Investigating the Ukishima-maru Incident in Occupied Japan: Survivor Testimonies and Related Documents

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Abstract: This article reproduces documents related to an aborted SCAP war crime investigation into the Ukishima-maru incident conducted during the Allied occupation of Japan. The incident involved the sinking of a repatriation vessel (the Ukishima-maru) on 24 August 1945 after it apparently struck a mine in Maizuru Bay, causing hundreds if not thousands of deaths among the Korean forced laborers aboard the vessel. The documents include the testimonies of Korean survivors (submitted in Japanese and translated into English by SCAP officers) which supported the claim that the incident was planned by the Japanese authorities. Though the investigation was eventually terminated by SCAP which dismissed the testimonies as “hearsay account[s]”, the documents are a useful window into the tense situation faced by Koreans in Japan during the immediate postwar years and cast light on the nature and quality of SCAP efforts to pursue justice in its investigation.

Keywords: repatriation, postwar Japan, SCAP, Koreans in Japan, Maizuru, Aomori, forced labour, Ukishima-maru

The Ukishima-maru Incident and War Crime Investigation

At approximately 5:20 p.m. on 24 August 1945 a transportation vessel requisitioned for military use named the Ukishima-maru sank in the vicinity of Shimosabaka in Maizuru Bay, Kyoto prefecture, having apparently struck a mine. The immediate explosion and subsequent sinking of the vessel produced an official death toll of 549—of which 524 were Korean labourers and their families, and 25 were Japanese military personnel. This incident has become known as the “Ukishima-maru incident” (Ukishima-maru jiken) after the vessel that sank. Though it long remained a largely forgotten episode, it has recently become the subject of films and documentaries—the interest perhaps prompted by a renewed public and diplomatic controversy surrounding coerced Korean wartime labour and comfort women.

Figure 1: A repatriation vessel passes the wreck of the Ukishima-maru
The Ukishima-maru initially departed from Ōminato naval base in a remote corner of Aomori prefecture in the late evening of 22 August 1945, and, bound for Pusan (Korea), it aimed to repatriate thousands of Koreans. These Koreans were mostly conscripted labourers who had been mobilized and forced to work on military infrastructure projects as Japan rushed to fortify the Shimokita peninsula in anticipation of an Allied invasion. The official figures quoted for those on board the Ukishima-maru upon departure are 3,735 Korean passengers and 250 Japanese personnel (Shinada 2008, 29; Shimokita no Shōgen wo Hakkan suru Kai 1992, 30-33). Official numbers, though hotly contested by the survivors’ accounts below, suggest that the vast majority of those on board were able to survive the incident either by swimming to shore or through the rescue efforts of the residents of a nearby fishing village. The survivors were either hospitalized or temporarily housed in military facilities in Maizuru. Around 900 were sent on to Senzaki (Yamaguchi Prefecture) in September where they boarded other repatriation ships bound for Pusan and spread news of the incident in Korea. Though no immediate repercussions of the incident were felt in Japan, in Korea rumours of a Japanese conspiracy spread by repatriated survivors worsened the situation for Japanese settlers who were still in Korea awaiting repatriation (Choi 2021, 11; Kim 1984, 257). In this way, the Ukishima-maru incident demonstrates the mutual effect of efforts to repatriate Japanese and Koreans, even though it occurred prior to the commencement of official repatriation programmes which saw approximately 1.2 million (mostly Koreans) deported from and 6.1 million Japanese returned to Japan between 1945 and 1958 (Watt 2009, 71).

The remaining survivors of the incident stayed in Japan, as did an estimated 600,000 Koreans (Caprio and Yu 2009, 28), at least for the time being, perhaps fearful of making another attempt at repatriation. Among those who remained in Japan were the three individuals whose testimonies (reproduced below this brief introductory text) were submitted as part of a war crimes charge alleging the “deliberate sinking by Japanese officials of a vessel [the Ukishima-maru] containing several thousand Koreans.” The charge was lodged at the Hirosaki branch of the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) in early December 1945 by Son Il of the Aomori Regional Office of the Korean Association. Though Son Il himself was not a survivor of incident he had been informed of it by a handful of survivors who returned to Aomori Prefecture in the weeks and months following the incident. The SCAP officers who received Son Il’s charge encouraged him to gather evidence in order to support his claims. Son Il returned later in the month and submitted three testimonies in Japanese. These were promptly translated into English and forwarded to the Investigation Division of the Legal Section (hereafter ‘LS’) of SCAP GHQ which found them to be “hearsay account[s]” that “contain no concrete evidence of a war crime.” The charge was swiftly dismissed on 19 January 1946 without trial and finally closed in July 1948 (GHQ/SCAP Records, LS-39038) and the remains of the vessel were targeted for scrap and salvage in February 1950 (Records of General Headquarters Far East Command; Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4564). This dismissal appears to have gone unchallenged and was perhaps unannounced, and the incident was largely forgotten in Japan. This was true even in Shimokita and Maizuru, the sites where the ship departed and sank. It was not until local school teachers in both locations began to take an interest in commemoration that the incident became more widely known (for details on the historical memory of the incident see: Bull and Ivings 2020).

When LS was set up in October 1945 one of its main roles was to gather evidence pertaining to war crimes (Supreme Commander for the Allied
Powers, General Headquarters 1952, 43). The Potsdam Proclamation had stated: “stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners” (United States Department of State 1946, 55). Three categories of war crimes – class A, B and C – existed. Class A crimes concerned “the planning and execution of aggressive war in the Asia-Pacific region” for which 28 of Japan’s wartime political and military leaders were put on trial (Totani 2008, 1). Class B crimes referred to “conventional war crimes” such as the mistreatment of civilians and prisoners of war. Class C crimes were for “crimes against humanity” (Takemae 2002, 251). B/C war crimes trials conducted in Japan were held in Yokohama from 1945 to 1949. As evident from the Potsdam Proclamation, and in the official record of SCAP’s work, LS was primarily concerned with pursuing war crimes against Allied prisoners of war. During the first year of the Occupation war crimes investigations “were made under circumstances of extreme complexity and difficulties” (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, General Headquarters 1952, 50). Nevertheless, by December 1945 SCAP investigations had led to accusations against 600 people (United States Department of State 1946, 27).

