular has come." After returning home, he suffered from coughing and phlegm.



Lee Sang-ho talks about his experience of forced mobilization in Sado in 1992*

Yoo Seong-hyeon: Born in 1917, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

While he was working in the fields, a police officer came, and he was forcibly mobilized and had to work hard and painfully in Sado Mine. His wife testified that she received a telegram that he had died in a fall accident while working in the mine. One Korean and one Japanese brought his cremated remains. In the family register, it is recorded that he died at the hospital of the Sado Mining Office in Hiromamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, at 9:25 a.m. on August 13, 1943.

Choi Jong-eui: Born in 1919, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine and died at 43 Suwamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, at 7:00 a.m. on January 6, 1942. His family members testified that only his remains were returned. There is a record of his death in the "List of Industrial Workers who Died at their Work."

Choi Byeong-yang: Born in 1920, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In March 1942, he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. He died in the pit of the light shaft at the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi in Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, at 10:00 a.m. on July 2, 1944. His ashes were delivered to his family, and the funeral was held.

Yoon Jong-Kwang: Born in 1922, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

In 1941, he was mobilized, leaving his parents and his recently married wife at home. He gathered at the Cheongyang-gun Office, went to Busan by train, and got on a ferry to Shimonoseki. From there, he went to Niigata by land, and then to Sado by boat. At first, he received military-style training at the Kongo Juku and then entered the dormitory. He had the job of collecting the drilled rocks and loading them into the trams. When he was young, he had a strong body, but working in the heavy dust, he had a lot of cough and sputum as he got older. At that time, there was no rice, so buckwheat was provided, but it did not suit his taste, and he was always hungry. Initially, he was told that the employment period was two years, but the contract was renewed without any explanation. He was not able to take a vacation freely either. In 1945, he was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo. After liberation, he returned home through Busan Port.



Yoon Jong-gwang talks about his mobilization experience in Sado in 1995*

Kim Joo-hwan: Born in 1916, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around 1941, he was mobilized with five people from the same village and worked as a handyman at Sado Mine. He died at 47 Suwamachi, Daeja, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun on December 20, 1941, at 7:00 a.m. He was cremated and buried in his homeland. He slipped and fell into the pit, and his skull was broken. There is a record of his death in the "List of Industrial Workers who Died at their Work."

Kang Hee-tae: Born in 1908, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

Around February 1942, he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. It was a two-year contract at the time of mobilization, but the promise was not kept, and the contract was forcibly extended by two years. He was accommodated at the 3rd Sang-aeryo, and he lived with Noh Byeong-gu, who was mobilized from Cheongyang-gun. Around March 1944, he had a rockfall accident while working

within the pit, and after receiving treatment for several months, he returned to the workshop. After liberation, he returned to Korea in November 1945.

Lee Ki-sang: Born in 1912, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was recruited around March 1942 and mobilized to Japan. From March 17, he was affiliated with Sado Mine and worked as an ore-miner within the pit. After being assigned to the workshop, he worked to transport ore, and he was placed in mining ore using a rock drill in May 1942. He was fired on March 30, 1944, and returned home. His bereaved family and acquaintances testified that the victim was injured by the powder of shrapnel during the blasting operation in the mine and was fired with blindness in both eyes, and the family went over to Japan and returned home with the victim.

Jo Jae-seung: Born in 1913, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

If you look at his postal savings passbook, there is a record of having saved money from May 21, 1942, to November 5, 1943, and the address is the 3rd Sang-aeryo, Aikawawamachi, Sado-gun. In the “Hardwork Savings Passbook” of the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi, the balance of JPY 602.32 is recorded from June 1943 to October 17, 1945. He was accommodated at the 1st Sang-aeryo in 1945.



Kim Soo-eop: Born in 1907, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do

He was forcibly mobilized to the Sado Mine of Mitsubishi and quarried underground for two years and five months. After liberation, he returned home but suffered from pneumoconiosis for the rest of his life.

