

Annex I.

Crimes of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery Against Korean 'Comfort Women'

I. Planning and Implementation of the Japanese Military 'Comfort Station' System

1. Military 'Comfort Stations' during the Manchurian Incident

Military documents and memoirs of individual soldiers discovered so far show that the Manchurian Incident was a turning point in the course of establishing military 'comfort stations.' The fact that 'comfort stations' had existed during the overseas aggressions prior to the Manchurian Incident proves that the Japanese had been feeling the need to establish military 'comfort stations' from earlier times before the Incident. During the Japanese aggressions for next 15 years following the Manchurian Incident, this kind of mentality of the Japanese army became even more apparent.

In the early 1932 during the Shanghai Incident, there were many rape cases by Japanese soldiers, and, as a consequence, the Vice Chief of the Staff Okamura Yasuji in the Shanghai Expeditionary Army requested to the governor of Nagasaki province to send a 'group of 'comfort women,' also known as the military 'comfort women.'¹ In a related reference, entitled *The History of Army Sanitation During the Manchurian Incident*, there is a section on 'Rules of Regulation in the Military Recreational Facilities' dated on April 1, 1932.² According to it, the 'female entertainers' were recruited from Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese in Qingdao, Nagasaki, Pyongyang, and so forth,³ and there were 4 Military Recreational Places.' Furthermore, the fact that Okamura said that his request for 'comfort women' was modeled after the Navy in the same area shows that 'comfort stations' had been already set up in the Navy.⁴

If the witness statements from the victims⁵ who were forced to become 'comfort women' prior to the Manchurian Incident are considered here, it may bring disagreements as to the degree and scope of systemization of the 'comfort stations' system of the Japanese army. Nevertheless, it should be understood that the establishment of 'comfort stations' first started during the Manchuria Incident. The case of the 14th Composite Brigade is a good example.⁶ On April 16, 1932, it was stationed in Pingquan when thirty-eight Japanese and Korean prostitutes (Japanese: 1 professional entertainer and 2 barmaids, Korean: 2 professional entertainers and 33 barmaids) came there to start an entertainment business. Accordingly, sanitation checks were carried out and systemized into a weekly event.

¹ Inaba Masao, ed., (1970) *General Okamura Materials*, Hara Co., p.302. Later, Okamura reflected that he was happy that the crime of rape disappeared after the transfer in of 'comfort women.'

² Ministry of Army, (1937) *History of Military Sanitation During the Manchurian Incident*, Vol. 6. Related texts appear in Hata Ikuhiko, (1999) *Comfort Women and Wartime Sex*, Shinchosya, p.64. More on this subject appears in the section on "Regulations for the Management of Military Recreational Facilities."

³ Ibid. p.834. Requoted from Ikuhiko(1990), p.64

⁴ Yoshimi Yoshiaki (1992), *Collection on Military Comfort Women*, Otsuki Co., p.90

⁵ The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan & Korean Comfort Women Research Center, ed., (1997) *Forcibly Transferred Korean Military Comfort Women 2*. Hanul. Former 'comfort woman' Choe Il-rye stated that she was taken to Manchuria in 1932.

⁶ 14th Composite Brigade Headquarters, "April 11-20, 1933 Ten Day Report on Sanitation Duties", Document Collection 4.

The recognition of the need of 'comfort stations' is well illustrated in the inspection report made by a company commander at the 4th Engineer Battalion:⁷

... demanding enactment of 'comfort act' is the most essential thing for the stationed military bases. If soldiers came back after completing their important missions and found only barracks that resemble worn houses and no material comforts, then it would be easy for them to overlook and underestimate their military morality.

Such a report portrays what really went on and becomes evidence to speculate about the circumstances that resulted the expansion of 'comfort stations' after the break of the Sino-Japanese War.

2. Military 'Comfort Stations' during the Sino-Japanese War

The break of the Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1937, brought changes in the military 'comfort stations' policy of the Japanese military. As a result, the establishment of military 'comfort stations' was carried forward in a systemized and standardized manner in the late 1937. It was due to the frequent rapes of Chinese married women by the Japanese soldiers and the increase in the demand for 'comfort' as the increase in the number of military bases and the protraction of the war. And the quantitative expansion of the military 'comfort stations' brought fundamental changes in the military 'comfort stations' policy at the same time. In other words, most of the military 'comfort stations' were established under the systematic leadership of the military central authorities in line with the policy. The supply of 'comfort stations' was made by mobilizing Korean women, which laid out the basis for bringing such changes.

For example, in December, 1937, the Central China Area Army ordered establishment of military 'comfort stations,' and the 2nd Staff in the Shanghai Expeditionary Force came up with a plan in written form and the Lieutenant-Colonel Cho Isamu consulted about establishing the military 'comfort stations' in Nanjing.⁸ About the same time, the 10th Army staff Terada Masao established the military 'comfort stations' in Huzhou by mobilizing Chinese women with the help of the military police.⁹

From the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, therefore, the setting up of military 'comfort stations' was carried out at the each unit of military base extensively. At the same time, there were several problems in the mobilization process. In particular, it seems that, beginning December 1937, about 3,000 'comfort women' were being procured from the Japanese mainland and the Korean colony, so as to install 'comfort stations' for the Shanghai Expeditionary Force. In the process, however, there arose, from each location of the Japanese mainland, complaints that the "Japanese Army's prestige was being sunk."¹⁰

In March 1938, the Military Service Department at the Military Service Bureau in the Ministry of Army sent a notification to the Chief of Staff of the North China Area Army and the Central China Expeditionary Army, as follows:

⁷ 4th Engineering Battalion Company Commander (March, 1934), "Northern China and Manchuria Inspection Report", Document Collection 4

⁸ Nanjing War History Editors Commission, ed., (1989) Collection of Nanjing War History Materials, Kaikosya, pp.211, 220, 280, & 411; Requoted from Yoshimi, ed., Ibid, pp.16-17.

⁹ Ibid, Collection of Nanjing War History Materials, p.411.

¹⁰ See "3. State Participation in the Transfer of Military 'Comfort Women and the Establishment of 'Comfort Stations'" of the present document.

The recruitment of 'comfort women' should be regulated by the Expeditionary Force in order to select women in a cautious and appropriate manner, and the Expeditionary Force should be closely connected with the Military Police and the Bureau of Police.

This notification was made in an attempt to avoid public criticism that might be raised related to the sudden increase in the number of 'comfort stations'.¹¹

Thus, the establishment and operations of 'comfort stations' gradually became systematized. According to the details of a decision reached at a meeting in Nanjing in April 1938 between the three ministries--the Army, the Navy, and the Foreign Affairs Ministries-- the 'comfort stations' under exclusive control of the army and the navy should be operated and regulated by the army and the navy, without any intervention from the consulates.¹² This decision was confirmed by the Consulate General in Shanghai in July of the same year.¹³ Japanese military 'comfort stations' being set up in various occupied territories in China, thereby, were specified as part of the Japanese military facilities and beyond the jurisdiction of consulates.

With the Hankou occupation impending, restriction was placed on the migration of Japanese to occupied regions and, through a cooperative effort between military and consulate personnel in Shanghai, the 'Principles of Emergency Measures Concerning Debouchment of Nationals [Colonists] After the Hankou Occupation' of September 14, 1938 was enacted.¹⁴ This document specified that those persons whose movement was for the establishment of 'comfort stations' were not the targets of the regulation. More than anything, this is a prime example that proves how the establishment of 'comfort stations' was clearly part of military strategy and therefore was premeditated.

Such conditions are also reflected within the army's education system. The *Compendium of Wartime Standing Orders*, issued by the Army's Department of Education, includes a clause that states that "not only must all possible measures be actively employed for the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), sanitary facilities for 'comfort stations' must be completed, there should be no visits to brothels other than army designated ones, and military personnel should avoid contact with the native inhabitants."¹⁵ The existence of 'comfort stations' is reflected in the interconnectedness of these official army standing orders sent by the Head of the General Department of Education to the Chief of General Staff. The ability to aptly supervise the 'comfort stations' was one of the qualities that the Chief of General Staff had to possess.

¹¹ Ministry of Army Associate Officer, "On the Recruitment of Military Comfort Station Hostesses", March 4, 1938, [Document Collection 2](#).

¹² Nanjing Consulate General, "Decisions of the Meeting Between the Three Ministries of Army, Navy, and Foreign Affairs Concerning Various Business Licenses and Regulations for Resident Nationals", March 16, 1938.

¹³ Shanghai Consul General, "Summary Report Issues July 5, 1938 by the Shanghai General Consul and Sent to the Nanjing Consul General", 1938.7.5.

¹⁴ Acting Consul General at Shanghai, "Principles of Emergency Measures Concerning the Debouchment of Nationals After the Hankou Occupation", September 28, 1938, [Document Collection 1](#).

¹⁵ General Department of Education, "Principles of Wartime Service", May 1938.

Thus, during the Sino-Japanese War, 'comfort stations' were extensively installed at the Chinese battlefronts and, based on management experience, the Ministry of the Army wrote the following in a booklet that was distributed through all levels of the army, in order to stimulate military discipline: "At location in China, the environment in particular should be regulated and careful consideration given in regards to comfort facilities, bearing in mind the matter of relieving unruly emotions and sexual desires" and "since sexually, in particular, the psychological influence that an infantry soldier receives at the 'comfort stations' is honestly the most serious, the suitability of the guidance and supervision over these ['comfort stations'] will have a great influence on the stimulation of morale, maintenance of military discipline, and prevention of crimes and sexually transmitted diseases."¹⁶ In the process of the Sino-Japanese War, the military 'comfort stations' firmly found a place as an indispensable factor for the Japanese military.

3. Military 'Comfort Stations' during the Asia Pacific War

Unlike in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan had made all the preparatory work before entering the Pacific War; likewise, policy regarding the military 'comfort stations' had been thoroughly planned out. From lesson learned from experience in China, the Japanese army made certain of its preparedness. In the case of Southeast Asia, military 'comfort stations' were speedily set up in areas occupied by the Japanese military.¹⁷

One notable characteristic of the policy regarding military 'comfort stations' during the Pacific War was singular domination of the central organs of the Japanese government. As will be mentioned later, this is linked to the fact that the military had complete control over ships as well as all the means of transportation to Southeast Asia. In April 1942, the Department of Awards and Merits in the Office of Personnel in the Ministry of Army was appointed to be in charge of all the affairs related to the recruitment of 'comfort women' and the operation of the 'comfort stations.' In other words, as of March 30, 1942, with the revision of the Royal Decree No. 300, 'comfort station' related affairs were added to the work involving miscellaneous welfare affairs.¹⁸

The Ministry of Army repeatedly emphasized that the facilities of 'comfort stations' for the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases be sufficient and thorough.¹⁹ According to the diary of Kinbara Setsuzo, the bulletin on March 26, 1942, reports Kuromoto Keijiro, the head of the Department of Awards and Merits, of expressing a wish to "install, with the national defense fund, permanent 'comfort' facilities for noncommissioned officers", and half a year later, on September 3, it is reported that "'comfort' facilities for officers were built as follows: Northern area (100), central area (140), southern area (40), the south (100), south sea (10), Sakhalin (10), 400 stations in total."²⁰ In addition, condoms were systematically dispatched to each 'comfort station,'²¹ as well as donating funds for payment to 'comfort women.'²²

¹⁶ Minister of Army Associate Officer, "Military Discipline Stimulation Measures Based on the Chinese Conflict Experience", September 19, 1940. Document Collection 2. The strengthening of 'comfort facilities' was ordered for the prevention of such crimes as gang rape.

¹⁷ Yoshimi, ed., pp. 465-487.

¹⁸ Quoted from Ikuhiko (1990), p.105.

¹⁹ Ministry of Army Associate Officer, "Measures on Management of Sexually Transmitted Diseases Among Soldiers Related to the Great East Asian War", June 18, 1942.

²⁰ From Kinbara Setsuzo's Log of Duties, September 3, 1942.

²¹ Center for Japan's War Responsibility Material, War Responsibility Research Quarterly, Autumn 1993, No.1, pp. 25-28.

²² Ibid., pp. 34-36.

In this way, the Ministry of Army controlled the details of the overall construction of military 'comfort stations,' while each military unit in the occupied areas effectively undertook the management of the 'comfort stations.' In the case of China, the expeditionary force in China, including each class of unit, built, operated, and regulated its own 'comfort station.' In the case of Southeast Asia, 'comfort stations' were regulated by military government organs and military units for the areas with established military government, and by the military unit in combat zones like Burma. For example, the General Headquarters of the Expeditionary Force in China regulated the dispensation of condoms,²³ the Military Administrative Office in the Philippines was in charge of the supervision of the military 'comfort stations,'²⁴ the General-Resident in Mandalay, Burma,²⁵ and the Military Administrative Superintendent in Malay,²⁶ were in charge of the construction of and institution of regulations for 'comfort stations' in each respective area, while in Indonesia the minister of the civilian administration oversaw the construction and management.²⁷

4. Participation of Other Branches of the Japanese Government: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Japanese Governments-General of Korea and of Taiwan

Because the military 'comfort stations' were located abroad in areas where Japanese soldiers were posted, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which controlled the consulates and Japanese citizens abroad, had to have been involved in the control of 'comfort stations.' That is, travel became related with investigation of local activities.