Despite the challenges LS faced early in the Occupation, SCAP’s official record gives a sense of the thoroughness of investigations into cases involving Allied prisoners of war. POW camp investigations involved on-site visits, interrogations of “witnesses and suspects” as well as former prisoners, the intercepting and checking of mail, and requests for various kinds of information from the Japanese government (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, General Headquarters 1952, 55). LS also started a specific line of investigation into ships used to transport POWs. For example, the investigation into the Nitta-maru case which involved 400 American POWs, lasted for over a year and collected over 100 testimonies.

Another case saw investigators go to the Philippines where they “reconstructed the incident” before travelling for “additional research on Shikoku and Formosa, and in Shanghai, Nanking, Okinawa and Tokyo” (Ibid., 56-57). Investigation into the fate of downed aircrew was also comprehensive: “Every reported rumor or fact received from various sources was investigated” and “Interrogation teams covered tens of thousands of miles using all means of transportation, to visit remote areas and distant islands” (Ibid., 59). Even allowing for the boosterism of an official history, SCAP clearly had experience pursing difficult investigations involving the Allies.

Read in the context of SCAP’s official history, the content of the Investigation Division’s file on the Ukishima-maru incident suggests, at best, a patchy effort on the part of Occupation officials to pursue the case. The file makes clear that SCAP did not seek to gather its own testimonies nor, apparently, did LS officers visit the site where the ship sank. The evidence for a ‘war crime’ may have been lacking but the official history suggests that more thorough investigations were conducted in cases involving American victims begun on the basis of similarly scant information. As such, the documents reproduced below are indicative of SCAP’s priorities in seeking justice, with the claims of newly liberated Koreans clearly low on the agenda. Though SCAP’s Hirosaki branch accepted the charge, they effectively gave the Korean Association only one opportunity to collect evidence. Furthermore, the burden of proof appears to have rested solely on the Korean side. It was perhaps naïve, at best, on the part of SCAP to assume that the Koreans could provide anything other than survivor accounts. Documentation such as passenger lists and the orders to dispatch the vessel etc. could have been produced by the Japanese military authorities, and no apparent effort was made to clarify the details of the incident with the Japanese government. Wilson et al. (2017, 4) have argued that in effect SCAP pursued
“substantive” rather than “procedural” justice. That is to say it focused on outcomes and adopted a “pragmatic approach to procedural matters,” so as to ensure that “the right crime has been investigated, the right person prosecuted, the right verdict reached, and the right sentence handed down” in accordance with moral and political considerations at a given time. Such considerations included SCAP’s then ongoing pursuit of war crimes charges against Koreans serving the Japanese military for acts committed towards Allied POWs (Totani, 2008, 13). The lack of effort on the part of SCAP to investigate the case thus represented a kind of double standard in its pursuit of justice in which there was a clear, if unsaid, distinction between justice for crimes against the allies and crimes against the victims of Japanese colonial rule.

The Survivor Testimonies as Historical Sources

We originally came across the testimonies reproduced below when researching an article that previously appeared in this journal in which we examined the historical memory of the Ukishima-maru incident in the postwar period (Bull and Ivings 2020). The testimonies appeared as a duplicate form of the file GHQ/SCAP RECORDS, LS-39038 (a microfiche held at the National Diet Library, Tokyo) and are stored in Maizuru City East Library where they are catalogued under the title “Allied Forces Documents on the Ukishima-maru Incident” (占領軍浮島丸事件関係文書). The original file is held at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, USA (National Archives 2021a). The ‘scope and content’ description of the series that contains the file unit states that it “consists of reports, photographs, memorandums, witness statements, and other records relating to war crimes committed by Japanese individuals in the Far East during World War II” (National Archives Catalog 2021b).

Despite the rapid dismissal of the case and its supporting evidence, the authors find the testimonies to be of significant historical value. As historical sources they provide a lens into the tense situation at the end of the war between “defeated” Japanese and “liberated” Koreans (Choi 2021, 28-29), as well as the difficulty in pursuing justice during the Allied occupation. More obviously, as first-hand testimonies of the Ukishima-maru incident they speak to (rather than answer) several unanswered questions about the incident. These include doubts about the number of passengers on board—the testimonies suggest between 6,500 and 8,000 were on board rather than the official figure of 3,985—and thus the actual death toll, as well as why it was that the repatriation voyage was hastily organized prior to the implementation of an official repatriation programme, and why it called at Maizuru rather than proceed directly to Pusan (Kim 1984). The testimonies also indicate suspicious behaviour on the part of the Japanese crew and question the idea that the Ukishima-maru’s sinking was an accident.

Nevertheless, while raising doubts, the testimonies fall far short of proving any conspiracy on the part of the Japanese government or military. The survivors of the incident had little more to go on than what they saw with their eyes and heard with their ears. The numbers they give thus must be approached with caution as it is unlikely that any of them actually counted the numbers on board. Had there been a conspiracy it was very much a botched one given that there were numerous Japanese victims and so many Korean survivors. Indeed, decades later it emerged that the Japanese government conducted its own investigation in 1950 and was able to compile verified passenger lists as well as lists of those who died, which contradict the estimates given in the survivor testimonies (the list of the deceased was reproduced in
Ukishima-maru Junansha Tsuitō Jikkō Inkkai (1989). Though this report was long suppressed, its contents were used by the Japanese government at the time to prepare for compensation payments and unpaid wages. Ultimately, only the bereaved families of the 25 Japanese crew members who lost their lives in the incident received compensation while the Korean victims became ineligible for compensation when Koreans lost their Japanese nationality as the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in 1952. Court cases in the 1990s and early 2000s filed by survivors and bereaved family to obtain compensation from the Japanese state ultimately failed as the incident was deemed an accident (Underwood 2006, 21).

Given the existence of detailed passenger lists, the testimonies reproduced below are unlikely to be correct in their assessment of the number of Koreans on board and the idea that it was planned. The testimonies do, however, give insight into the degree of mistrust and tension that existed between conscripted Korean labourers and their Japanese overseers. These tensions of course boiled over on occasion both during the war, such as in the infamous Hanaoka incident involving the suppression of a riot by Chinese forced labourers in June-July 1945 (Minear and Seraphim, 2015), and in the months after it as SCAP initially “decided to induce Korean coal miners in Japan to remain at work” despite their desire to return to Korea and the fact that many were still unpaid (Augustine 2017, 56-7). It is conceivable that in the wake of the Hanaoka incident there was a fear on the part of the Japanese Naval command at the Ōminato base that the large number of conscripted Korean labourers in Shimokita would riot and that this was behind the idea to accelerate their repatriation. The testimonies make clear that the Koreans who boarded the Ukishima-maru were suspicious of the crew’s intentions and that there was a lack of effective communication between the two groups. They also show that Koreans had heard of rumours of atrocities committed elsewhere against Korean forced labourers—the texts mention Hokkaido and the Kuril Islands (the latter mistranslated as Sakhalin).