Noh Byeong-gu (back and right), Jo Jae-seung (front and right), etc., Victims from Cheongyang-gun (around 1944)*

5. Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Kim Jong-chan: Born in 1923, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

In 1941, he was forcibly mobilized to Japan and worked as a miner in Sado Mine. He was so hungry that he found a carcass of a horse, cut off its legs, boiled them, and ate them. After liberation, he returned to Busan Port. He was mobilized together with Kim Man-su and Seo Byeong-in, and he interacted with them after returning home too.

Kim Man-su: Born in 1920, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

In 1941, he was notified by the village leader, and he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. He was accompanied by Seo Byeong-in and Kim Jong-chan. He was always hungry because he couldn't eat much, and he suffered a lot of wounds here and there from the harsh labor. After returning home, he could not do the hard work, and he died while mostly living in bed.

Seo Byeong-in: Born in 1923, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

In 1941, he was forcibly mobilized to Japan and suffered for four years in Sado Mine. He was so hungry that when he found the carcass of the horse, he cut off the legs, boiled them, and ate them. He returned home after liberation in August 1945.

Kim Soo-hyeong: Born in 1928, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Saying that the house with a large number of family members must first go to conscription, the clerk of Munui-myeon and the person in charge of the National Service Corps came, showed a warrant, and mobilized him. His eldest brother went first, and then the victim went, and the second elder brother was also mobilized. Leaving Munui-myeon, he was handed over to the Japanese in Cheongju. After moving to Busan on the early morning train, he arrived at Sado Mine via Shimonoseki, Japan. In the mine, he became engaged in ore-mining operations. He put explosives, drilled a hole, and mined ore within the pit. After that, he worked to load the ore on a cart and carried it. He injured his fingers during the hard work and was also hospitalized. After that, he did the work of dropping ore from the hillside outside the pit. In a multiroom accommodation made of a wooden building like a school, 50 people lived in each room, and they ate in a restaurant. Some people died in a pit accident. As an aftereffect, he had a bad digestive organ. He suffered physically and mentally.

Kim Yeon-chang: Born in 1928, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around April 1942, while he was farming, an employee of the Munui-myeon office took him by force. He was loaded onto a truck by a Japanese guide, went to Cheongju, and arrived in Sado over three days via Busan. He worked in a copper mine and entered the mine as a team of three to work. When he entered the mine, he received a stamp on the confirmation sheet and worked under a Japanese supervisor. The contract period was two years, but he was made to continuously work for three more years even after that. After liberation, he returned to Korea in November 1945.

Hong Man-tae: Born in 1926, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around 1942, while working in agriculture, he was forcibly mobilized by the staff of the Myeon office and assigned to Sado Mine. It is recorded in the collection of village stories orally transmitted that he went to Sado Mine as a supply squad with Kim Jong-chan.

Lee Doo-seong: Born in 1927, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was mobilized around 1943, and it took about four days to reach Sado Mine via Cheongju Station, Busan, and Shimonoseki. He trained for 10 days in the copper mine of Mitsubishi Mining and was in charge of interpreting because he was fluent in Japanese. Also, he worked as an assistant to a tram driver who mined and transported copper in the pit, but he later drove it himself. He lived in a dormitory. He ate a mixture of rice and beans. He worked 12 hours in shifts. It was an island, so he could go out. The monthly salary was about JPY 10, but he used it for a haircut or to buy clothes. Occasionally, there were people who ran away, but when they were caught, they were beaten a lot. In November 1945, he returned to Busan by boat. When he arrived in Busan, rice balls were handed out to him, and he ate them and went home by truck.

Yoo Chang-su: Born in 1917, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was mobilized as soon as he got married around 1943. While working harshly at Sado Mine, he was seriously injured in an accident in the pit. At the time of liberation, he was being treated in a hospital. He returned home in November 1945 but was unable to work properly because of the aftereffects of the accident.