First, the respective consulates residing in China researched the occupations and origins of the people who were entering their jurisdictions, and organized and reported the employment situation of all such Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese persons, including 'comfort station' administrators and 'comfort women', to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Further, the investigating and reporting on the establishment situations for the local 'comfort stations' served in part to regulate military 'comfort stations' along with local stationary troops.²⁸ Although more details will be provided later, until Japan rushed into the Asia-Pacific War, it is an indisputable fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge of responsibilities related to travel.

²³ Chinese Expeditionary Army Headquarters, "Opinions, Discussion, and Response at the September 1942 Meeting of Associate Officers", October 3, 1942, Document Collection 3.

²⁴ Fifth Field Transport Headquarters, "Regulations on the Station Duties of the Fifth Field Transport Headquarters", October 3, 1943, Document Collection 4.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Malay Military Government Inspection Division, "Military Government Regulations Manual, Vol. 3", November 11, 1943, Document Collection 3.

²⁸ Nanjing Consulate General, "Decisions of the Meeting Between the Three Ministries of the Army, the Navy, and Foreign Affairs Concerning Various Business Licenses and Regulations for Resident Nationals", March 16, 1938.

In September 1940, Foreign Affairs Deputy-Minister of the Japanese Government-General in Taiwan notified a third level Chief of America at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that all travelers needed to obtain a travel certificate, but to please understand that the travel of 'comfort station' workers was so urgent that he granted them permission.²⁹ There are other instances in which a consulate gave the Minister of Foreign Affairs a report on women entering the country, or where the consulate investigated and reported the occupations of Japanese, Korean or Taiwanese persons, particularly 'comfort station' administrators and the situation of 'comfort women,' or 'comfort station' relations. We can see from these cases that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was involved with military 'comfort stations.'

The involvement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, also, shows up in matters relating to the international departure of 'comfort station' administrators. In February 1938, the Head of the Police and Security Bureau at the Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered that, when looking at the reality at the destination, the travel of women for the purpose of employment was indispensable, and that departure should be approved temporarily and the situation of the recruitment agencies supervised.³⁰ As is mentioned later, in November 1938, the Ministry of Internal Affairs offered cooperation and support in the selection of proprietors and travel of women.³¹

In addition to the above transport, we can find several instances where the Government-General of Korea made efforts to recruit 'comfort women' directly. Following the notification of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in August 31, 1937, it was made mandatory for all persons going to China, both 'comfort women' and civilians, to get identification issued by the chief of police of each respective place of residence.³² This way, the Japanese Government-General of Korea were able to maintain thorough knowledge of the identifies of those traveling to China, thus of the 'comfort women' as well as people involved in 'comfort stations.' In March 10, 1939, the Japanese Government-General of Korea received the order from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that "the military 'comfort stations' are saturated" in the Hankou area in China, and passed on the notice to all provinces, the related details of which will be mentioned later. This shows that the Japanese Government-General of Korea worked in conjunction with China proper in supplying of 'comfort women.'³³

²⁹ Kaohsiung Province Governor, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China", August 23, 1940, Document Collection 1. Details of this incident are provided later.

³⁰ Secretary of the Bureau of Security and Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Matter regarding Treatment of Women Traveling to China", February 23, 1938, Document Collection 1.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Security Division of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Government General of Korea, Monthly Reports of Foreign Affairs Vol.1, p.64, "Concerning the Restriction and Obstruction of the Inflow of Unemployed Undesirables into China," dated August 25, 1937, is the first restriction of travel to China. (Ibid., p.67) According to the orders of the Korean Army Chief of Staff and Kanto Army Chief of Staff, an identification card issued by the head of the police station was necessary when going to Northern China.

³³ Security Division of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Government General of Korea, Monthly Reports of Foreign Affairs, July 1939, p.72.

As will be mentioned later, as part of the plan to gather 800,000 armed forces to attack the Soviet in July, 1941, the Kanto army tried to place a request to the Japanese Government-General of Korea to recruit some 20,000 'comfort women.'³⁴ Thus, in addition to passage of 'comfort women,' the Government-General of Korea operated affiliated administrative organs in the battle line in order for the recruitment of 'comfort women.' As indicated in the testimonies of former Korean 'comfort women,' there are numerous cases in which the police, village heads, local administrative office and its personnel, as well as the bureaucrats of the Government-General, were involved in the recruitment of 'comfort women.' As of December 1994, according to the reported cases at the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare, 51 of the 157 cases (32.4%) testified that they were apprehended by police or administrative staff.³⁵

There are records that show the involvement of the Government-General of Taiwan. Examining the existing records, the involvement of the Government-General of Taiwan is heavily concentrated in the transport-related matters.³⁶ However, as mentioned above, for the construction of 'comfort station' for the 21st Army in November 1938, the Government-General of Taiwan is reported to have been responsible for the recruitment of 300 'comfort women,' indicating that it was also involved, when necessary, in forced mobilization of 'comfort women.'³⁷

A concrete example is one experienced by 16 'comfort women' who were sent to Sanya on Hainan Island in southern China in the May of 1939. As this is thought to refer to in the indictment of from Taiwan, mention will be made of those aspects relating to the women of Korea only. Yu Hwayon (origin: North Kyong Andong) from the Korean Colony was among those 16 women. At that time, a Japanese, Kumamoto (origin: 葉玉友七) was the manager. The costs of the mobilization of the 'comfort women' to Sanya and the construction costs of the 'comfort station' were advanced, and this was related to the Japanese Navy (exact unit name was not written) and the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan and Taiwan Takushoku Corporation.³⁸

³⁴ Shimada Toshihiko, (1965) *The Kanto Army*, Chuokoronsya, p.176. Senda Kako, (1978) *Military Comfort Women*, Sanichi Co., pp.103 - 104.

³⁵ See later sections of the present document.

³⁶ See section on forcible transfer in the present document.

³⁷ Headquarters of Bureau of Police and Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Inquiry into the Matter regarding Women Traveling to China", November 4, 1938.

³⁸ Jiu De-lan (July 1999), "Anthology of Investigation and Research on Taiwanese Comfort Women", Central Research Institute / Zhongshan Humanities and Social Science Research Institute, pp.51 - 66.

II. Forcible Transfer of Korean 'Comfort Women'

1. Defining 'Forcible Transfer'

A report published by the Japanese government in 1993 claimed that although there was some forcible transfer, this was performed by civilians and was in no way connected to the government (reference). Of course, as can be seen in the following analysis, the forcible transfer Japan claims to have been non-existent actually occurred on a large scale, and was conducted more by police, soldiers, and other people from state organs than by civilians. However, before questioning whether it actually occurred, it is first necessary to consider how the concept of forcible transfer has been inadequately defined. The definition of forcible transfer, claimed not to have occurred in Japan, is conceptually limited to transport based on violence. However, forced escort must be defined as circumstances in which an individual is moved against her will with the exercise of forced control and is unable to return according to her will. Through trafficking in humans, abduction, deception of employment circumstances, and so on, all the women who became 'comfort women' were taken with no idea that they were to become 'comfort women'. They were strictly monitored both during the transport and at the 'comfort station' to prevent escape. Under these points, the recruitment of almost all the military 'comfort women' must be defined as forcible transfer.

2. Social Background of the Mobilization of Korean 'Comfort Women'

From the beginning, the core basis of military 'comfort station' policy was the need for 'comfort women' on a vast scale. Alternately, excluding the 'comfort women' mobilized on the spot on the large tracts of territory occupied toward the end, the Japanese military from the beginning planned the mobilization of Japanese and colonized women from Korea and Taiwan. The numbers of licensed prostitutes mobilized in Japan have clarified as relatively low, and records revealing large numbers of Taiwanese women mobilized outside of Taiwan to Japanese military posts have not been uncovered. From the first stages of territorial expansion, written records indicate that at least 80% of the mobilized 'comfort women' were Korean. Accordingly, the majority of the large-scale mobilization and transport of 'comfort women' was effected in the colony of Korea, and from war time in 1938, formed a part of the large framework of the mobilization of laborers and soldiers in Korea.

It is important to examine the social conditions of colonial Korea that enabled the easy mobilization of Korean 'comfort women' in accordance with Japanese government policy and systematic orders. Most Koreans were living under conditions of extreme poverty. Until 1916, prostitution, based on the licensed system officially established under the old Choson regime, rapidly expanded, and from the end of the 1930s, general mobilization became increasingly systematized and enforced within colonial society.

(1) Poverty

As discussed above, the standard of living in colonial Korea was extremely low, and as will be explained below, employment circumstances were the most important basis for the forcible transfer of the 'comfort women'. It is well known that national land survey and the penetration of Japanese capitalism brought ruin to Korea's rural areas. The number of Japanese landlords rose and the ratio of Korean self-sustaining agriculture plunged. In 1920, 23% of farmers were self-supporting, 37% were partially self-supporting, and 40% were tenant farmers. By 1940, those figures had changed to 18%, 23%, and 59% respectively (reference). The farming villages became overpopulated with ruined farmers, and the competition for tenancy became a vicious circle. Many households or individual family members left the

villages to pursue a livelihood elsewhere. According to the statistics produced by the Colonial Industrial Bank's research department, an annual rate of 40,000 between 1925 and 1930, and 60,000 between 1930 and 1935, and 220,000 between 1935 and 1940 formed the rural exodus (reference). These conditions form part of the background to the mobilization of the 'comfort women'. Rural women were not just mobilized from the countryside. Women who were born in rural towns but had moved to the cities in search of employment working as servants, or in factories or restaurants, were also part of the mobilization. In particular, the seriousness of the exodus was proportionate to the poverty of the rural family (reference). Young women composed a large portion of this movement. The victims left to reduce the number of mouths to feed in their families, to leave a place overpowered by hopelessness, to purchase money for medicine, to repay family debts, dreaming of a "good opportunity to earn money".

(2) Enforced recruitment under the general mobilization system

It is well known that during the period of its colonialism, imperialist Japanese enforced policies of migration to Manchuria and for male farmers to northern territories, and from the late 1930s, it carried out a labor mobilization and a general mobilization in Korea, and from 1944, military conscription as well. The mobilization of military 'comfort women' occurred within this large framework of mobilization in Korea.

The mobilization of labor that emerged from this official policy began as a free enlistment but later became a draft guided by the government. Likewise, military mobilization, at first voluntary, turned into conscription. The extent of force in the mobilization increased as time passed. Mobilization of labor and soldiers was an exercise of force; this is especially clear with the drafting and conscription but the voluntary and governmental involvement as well should be seen in this light. Threats and violence were often employed in these cases⁴.

This deployment of force by the government was operated on a foundational structure from the lowest ranks of Aegukban through leagues of villages, townships, jung, dong, ri, burak, bu, gun, do, and other administrative districts, effectively employing the centralization created with the old Choson regime's networks (Lee Man-yul 1997:86-89). The alliance for fully utilizing national power, inaugurated in 1940, in this way organized the entire Korean population, and in this way precisely structured the entire Korean nation. Accordingly, it is impossible to see the mobilization of such a large number of women as occurring without the intervention of the Government-General, which included all officials, down to the lowest ranks, in its hierarchy.

Furthermore, in all the cases where women were sent overseas, the permit to travel issued by the relevant police station was necessary. In 1925, the Japanese Department of the Interior ordered the Korean Government-General to regulate the departure of Koreans to Japan, beginning from South Kyongsang Province⁵. This initial control policy was continuously strengthened and supplemented with new items, up to enforced conscription in 1939⁶. Under these conditions, at least half of the applicants in Korea were unable to receive exit permits⁷, and large numbers Koreans trying to leave the country illegally were intercepted in each port city (reference). Also, illegal migrants were arrested in a steady stream during the crossing and in Japanese ports after their arrival. The voyage of the military 'comfort women' without travel permits was tacitly permitted or achieved with a travel permit from a police station. In all cases, it was impossible without government intervention, beginning with the police.

3. Routes of Forcible Recruitment of Korean Military 'Comfort Women'

Because the military 'comfort station' policy required 'comfort women' on a large scale, the recruitment of 'comfort women' can be seen as a central aspect of 'comfort station' policy from the beginning. With the exception of the 'comfort women' who were recruited from the

occupied territories the proportion of which increased in the latter period, the 'comfort women' who were intentionally recruited by the Japanese military from the first stages were, on the whole, from Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. To date, from Japan, only a small minority of 'comfort women' were found to have been recruited from existing prostitutes. In the case of Taiwanese women as well, no record has been found that supports that the majority of 'comfort women' were recruited from areas outside of the stationing areas of the Japanese military. In fact, records made at the time when the occupied territory began to be expanded point out the fact that more than 80% of 'comfort women' were Koreans.³⁹ Therefore, large-scale recruitment and transfer of 'comfort women' occurred mostly from colonial Korea, and comprised one aspect of the recruitment and draft of the entire national labor and military force that occurred in post-1938 wartime system Korea.