Rather frustratingly for historians interested in wartime labour issues, the testimonies contain no reference to labour conscription or conditions. Nor, indeed, is there any information about why so many Koreans labourers were present in a remote corner of Aomori prefecture. Though one would assume that such details would have made for a more compelling case, the survivors did not include such information. Nevertheless, the harsh realities of labour conscription are well documented (Chōsenjin Kyōsei Renkō Chōsadan 1992), including information about conditions at the construction sites and military installations in Aomori prefecture where the survivors would have worked (Shimokita no Shōgen wo Hakkan suru Kai 1992), and SCAP was well aware of them (Augustine 2017, 57).

The testimonies are not the only kind of document contained in the file. Also present (and reproduced below) are: 1) a memo with the subject line “Report of War Crimes” from the 75th Military Government Team (MGT) HQ located in Aomori prefecture; 2) the initial report (in two parts) submitted by Son Il to the MGT; 3) a second report prepared by an investigator at the request of Son Il; and 4) a report by the Investigation Division of LS stating that the case was closed. These documents, considered alongside the three survivor testimonies, suggest an alternative approach to interpreting the material from that used by SCAP GHQ. The MGT and LS officers dismissed the charge according to their understanding of the kind of evidence appropriate for submission in war crimes trials held during the Occupation. As a historical source, however, testimony can also be examined for “the way that people understood and felt about their lives” (Pendas 2020, 257). This is another question which can be asked of
the survivor testimonies in conjunction with the other documents.

Son Il’s report comes in two parts. The first describes the situation of Koreans in Aomori in December 1945 while the second contains his detailed report about the sinking of the Ukishima-maru. Submitted in his role as the chairman of the Aomori Regional Office of the Korean Association, Son Il’s report conveys the mistrust that existed between Koreans and Japanese. The memo by the MGT officer preceding the report suggests the suspicion that met Koreans and which Son Il had to deal with. Such suspicion by SCAP GHQ may not have been solely the result of individual prejudice but could have also been partly caused by the need for translation often through locally-employed Japanese. For Son Il’s report and that of his investigator, the original Japanese has been rendered into a rougher form in the English translation. What might have been the effect on an already sceptical American official when he read that “only 200 persons out of … 7500, 8000 persons” survived? The Japanese transcript states there were 2,000 survivors. The roughness of the English into which Son Il’s report is rendered does, however, also provide an important reminder that the survivor testimonies were at first spoken, probably in Korean, before being recorded in written form in Japanese by the Korean Association and then translated into English by SCAP’s local staff. It is not clear whether these staff were SCAP officers of Japanese origin or persons employed from the local area as the names of the translators are not indicated on the document. The Allied Translator and Interpreter Service (ATIS) certainly included many capable Japanese Americans who were well qualified to handle such translations having honed their skills during the war (Takemae 2002, 18-19). But the demand for their services was immense in the first year of the occupation and ATIS “was hard pressed to fill the many demands for linguistic talent” (McNaughton 2006, 427). With the preparation of the Tokyo Trial in full swing, it is hard to imagine that the better qualified translators would have been posted to remote Aomori Prefecture nor perhaps be willing to expend much effort on pursuing the case lodged by Son Il. Even for the Tokyo Trial, translations were often problematic. John Dower noted that “English interpretations tended to be more cryptic than the original statements” (1999, 467). Either way, transcribing the oral testimony means that considerable nuance has been lost from what the survivors recounted and by not naming the translator, any personal responsibility for the task was greatly reduced. The tendency of SCAP to take a “jaundiced attitude” towards Koreans, combined with the haste of LS investigations, suggests that many American personnel would not have been especially empathetic towards language issues (Carruthers 2016, 182). As Choi has shown, the new-found confidence of Koreans in Japan as a liberated people and their defiance of Japanese authority irked many Japanese and with the “active involvement of Koreans in Japanese leftist movements” SCAP came to share Japanese suspicions towards Koreans (Choi 2021, 19). Given this situation many of those involved in investigating the case may have been (perhaps subconsciously) inclined towards its dismissal from the outset.

Below find the relevant sources reproduced including both original and translated documents. We have transcribed the documents as faithfully to the originals as possible and have neither corrected nor marked any of the mistakes in spelling, grammar, or punctuation, etc. This, we hope, helps maintain the spirit of the documents and record-keeping under the Allied Occupation and a sense of the quality of its staff’s translations. A handful of limited occasions in which the Japanese handwriting was illegible appear as question marks in parenthesis.

TO: Commanding General, IX Corps APO 309.
(Attention: Military Government Section)

1. The enclosed documents, brought to this headquarters by Mr. Son Il, chairman of the Aomori Region Office, Korean Association in Japan, purport to describe a wholesale killing of Korean civilians on 24 August 1945.

2. The first enclosure was brought to this office by Mr. Son Il, on 8 December 1945. He was instructed to return two days later for questioning after the document had been translated. Upon translation, it was found that the document was an entirely hearsay account; consultation with the CIC at Aomori revealed that CIC had no information on the event. When Mr. Son Il returned for questioning, it was found that the name of his “pal” (from whom he heard the account embodied in the first enclosure) is unknown. At the time of this second interview, Mr. Son Il submitted a second report of the incident (second enclosure); this account, differing in detail from the original story, is stated by Mr. Son Il to be the report of a Korean investigator assigned to the case by him.

3. At this interview, an attempt was made to impress upon Mr. Son Il the importance of, and meaning of, evidence which would support the claims made by him and his investigator. He was instructed to bring to this office signed and witnessed statements from survivors of the event described. The signed and witnessed statements from survivors of the event described. The third, fourth, and fifth inclosures are the statements submitted by survivors, and brought to this headquarters by Mr. Son Il. These statements contain no concrete evidence of a war crime; the charges are apparently conjecture, for the most part. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the accusations have been made by the Korean Association in Aomori, the documents are forwarded herewith for your information and appropriate action.