Park Seung-man: Born in 1921, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was mobilized in groups with 50 people. It took three to four days for him to reach Sado Island in Nagata Prefecture via Cheongju Station, Busan, and Shimonoseki. After arriving at the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi, he received drilling training at the playground for about a week. He did the harsh work of mining and transporting copper in the pit. He worked eight hours a day in three shifts. A total of 100 people stayed collectively in one place. The amount of food distributed was too little, so he was always very hungry. His wage was about pocket money, but he used most of it for snacks. After liberation, there were no ships, so his return to Korea was delayed, and he returned in November 1945.

Choi Myeong-su: Born in 1929, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was forcibly taken away by the Japanese imperialists and suffered forced labor at the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi Mining Co., Ltd., Sado-gun, Niigata Prefecture, Japan.

Chae Jung-hwan: Born in 1917, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was forcibly mobilized by the Japanese imperialists and went to Japan by ferry from Busan, where he was forced to live as a laborer at the Sado Mine of Mitsubishi, Niigata Prefecture.

Kim Hyeon-kyeong: Born in 1922, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was engaged in agriculture, but in 1943, about 13 people were forcibly taken from Oksan-myeon by a police officer. They gathered at Cheongju Station and took a train to Busan, then took an eight-hour boat ride from Busan and arrived at Sado Mine by train from Shimonoseki at night. Until he returned home from there, he was subjected to the extremely forced labor of mining copper day and night for over two years and five months. He ate at Hamba in the mine and lived together with others in a tatami room. He was paid once a month, and because he was hungry, he used the wage to buy and eat noodles and Sujebi soup at the market. Two months after liberation, he returned home from Shimonoseki by cargo ship. He couldn't return home immediately because of the mines floating in the sea, so he came back to Osaka and stayed for about a week, eating rice balls dipped in salted water to make a meal. At that time, he suffered for the rest of his life from the psychological pain and physical aftereffects caused by hard work.

Park Ki-hwan: Born in 1918, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was collectively mobilized by the village leader and the police. He was assigned to Sado Mine and worked within the pit. There was a time when the pit collapsed and he was injured, and he suffered from the aftereffects. He got a wage, but he used it all up for his treatment. He knew that the company took part of his salary and saved it, but in the end, he didn't get it back. He returned home after liberation and suffered from a spinal injury and pneumoconiosis that he got during the mobilization. He died early in 1966 at the age of 47.

Sin In-cheol: Born in 1921, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

While he was avoiding forced mobilization, he heard the news that an eldest son would be mobilized instead, and he responded to that. At that time, four people from Namchon-ri, Oksan-myeon, including him, were mobilized to work in a copper mine on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture. He returned home with liberation.

Lee Kyeong-ro: Born in 1915, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was forcibly mobilized by the Japanese imperialists and forced to work in Sado, Niigata Prefecture. After liberation, he returned home, but his lungs were not good because of the aftereffects.

Park Soo-dong: Born in 1904, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine. He died at the hospital of the Sado Mining Office, 7 Hiromamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, at 6:00 a.m. on February 5, 1945. His bereaved family testified that they received his death notice and ashes at the Myeon office.

Kim Jun-yeong: Born in 1920, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around 1943, the village leader told him to go, so he was picked up in Miwon-myeon. He was moved to Busan and taken to Japan by ship. The final destination was Sado Mine in Niigata Prefecture. In the mines, he woke up at 6:00 in the morning to work and returned to his lodgings at 4:00 or 5:00 in the afternoon. The meals mainly consisted of cooked rice with beans and noodles, and he received a small amount of cash as the monthly salary and mainly used it for miscellaneous expenses. It was an island, so he couldn't escape. He returned home after liberation.

Sin Un-seok: Born in 1923, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was notified of the mobilization, but he asked the Myeon office if it was possible for him not to go because he supported his single mother at the time. However, when he heard that he was obligated to go, he had no choice. Together with 25 people from each village in Miwon-myeon, he was mobilized to a copper mine on Sado Island, Niigata Prefecture, following a Japanese leader. In the mine, he transported copper and did various tasks ordered by the workshop. He was always hungry, so he earned his wages and used them to buy and eat snacks. He saved up the rest of the money. There were people running away from the mine, but because it was an island, they were often caught again. After liberation, the mine attached a guide and sent him to Shimonoseki. He returned to his hometown with the people he had been mobilized with.