Likewise, the recruitment of Korean 'comfort women'—which occurred with overlapping between Japan's military 'comfort stations' policies and policies on the recruitment of Koreans—acted within the overall military 'comfort station' policy's line of command and the organizational system of the Government-General of Korea and the Korean military headquarters. Research on the line of command for military 'comfort station' policies in Japan shows that 'comfort women' followed from the emperor, at the top, to the Chief of the General Staff / Minister of the Army to the Japanese military in Korea / Taiwan / Guangdong / Southern China or the Expeditionary Force in China.⁴⁰ The Commander of the Japanese military in Korea was directly subordinate to the emperor, and those under military command and those under the military administration received orders from the Chief of General Staff and the Minister of the Army, respectively, and directed the Korean military police commander. On the one hand, the Governor-General of Korea who was appointed by the emperor held vast authority to coordinate the execution of all sorts of state affairs. The Bureau of Police Affairs, under the influence of the Government-General, coordinated police business, and in the regions, the regional governors employed police authority through the regional police headquarters and directed all the police stations.

The routes through which 'comfort women' were recruited in Korea can largely be divided into two categories. One is through the dispatchment of 'comfort station' managers according to the needs of the local military bases, and the other is through such upper echelons of the colonial government as the Governor-General. The fact that both cases followed a fundamental 'top-down' principle in the line of 'comfort station' policy command for the recruitment of Korean 'comfort women'.

(1) Dispatch of the Agents

³⁹ Aso Tetsuo(1939), Positive Means Prevention of Venereal Disease

⁴⁰ Yoshimi Yoshiaki (1995), Co-research. Japanese Military Sexual Slavery, Otsuki Shoten, p 19

⁴¹ "Trickery, intimidation, and instigation were prerequisite for the roundup of Korean women, and the three elements, in turn, shaped the route of mobilization. With the order of 'women as tributes' from Kwangdong Army, the Korean Government-General typically passes the order onto provincial governors, the provincial governor onto county magistrates, and the county magistrates onto *myeon* heads, all the way down to the smallest administrative unit. In enforcing the order, the order is passed down to the police department of each province, to each police station, and to patrol stations respectively to show 'the effects of the great sword'. Thus at the last rung of the administrative ladder, *myeon* heads and patrol men rounded up young women with lies as instructed from above. 'For the country' was the designated phrase used to persuade and coerce. If the women should try to run away to avoid the roundup, their families will be levied with an outrageous amount of grains as a tribute to the government as a form of retaliation." Kim Il-myun ed., *Military Comfort Women*, 1977, pp.96 87. Requested from Pang Sun-ju, p.232.

In cases where 'comfort station' managers were dispatched, they were selected either directly by the Japanese military or, at the request of each related expedition force, by the military headquarters of the relevant recruitment areas. The 'comfort station' dealers are either handpicked by the Japanese military or selected by the military headquarters of mobilized area upon requests from the dispatched military unit. These dealers had to carry the license issued by the county or diplomatic establishments and go to places with some connections or familiarity. The content of a telegram⁴² dispatched to the dealers by the Japanese imperial army, regarding the expenses incurred in the process, clearly shows the direct involvement of the military in the process of the mobilization. The civilian dealers who are directly involved in the mobilization of 'comfort women' under order from, and with authority of, the military should be considered, accordingly, as de facto state organ, and, in light of international legal principles, Japan is clearly responsible for their actions.⁴³

The so-called 'civilian dealers' would be forced to go to the normal administrative channel at the designated town for mobilization, to the swiftest organ with the power to enforce: the local or the military police. Otherwise, they could use the employment agency network commonly found in big cities that are more like human trafficking organizations. As will be discussed later, the police aid was absolutely necessary for these dealers to obtain the certificate for passage issued by the police.

As is revealed in the testimonies of the 'comfort women' survivors, the organization of police that spread like a spider web throughout each region of Korea proved effective in gaining a grasp on and recruiting targets for 'comfort women'. According to the testimony of a Japanese man who spent time a former chief of police in Jung-eup, North Cholla province during the war, the information that the police had allowed them to "be able to figure a citizen out in one glance".⁴⁴

The case of Pak Kyung Do, a Korean dealer at the 'comfort station' in Muhan, Chokkyung-ri, is an example of utilizing the local police power in mobilizing 'comfort women'.⁴⁵ He had "purchased the right to the comfort station," and provoked outrage from the 'comfort women.' According to the "wishes of these women," the existing 'comfort women' were sent to the battle line. Subsequently, around late 1943, Pak Kyung Do expressed the wish to go to his "hometown to bring back more women," and left for Korea on a certificate of travel for official affairs. Although Pak and the ten 'comfort women' with him were killed by a bomb dropped by the U.S. military during the journey back, there is no doubt that the ten 'comfort women' were recruited with the help of military certificates, the manager's connection with the hometown, and the local police force.

(2) Use of Police and Army Organizations

⁴² Quarterly "Accountability in War Research" (Autumn Issue) pp. 34-35. A record in the archive of the Library of U.S. National Public Records states "On June 4, 1945, the military wired the following amount, the necessary fund to import 'comfort women' from Zhangjiakou to Seoul."

⁴³ See Chapter 2 below.

⁴⁴ "While the primary function of the police is to maintain the public peace and order, our efforts were also mobilized in sanitary conditions as well. For example, preventing epidemics. Twice a year, we made list of people infected with cowpox. The basis of the list is the department of census. The police goes to house to house to research people's date of birth, their personalities, their family structure, their past records, and even their private lives. Usually three people work in the superintendent office, and two of them would patrol everyday and investigate whether anyone changed their residence. By simply reading the census report, one was able to figure a citizen out in one glance." Nishino Rumiko (1992), *Testimony of Japanese military soldiers: Military Comfort Women*, Akashi Co., p.212.

⁴⁵ Yamada Seikichi (1978), "Muhan Quartermaster", Tosho Co., pp.116-118.

The second case of mobilization of 'comfort women' is in 1941, when the Japanese imperial army stationed in Guangdong requested the Korean Government-General to roundup 20,000 Korean 'comfort women' to be sent to for the Gwangdong army in the special intensive training. According to Hara Zenshiro, a staff officer and the Chief of the General Staff of the Kanto army at the time, the office of general staff made the request to the Korean Government-General according to the mobilization plan of the Kanto army, and the Korean Government-General sent 8,000 Korean women to the northeast China.⁴⁶ Such a roundup is impossible without the active involvement of the government administration and the police.

The case of Kitamura, a 'comfort station' manager who was captured by the U.S. military in Burma, also reflects the mobilization policy. Upon request from, and with the full support of, the headquarters of the Korean Army, he went to the south to recruit 22 'comfort women.'⁴⁷ However, without any existing military document to prove such mobilization, we are led to wonder whether Japan destroyed the proof.

The case of the Ogasawara archipelago is yet another example of the involvement of the Japanese military in the mobilization of 'comfort women'. This is a case that demonstrates what methods were used to mobilize and transport 'comfort women' to remote islands, such as Okinawa. When the Pacific War broke out, the Japanese military stationed the 109 division of the Ogasawara army corps and the naval base of special operations on Chichijima island.⁴⁸ In April 1942, the General Staff Office of the headquarters of the Chichijima fortress supervised the installation of the 'comfort station.' The Chichijima military unit carried out the mobilization and transport of 'comfort women' through close communication and liaison with the General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit,⁴⁹ through the following process:

When the General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit sent a telegram to inquire about the date to send the 'comfort women' on stand-by, the headquarters of the fortress replied on April 11, 1942, that they should be sent in mid-May, the expected date of completion of the facilities. Three days later, the headquarters of the fortress sent another telegram stating that the expected date of completion of the building to accommodate the dealers is late-May and requested the number of dealers as well as the total counts for the number of families and of 'comfort women.' On April 16, the General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit replied that, for special cafeterias, there were expected to be two units of 15 persons, run by someone named Nakamura. In the same year, on May 9, the General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit sent a telegram stating that 26 women from Suzaki and 15 from Yoshiwara would be sent around May 15 by ship and asked to confirm the number. Subsequently, on May 12, the General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit sent another telegram stating that the total of 30 people (10 women from Suzaki, 10 from Yoshiwara, and 10 auxiliary personnel) would be sent on the ship slated to depart on the 15th and that the headquarters of the fortress should take charge of the people upon the arrival of the ship, as well as of instructing the dealer regarding matters relating to the 'amusement facilities.'

The General Staff Office of the Eastern military unit was in charge of tallying the number of dealers and 'comfort women,' of selecting the places for mobilization, as well as of deciding on the vessel for the transport, while the local military unit was in charge of the construction of facilities for 'comfort station.' This case clearly shows the extent of

⁴⁶ Senda Kako (1978), pp.103-104.

⁴⁷ *Japanese Prisoner of War Information Report* No.49 (1 October, 1944). *Research Report* No. 120(1), (15 November, 1945).

⁴⁸ Kokusyokankokai, ed., *Photographs of 80 Years of Japan's Army and Navy*, Kokusyokankokai (1978), p.405 & p.409.

⁴⁹ "Field Journal of the General Staff Office of the Headquarters of the Chichijima Fortress," (11, 14, & 16 April 1942), *Document Collection* 2.

organization and systematization of the military 'comfort stations.' Moreover, it shows the scale of 'comfort stations' that reached even behind the battle line and provides a clue for a rough estimate of the total magnitude of mobilized comfort women'.

4. The Process of Transferring Korean 'Comfort Women'

In August 1994, 170 victims presented material to the Korean government, and on the basis of this evidence, it is possible to discern the types of forcible transfer. The majority was effected through employment deception, followed by use of violence and threats. These methods were contingent on the direct governmental and military involvement set against a background of poverty. As mentioned above, although we must consider the possibility that testimonies attesting to trafficking and abduction were mixed in with cases of employment deception, such instances are rare. There are many victims who have remembered and testified to the terms draft, voluntary service, labor, and so on, and even if doubt is cast on the accuracy of such labels, the fact remains that they were taken away under governmental coercion. Six cases of women being forced into military sexual slavery through the voluntary labor corps system have been uncovered.

The following pages of victims' testimonies will provide detailed description of the forms of forcible transfer based on employment deception and violence.

Table 1: Methods of Recruitment

Year method of recruitment	1932-36	1937-39	1940-42	1942-43	1944-45	Total
Employment fraud	9	24	21	16	12	82
Intimidation and violence	7	12	20	20	3	62
Trafficking in persons		4				4
Abduction		2	1	2		5
'voluntary' labor corps					6	6
'voluntary' labor corps escapees					2	2
draft, volunteers, laborers, etc		3	3	5	3	14

5. The recruiters

The precise chain of command in the drafting of the military 'comfort women' policy and management of 'comfort stations' can only be inferred on the basis of Japan's army and governmental structure, but partially uncovered documentation clearly shows the concrete roles of the Japanese military, government and the Korean Government-General, with no room for doubt. Regardless of whether methods of violence and deception were employed under orders from above, the evidence concerning the recruiters clearly shows the central role of the Japanese military, government, and the Government-General from all sides. The testimonies of the victims confirm that civilians, and especially Koreans, formed the majority of the recruiters, but also underline the important fact that police, soldiers and government officials were involved in acts of mobilization. Compared with the mobilization of the victims by civilians mainly by deception employment, soldiers and police mobilized through violence and officials used the label 'draft'. These research results confirm the overall predictions and greatly increase the credibility of victims' testimonies.

Table 2: Recruiter and method of recruitment

Method of Recruitment	Recruitment Fraud	violence	Intimidation	trafficking	abduction	'voluntary' labor	corps draft, volunteer, laborers, etc.	Total
Korean civilians	38	3	1	1	2		2	47
Japanese civilians	17	6		1		3		27
Soldiers	4	18					2	24
civilian employees of the army	1						1	2
Military police	2	3						5
Police	6	26	1		3		3	39
Government Officials	4	2				2	4	12
Other		1	1					1

(1) Civilians

"In order to prevent riots in the process of recruitment, those in charge must be selected with discretion". As seen in this military document, the Japanese military's plan specified the use of civilians as the primary recruiters of military 'comfort women'. This document shows that the civilian recruiters were selected by the military and were only in charge of recruiting. Actually, many victims have testified that civilians took them to a certain point, transferred them to army another civilian or soldier, and then disappeared. As will be discussed in the section below, the Japanese military directed the transport of the 'comfort women'. When it is seen that a considerable number of the managers of 'comfort stations' were civilians¹⁹, the separation between civilians in charge of recruiting and operating 'comfort stations' makes it clear that the military held overall control over all processes behind selection of recruiters and 'comfort station' managers, and also the recruitment and distribution of 'comfort women' themselves.

However, as can be seen in the research of Senda Gakko, there were few cases where 'comfort station' operators were directly involved in the recruitment of 'comfort women'. According to research conducted by the Institute for Research on Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, there were instances when women were accompanied by the same person from and during transport out of their villages, until their arrival at the 'comfort stations'. Table 3 shows that in all cases, whether 'comfort station' operators were civilians or soldiers, the majority of recruiters were civilians. However, in cases when the military or police were involved in recruiting, the 'comfort women' were largely transported to 'comfort stations' operated by the military, and civilian recruiters tended to take the women to civilian-run 'comfort stations' more than to military-run ones. This demonstrates that the same individuals who recruited the women frequently operated the 'comfort stations' where they were taken.

The fact there were more Korean civilians than Japanese leaves a special kind of wound with the victims. Regardless of that fact that it was relatively easier for Koreans to recruit women in Korea, the large number of Koreans working as guards in Japanese prisoner of war camps supports the interpretation that forcing Koreans into the lowest ranks of war criminal positions is linked with a consistent Japanese military policy.