Arthur G. Coulson
Lt. Col., CMP,
Commanding.

Incl.

1. Report submitted by Mr. Son Il, w/3 copies of translation.
2. Report submitted by Mr. Son Il, w/3 copies of translation.
3. Statement of survivor, Rikisan, w/3 copies of translation.
4. Statement of survivor, Risoh, w/3 copies of translation.
5. Statement of survivor, Kohoshun, w/3 copies of translation.

Commanding General Sir,

Report

1. Sanbongi police station has compelled
the Koreans who were hanging out here, to sell their furnitures at lowest price in telling them that they might return home immediately at the end of the war. (For example, at 10 Yen which now coasts now for 100 Yen). Some of them went home without having anything at all with them, compelled by cops and some Koreans who got married with Japanese women, was compelled to divorce without asking the reason of it. They were expeled down to Shimonoseki and waited to get the chance to return to their home, but railroad authority did not plan systematically about the schedule of their returning, therefore, they had to wait it for two months, wasting their dough to the last one. One persons who have not got it, or wasted, wandered somewhere.

Therefore, our association headquarters is collecting proof now, at same time, picking well-qualified witnesses up now, so later on, we want to send a report about it. And to your side, if the fact cleared, we want you to punish them right.

7th, 12, 45

Commanding General Sir,

Ominato navy authority has sent sailors, civilians attached to the army, enlisted workers, laborers and general laborers including their families which amounted 7500 or 8000 persons to Maizuru navy port (Kyoto) by the 7500 ton or 8000 carrier, under the name of getting hem back home country. But at 4 days after she started, she got to the navy port mentioned above, and at the distance of 500 metres from the shore, immediately, she sank by the reason of touching with mine (This is a report from Japanese Government), so, only 200 persons out of above mentioned 7500, 8000 persons could get their lives, and others were all dead.

Meeting with my pal, one of the survivors, I could hear the story directly from him, so I want to tell you about it by remembering it.

1. At starting, the captain was so melancholy, in solicitude, well in short, being filled with grief that he would tell one of his pals that he would die at the middle of the pacific ocean after he had sent all Koreans to their home country, anyhow he should die. And this is the reason why the carrier had delayed in starting. Maybe, there is room for repairing a dinning room and toilet too, but for the most part is up to refusing the order delivered by Ominato navy office.
It was clear to him that he would run a risk of killing himself, so didn’t want to get a captain.

2. Later on the carrier sailed there, and got to Higashi maizuru after 4 day’s sailing. Soon after she anchored there, one motor boat came alongside, and some principal man (bosses) went down to the boat, and left her. Simultaneously, sudden explosion occurred. (Before it occurred, the people was compelled to go down stair)

My pal knew how to swim, and got much experiences as a sailors, so he took off his coat and gatre, threw himself into the sea.

10 minutes passed. Only one little motor boat came up to her and rescued only three persons.

Afterward, they were brought to the navy hospital but they could get a good (child’s handful rice two times) and prohibited to go out. Always, guard kept in touch with them.

My pal planed to escape with two persons, they did it under the cover of night and could get down to Kyoto. One of them was getting 500 yen in his pocket, wasting these doughs with them, with much difficulty, they could get to Ominato in Aomori prefecture. Ten days passed since this affair happened. It happened to me that I could get more correct intelligence about Ominato affair.

I can tell this much to you that this affair was not reported to the people. When the carrier sank, the captain killed himself.

Some of my pal told me that the carrier, we were on board, was in safety place, and judging by the spot where the carrier sank, is only ten minutes swimming. It is a very strange to put a mine so close to the shore. There stood two red flags close to the spot. An larger ship than that, could pass freely close to her. One man of war had her canon against our ship when sinking.

He could not tell whether she sank by touching with a mine or by shooting. This is a fact just opened.

At present, our association headquarters have handed down a protest against Japanese Government, as a result. Japanese Government asked us to carry in secret. As for Japanese Government, they only wanted to show 350 dead men and for them. Government was going to send 450,000 yen as a solatium. But our association headquarters only got a list of dead men, and refused to get a solatium, I am told.

Figuring about this fact, this is a last brutal conspiracy which represents real brutality planed systematically by the authorities of the Japanese government.

We want to collect more well-qualified proof and witnesses for it.

We heard the same kinds of affairs happened in Hokkaido and Sakhalin by a conspiracy which was planed by Japanese army and navy, but for them I can’t tell you precisely because of not having correct proof of them.

Chief of Committee
Son Kasu
Aomori Region Office
Korean Association in Japan

十九四五年十二月七日 委員長 孫一
進駐軍 司令官 殿 在日本朝鮮人連盟青森県本部
（民衆新聞支局）
青森県弘前市大字富田町四九 電話一七一
調書報告

一、青森県下北郡大湊海軍当局トシテハ九四五年八月十五日終戦スルト同時ニ海軍、軍属、徴用工、募集、集団人夫及一般労務者及ハ家族等合計七千五百人又ハ八千人ヲ一九四五年八月
廿二、三日頃（日付不明）大湊海軍輸送船ニテ
（千五百余呎又ハ八千呎）（船舶名不明）優先
帰国サセルトノ実名ノ本ニ乗船セし大湊出航後
四日目ニ京都府東舞鶴軍港ニ入港陸地ヲ隔り事
僅か五百メートル安全地帯ニ於テ日本側ノ魚類
機雷ニ觸レタル理由ニテ瞬時ニシテ沈没上記七
千五百及び八千人ノ内二千二百シスカ生存せずにハ
全部犠牲トナレリ

一、同時生存者ノ一人トシテ余ノ知人ト合ヒ同
時直従聞イタ事ハ（其ノ時ノ事情ヲ）以下記憶
ヲ追ッテ記録スル

一、大湊出向当時船長ハ悲懐ナ面持チヲ涙ヲ落
シナガラ或ル船長ノ知人ノ語ッテ日寇ウ死
スナラ朝鮮ヲ立派ニ帰国セサ（船長）ハ帰
途太平洋ノ（マン中）ニ行ッテ死ストノ事出航
ニ先キ立チ出航予定日時ヲ遅延シタ原因ハ食堂、
便所等ノ設備ノ為ニモト里ハ有ルガ海軍部ヨリ
ノ命令ヲ船長ガ拒絶シタ事ニ原因ガル其レハ
ハ死ニ着クノ知リズツ船長トナルノヲ恐レン
イデアッタカラデアル