Won Yong-hyeon: Born in 1922, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

After he was notified by Miwon-myeon that he was mobilized, he and 23 other people, including Sin Un-seok and Oh Seong-geun, gathered at the Miwon-myeon office in 1943. Then, they spent one night in Cheongju, went to Busan, took a ship, and arrived at Sado Island via Shimonoseki. At Sado Mine, he worked eight hours for KRW 2 a day. He had a meal in Hamba. He rested on Sundays and was hungry, so he bought udon noodles and bowls of rice served with toppings. He returned home to Busan on the 10th day of the lunar calendar in 1945.

Oh Seong-geun: Born in 1926, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around August 1944, he received a conscription warrant and was picked up at the Miwon-myeon office. He arrived in Sado via Busan. He was engaged in mining copper for military supplies in the copper mine. He worked day and night shifts for a week. He lived in a mine quarters, and meals were rationed to him. He didn't receive all his wages, and because he was a minor, he couldn't receive the money directly, so he sent it home. He departed to return to Korea in September 1945, but his return was delayed because of the lack of a ship. Because of the beating, he injured his eardrum and lost his hearing.

Kim Seon-do: Born in 1918, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around June 1944, after passing from Cheongju to Busan, Shimonoseki, and Osaka, he was mobilized to the Mitsubishi Mining in Niigata Prefecture, where he did the harsh work of sorting copper in the mine. He was always hungry because the amount of three rations a day was little. While picking apples at a nearby orchard, he was caught by a security guard and beaten, and he suffered a hearing loss. It seems that he was paid a little bit on a daily basis, but he used it all for snacks and miscellaneous expenses locally. After liberation, he returned home to Busan by ship from Shimonoseki around October 1945.

Lee Seok-yun: Born in 1921, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

In 1944, he received a notice of mobilization from the Miwon-myeon office and was forcibly mobilized. He was picked up at the Miwon-myeon office, and he passed through Cheongju, Busan, Shimonoseki, and Osaka together with Kim Seon-do and Hong Jae-yong, and he was mobilized to Mitsubishi Mining in Niigata Prefecture. He did the work of sorting copper in the mine. Though he had three meals a day, he always suffered from hunger because the amount of ration was little. He didn't do a fixed job but manual labor here and there where he needed it. He received a small wage, but he used it all for snacks and miscellaneous expenses. After liberation, he returned home from Shimonoseki by ship.

Hong Jae-yong: Born in 1917, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He received a notice of mobilization in 1944. He was picked up at the Miwon-myeon office, and he passed through Cheongju, Busan, Shimonoseki, and Osaka together with Kim Seon-do and Lee Seok-yun. He was mobilized to the copper mine of Mitsubishi Mining in Aikawamachi, Sado-gun, Niigata Prefecture, and did the work of sorting copper in the mine. He suffered from hunger because the amount of ration was little. He received a small wage, but he used it all for snacks and miscellaneous expenses locally. After liberation, he returned home from Shimonoseki by ship.

Jeong Geum-chul: Born in 1911, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

He was mobilized to Sado Mine and died at the hospital of the Sado Mining Office of Mitsubishi in Hiromamachi, Aikawamachi, Sado-gun at 9:25 a.m. on June 2, 1945. It is said that his ashes were brought by the villagers who were mobilized together.

Sin Soo-myeong: Born in 1903, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do

Around October 1944, he was forcibly mobilized and worked in Sado Mine. He died around 10:00 on February 17, 1945, when the tunnel collapsed while working within the pit. Lee Han-yeong, who

was working together with him, witnessed the accident. The head of Geumgeo-ri also testified that the Japanese brought his ashes in person, and the funeral was held.