(2) Soldiers, civilians attached to the military, and the military police

There was a considerable amount of transport performed through soldiers, civilians attached to the military, the military police and others under the command of the Japanese military. Many victims have testified that they were forcibly put on trucks by soldiers, and sometimes by other women, and taken away. Table 1 shows that violent transport intensified as the war neared its end. This trend can be interpreted according to the sudden increase in the demand for 'comfort women', resulting in the increased intervention of the military in the recruitment process that had been controlled by civilians and thus the increased use of violence. As discussed above, in cases of transport by soldiers, women were taken to military-operated 'comfort stations', and towards the end of the war, and as demand for 'comfort women' increased, the military established more 'comfort stations'. This is the fact directly behind the supply of 'comfort women'.

(3) Police and government officials

Transport by police and government officials took up a considerable portion of the mobilization, and this affirms the Government-General's involvement in the transfer of military 'comfort women'. As mentioned in numerous sections above, regardless of who the direct recruiters actually were, it is evident that governmental and military participated from the beginning. The direct appearance of police and officials as recruiters rose with the increase in methods of violence and the demand for 'comfort women' toward the end of the war. As with the cases of transfer by soldiers, transport by police and officials was connected to 'comfort stations' operated by the military.

Table3: Relationship between recruiter and the managers of 'comfort stations'

Recruiter The managers of 'comfort stations'	Korean civilians	Japanese civilians	Soldier s	Civilian employ ees	Of the army military police	Police	Govern ment official s of the army	Total
Civilians	17	7	1	1	2	2		30
Soldiers	10	11	12	1	1	13	6	54

III. Forcible Transfer of Korean 'Comfort Women'

1. Establishment of Japan's State Control System for Transportation

Before the Sino-Japanese War, a passport was not necessary for people to travel to China. In other words, it was 'free passage' system. However, the situation changed upon the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. The main event that brought about this change occurred on August 31, 1937, with the Foreign Deputy-Minister's measures on "Control over the Travel of Undesirables".⁵⁰ Due to this instruction, all people, including the 'comfort women', were required to get identification from the head of the police station of the district where they resided, after their class, job, the reasons for travel, conditions of stay, duration of stay, etc. were investigated. This made passage to China without getting approval from the police--and therefore, the state--officially impossible. At the same time, everyone traveling to China were checked by the state, and also became an issue that needed to be checked.

The stance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is reflected in a notice issued under the name of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the consulate in China, there was a Consular Police Station that was responsible for the registry, protection, supervision, and so forth of Japanese residents in China. Thus, even before the Sino-Japanese War broke out, the Japanese Consulate knew the identities of the 'Japanese'--including Korean--residents, and the information also included employment situation, of course.⁵¹ Therefore, the consulate must have been involved in the process of transferring 'comfort women' for the installation of 'comfort stations,' and must also have had to exercise the authority vested in them. Although it is a case in Korea, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs frequently sent reports to the related consulate concerning changes in civilian migration control, every time there was a shift in the battle situation or an expansion of occupied territory.⁵²

The regulation of travel is also intricately connected with the military's position. That is, because the 'comfort stations' are sometimes installed at battlefronts, the real identities of 'comfort station' owners and 'comfort women' cannot avoid being an important matter of interest. The same is true of movement within occupied territories. According to a 1939 investigation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,⁵³ one had to receive a travel certificate from local stationary troops or M.P. to engage in personal travel to strategic areas and hinterlands. For travel to other areas as well, movement was impossible without a travel certificate or a passage permit issued by the local military base, Special Service Agency, or M.P.

⁵⁰ Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Matter regarding the control of travel to China by undesirable elements", *Document Collection 1*, August 31, 1937.

⁵¹ Momose Takashi (1990), "Pre-war Period Japan", Yoshikawakobunkan, p.161. It states that there were 2,968 police officers by 1943.

⁵² Security and Safety Division of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Government General of Korea, *Monthly Reports of Foreign Affairs* Vol. 1, pp.64 ~ 72. This document includes a summary of notices issued from August 1937 to July 1939.

⁵³ Head of Colonial Affairs, Tanaka Takeo, "Matter regarding Situation of Issuance of Identification Cards to those Traveling in the Chinese Territory Occupied by the Imperial Army", Major General of the Korean Government Records Archives, *War 11*. This document, dated August 9, 1939, was sent from Head of Colonial Affairs, Tanaka Takeo, to the Commissioner of State Affairs of the Government-General of Korea, Ono Ryokuichuro. On September 1, the Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government-General of Korea forwarded this document to the Head of the Bureau of Police Affairs and to each provincial governor.

In any case, to manage civilian migration to and from an expanding occupied area, a system of cooperation between local soldiers and consulates was necessary. As is previously mentioned, the "Outline for Resolving Emergencies Concerning Enemy Debranchment After the Hankou Invasion",⁵⁴ dated September 14, 1938, states that those persons who were entering to set up 'comfort stations' are not the intended target of prohibition. Within the establishment process for 'comfort stations' which progressed as one aspect of military strategy, local consulates and the military held primary authority regarding regulation of migration by Japanese (including Koreans) to occupied territories.

However, in reality, this travel restriction system was not strictly followed, including in the case of 'comfort women' recruitment. With the Shanghai Expeditionary Forces 'comfort stations' mentioned above, as well, only 20 of the 40-50 'comfort women' departing from Kobe harbor on January 8, 1938, possessed identification cards. Although the rest didn't have identification cards, Hyogo province was said to have given "tacit consent."⁵⁵ As we can see in an example mentioned above in case of the Amano Corps, there was no lack of complaints on the military's autocratic methods for managing matters or on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁶

Taking into account such various circumstances, an important Cabinet decision--'On the Provisional Management of the Travel of Nationals [Colonists] to China'⁵⁷--was made on May 7, 1940, concerning the transport of 'comfort women.' According to this decision, "people in the entertainment business in China who are temporarily entering the country [Japan] for the employment of [mainland and colonial] women (prostitutes, hostesses, waitresses, etc.)" could only bring the number of female employees he indicated on the certificate, issued by the Head of the local Chinese Consular Police.

At the same time, the China-located Consul and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not issue certificates to the women under a special job category (professional entertainers, barmaids, waitresses, the employees of the military 'comfort stations,' etc.), except when it was necessary to fill up vacancies remained after the exclusion of closed or removed entertainment businesses.⁵⁸ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the travel of 'comfort women' to China was completely under the control of the consulate.

The outbreak of the Pacific War and the expansion of the war zone brought about the increase in the number of the 'comfort stations' and the 'comfort women.' In consequence, the transfer of the 'comfort women' became under the direct and en bloc regulation of the Army and Navy. It was necessary in order to make some adjustment corresponding to the increase in the number of new 'comfort women' and the arising problems pertaining to transferring them.⁵⁹ Unlike China, in which the transfer of the women could be carried out by means of war ships, trains other than those used to carry civilians, the voyage to the south by ship was controlled by the Army and Navy. Therefore, it was necessary to come up with new uniform measures to transfer the 'comfort women.'

⁵⁴ Acting Consul General at Shanghai, "Matter regarding the Remittance of the "Principles of Emergency Measures Concerning the Debranchment of Nationals After the Hankou Occupation"", September 28, 1938, Document Collection 1.

⁵⁵ Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Escort of Travel of Prostitutes to China", Document Collection 1.

⁵⁶ Head of the Bureau of Police and Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Matter regarding Temporary Measures of Japanese Nationals Traveling to China", August 16, 1941, Document Collection 4.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Third Division of the Ministry of Police Affairs (1940), "Matter regarding the Scope of Issuance of Identification Cards by the Consular Police within the Principles on Treatment of Temporary Measures of Japanese Nationals Traveling to China", Document Collection 1.

⁵⁹ Ikuhiko, (1999) op.cit., p.104.

There were also some changes in the policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. On January 10, 1942, the Taiwanese Government-General sent a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, titled as "The Plan Related to the Establishing 'Comfort Stations' at the Occupied Territories Near the South Sea Area," in order to bring over people to the occupied territories for the establishment of 'comfort stations' (including owners), as demanded by the soldiers therein. On January 14, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in response to the letter, commanded that "voyagers in this circumstance (undesirable to issue passports) shall sail with a military certificate on a war ship."⁶⁰

Such a change is well portrayed by an incident happened in Borneo, Indonesia, regarding the establishment of the 'comfort stations.' On March 12, 1942, the Commander of the Taiwan army applied to the Minister of Army to give out voyage permissions to 3 owners (1 person from Korea) of 'comfort stations,' who had been selected by the Taiwanese military police to go to Borneo.⁶¹ Consequently, an adjutant in the Ministry of Army issued out a voyage permission to the Commander of the Taiwan army on the 16th.⁶² As can be seen in the incident above, the voyage to the southern districts was exclusively regulated and controlled by the Ministry of Army.

Notices from the Ministry of Army prove this fact.⁶³ According to these notices, 'comfort women' fall under the category of "those selected by the Ministry of Army," and their identification cards are regulated as "issued by the Ministry of Army". Without military identification cards, the travel of 'comfort station' owners and 'comfort women' was impossible in principle.

2. Control of Travelers from Korea

The control policies over travelers to and from China were applied in Korea as well. China's travel restrictions and related measures by the Korean Government-General are as follows. First, on September 3 and 17, 1937, the Government-General's Bureau of Police Affairs issued the "Control over the Travel of Undesirables" measure to each provincial officer.⁶⁴ The content was same as the notification of the Deputy-Minister for the Foreign Affairs, issued on August 31.

⁶⁰ Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Matter regarding the Method of Travel of Comfort Women in Occupied Territory in the South Pacific Area", (14 January 1942) Document Collection 2. The text in parentheses are in the original copy, but crossed out.

⁶¹ Commander of the Japanese Army in Taiwan, "Matter regarding Travelers to the South Pacific Area", (12 March 1942), Document Collection 2.

⁶² Associate Officer of the Ministry of the Army, "Matter regarding Travelers to the South Pacific Area", (16 March 1942), Document Collection 2.

⁶³ Yoshimi(1995), pp.81 ~ 82.

⁶⁴ Security and Safety Division of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Government General of Korea, Monthly Reports of Foreign Affairs Vol. 1, p.64.

As we can witness from the March 1, 1938 measure on the "Abolishment of Restrictions on Travelers to China,"⁶⁵ the Government-General sent an officer to North China to check the situation on 'comfort women' who were traveling. The Japanese military, which prohibited people from traveling to China since early December 1937, allowed ordinary passengers to travel from January 14th of the next year to the end of February. This voyage was limited only to those who passed a strict identification check, and the officer residing at the Tianjin consulate, sent from the Chinese consulate, issued the approval. This was a much stronger policy than the previous policy of notification to the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Of the people who were approved under this system, 731 were Japanese (173 women) and 176 were Korean (115 women). 76 of the Japanese women and 101 of Korean women were either 'professional entertainers or waitresses,' and 90% of the 101 Korean women were waitresses who were called "special women." This shows that the Government-General was controlling minutely the passage of 'comfort women.'

Afterwards, three more notifications were sent to the police station of each province: 'Control over Travelers to Hankou and Guangdong' on December 7, 1938; 'On Travel of Nationals to Hankou' of February 6th 1939 and 'About Arresting People Who Made Passage to Hankou' of March 10th. Especially, the notification of March 10th wrote to limit the passage to Hankou since the military 'comfort station' there is over crowded.⁶⁶ On February 20th, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs Deputy-Minister of Korea, Hagiwara Hikoza, sent to the Foreign Deputy-Minister of the Government-General, Matsuzawa Tatsuo, the measure 'On Arresting People Who Made Passage to Hankou.' On March 3rd, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Residency-General sent the notification to the police station of each province to take the follow-up measures. This makes clear that the officers of the Colonized country were controlling the passage of 'comfort women' through following route: Chinese consulate→Ministry of Foreign Affairs→Korean Division of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs→Government-General in Korea, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bureau of Police Affairs)→each police station.

The regulations on travel to China, which followed from the Cabinet decision of May 7, 1940, came into effect in Korea as well, on May 20th.⁶⁷ In the case of travel for 'comfort women,' they had to be issued a "certificate of reason for travel" from the local consular police station in China, or an "identification card" from the police station in their residency jurisdiction.

On the one hand, there is almost no surviving documentation on how the Government-General of Korea participated in the travel of 'comfort women' in the period after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War. However, what we have seen so far illuminates the fact that travel to the South Asia was directly controlled by the military, and the on-location transfer of Korean 'comfort women,' too, can be seen as having been strictly managed and restricted under the supervision of the Japanese government and the colonial government-general.

⁶⁵ Secretary of the Northern China Area, Miyada Torao, "Matter regarding the Abolition of Restrictions for Visitors to China", (1 March 1938) Major General of the Korean Government Records Archives.

⁶⁶ Bureau of Security and Safety of the Government-General of Korea, "Matter regarding the Control of Travelers to Hankou and Guangdong" (7 December 1938), "Matter regarding the Travel of Japanese Nationals to Hankou" (6 February 1939), "Matter regarding Control of Travelers to Hankou" (10 March 1939), *Monthly Report of Foreign Affairs*, pp.70 ~ 71.