一、其ノ後船ハ出航シ四日目ニ東舞鶴軍港ニ入
港碇泊スルト同時ニ一ノ小型機船ガ走り依リ
（軍港ノキシカラ）主要人物ノ四、五人ハ急イ
テ下船ヲ大ボートガ積々船体ヨリ離レタ時突
然一発転變トガシタ、其ノ直前碇泊スル時
（イカリ）ヲ置クノ（ジャマ）ニナルカラヲ甲
板上ノ人間ヲ全部強制的ニ船室ニ入レテカラノ
事テシ、余ノ知人ハ水泳ノ達人ニシテ船員ノ経
験ヲモルノヲ其ノ瞬間脚ニ卷イタ（ケートル）
ヲ（ハズシ）赤裸ニナッテ船上ヨリ海中ニ飛び
込ミ約十分位テシ（オヨイテ）陸地ニタトリツキ
小型船一隻ヲ見付ケ（ロヲ）ヲ潜ギ沈没船ノ場
所ニ行キ三人救助シテ陸地ニ漕ギツケテリ、其
ノ後東舞鶴軍港海軍工場ニ一時収容サレタルモ
衣類ノ支給モ無ク食事ハ日小児ノ（コブシ）
ナ大ノ（ニギリ飯）ニ二個ツ賃エニ外ツヲ絶大禁止
厳重ナ監視ヲナシタリ、余ノ知人ハ三人共謀シ
テ夜間ニ乗ジ地獄ヲ脱出従来テニテ京都マテ（タ
トリ着キ）三人中一人ガ四五百円ノ金銭ガ有ッ
タノポロポロノ衣類ナガラ身ヲ包ミ生ヲ求メ
テ出処元ノ青森県大湊マテ来マシテ、其ノ後
十日程シテ余ハ其ノ本人ニ合イ以上ノ如キ事実
ヲ明確ニ分リマシタ、大湊事件ハ當時新聞機関
ヲ通ジテ発表サレタリミメンシ船ガ沈没同時船
長ハ割腹シタトテノ話シテス、其ノ時ノ東舞鶴軍
港ノ状況ハ余ノ知人ハ左ノ如ク話スミシタヲ恐れ
等ノ乗ツタ船ハ完全ニ安全マテシテハシタ事、
機雷ヲ港内ニ埋沈スルニ殆ニ陸地ト泳イテ
分シカ時間ガカララナイ処ニ有ルかヲキナイ又曰
ク危険ヲ知ル意味ヲハ知ラナイガ水中ニ二本
ノ赤旗ヲ立テ有ル事、沈没ヲシタ船ヨリ倍位ノ
大型船ガ何等支障ナク沈没シタ船ノ真クヲ
怒々ト出航シテタ事殊ニ東舞鶴軍港ニ碇泊シ
テ居タ軍艦一隻ヲ沈没シタ船ニ向テイテ大砲ヲ発
射スル体制ニ砲ヲテ向ケテタ事知人ハ又云
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日本各陸海軍部＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝＝

以上

H.Q. Aomori Region Office

Korean Association in Japan

Dec 12 1945

To Commander of Occupation Troop

From Kotai Sei?

Member of Investigation

Address 49 Oaza Tomita Machi

Hirosaki City, Aomori Prefecture

1. Report of Investigation concerning the affair of the accident of Korean transportation steamer “Ukishima Maru,
carrying on board many Korean returning home from Ominato left Ominato Naval Yard on the 23rd August 1945 (Report No. 2)

2. Name of steamer

Ukishima Maru (7,500 tons auxiliary cruiser speed about 28 knots)

1. Number of personnels on board approximately 6,500 (exact number is now under investigation)

Date and Time of Departure and the Condition until Sinking

Time of Departure is about 2300 August 23rd 1945 (exact time is now under investigation) shortly before the departure from Ominato Naval Yard all crew had taken out their own personal possession from the ship and sent back their own home from Ominato station and return to the ship.

All crew presented an objection to the Captain, shouting that we oppose absolutely the voyage through the dangerous area. Moreover, they said excitedly that they can not sacrifice their own lives for the sake of Korean especially, at the time, to-day after the termination of the war. The captain, therefore, informed the matter to Ominato Naval Installation Department (shisetubu) Chief of Engineering Staff Officer came on board and he has called all crew in one place. Chief of Staff said that you all must comply with this duty with an idea of death. Under such extremely order, the ship departed Ominato Naval Yard.

After departed Aomori Bay, in the strait between Sadoga-shima (Sado Island), they have dumped out all life-buoys and other articles which were usually equipped in the ship. The voyage continued, henceforth, and deviated her course to Maizuru Bay at the point off east Maizuru, Kyoto prefecture, and entered the port. Just before entering the port, the ship stopped a little while and signalled by handflag-signal and entered into the harbour slowly.

All passengers were beaten by a strange forboding feeling as the ship should be forwarded directly to Fusan, according to the promise at the time of departure.

The steamer, entered into the harbour, East Maizuru Naval Yard and when she reaches the point about 150 meters from the shore, there has been taken place an explosion with a great sound. Personnel who were in the bottom of ship have tried to cling up by three hanging ropes, surprising sea water and oil pouring in from engine room, however, the ropes were cut and the passengers dropped down into the bottom and drowned.

Moreover, the personnels who were on board madly jumped into the sea in order to avoid themselves from the whirlpool occurs at the time of sinking ship and the sea converted into a place of carnage. Men, women, old, sickmen, infants who can not swim were saved by life-boats while they were staying highest part of the ship sinking.

The time of explosion is about 1610 August 24th 1945. All rescuer were carried to the boarding house for recruited labours belong to East Maizuru Naval Installation office and confined. Sentry with bayonet guarding surroundings and prohibited to go out even one step outside. They have absolutely restricted the freedom.