6. Iksan-gun, etc., Jeollabuk-do

Sin Tae-cheol: Born in 1923, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

In March 1941, he was forcibly mobilized and taken to Sado Mine. The mobilized men did the work of digging tunnels with hands and dynamites and mining ore within the pit. The work was eight hours in three shifts. The money given by the company was a few pennies of pocket money. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo. The most difficult thing for him was that the amount of ration was so little that it was difficult for him to endure every day because he was always hungry. It was a two-year contract at the time when he was forcibly mobilized, but the Japanese forced him to renew the contract, and he had no choice but to continue working as a laborer. He returned in December 1945. At that time, there was no ship to return home, so he waited a few days at the dock and finally boarded the return ship and returned to Busan.

Namgung Jeon: Born in 1922, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

While preparing for farming, he was mobilized by the employees of the Samgi-myeon office and the Japanese. When he got to the Myeon office, dozens of people had already gathered. He took the train to Iksan and reached Sado via Busan. He worked in the mine for two years. He went down about 1,000 meters underground and worked within the pit. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo. He was too hungry because he was given cooked rice with beans little by little. He even stole and ate potatoes and sweet potatoes planted by the Japanese. He returned to his hometown on a ship in the form of a beggar.

Choi Gi-seop: Born in 1925, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

He worked at Sado Mine for about two years. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo. He was given rice with noodles as a meal, and it was changed to rice with bean and sesame dregs in the middle. He returned to Korea around March 1945 without receiving the wage after receiving a military enlistment warrant locally. After completing conscription procedures on the campus of an agricultural and forestry school in Iri City, he returned home with liberation while receiving training.

Seo Yeong-sin: Born in 1928, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

After receiving the mobilization notice at the end of 1943, about 30 people selected from Samgi-myeon gathered at the Iksan County Office. He took a ship from Yeosu, got off at Shimonoseki, took a train to Niigata Prefecture, and then got to Sado Mine of Mitsubishi by ship. He did the work of breaking and transporting ore there for about two years. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo. After liberation, he returned home to Busan by ship around mid-October 1945.

Kim Sa-jeong: Born in 1923, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

He was taken away forcibly. He traveled from Iksan County Office to Yeosu by train, and after going to Shimonoseki, Japan, by ship, he was taken away by train to Sado Mine in Niigata Prefecture via

Osaka. He was paid between JPY 8 and JPY 30 per month. He had to walk about a kilometer to have a meal, and he slept near a restaurant. He suffered from hunger, so he spent the wage eating udon noodles. After liberation, the Japanese led him to Busan, and he returned home. It was in October 1945 by the lunar calendar that he arrived in Iksan.

Jeong Ssang-dong: Born in 1905, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

Two people from the village were assigned to be mobilized, and when they all avoided it, he was inevitably mobilized through drawing lots. The villagers remembered that he was heartbroken by being mobilized, leaving behind his old parents, his wife, and two young children. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo. His family testified in an anecdote that he got food from a nearby farmhouse because he was too hungry. He returned home in 1945.



Jeong Un-jin talks about the mobilization of his father Jeong Ssang-dong in 2022

Kim Joo-hyeong: Born in 1927, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

At the end of 1943, the village leader and recruiters came to him and threatened to take his elder brother if he refused to be mobilized, and he was mobilized. They didn't tell him where he was going or how long he would be working. Four or five people gathered at the Mangseong-myeon office and were loaded onto a truck and taken to the Iksan County Office. He was confined at an inn in Iri, and after arriving in Japan via Yeosu, he worked harshly at the Mitsubishi Mine in Sado. He worked three shifts a day. He took a small lunch box for lunch. Although he received JPY 1.30 as a daily salary, he was unable to buy even a single bowl of rice after deducting the cost of meals, clothes, and shoes. The accommodation was also poor, and snow sometimes entered the room. The color of his clothes stood out, and he couldn't run away. He returned home after liberation.



Kim Joo-hyeong testifies at the Nonsan investigation in 1991*

Jeong Byeong-ho: Born in 1918, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

At the end of 1943, right after he saw his newborn daughter walk for the first time, he was ordered to appear by the village leader and was taken away to Sado with 10 people from the myeon. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo and forced to work such as drilling blast holes using a rock drill. In the fall of 1944, he injured his leg in a rockfall accident and was hospitalized for three months. However, the scar remains, and it hurts so far. When he returned home after liberation, his three-year-old daughter had been dead. His wife was missing.