⁶⁷ Bureau of Security and Safety of the Government-General of Korea, "Matter regarding the Control of Travelers to Hankou and Guangdong" (7 December 1938), "Matter regarding the Travel of Japanese Nationals to Hankou" (6 February 1939), "Matter regarding Control of Travelers to Hankou" (10 March 1939), *Monthly Report of Foreign Affairs*, pp.70 ~ 71.

3. State Participation in the Transfer of Military 'Comfort Women' and Establishment of 'Comfort Stations'

(1) Process of Installation of the Military 'Comfort Stations' for the Shanghai Expeditionary Army

The establishment process, from December 1937 to February 1938, of the army 'comfort stations' for the Shanghai Expeditionary Army to shows substantial meanings of this notification.⁶⁸

First of all, around December 1937, or more exactly, prior to December 21, at the Shanghai Consulate, the consulate officers, the consulate Army officers and the military police agreed upon the establishment of the military 'comfort station.' In accordance with the office duties divided among them, the consulate was in charge of deciding the admission of applicants for the business, identification of 'comfort women' and general contract procedure, offering convenience in times of crossing, interaction among departments concerning identification of business proprietors and 'comfort women' and others, deciding the advisability of opening business or being employed on the basis that they should not stay in Shanghai simultaneously with their arrival, and it handed them over to the M.P. The M.P. was in charge of transferring proprietors and 'comfort women' taken over from the consulate to work places and protecting them. The Military Office was in charge of preparing work places and housing, and general preservation of health and check-up of sexually transmitted diseases.

The Shanghai Consulate issued identification cards in which the reason for travel was written down to recruiters who intended to travel Japan proper and Korea in order to recruit 'comfort women' so that those who carried this card could be offered conveniences including boarding. Documents required for business included a temporary entertaining work permit with two photos attached, a written (parents') consent, a document certifying that a seal is registered, a copy of one's family register, a written investigation about entertaining business owner and so forth.

According to a recorded statement made by a recruiter, the army 'comfort station' in the Shanghai Expeditionary Army was planning to recruit a total of about 3,000 people. As of January, 1938 about 2,300 were in business, 70 were transferred from Nagasaki port under the escort of the M.P. by the army transport ship in January 3, 1938, 40 to 50 were transferred from Kobe port by a temporary ship, Tankomaru on the 8th of the same month and another transport ship leaving Kobe was planned on the 26th.

Conditions of recruitment stipulated that period of employment be 2 years and after 2 years recruits come back along with the force, age should be between 16 and 30, money borrowed in advance be between 500 and 1000 yen, 20 percent of which compensate for the reserve money of recruiters, tip be 5 yen for officials and 2 yen for privates.

⁶⁸ The following related historical materials are listed in Document Collection Vol. 1:

Governor of Gunma Province, "Matter regarding the Recruitment of Women Entertainers for the Shanghai Expeditionary Army Military Comfort Stations" (19 January 1938).

Governor of Yamagata Province, "Matter regarding the Recruitment of Comfort Women Entertainers for the Northern China Expeditionary Army" (25 January 1938).

Governor of Kochi Province, "Matter regarding the Control of Recruitment of Women Traveling to China" (25 January 1938).

Governor of Wakayama Province, "Matter regarding the State Usage Women Entertainers Kidnapping Damage Incident (January 1938).

Governor of Ibaraki Province, "Matter regarding the Recruitment of Women Entertainers for the Shanghai Expeditionary Army Military Comfort Stations" (14 February 1938).

Governor of Miyagi Province, "Matter regarding the Recruitment of Women Entertainers for the Shanghai Expeditionary Army Military Comfort Stations" (15 February 1938).

Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Case regarding Travel of Prostitutes to China"

The communication channel is as follows. In case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs channel, the chief police official of Shanghai Consulate, in person, sent an official document calling for cooperation in recruiting 'comfort women' to the chief police official of Nagasaki as of 21, December, 1937. Moreover, although it is not clear whether it was through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs channel or the Ministry of Army channel, the Ministry of Internal Affairs as well received the message concerning the recruitment of 'comfort women,' and instructed each provincial minister concerned and police stations. One proprietor stated that the incumbent authorities in Hyogo province and Kansai area understood and supported the recruitment, and the chief police official of Hyogo received the message from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. (December 26, 1937). Kujo police station in Osaka was cooperating in recruiting 'comfort women' following the 'informal' request from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the vice-chief police officer of Osaka.

However, 6 provinces including Kunma (January 19, 1938), Kochi (January 25, 1938), Yamagata (January 25, 1938), Wakayama (February 7, 1938), Ibaraki (February 14, 1938), Miyagi (February 15, 1938) received no instruction from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This shows that the recruiters were making a frenzied search for 'comfort women' across every island of Japan where notice from the Ministry of Internal Affairs was not received. Thus, six provinces mentioned above reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, suspicious of recruiters mentioning that it was a commission from the military.

Above facts show that only some parts of Kansai area received request for cooperation through the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and apart from this, the Ministry of foreign Affairs channel was in operation in Nagasaki. Channels for recruiting 'comfort women' were various in the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, and a unified Ministry which assumed full charge did not exist.

This is why the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent the notice "In regards to dealing with women crossing to China" on February 23, 1938, which stipulated that it would overlook the crossing for now just for women above 21 years old without any sexual disease who were working in Japan proper at present, and those who hoped for a crossing should show up at the police station in person and apply for an identification card, and should obtain permission from relatives in the same family register or the householder.

(2) Process of Installation of the Military 'Comfort Station' for the South China Sea Military Installation

The organization of the South China 'comfort station' in November 1938 makes it evident that the generalization of organizing 'comfort station' and recruiting 'comfort women' as well as the adoption and promotion of systematic intervention and regulation of government organs.⁶⁹

On November 4, 1938, the request made by the Furusho Corps of the South China Expeditionary Army--that is, Major Kumon Aribumi of the 21 Army and Head of Recruits of the Ministry of the Army--for 400 'comfort women' for the establishment of the South China 'comfort station' was delivered to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. With the request of assistance sent out to the Taiwan Government-General, they had 300 'comfort women' ready for transport. The Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered each of the local government of Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Fukuoka, and Yamaguchi to "covertly" select an appropriate "commander (pimp)" to recruit the required 400 women to be sent to the South China. This was a way of

⁶⁹ This passage is based on the following materials from Document Collection Vol. 1: Head of the Bureau of Security and Safety of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chief of the Department of Foreign Affairs, "Matter regarding the Travel of Women to China, (4 November 1938). Head of the Bureau of Security and Safety of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Matter regarding the Control of Women Traveling to Southern China" (8 November 1938).

evading potential complaints regarding the allotment of 'comfort women.' The "commander" in this case was put in charge of management of the military 'comfort station.'

It was ordered that the women be transported "in secrecy" from Japan to Jirung, Taiwan, at the expense of the commander, and from Jirung, they may be sent to their destination on a government vessel. If there is not enough room on the government vessel, the order stated that they should be sent on a regular liner from Jirung to Guangdong. Major Imaoka of Division 1, Section 2 of the General Staff Office and Captain Yoshida were appointed to be liaisons, and Major Minemoto of the headquarters was to be in charge once they arrive. Moreover, if additional 'comfort women' should be needed, Furusho Corps were to grant permission to command matters related to the 'comfort stations' in the expeditionary army in the South China.

A careful examination of the order issued to five prefectures prescribed that appropriate commanders should be chosen from businessmen with reliable identification, but more importantly, the commanders themselves should wish it. The recruitment of women to be transported should be done in secret by licensed agents, and the women should be informed of the nature of work they are expected to do, and the commander should pay for the agency fee. Candidate for women to be transported should already be in prostitution and other related field in Japan, and they must be over 21 years old. The commander and the women to be transported should sign for a short-term contract and the amount of the advance fee should be small. They must abide by orders issued by the local military authorities in all matters relating to the operation of the military 'comfort stations.' For departures from Japan, the name of the commander, the number of women, the name of departing place, expected date of departure and of arrival were to be reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and accordingly, the Ministry would arrange for transportation from Taiwan. The military administered preventive shots for sexually-transmitted disease, and the military doctor frequently conducted physical check-up, while the military organized the place and building for 'comfort stations' and supervised affairs related to 'comfort stations.' Furthermore, even sub-prefectures were now given notice of recruitment of women to be transported to the South China.

The large-scale recruitment of 'comfort women' for Furusho Corps showed that the central offices of the Ministry of Army, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were in charge of the general command and control.

(3) Establishment Process for the Military 'Comfort Station' at the Amano Military Installation

The formation of the military 'Comfort Stations' at the Amano military base in December, 1939, is a little different from the previous cases mentioned.⁷⁰ Neither the Hankou Consul nor the military headquarters in command of the Amano military base had never received an advanced notice from the base as regards the recruitment of 'comfort women' that was going on in the base. Given that the military headquarters was first to obtain permission from the Japanese mainland to draft 'comfort women,' it means that the military base made an arbitrary decision to draft 'comfort women' with the help of Kagawa, where it was originally stationed.

As a result, the military headquarters in command of the Amano military base solicited the Consul to make the ongoing draft of 'comfort women' as employment under the directions of the Consul, and the Consul acceded thereto. The person in charge of bringing the 'comfort

⁷⁰ This passage is based on the following materials from Document Collection Vol. 1:

Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Matter regarding the Travel of Women for the Amano Military Base in Hankou" (22 December 1939).

General Consulate in Hankou, "Matter regarding the Travel of Women for the Amano Military Base in Hankou – A Response" (27 December 1939).

women' over to Hankou also requested the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to contact the Ministry of Internal Affairs and make arrangements so that he could go directly to the Consul after their arrival at Hankou. In other words, the Consul had no other choices, but to confirm the draft. This case reveals the fact that the communication network between military units was not well organized, insofar as the establishment of the military 'comfort women' was considered. Especially, the military units did not much care to contact the military headquarters about it in advance.

(4) The First Infantry Regiment of the Taiwan Composite Brigade

As mentioned above, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' plans for regulation of travelers to China, on the actual ground level, were not strictly followed. From June through September of 1940, the incidents that arose around 'comfort women' reinforcements for the First Regiment of the Taiwan Infantry (the so-called "Hayashi Army Corp) belonging to the Taiwanese Mixed Brigade of the South China Expeditionary Army.⁷¹

If we look at the circumstances when the incident first arose, the owner of 'comfort stations' Horai, which provided services exclusively to the Hayashi military base located in Xinsian, Guangdong Province, relocated his business to nearby Nanning, Guangxi Province, as the military base was transferred there. Then, one day, he was on his way to Taiwan with a certificate issued by the Hayashi military base for the purpose of hiring more barmaids, as well as a travel certificate and a draft certificate issued by the military police. According to the provisions on voyage by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was to receive a certificate to prove the ownership of foreign assets from the consul police at the nearest location in agreement with the certificate of the army and navy. However, he skipped the procedure by not getting the certificate from the consul in Guangdong.

The governor of the Kaohsiung state in Taiwan, when requested by the owner of a voyage permission, consulted the Government-General in Taiwan, which inquired the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to find out the propriety of giving out a permission to him. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to give him a permission with the reason that the voyage of the

⁷¹ This passage is based on the following materials from Document Collection Vol. 1:

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Issuance of Identification Cards for Military Comfort Station Businessmen" (1 June 1940).

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China" (2 September 1940).

Governor of the Kaohsiung Province, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China" (23 August 1940).

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to General Consulate in Hankou, "Matter regarding the Travel of Women for the Amano Military Base in Hankou – A Response" (27 December 1939).

⁷² This passage is based on the following materials from Document Collection Vol. 1:

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Issuance of Identification Cards for Military Comfort Station Businessmen" (1 June 1940).

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China" (2 September 1940).

Governor of the Kaohsiung Province, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China" (23 August 1940).

Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Taiwan, "Matter regarding Treatment of Travelers to Taiwan Considered as Impossible to Obtain Certificates of Reasons for Travel to China – A Response" (2 September 1940).

employees of the 'Comfort Stations' seemed urgent in this case. Nevertheless, the decisions made by the Government-General in Taiwan were based on more practical matters; that is, the military base was located far from the consul police where an investigation by the consul was impossible, and even if the issuance of a proof of foreign assets certificate was made, it would only have been nominal. The Government-General, therefore, stated that "as a case presented here, in case of the employment in the special business areas, it is deemed most practical to permit the voyage with a certificate issued by a commanding officer of the military base concerned, or the chief of the military police in command of the military base." It is suspected that such a way of taking care of matters was more closed to reality.

(5) Military 'Comfort Stations' in Burma

It is necessary to understand the Japanese military strategies set out in the Burmese areas beforehand in order to understand the problems pertaining to the transferring the military 'comfort women.'⁷²

In November 1941, the Japanese military designated Terauchi Hisaichi as the Commander in Chief in the Southern Army to further the attack on the southern regions. In the mid January, 1942, the 33rd and 55th Divisions under the command of the 15th Army (Lieutenant General Iida Shojiro) marched into Burma and occupied Rangoon in the early March the same year. Soon after, with the support of the 18th (Lieutenant General Mudaguchi Renya) and 56th (Lieutenant General Watanabe Masao) Divisions, they took control of the entire Burmese territory under their control by March 4.