Personnels who were confined in the boarding house, were not allowed also to go out even one step, to meet with personnels who came to know whether the Kin is rescued or not and how he is living and appealed to Japanese officer to see him but refused. Regarding sacrificed personnels, we do not know how they have been treated. This proves that they have revealed their cruel devilish nature.
All victims’ personal goods loaded on the ship, were picked up freely by the people living near by and have been disposed as they like, and the Japanese authorities permitted tacitly.

Numbers of dead and wounded caused by sinking of S/S “UKISHIMA MARU” are upon our investigations, as below mentioned.

**NOTE:**

DEAD 1,350 approximately

WOUNDED 200 approximately

HURTED 600 approximately

**(ACCURATE NUMBERS WILL FOLLOW AFTERWARD ON INVESTIGATION)**

-ENDB-
Sho. No. 110

Aomori-ken Hombu

22 December 1945

Headquarters of Aomori-Korean League in Japan (Shūmin Newspaper Branch Bureau)

(Address: 49 Tomita-cho Oaza Hirosaki City, Aomori Prefecture)

To: Commanding General of Occupational Forces


Survivor: Risōho Born April 1st Taishō 10th yr. Age 25

Registered address: (Cannot translate into English)

Present address: Mutsu-Yokohama, Kami-kita-gun, Aomori Pref.

The above survivor’s verbal statement to the League is as follows:

1. Name of Steamer: Unknown
2. Number of passengers: Approx. 8,000.
   Date and time of sailing and conditions to the time of foundering.

I boarded the ship at approximately 1300 on the 22nd of August 1945. I left the port at 0100 on the 23rd. Just before the ship weighed anchor, I noticed that all of the crew’s baggage was taken off the ship. At a point of about 5 or 6 hours out at sea, all of the ship’s life boats and other life-saving equipment were tossed overboard. My compartment (hold) was the one nearest the bow. Before we entered East Maizuru Bay, the ship came to a halt. When I climbed up on deck, a crew hand ordered me below, but unheedingly, I walked to the bow and surveyed the view ahead. Just then there explosion from amidships which tore the ship in two, sinking it with the mid-parts going down first. Being unable to swim, I clambered for the higher members of the craft. Approximately half-hour later a life boat came up and rescued me. I was quartered in the enlisted laborer’s lodging house of the East Maizuru Naval Installation Department. I escaped, however, after 2 days. During my stay there, we were under strict guard by armed sentries, but we, four of us, motivated by fear and hunger escaped by scaling a board fence. Considering all what I’ve seen and heard, I believe the total casualties (dead and injured) exceed 6,000 persons. When I was put up at the laborer’s lodging house, I had only the clothes which I had on when I was taken off the stricken ship. We were given two rations per day, one ration consisting only of one rice ball the size of a small child’s fist and even that was not always enough to be distributed to every-one. After reviewing and considering all angles of thought concerning this incident, I assert without hesitation that it was a prearranged and planned affair.

Survivor: Risōhō

Writer: Rikyūken

Registered address: (Cannot be translated phonetically)

Witness: Kōtaisan

Registered address: Nishimachi, Fusan-fu, Keinan

Witness: Son Ichi

Registered address: (Cannot be translated phonetically)
Witness: Ikaisui

Registered address: Tōyō-ri, Kōgen-men, Tokahara-gun, Inan

一九四五年十二月二十二日

進駐軍 司令官 殿

浮島丸遭難事件調査報告之件（第三次）

遭難者 李 相鳳

大正十年四月四日生 二十五才

本籍地 全北沃溝郡臨皮面邑内里

現住所 青森県上北郡陸奥横浜村

右遭難者当連盟ニ於ケル口述ノ如シ

一、船名 不明

一、乗船人員 八千人内外（概算）

出航日時及沈没迄ノ状況

一九四五年八月二十二日十三時頃乗船二十三日一時頃出航本船ガ大湊ヲ出航直前船員等荷物ハ
全部積御シタ後出航シテ五六時間モシタ地点ニテ本船内ニ常備シテ有ッタ救命具其他ノ總ユリ
品物ヲ海中ヘ投ゲルノヲ私ハ目撃シマシタ

私ノ居ッタ所ハ本船ノ一番先ノ船室テ有リマシタガ
東舞鶴湾ニ入ル時一旦停船シテ其時私ハ
船室ヨリ甲板ヘ出テ来タ處船員等ノ為役者ヲ
船室ヘ入レタ様命令シタ

私ハ船室ヘ入ラズ船ノ一番方へ歩イテ行ッテ前方ヲナ
ガメテ居リマシタが

其時船ノ真中ノ方カラ爆発シテ
二ツニ折れ真中ガ先ニ沈サレキマシタ私ハ
泳ゲナイ為船ノ沈ムシテ高イ方へ登ッテ
居リマシタ約三十分バカリシテ救助船ニ依ッテ
助り東舞鶴海軍施設部徴用工員ヲ監禁サレ二日目ニ逃亡シテ
居リマシタ監禁サレタ時ハ

銃剣付ノ番兵ヲ以テ厳重ニ警ヘ四人共謀ノ上板ヲ乗越ヘ逃

亡シテ私ハ見聞シテノ物ヲ総合スルヲ断定シテ

約六千名以上ト思ッテ居リマシテ本船ガ沈没

シタ時同ジ様ニハ示ツ枚徴用工員ヲ監禁サレノ一日二食ノ給

飯ヲ得タルノ及綜合シテ

考ヘマスト絶対計劃テアルト断言シマス

右遭難者 李相鳳

代筆者 李京憲

本籍地 咸北慶源郡安農面承良洞七一

立会者 黄泰山

本籍地 慶南釜山府西町

立会者 孫一

本籍地 江原道高域郡杵城面校洞里

立会者 尹海水

本籍地 咸南高原郡高原面東陽里

Sho 111

Aomori-ken Hombu

22 December 1945

Headquarters of Aomori-Korean League in Japan (Shumin Newspaper Branch Bureau)

(Address: 49 Tomita-cho Oaza Hirosaki City, Aomori Prefecture)

To: Commanding General of Occupational Forces


Survivor: Rikisan Born Dec 14, Taisho 11th Age: 24 years

Registered address: Seidōri Sankaimen, Minamihara-gun, Zenhoku

Present address: Mutsu-Yokohama, Kamikita-gun, Aomori Pref.
The above survivor’s verbal statement to the League is as follows:

1. Name of Steamer: Unknown
2. Number of passengers: Approx. 8,000.
   Date and time of sailing and conditions to the time of foundering.