Jeong Byeong-ho testifies at the Nonsan investigation in 1991*

In Seok-pil: Born in 1928, Iksan-gun, Jeollabuk-do

In 1944, he was forcibly mobilized and taken away to Sado Mine. He was accommodated at the 4th Sang-aeryo, and under strict supervision, he worked as a copper miner within the pit for more than 10 hours a day. He was injured several times because of stones during the operation of blasting within the pit. He suffered from hunger and lived a

miserable life by boiling and eating grass roots. In the year of liberation, he returned home to Busan Port. So far, he has suffered from an ailment from an injury he sustained while working in the mine and has been receiving treatment.

Kim Geum-dong: Born in 1923, Jeongeup-gun, Jeollabuk-do

At the end of 1943, he was mobilized after receiving a notice from the Myeon office. After he arrived at Iri Station and the number of people was checked, he went to Japan via Yeosu. He was deployed to the Sado Mine of Mitsubishi Mining on Sado Island. He was engaged in transporting mined ore, fell from a pit ladder while working, and was treated at a hospital in the mine for six months. After he got treatment, he was transferred to a workshop in Saitama Prefecture, and Korea was liberated while he was working on concealing military supplies, and he returned to his hometown.

7. Jindo-gun, etc., Jeollanam-do

Gu Gwan-su: Born in 1929, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

Around March 1944, he was taken away from Jindo to Japan. Park Deok-hun from Dunjeon-ri, Gun-nae-myeon, was also mobilized with him at this time. He was assigned to the Sado Mine of Mitsubishi in Niigata Prefecture and worked there, and he returned home after liberation.

Park Deok-hun: Born in 1929, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

In 1944, he was mobilized alone in Dunjeon-ri. He took a train from Mokpo and a ship from Busan Port, and he went to Sado Island with many people. He did the work of transporting at Sado Mine. While doing the work of transporting, he bumped into a cart, and his hands were torn, resulting in a scar. After working there for one year and eight months, he left Sado Island and returned home through Busan Port.

Han Kyeong-bae: Born in 1928, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

After evading mobilization in 1944, he was arrested and tortured, and then brought to the Jindo County Office. He arrived at Shimonoseki by ship from Yeosu Port and was transported to Sado Mining Office. He was engaged in the operation of ore-mining underground, and he returned home after liberation while doing the excavation work for the construction of an underground munitions factory in Fukushima Prefecture around June 1945. Han Jae-su from Seokhyeon-ri, Gogun-myeon, was also mobilized and sent to Fukushima.

Han In-su: Born in 1929, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

In 1944, about 30 people were forcibly mobilized by the Myeon office, departed from Yeosu Port, arrived in Shimonoseki, and then moved to Niigata Prefecture by train, and they were assigned to Sado Mine. He was re-mobilized at the construction site of the Fukushima underground munitions factory, and while he was doing excavation, he returned to Korea in September 1945 after liberation.

Joo Jeong-kwon: Born in 1929, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

He was notified in 1944 and arrived at the training camp in Yeosu. He said he was going to work in

Osaka, but the construction site was bombed, and he went to Sado Island in Niigata Prefecture and worked in a mine. After that, he worked for three months at the tunnel construction site for an airplane hangar in Fukushima Prefecture, and Korea was liberated. Then, he went back to Sado Island again and returned home to Busan Port in September.

Kim Myeong-oh: Born in 1930, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

He was forcibly mobilized around February 1945. At that time, his family thought that if he were forcibly mobilized, he would die, so they acted like a family in mourning. After leaving Busan Port, he was forced to work in a copper mine in Sado, Niigata Prefecture, Japan. Later, he moved to Fukushima and was forced to work for about two months in the tunnel construction for the munitions warehouse. He returned to Sado again and returned home to Busan Port at the end of October after liberation.