In March 1943, the Burma Area Army (Lieutenant General Kawabe Masakazu) was established based on the existing 55th Division of the 15th Army (Lieutenant General Mudaguchi Renya). Furthermore, before and after the Imphal Operation launched between mid March and early July, 1944, there were two more armies established: The 28th Army in January and the 33rd Army in April. The principal force was mobilized by the 15th Army, which was in charge of the 15th, 31st, and 33rd Divisions. Also other armies, such as the 28th Army (Lieutenant General Sakurai Seizo), in charge of the 2nd, 54th, and 55th Divisions, the 33rd Army, in charge of the 18th and 56th Divisions, the 53rd Division of the Area Army, the Independent Composite 53rd Division, and the 5th flying corps/the 3rd Air Force were ordered into for the successful execution of the plan.

The composition of the Burmese District Army (Lieutenant General Kimura Heitaro) by January, 1945 is as follows: The 15th Army (Lieutenant General Katamura Shihachi) consisted of the 15th, 31st, and 53rd Divisions; the 28th Army (Lieutenant General Sakurai Seizo) consisted of the 54th & 55th Divisions, and the independent mixed 72nd Brigade; the 33rd Army (Lieutenant General Honda Masaki) consisted of the 18th and 56th Divisions; and the 2nd & 49th Divisions of the District Army, the independent mixed 24th & 105th Brigades, and the 5th Flying Corps (Lieutenant General Tazoe Noboru).

By the early May, 1942, when the Burma Plan was completed, the Japanese go-between agents came to Korea to recruit women for the 'comfort service' in the occupied territories in the South Eastern Asia. They told the women that they could get a fortune of money, that they could pay off the family debts, or that they could start a new life in Singapore. In fact, the recruited women received some hundred Won as advancement. The recruited women, most of whom had never worked as prostitute, signed the contract, which stated that they would work for 6 months to 1 year depending upon the money they receive and that they would observe the military regulations.

The Kitamura couple, former 'comfort station' owners who were taken as prisoners of war by the Allied Forces, said that they had gotten into the business at the suggestion and with

⁷² Morimatsu Toshio(1991). *Pictorial History of the Army*, Haku Co.

the permission of the headquarters of the Japanese army in Korea. Likewise, many businessmen in Korea had been offered the same suggestions. The Kitamura won over the attention of the Korean women and recruited them with advance payments between 300 and 1000 Won. Most of the women were between 17 and 29 when they were recruited. The headquarters of the Japanese army in Korea issued a letter to the Kitamuras, so that they could get necessary aid, such as transportation, food, and medical care, from the Japanese military in Korea.

On July 10, 1942, the Kitamura and other 22 Korea people left Pusan to Rangoon with about 703 Korean women and about 90 Japanese brothel owners. On their way, they stopped by in Taiwan to board 22 more women and transferred to another ship in Singapore. They arrived in Rangoon on August 20, after a 40 day voyage.

In Rangoon, the group was divided into groups of 20 to 30 people and was sent to different parts of Burma. Each group belonged to a regiment or corps, constituting an independent 'comfort station.' Mr. and Mrs. Kitamura were assigned to the 114th division infantry, and spent several months following the infantry from Taunji to Meichikura to Meimyo, and then, sometime around January of 1943, arrived in Michina, where they remained. There were already two 'comfort stations' in Michina--Kinsui 'comfort station' (20 Korean women) and Momoya 'comfort station' (21 Chinese)--and Kitamura's 'comfort station' was called Kyoei. There was no Japanese 'comfort station' in the battlefield of Michina.

These testimonies confirm the direct involvement of the following military leaders in the crimes committed in the Kyoei 'comfort station': Itagaki Seishiro (July 1941-1944), then commander of the Korean Army, Colonel Maruyama Fusayasu of the 114th regiment, and his direct superior Terauchi Hisaichi, commander of the Southern Army after November 1941, Iida Shojiro (November 1941 - March 1943), commanding officer of the 15th Army, Mudaguchi Renya (March 1943 -), Commander of the 15th Army from March 1943 and the 18th Army Division Commander from April 1941 to March 1943, Kawabe Masakazu (March 1943 - August 1944), Commander of the Burma Army, Kimura Heitaro (August 1944 - August 1945), Tanaka Shinichi (March 1943 -), commander of the 18th division, and Commander Honda Masaki (April 1944 -) of the 33rd Army Headquarters.

(6) Okinawa

In places such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, detailed official materials cannot be obtained. However, Okinawa stands as an exception, due to the very detailed materials that are still in existence. The military's deep involvement in the establishment and operation of the 'comfort stations,' right from the construction stage, stands out very clearly in military documents. Below we will treat the aspects related to transportation only, section by section.

The boat that transported Pe Ponggi--who first drew attention as a 'comfort woman' survivor in the 1970s--and 51 other women was the 5,500 ton military cargo ship called the Maraimaruho.⁷³ Departing at 8 o'clock in the morning of November 3, 1944 the ship arrived in Naha on November 7. At this time seven women each were placed on the three islands of the Kerama Archipelago, numbering 21 women in total, with approximately 20 women in Naha, and ten remaining women and 'comfort station' proprietor Yoshimurara were located in the Daito Islands. However, any further information regarding them is unable to be confirmed. The arrival of the same ship in Okinawa is not confirmed, but the situation on Rasa Island at a similar time has been well recorded in the military log of the Daito Islands Fourth Company.

According to the Daito Islands Fourth Company military log entry of November 21, 1944, the Daito Islands Garrison was sending information concerning the arrival of the

⁷³ Testimony of Kito Tamoshi, author of Kerama War history and a special military cadet at the time Kawada Fumiko (1992), "Red Tile Roof House", Maeil Economic News, p.65.

'comfort women' and the regulations for the 'comfort stations' to Rasa Island where approximately 400 men were stationed.

The 'comfort women' (eight in total including the manager) arrived on November 23 under the escort of five warships. Worth noting is the fact that the ship used to transport the Korean women as 'comfort women' were then used to ship the citizens of Rasa Island to safe refuge. Due to the danger of an attack by allied forces, Japanese civilians were evacuated, and the Korean women who were also civilians were drawn into these areas at risk to their lives. This is a concrete example of the forced positioning of the 'comfort women' into areas of wartime danger to meet the 'needs' of the Japanese military.

Then, on December 3, 1944 in the military logs of the Fourth Company of Garrison, there appears a report regarding the management plans for the 'comfort stations' and an examination of the transported women and the manager. The discovery of the list of names of the Korean 'comfort women' clearly specified under the command of the unit maybe the first of its kind. A Japanese, Urabe Hiroshi listed with an address in Fukuoka, is listed as responsible for the management of the 'comfort station'. The six 'comfort women' predominantly originated from the northern regions of Korea's Kyongsang Province. Two women were 19, two women 21, and two women were 25. The 'comfort station' operations were written to have "commenced business from the 26th of November in an empty house at the northern end of a village called Sohaean."

The regulations are in accordance with the return to the unit. Even after this, the Fourth Company of the Daito Garrison wrote about food provisions for the 'comfort women' and air raids, and there are also other daily entries about work such as the establishment of a 'comfort station' in a cave. This was the general situation in the Japanese military 'comfort stations' which were on the many islands at which at least a few Japanese military were stationed. At this time, the chain of command in terms of responsibility for the management of Rasa Island 'comfort station' went from Morita Yoshio, First Lieutenant of the Fourth Company in the Daito Islands Garrison, to the Hirano, Commander of the 36th Infantry Brigade and Commander in Chief of the Daito Islands Garrison, to the 32nd Army (Lieutenant General Ushijima).

4. Slavery-like Conditions of and Crimes Committed against Military 'Comfort Women' during Transportation, and Related Crimes

Even during the transportation, the women were given inhumane treatment. In addition, according to a testimony from a military personnel, the Hankou 'comfort station,' in 1938, transported 'comfort women' to Yangtze River from Shanghai and Nanjing, as a military supply of the first priority. Even the former 'comfort women' have also testified that they were transported with other military supplies.⁷⁴ Further, these women were subjected, almost without exception, to violence, including rape, in the course of the transfers.

According to the available materials, the transport of 'comfort women' took place under strict management and regulation of the Government of Japan and the military authorities. Even in the case in which civilian businessmen were in charge of mobilizing 'comfort women,' the Japanese government and the military had full knowledge of the number of 'comfort women' to be dispatched in the local military 'comfort stations,' as well as other detailed guidelines for operation of 'comfort stations' and the mobility of the women. Based on such knowledge, they were directly involved in transporting 'comfort women.' Such acts, according to international law, constitute crimes against humanity and war crimes.

⁷⁴ Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, pp.237-8.

These atrocities were carried out, systematically and in large-scale, by the Japanese government and under the military policy, and their engagement in slavery and women trafficking constitutes egregious violations of international law. Moreover, the findings showed that Korean 'comfort women' were treated like objects, like slaves even during their transportation. Accordingly, the Japanese government, as examined in the Chapter 2 below, cannot be exempted from being liable for the violation of international law in respect to the transportation of 'comfort women,' and all bodies corporate and individuals who participated in the deportation, including the names of the accused elucidated below, shall take full responsibility for the acts.

The defendants, in their positions as soldiers or as civil servants--or *de facto* government organs acting under their order--committed crimes against humanity and war crimes, as specified in Article 2, Clause 1 of the International Criminal Court charter, with sexual violence, rape, torture, detention, cruel and inhumane treatment, bodily injury, murder, and so on, for which they have been separately indicted. The defendants systematically transported numerous Korean women, by means of forced mobilization, to 'comfort stations' established by the Japanese Imperial Army in various places, through the institution of transport system of 'comfort women,' forcing the women to live in virtual bondage. Such acts, according to international law, constitute the crime of "forced deportation."

IV. Establishment and Operation of the Military 'Comfort Stations'

1. Organization of 'Comfort Stations'

(1) Management of the Army Units and the Relationship with the 'Comfort Stations'

There was a corresponding increase in the number of 'comfort stations' across all districts with the expansion of the war, operated under a standardized system. This system of the 'comfort stations' must be understood primarily in relationship to the phase of the army. This is to say, that the 'comfort stations' existed as one aspect of the Japanese military's operations, as a military fixture. The establishment and operation of the 'comfort stations' were undertaken on the basis of the administrative regulations of various different military units originating in the stationed regulations of each separate military unit. These occupy a most solemnly executed set of guidelines. Accordingly, the owners and 'comfort women' were fundamentally passive constituents, no greater than military provisions.

An example can be found from the Japanese expansion into and occupation of China. The Second Battalion of the Independent Heavy Artillery Siege Force was stationed in Changzhou in China and drew up the "Internal Regulations for the Period Stationed in Changzhou" on March 16, 1938. The ninth chapter of these regulations is comprised of the "Regulations for the Usage of the 'Comfort Stations'".⁷⁵ In the case of the Third Brigade of the Independent Mountain Artillery, reference is made to the "Regulations Relating to the Business of Special Comfort" in the military log on April 23, 1939.⁷⁶ Afterwards on April 9, 1941, revisions of the "Regulations Relating to the Business of Special Comfort" were recorded.⁷⁷

The 'comfort stations' were administered similarly under the military during the Asia Pacific War. In the case of the 14th Army who occupied the Philippines, in the "Regulations Relating to Logistics" (November 17, 1942) the commander who dealt with logistics received military authorization in order to authorize the establishment or cancellation of the 'comfort stations' and was also responsible for stipulating the necessary regulations relating to the supervision of the 'comfort stations.'⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Second Battalion of the Independent Heavy Artillery Force, "Internal Regulations in Changzhou Station", March 16, 1938. Document Collection 2. The Table of Contents is arranged as follows:

Chapter 1: General Provisions

Chapter 2: Work and Curfew, Health Status and Precautions

Chapter 3: Duties (of Officers, of Non-commissioned Officers, of Sentry, of On-Duty Personnel)

Chapter 4: Fire Prevention, Fire Control, and Emergency Mobilization

Chapter 5: Orders and Bulletins

Chapter 6: Communication

Chapter 7: Postal Material

Chapter 8: Holidays and Leaves

Chapter 9: Regulations on Usage of Comfort Stations

Chapter 10: Protection of Military Discipline and Anti-espionage

Chapter 11: Treatment of Chinese Persons

Chapter 12: Kitchen and Bath

Chapter 13: Sanitation

⁷⁶ "Field Log of the Third Regiment of Independent Mountain Artillery Infantry", (7 January / 23 April 1939) Document Collection 2.

⁷⁷ "Field Log of the Third Regiment of Independent Mountain Artillery Infantry", (7 January / 23 April 1939) Document Collection 2.

⁷⁸ Commander of the 14th Army, "Regulations Relating to Logistics" (17 November 1942) Document Collection 3.