I boarded the ship at approximately 1300 hours on the 22nd of August 1945. At the time of sailing, all the crew’s baggage was unloaded. Off Aomori bay, all the life boats and other goods were jettisoned overboard. Seeing the goods being discarded, we, the passengers, requested the clothing be given us, but were told that military uniforms could not be given to civilian people. At about 1600 hours on the 24th, we entered East Maizuru Bay where we halted, about half-hour later, proceeded slowly again at about a walking speed. We (our ship) signalled with flags as we proceeded to port and I noticed a red flag at the point toward which we were going. As we neared the dock, a small motor boat emerged from the pier and came to meet us and sailed passed red flag. Whether deliberately or accidently, I don’t know, but we hit the red flag and as we did so, the ship exploded with tremendous blast, causing very heavy casualties. I was picked up by a salvage boat and brought to the enlisted labourer’s lodging house of the East Maizuru Naval Installation Department. I was unable to venture out of the building on account of the vigil by armed guards, but made my escape on the night of Aug 26th by scaling a board fence with three others. Our rations while there was only a small rice ball twice daily, but due to the shortage of this allotment, there were many among us who were unable to get even one per day. We were issued no clothing whatever, having only what we were wearing when we were blown into the sea. Having no idea how long we were to be detained, we made our escape out of desperation, and now living at my present address. I think there were about 8,000 Korean passengers at the time of departure, that is, there were about 6,500 pre-engaged (enrolled) personnel, while about 1,500 additional (unreserved) were put abroad before sailing. At the time of sailing from Ōminato Harbor, some Japanese officers had refused to board the ship with us, delaying our departure about two days. I’ve heard that the reason for their refusal was that our ship was to be sunk en-route and were not willing to be sacrificed.

After reviewing and considering all angles of thought concerning this incident, I assert without hesitation that it was a deliberate and planned out affair.

Survivor: Kōhōshun
Writer: Rikyōken
Registered address: (Cannot be translated phonetically)
Witness: Kōtaisan
Registered address: Nishimachi, Fusan-fu, Keinan
Witness: Son Ichi
Registered address: Tōyō-ri, Kōgen-men, Tokahara-gun, Inan

一九四五年十二月二十二日
進駐軍 司令官 殿
浮島丸遭難事件調査報告之件（第三次）
遭難者 李 基賛
大正十一年十二月十四日生二十四才
本籍地 全北南原郡三海面西道里
現住所 青森県上北郡陸奥横浜村
右遭難者当連盟ニ於ケル口述ノ如シ
一、船名 不明

一、乗船人員 八千人内外（概算）

出航日時及沈没迄ノ状況

一九四五年八月二十二日十三時頃乗船全二十三日一時頃出航ス大湊軍港ヲ出航時船員ノ荷物ハ全部積御シタ後出航シ青森沖ヲ出テ船内ノ常備シール教命具及ノ総物資ヲ海中へ投ケルノヲ居合セノ人ガ船員＝御願ヒテ衣類ヲ分ケテモラフベク頼ミマシタガ軍人ノ物品ハ一般人ニ分ケルコトハ出来ヌト断ヲラレマシタ其他色ノナ物品ソ海中へ投ケルノヲ目撃シマスカ本船ハ二十四日十六時頃東舞鶴港湾ヘ入港億一停船約三十分シテ再び緩速（人間ガ歩ケ程度ニテ）テ進行シテ信号ヲ以テ信号シナガラ船ハ内港ニ向ッテ進航スル時其ノ方向ニ赤イ旗ヲ立テデアル所ガアリマシタ其時内港桟橋ヲヨリ小型発動船カ一隻ガ本船ニ向ッテ進行何カ暗示テモイガ如ク前記赤旗ノヲ通り去ルト同時ニ本船ハ前記赤旗ノヲ上ヲ故意カ偶然カ乗越ス時間大爆音ト共ニ爆発シマティ其現場ハ形容シ難イ惨状ヲ一瞬ニシテ時シテ死傷者多数ヲ出シマシタ其後救助船＝助リ東舞鶴海軍施設部徴用具ヲ用うニ＝監禁サレ銃射付テ砲ヲ入港一旦停入ハ許サレズ止ムエズ全八月二十六日齢人共謀ノ上板壁ヲ乗越ヘテ現在地＝逃ゲテ來マシタ右宿舎＝於ケル待遇ハ日ニ食小にてニ食ヲ興ルモ飯不足ノ為ノ日中＝一食モノ食エナイ人モ沢山居マシタ衣ヲハ一全然ナクに向出ヲ投テタリテ時ノ箇＝皿ツツ枚＝テカマノ時＝監禁サレルカ極度ノ恐怖＝襲ヒラレ死ヲ決シテ逃ゲテ出シ今日＝至マシタガ朝鮮人＝乗者八千人ト乗船ヲ際乗者申込者内八千五百名ノ＝申込シ後乗船ヲ定リ＝為ニ出航ハ予定ヲ日＝二間延シタリ理由ハ同船ハ途中沈没セル故＝自分達＝犠牲ニナルゴナ賠償＝得ケル私ハ呪当事件＝生ハシナガルヲ総合＝シテト絶対計画＝テアルト不明ハ言シマス

右遺難者 李基賛

代筆者 李京憲

本籍地 咸南慶源郡安農面承良洞七一

立会者 黄泰山

立会者 孫一

本籍地 立會者 尹海水

本籍地 立會者 尹海水

立会者 孫一

本籍地 江原道高城郡給城面校洞里

立会者 尹海水

本籍地 咸南高原郡高原面東陽里

Sho 112

Aomori-ken Hombu

22 December 1945

Headquarters of Aomori-Korean League in Japan (Shimin Newspaper Branch Bureau)

Address: 49 Tomita-cho Oaza Hirosaki City, Aomori Pref.

To: Commanding General of Occupational Troops


Survivor: Kōhōshun Born July 5, Taisho 10th Age: 25

Registered address: No. 89 Shōshichō, jinsen-fu, keikidō

Present address: Mutsu Yokohama, Kamikita-gun, Aomori Pref.