Park In-hyeok: Born 1929, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

In April 1945, 33 people from Jindo gathered at Yeosu Fisheries School together. He was originally scheduled to be mobilized to a factory in Osaka, but it was destroyed in an air raid, and he was mobilized to Sado Mine. He worked as a surveying assistant in the mine and lived in Sinpungryo, not far from the workshop. After that, he was transferred to a construction site in Fukushima Prefecture, returned to Sado Mine after Japan's defeat, and went home by ship around December 1945.

Lee Deuk-rae: Born in 1927, Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do

In 1945, 33 people from Jindo gathered at Yeosu Fisheries School. He was originally scheduled to be mobilized to a factory in Osaka, but it was destroyed in an air raid, and he was mobilized to Sado Mine. Around August 1945, he was transferred to a construction site in Fukushima City, Fukushima Prefecture, returned to Sado Mine after the Japanese defeat, and went home around December 1945.

Lee Sam-heum: Born in 1928, Jangheung-gun, Jeollanam-do

He was forcibly mobilized in 1944 and worked at Sado Mine in Niigata Prefecture. After liberation on August 15, 1945, he returned to Korea and lived in his hometown.

Im Jong-gi: Born in 1920, Damyang-gun, Jeollanam-do

About a year after getting married while engaged in agriculture, he was forcibly taken away by the administrative staff. About 50 people gathered at the Myeon office, got on a train, arrived at Busan Port, and boarded a ship. He was forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine in Niigata by train. After he worked for about eight months, Korea was liberated, and about 1,000 people returned to their hometowns via Busan Port on a ship provided by the Japanese side around October 1945. At the time, he was paid a small salary.

Hwang Pan-gyu: Born in 1915, Naju-gun, Jeollanam-do

He was conscripted around February 1945 and arrived in Niigata by ship from Busan, where he was forced to work in the mine on Sado Island. When Korea was liberated in August 1945, he returned to his homeland.

8. Uljin-gun, Gangwon-do(at that time)

Seo Sang-cheol: Born 1923, Uljin-gun, Gangwon-do

At the end of January 1945, 100 people from Uljin-gun were forcibly mobilized to Sado Mine. They began forced labor in February and returned home after liberation. Those who were mobilized from Uljin-gun were accommodated in the 1st Sang-aeryo.

- * This was made with “Souai Dormitory(Sang-aeryo) Tobacco Distribution Register,” Investigation List of Labor Bureau, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, “List of Industrial Workers who Died on Duty”, the data from Gathering Connecting Sado and Korea and the research data and records in Korea. It is organized by address at the time of mobilization.

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「過去・未來 佐渡と韓國をつなぐ會資料」(過去・未來 佐渡と韓國をつなぐ會 소장)*

「佐渡鑛山労働者を追悼する集い資料」(佐渡扉の會 소장)

The Center for Historical Truth and Justice

It was established in Seoul, Korea, in February 1991 with the power of citizens to identify issues and tasks in modern and contemporary Korean history and to promote the liquidation of the past. It conducts academic research and practical movements at the same time, including the compilation and publication of dictionaries such as "Dictionary of Pro-Japanese Names," "Dictionary of the Japanese Imperialism Colonial Rule Organs," and "Dictionary of Korean Groups in Japan," hearing testimonies of victims of forced mobilization and their bereaved families and support for lawsuits, the movement against nationalization of history textbooks, etc. It also conducts exhibitions, education, and international solidarity action. In August 2018, it established the "Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea" in Yongsan, Seoul, gathering the strength of Korean and Japanese citizens.

The Network for Research on Forced Labour Mobilization

It was formed in July 2005 with the participation of citizens from all over Japan to support the activities of Korea's "Committee for Factfinding of Damage of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Occupation." In cooperation and solidarity with the Korean committee, it carried out activities to request the Japanese government to explain the situation and disclose information, such as the investigation of the remains of victims, the issue of depositing unpaid wages, and the issue of postal savings. In August 2022, it conducted a field survey on Sado Mine.



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