At the battlefield in Burma, the Commander of the Fifth Field Transport Headquarters, which was stationed near Mandalay, held an additional post as commander of the station at Mandalay. According to the "Regulations for Operations at Stationed Fields in Mandalay" dated October 20, 1943, 'comfort stations' should be based on the "Regulations for Stationed Fields 'Comfort Stations.'" ⁷⁹ These "Regulations for 'Comfort Stations' in Stationed Fields" was enacted on May 26th of the same year. ⁸⁰ Based on these regulations, the "Regulations for Operations at Stationed Fields for the Fifth Field Transport Headquarters" (November 15, 1943) stipulated the work and curfew, the establishment of the 'comfort stations,' and the quota of days for usage by the men should be decided by the Commander as necessary. Other matters were referred to in the "Hayashi Army's Regulations for Collective Defense" (November 28, 1942) and the regulations of the 15th Army. ⁸¹ This system continued as it was put into place, and on the January 2, 1945, according to the "Regulations of the Operations of the Stationed Field at Mandalay," those who used the 'comfort stations' were regulated as observed in the "Regulations for 'Comfort Stations' in Stationed Fields". ⁸²

In 1944 one unit under the banner of the 23rd Army on the Chinese front lines, determined the leave and establishment, operations and conditions of usage of the 'comfort stations' through the "Regulations for Leave and Soldiers' Clubs." ⁸³ Beyond these regulations reference was made to the "General Internal Army Regulations of the Chungshan" and the "Regulations of the Chungshan Garrison Concerning Soldiers' Clubs," especially those regulations regarding the business proprietors were derived from the "Regulations of the Chungshan Garrison Concerning Soldiers' Clubs." Of course the "Regulations for the Use of Soldiers' Clubs" (May 1944) of the Chungshan Garrison who were a highly ranked unit were decided to include the "Regulations for the Leave and Soldiers' Clubs." ⁸⁴

What can be discerned from above is that the 'comfort stations' of each individual military unit were established, operated and used in close connection with the regulations of the occupation. These regulations of station were each devised in connection with the military operations, and were related to the regulations of the highly ranked units. In other words, the establishment, operation and use of the 'comfort stations' occurred inextricably linked to the Japanese military system of command, and must be seen as something which was controlled as a 'necessary' part of military operations. Of course the 'comfort stations' were a fact of military fixture and military installation.

(2) Characteristics of the 'Comfort Stations'

⁷⁹ Fifth Field Transport Headquarters, "Fifth Field Transport Headquarters Regulations on Station Duties", (3 October 1943) Document Collection Vol. 4.

⁸⁰ Military Headquarters for Stations in Mandalay, "Regulations for Comfort Stations in Stationed Field, (26 May 1943) Document Collection Vol. 4.

⁸¹ Fifth Field Transport Headquarters, "General Internal Army Regulations for Stations in Mandalay", (2 January 1945) Document Collection Vol. 4.

⁸² Toyama Unit of Jiki Heidan (1944), "Regulations on Leave and Soldiers' Clubs" Document Collection Vol. 3..

⁸³ Toyama Unit of Jiki Heidan(1944), Chungshan Garrison, "Regulations on Usage of Soldiers' Club", (May 1944) Document Collection Vol. 3.

⁸⁴ Chungshan Garrison, "Regulations on Usage of Soldiers' Club", (May 1944) Document Collection Vol. 3.

After the establishment of a standardized system, the formation of the military 'comfort stations' took on the following characteristics. First, with the exception of rare cases,⁸⁵ the military 'comfort stations' were formed exclusively for the military, under a system separate from the existing red-light districts established by the system of licensed prostitution. Second, the 'comfort stations,' therefore, were accessible only to soldiers and army civilian employees. Third, the military personnel were prohibited from using 'comfort stations' other than the ones belonging to the military. Third, the military 'comfort women' received a regular check-up for sexually transmitted diseases by doctors designated by the military. Fourth, the transfer of the 'comfort women' and other various matters of the 'comfort stations' were strictly regulated by the military.

First, the names for the 'comfort stations' varied depending on the area and the circumstances in which they were established. According to the military records, various names were used in reference to the 'comfort stations': "the military 'comfort station,'" "Soldier's Club," "Military Recreations," "home front facilities," etc. Testimonial documents show that the entrance of a 'comfort station' in Hankou, China, fashioned a sign that read "Hankou Special Comfort Unit." The military 'comfort stations' were also variably referred to as "communal toilet," "public toilet," "baishunyado," "ppiya," etc.⁸⁶

There were three types of military 'comfort stations': 'comfort stations' under the direct management of the Japanese military, 'comfort stations' exclusively for the military personnel supervised and regulated by the Japanese military, and civilian brothels designated for the military use for a fixed period.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ In 1940, a red-light district is established in Hankou and Namchang area, applying the existing management and regulations for prostitution, as well as the payment of sales tax under the system of licensed prostitution. These substituted for the organs used for 'comforting' soldiers. This is the single case found among all the available records. **Special Service Department of Ro Shudan, "Ro Shudan Special Service Monthly Report", (April 1940) Document Collection 2.**

⁸⁶ Shin Young-sook and Cho Hye-ran, p.244.

⁸⁷ Kang Man-kil, pp.27-28. Based on the preliminary investigation by the Japanese government and non-government organizations, Paragraph 8 of the supplement in the McDougall Report mentions three forms of management of 'comfort stations': 1) under direct supervision and management of the Japanese military government; 2) while formally under the management of a civilian trader, regulated by the military government in actuality, and the use restricted to soldiers and civilian traders; and 3) while the military has the preferential right, managed by civilian business and open to non-military Japanese citizens. The report also states that among the three forms, the second one was the most common. The First Report on the Issue of Japan's Military 'Comfort Women', Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility, 31 March 1994, pp. 3-4. Shin Young-sook and Cho Hye-ran divide 'comfort stations' into three categories, according to the period and purpose: 1) military-managed comfort stations--drafted and organized on the military base and regulated by the military; 2) 'comfort stations' exclusively for the army's civilian employees--maintained and regulated by the military but under civilian management, and open only to military personnel; and 3) civilian businesses designated and entrusted by the military to provide services to the military.

First, in terms of the 'comfort stations' that were organized and managed directly by the Japanese military, a document that was exchanged among the Japanese consuls in a Chinese region in 1938 confirms that there were 'comfort stations' under direct management of the military. The document states the following: "Canteens and 'comfort stations' that belong exclusively to the army and the navy, respectively, should be under direct management, supervision, and control of the army and the navy."⁸⁸ "The 'comfort stations' are formed under the jurisdiction of the head of the garrison and the supervision of the military police to service the officers and others in the garrison district,"⁸⁹ "the 'comfort stations' in the area of operations have been organized and managed by the military,"⁹⁰ and "the following officer (the commanding officer of the aerial zone) should be in charge of supervising the 'comfort station,' while the 98th Airfield Battalion should be in charge of the operations of it,"⁹¹ are statements recorded in a military document. Given these statements, it is impossible to deny the existence of 'comfort stations' under the direct management of the Japanese army and the navy.

In addition, the army was in charge of the construction of the 'comfort station' buildings as well as for problems concerning facilities,⁹² and all the profit from the 'comfort stations' went to the military.⁹³ Following this trend, the first largest-scale 'comfort station' under direct management of the army opened in 1938 by the headquarters of the logistics battalion in Yangjiazhai, Shanghai.

Second, even when under civilian management, the 'comfort stations' were still under the military supervision and regulation, just as if operated by the military. Everything--the site for construction of the 'comfort station,' employees, and the mobility of 'comfort women'--required permission from the officer in charge of the battalion. When the manager of the 'comfort station' should have management difficulties, the officer in charge may stop the operation of the 'comfort station,' and the manager may request compensation for loss from the military authorities.⁹⁴ In such a case, the use of the 'comfort station' is limited to soldiers and civilian military personnel.

As for the wide range of 'comfort stations' in the civilian front in China, they were commonly organized near military bases and owned by civilian businessmen, but under military supervision and regulation. The 'comfort stations' in Jukkyung-li and Dongsang-li, Muhan, are representative of this type of stations. Even under civilian management, the Japanese military government gave the permission for operation, built the facilities, determined the hours of operations and rate, drafted rules and regulations for the facilities, and so on, confirming the direct involvement and regulation of the military.

The third form of 'comfort station' has to do with the intention of restricting soldiers from using preexisting civilian brothels, according to the situation of the region concerned. When the enforcement of barring use of civilian facilities failed, the military changed its policy, allowing the military personnel to use services in designated places within the civilian red-light district. However, since civilians were barred from using the places designated for the military use, these once civilian places soon turned into the second form of 'comfort station,' used exclusively by the military.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Ibid., "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Police History, Nanjing Consulate General", *Document Collection* Vol. 1.

⁸⁹ Nami Shudan Headquarters, "Situation of Comfort Stations", (April 1939) *Document Collection* Vol. 2.

⁹⁰ Yoshimi Yoshiaki, ed., (1992) *Collection on Military Comfort Women*, Otsuki Co., pp.477.

⁹¹ "Ibid." Yoshimi(1992), pp522.

⁹² "Ibid.", Yoshimi(1992), pp394

⁹³ "Ibid.", Yoshimi(1992), pp175

⁹⁴ "Ibid.", Yoshimi(1992), pp394

⁹⁵ "Ibid.", Yoshimi(1992), p498-499.

⁹⁶ Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, pp.232.

2. Specific Form and Scale of the 'Comfort Stations'

As for the form of 'comfort station,' unless a new base is built or native homes are renovated, tents, trucks, or guard posts were used as 'comfort station' when the base is in transit or in battlefields. As we can know from the name 'rear facilities,' the form of 'comfort stations' was intricately connected with the situation of the military bases involved.

Therefore, in cases where a new 'comfort station' was erected, construction plans were devised strictly according to the line of military responsibility and translated into actuality. In the case of the Okinawa 'comfort station' built in 1944, an example of 'comfort station' organized by the military, first an officer was appointed to oversee the organization, an order was issued to permit usage of "military building supplies for required building materials and to contact adjutant for further assistance," and detailed instructions for the preparation for the building site for the 'comfort station', "tents, mats, and others for dividers, completions of communal kitchen and toilet facilities,"⁹⁶ including the number of laborers and labor hours, were given in the form of daily minutes. Even with the presence of civilian managers, the military was directly involved in the remodeling."⁹⁷ This clearly illustrates that the military was involved in the organization of 'comfort stations,' from the preparation stage to the completion.

The 'comfort stations' were located close to military bases. Among the 29 victims, five said that they were stationed at a 'comfort station' on base, and the rest were at 'comfort stations' located just next to the base or not far from the base and village. Hence, the location for 'comfort stations' was selected, for the convenience of each military base, in areas under the military jurisdiction, within the security areas or site for barracks.⁹⁸

The size of 'comfort stations' varied, from 5 or 6 occupancy to several hundred occupancy. The Chukkyung-li 'comfort station' in Hankou, China, was big enough to house some ten people per building, and there were 30 such stations in 1938 and 20 in 1942. In Okinawa, where civilian homes were renovated to be used as 'comfort stations,' each place had 6 to 7 'comfort women'. Sometimes army tents were used to house 20 to 30 'comfort women'. According to the victims' own experiences, army tent buildings were set up around the time of their arrival, or local homes, inns, brothels with many rooms, or general male recreational centers were converted to be used as military 'comfort stations.' In addition, the military also demanded installation of such facilities from local village heads.⁹⁹

In cases where the 'comfort stations' were constructed of military tents, the rooms were usually divided by planks into 5 or 6 smaller rooms and the doors were made of blankets and so on. Buildings registered to the military were renovated with veneer boards, and the size of the rooms were either 9 m², 4½ or 2½ times the size of a Tatami (Japanese-style mat), or barely large enough for two people to lie down. Moreover, each designated 'comfort station' area or building was marked thus on the building, and a list of price rates was posted on the door, and, in some places, even the names and pictures of 'comfort women' were posted behind the counter.

Officers, privates, and noncommissioned officers had 'comfort stations' for their exclusive use, respectively. In other cases, such as the naval 'comfort stations' in Rabaoul, there were 6 different types of 'comfort stations': for commissioned officers, noncommissioned officers, privates, senior officials, civilians attached to the military, and laborers. Although

⁹⁶ Yoshimi(1992) pp.298~309.

⁹⁷ 1944.5-6, "Sixth Company Field Log on Fortress Construction Work", (6 May 1944) Document Collection Vol. 3.

⁹⁸ Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, pp.244.

⁹⁹ Senda Kako, p.111.

the army and the navy had separate 'comfort stations,' in the areas where the navy spent much of their time, the army 'comfort stations' provided services for them. Also, when the army unit is in transit and without its own 'comfort station,' they received services from a near military 'comfort station' or from "traveling 'comfort women'." One Japanese soldier testified that Korean women were for privates while Japanese women were for officers; however, according to many Korean 'comfort women', they were forced to serve both officers and privates.¹⁰⁰

3. Usage and Management of 'Comfort Stations'

(1) Regulations in the 'Comfort Stations'

As mentioned earlier, in the army's medical records during the Manchurian War the "Regulation Rules for Military Recreational Facilities" were documented on April 1, 1932.¹⁰¹ Detailing the control of facilities by the owners, usage rules, sanitary inspections, etc, it marked the formation of institutionalized army 'comfort stations.' These stations were in all aspects to grow more sophisticated after the Chinese-Japanese War. Thus the basic framework of army 'comfort stations' was already structured in a basic design during the initial stages of the Manchurian War.

After this time until the final defeat every single army unit that set up 'comfort stations' drew up its own regulation rules. They were printed either in a separate guidebook, the daily bulletin or a staff diary. The conditions of drafting and the authors are not clearly stated separately. However, as mentioned above when considering the existence of the 'comfort stations' as a facility affiliated with the military and linked to the administration of the unit which are related to military operations, there is no doubt that the authors were military personnel.