The above survivor’s verbal statement to the League is as follows:

1. Name of Steamer: Unknown

2. Number of passengers: 8,000 approximately. Date and time of sailing and conditions to the time of foundering.

I boarded the ship at approximately 1300 hours
on the 22nd of August 1945. I left port at 0100 hours on the 23rd. All the events that occurred during the voyage are not clear. At about 1630 on the 24th, the ship exploded with a tremendous detonation and I was tossed about 10 meters out into the sea. While I was swimming, I was miraculously rescued by a salvage boat and was brought ashore where I lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness, I was being borne toward water again by a group of soldiers who believing me dead, were discussing their intentions to throw my body into the sea. Perceiving, then, my consciousness, they sent me to a hospital. During my succeeding ten days at the hospital, medical attention given me, was limited to the mere treatment of a few minor cuts and scratches. I was given no real treatment such as drugs or inoculations. I made no real improvement, therefore, during my time at the hospital. At the end of 10 days, I was compelled to be transferred to the enlisted laborers lodging house under the pretense of shipment back home, and was supplied with one suit of old working clothes by the military authorities. Having received no proper medical treatment, therefore, I am in no condition to endure the trip home. I am still living at my present dwelling place and am suffering under the handicap of being unable to work for a living. I had received a ¥100 from the authorities when I returned to my present place.

I suppose the number of casualties in this incident is 6,000 persons more or less, according to reports I have heard. After reviewing and considering all angles of thought concerning this incident, I assert without hesitation, that it was a deliberate and planned affair.

Survivor: Kōhōshun

Writer: Rikyōken

Registered address: (Cannot translate)

Witness: Kōtaisan

Registered address: Nishimachi, Fusan-fu, Keinan

Witness: Son Ichi

Registered address: (Cannot be phonetically translated)

Witness: Ikaisui

Registered address: Toyo-ri, Kogen-men, Takahara-gun, Inan

一九四五年十二月二十二日

進駐軍 司令官 殿

浮島丸遭難事件調査報告之件（第三次）

遭難者 崔 凤春

大正十年七月五日生二十五才

本籍地 京畿道仁川府松視町八九番地

現住所 青森県上北郡陸奥横浜村

右遭難者当連盟＝於ケル口述左ノ如シ

一、船名 不明

一、乗船人員 八千人内外（概算）

出航日時及沈没迄ノ状況

一九四五年八月二十二日十二時頃乗船二十三日

一時頃出航ス途中ノ出来事ハ一切不明テ有リマシタ二十四日十六時頃突然大音響ト共ニ爆発シ其瞬間私ノ身体八十米バカリ吹き飛バサレ海中ヘ投ガサレマシタ私ハ奇蹟ニモ海中ニテ泳イテ居ル時救命サレマシテ陸地ニ揚ゲラシテ居ル途中人々騒ブ声テ漸ク意識ヲ取戻シマシタ其時兵隊達ハ私ヲ此レハ死ニタカラ海ヘ投棄シヨト話合ヒナガラトタダンカニ乗セタ偽海ヘ運ンテイルノニ気付キ本能的＝捜ヲ求メタ結果幸ニテ病院ヘ運搬サレ十日間治療ヲ受ケルモ話バカリノ治療＝顔面ノ形バカリノ小傷ダケノ手当ニシ葉モ注射ノ＝本＝施サナカッタ十日間同＝状態ヲ続ケ同病院ヨリ帰国ヲ理由＝徴用
工員宿舍ニ強制収容サレ軍部ヨリ作業服（古着）一着ヲ支給ヲ受ケマシタ当時治験ガ不完全ノ為帰国出来ズ現住地ニ戻リ今日ニ至ルモ未ダ当時ノ衝撃ヲ身ハ完治セズ現今ノ生活ハ無一文ヲ困篤ヲ極メテ居リマス

右遭難者 崔鳳春
代筆者 李京憲
本籍地 咸北慶源郡安農面承良洞七一
立会者 黃泰山
本籍地 慶南釜山府西町
立会者 孫一
本籍地 江原道高域郡杵城面校洞里
立会者 尹海水
本籍地 咸南高原郡高原面東陽里

19 Jan 46
MEMO
SUBJECT: SHIP SINKING
TO: CHIEF INVESTIGATION DIVISION

1. AFTER REVIEW OF BASIC COMMUNICATION AND INCLOSURES, EVIDENCE OF A WAR CRIME IS WEAK AND APPEARS TO BE BASED ON CONJECTURE.
2. RECOMMEND NO ACTION BE TAKEN BY THIS OFFICE.

(signature)

CAPT CMP

30 July 1946
Report of Investigation Division, Legal Section, GHQ, SCAP.

Inv. Div. No. 130
CRD No.

Report by: Frank J. Fons, Jr.
Title: Ukishima-Maru
Synopsis of facts:

Reference: Allied Papers Case Folder #130

DETAILS:

At Tokyo:
This case deals with the alleged sinking of the Korean steamship S.S. Ukishima-maru in the East Maizuru Naval Yard with approximately 6500 Korean Nationals aboard.

All information gained to date has been hearsay and no facts that are conclusive have been brought to light, The Prosecution Division made a review of the evidence and recommended that the case be closed on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

The Investigation Division concurs in the recommendation of the Prosecution Division and considers this case closed.
Acknowledgments: The authors would like express their gratitude to Fugetsu Shoya for his assistance transcribing the Japanese documents. Jonathan Bull’s research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP 18K12493, JP 17H00924 and JP 19H04346; Steven Ivings’ research was partly supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP 21H00557.

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Records of General Headquarters Far East


**Related articles in The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus:**

Korean Repatriation and Historical Memory in Postwar Japan: Remembering the Ukishima-maru Incident at Maizuru and Shimokita by Jonathan Bull and Steven Ivings

Exodus to North Korea Revisited: Japan, North Korea, and the ICRC in the “Repatriation” of Ethnic Koreans from Japan by Tessa Morris-Suzuki

Invisible Immigrants: Undocumented Migration and Border Controls in Early Postwar Japan by Tessa Morris-Suzuki

**Jonathan Bull** is a Lecturer at the Research Faculty of Media and Communication, Hokkaido University. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of the end of the Japanese empire and has been published in *Japan Forum* and *Journal of Contemporary History*.

**Steven Ivings** is an Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto
University. His research mainly addresses aspects of the socioeconomic history of the Japanese empire and has been published in *Japan Forum*, *The Canadian Journal of History*, *Labor History* and *Transcultural Studies*. 