¹⁰⁰ Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, pp.248-9.

¹⁰¹ Ministry of the Army Sanitation Regulations for the Manchurian Incident Army Vol.6 (1937). Chin Uk-eon, "Comfort Women and sex in the war" (Shin Cho-sa, 1999), pp.64. The following selection on "Regulations on Military Recreational Facilities" is re-quoted from pp.411~414 of the aforementioned book.

- Business establishments for military recreational facilities are designated by the military, and any accommodations and losses are at the owner's expense.
- Expulsion of owners or discontinuance or suspension of business is subject to the discretion of the military, similar facilities are prohibited within defensive areas, and a regular holiday is to be recognized once a month as stipulated by the military police.
- Usage is limited to military personnel and civilian augmentations to the military-related civilians.
- Opening of business and transfer of female entertainers are managed by the military police concerned, and a list of female entertainers that states the name, nationality and origin, professional name, date of birth and experience and includes a photograph of the female entertainers are to be submitted (to the military police).
- Female entertainers are subject to examination by the military in the presence of the M.P. once a week, and [comfort stations] must be equipped with the health records [of the entertainers] for submission.
- Fees for the treatment and venereal disease prevention medicine of those who fail to pass health examinations are at the owner's expense.
- Hours of operation are from 10:00am to 6:00pm during the week and from 7:00pm to 10:00pm at night, and only noncommissioned officers are permitted usage during the night shift.
- The hourly rate for service are 1 yen 50 sen for Japanese, and 1 yen for Korean and Chinese persons.
- Female entertainers are restricted from entering locations outside of their designated area, and business can be terminated if excessive treatment such as offering of profits is given to female entertainers.
- The use of 'satku' (condoms) is 'encouraged' as a preventative measure against venereal diseases.

Looking at the regulations of the 'comfort stations' which have been able to be confirmed until now, we know of their diversity in accordance to differences in the size of the military or navy unit and according to differences in the region. But the military supervisors' goals for establishing 'comfort stations'--prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, expansion of military discipline, orders on espionage prevention--are consistently evident in the regulations of each military base. These are only small differences in the methods of regulating the hours of operation of the 'comfort station', the system of payment, and those business people involved, and in the hygiene policies employed in each 'comfort station'.

Looking closely at the regulations of the 'comfort stations', the days of use, time and payment were determined by rank and associated base, with officers first and then on down the lower ranks. As the observed situation in the 'comfort stations' it is clear that the 'comfort women' were treated through a concept of being shared property with the usage of a condom made a duty, the prohibition of the consumption of alcohol and assault of the 'comfort women', and the prohibition of kissing the women. Even apart from this, they kept a system of order established on the basis of a numbered ticket, and instructions on things such as leave passes were carried, with more than two people traveling together and dress standards (sword and garters worn).

In particular, the time slot and the user's fee differed between the general and the ranks below him. For privates, the available periods of access to the 'comfort stations' were from 9 or 10 am to 5 or 6 pm. After that, until 9 or 10 pm, NOCs were allowed, and finally officers were permitted until the next morning. Furthermore, if gates for the officers had been designated, it was ruled that privates needed permission to enter from a person in authority. But if there were separate areas for officers' 'comfort stations' as mentioned above, there were rules that irrespective of this the majority could use the 'comfort stations.'

The disbursed money was either in Japanese currency, the currency of the occupied territory, or tickets colored differently according to a soldier's rank. Furthermore, it was structured as to whether the money included taxes or not, and there was a situation where through a special tax-exempt ticket, the 'comfort fee' was discounted. There was a discrepancy between the amount of money Japanese and Korean women earned, although it was demanded of all of them that they be always sincere and explicitly follow their job orders. They were not allowed to leave the 'comfort station,' and their periods for rest were strictly assigned. Special attention was given to ensuring the prevention of, and countermeasures against any venereal diseases the 'comfort women' might be exposed to. Thus detailed instructions were provided for meeting hygiene standards, such as washing the genitals carefully before and after intercourse etc.

The managers of the 'comfort stations' had a responsibility to do repair work, maintain and prepare sanitary facilities, and report the daily earnings of each 'comfort woman.' Also detailed in the rulebook was the prescribed share quota of the income between the civilian manager and the individual 'comfort woman.' Daily necessities, including food were generally provided through the attached military unit.

(2) Clients and Managers

It was a general principle in the army records that soldiers used the army 'comfort stations' and they are called users whereas the victims called them customers. But according to the experiences of the victims, there were on the one hand the army 'comfort stations' that served only soldiers, and on the other one the higher priced ones to which civilian employees and civilians were permitted to come. The victim Kim Hak-Sun who fled with the help of a civilian from an army 'comfort station' is one example for the latter.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, pp.248-9.

In the army records, the managers of the army 'comfort stations' were called "work master" or "owner". They received the male solicitor's usage fee and managed the station's sanitation. The army had incentive rewards especially for the latter, as the civilian managers already got an earmarked share from the fixed amount of the user's fee. As well, the station's cook was not just responsible for the meals, but as an intermediary agent he was in charge of the upcoming work for the women at the 'comfort stations.' It has been reported that the army especially preferred civilian managers who were discharged soldiers and that large-scale 'comfort stations' had Japanese as managers and small-scale 'comfort stations' at the front lines had Koreans as managers. (According to the filed testimonies of the victims in 9 cases, the army or civilian employees were conducting the business; in the other 21 cases they were Japanese or maybe Korean).¹⁰³

(3) Supervision and Control

The person with responsibility for the surveillance and direction of the 'comfort station' slightly differed according to the place and time period. In the case of those 'comfort stations' located in China, the military police controlled the prostitution districts which were used by civilians, and as the 'comfort stations' frequented by the army and navy personnel were directly managed by the army and navy, the consulate had little say in the matter.¹⁰⁴ As can be seen in the examination of the travel process, the travel of the 'comfort women' and business proprietors were recognized simply as travel related to some aspect of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The garrison commander and military police of each applicable military unit in the stationed field held responsibility for the immediate direction and surveillance of the 'comfort women'.

In the case of the 'comfort station' at Hankou Chokkyong-ri in China, there was an officer charged with control and supervision of the 'comfort station', and an officer responsible for direct orders from the commander, as well as responsible NCOs and privates. So the supplies to the 'comfort station' were handled by the allotment section; sanitary disinfection was left to the army doctors; crime prevention fell to the ministry of justice, and at the entrance checkpoint of the 'comfort station' the garrison patrol was dispatched and on duty.¹⁰⁵ As the victims state in their testimonies, however, there was no tangible difference whether the manager was civilian or army, as the whole responsibility fell under the jurisdiction of the army unit.

Additionally, in the case of areas in South East Asia, the places without official buildings for foreign affairs offices there was no opportunity to intervene. Initially the establishment and direction of the 'comfort stations' was carried out by the communications or field units stationed in the occupied area, however as the military administration was established the control of the 'comfort stations' came to be under the direct control of the organs of military governance in the field. However, in Burma the 'comfort station' regulations were normally supervised by patrol officers, recreation officers at base headquarters, or non-commissioned officers.¹⁰⁶

Supervision and control were carried into effect according to the established rules of each 'comfort station'. This supervision and control were to ensure for the continuing existence of the 'comfort station' and were far from being a protection for the comfort women. For example when soldiers broke rules--except for major transgressions like destroying household property in the 'comfort stations,' or stabbing and assault so as to leave the 'comfort women'

¹⁰³ Ibid., "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Police History, Nanjing Consulate General", Document Collection Vol. 1

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Police History, Nanjing Consulate General", Document Collection Vol. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Yamada Seikichi, "Wuhan Quartermaster", pp. 60 & 77

¹⁰⁶ Military Headquarters for Stations in Mandalay, "Regulations for Comfort Stations in Stationed Field, Document Collection Vol. 4.

severely wounded or dead--the soldiers were dismissed with merely a caution. Women infected with venereal diseases came under the supervision of the army doctors until they healed, and then were ordered back into the ranks of 'comfort women.' There is a case that after an officer infected by a venereal disease the 'comfort station' was ordered to close. When on Helmaheira Island there were no condoms the officers were having a talk with the comfort women, but there were also cases where intercourse was enforced.¹⁰⁷

The working conditions were controlled by the army and the rules were strictly enforced. In the above case of the Chokkyong-ri 'comfort station',¹⁰⁸ the photographs, family registry records, written oath, parents' written consent, police permits, and identification card from the municipal Chief of Staff of the 'comfort women' were inspected, after which the women recorded their work experience, parents' and siblings' addresses, occupation, family members, and advance (loan) amount in the personal history record. After recording these details in the personal history record, they also recorded their punishment records, case history and any other special characteristics and additional comments and these were sent to the military police headquarters. In addition, the military ordered that the managers create a union as another method for military supervision and control. Their union office was set up separately and in order to document the fluctuation of the comfort women, accounts of income and expense, number of users, and amount of sales, daily reports were made to the army comfort office.

Until now we looked at the policy for the formation and development of the 'comfort station' mostly based on Japanese army records and testimonies of the victims. Japanese military 'comfort stations' which began to be established following the Manchurian Incident underwent a qualitative transformation at the end of 1937, which continued to the end of the war. During this time, as the demand for 'comfort women' increased with the extension of the occupied territories and the expansion of the war, large scale military bases and the Ministry of the Army appear to have directly and systematically enforced the policy for 'comfort stations'. The expeditionary forces standardized the war office, who self-organized, and then went one step further in a systematization involving the whole administration. Besides the Japanese Army and the war office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and all governmental bodies as well as the colonial administration in Korea and Taiwan cooperated in the implementation of policies concerning army 'comfort women.'

It is now obvious from the surveyed examples that the accused, who took part in the establishment and administration of the 'comfort stations,' committed criminal acts through rape. These constitute war crimes, and crimes against humanity that were perpetrated upon the majority of the Korean army 'comfort women.'

¹⁰⁷ Shin Young-sook & Cho Hye-ran, 248ff.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Yamada Seikichi, "Wuhan Quartermaster", pp. 79, 82, & 86.

Annex 2:

Crimes Committed against the Korean 'Military Comfort Women': Survivors' Testimonies

1. Introduction: The Significance of the Survivor's Testimonies

There is immense significance in the testimonies of the surviving women concerning the Korean 'military comfort women' issue. These testimonies are most meaningful in that they have been the main impetus through which the deep silence has been broken surrounding the issue for the past fifty years since the end of the Second World War. Thus, to grasp the meaning of the testimonies of the survivors, we first need to consider the nature of the 'silence' that has dominated the issue for so long.

Firstly, the most important component of the 'silence' smothering the issue during the past fifty years is the lack of any formal apology, punishment of the guilty, or compensation from Japan. As can be seen here in this tribunal in Japan, it is important to understand the international context in which there is indifference toward those societies which were under Japan's colonial domination from the perspective of the here 'allied countries', these being Korea, Taiwan, the former Leased Territory of Guangdong, etc.

Secondly, the paucity of research on this issue can also be seen as a constituent factor. In Korea, there are very few military documents or colonial government documents regarding the issue of 'comfort woman' due to the deliberate destruction, concealment and monopolization of government documents by the Japanese. Since the early 1990s, scholars and activists have brought attention to this issue and begun their research in the midst of this scarcity of the material.

A third important factor in the operation of this 'silence' is the norm of male-centric sexuality that has perpetuated the victimization of the 'comfort women'. For those women who have survived such brutal sexual violence, speaking of their experience subjects them to further shame and ostracism, indicating an explicitly male-centered sexuality and patriarchal culture.

These factors above have interacted in complex ways to produce the silence surrounding the 'comfort woman' issue. Accordingly, the testimonies of the survivors have unique significance in this context as they break the various layers of silence and reveal the courage and anger underneath. Beyond this, in the contexts of world history, women's history, and in East Asia, their memories can rescue the almost forgotten experiences of colonial, imperialist and military expansionist nationalism from a deep 'social amnesia'.

The problem does not stop at the above-mentioned scarcity of documents and materials in Korea. Even if some materials are available, Japan is the subject of these historical descriptions during the colonial period, and as Japan was the instigator of the 'comfort women' system, such materials are still problematic. In other words, the historical data, of that which can be called 'formal documents', are generally imperialist Japanese state and military documents. This means that the perpetrators of the crimes are also the ones who possess and control 'the evidence.' Furthermore, the Japanese government has declared, "we will not accept testimony from comfort women as official evidence" (1993), as if they have the authority to judge and decide 'the evidence'.

To Koreans, the Japanese 'military comfort women' issue is one which has arisen between Korea and Japan in the context of colonial history and war in the extension of such imperialism. Korean women became victims because as Koreans, they were born in the weaker nation of the Korea-Japan relationship, and as women, they were used as the sexual tools of the male soldiers. Accordingly, the current materials most able to reconstruct the cases are precisely the memories and stories of the survivors. These are the only forms of 'evidence' that

can possibly contest the Japanese state documents. This also demonstrates the means by which those from weaker positions, mostly elderly women from the lower classes, can become the 'subjects' in envisaging social justice and writing history.

In spite of the value and significance of the surviving 'comfort women's' testimonies, these women are becoming weaker. Many of these women survivors are now advancing into their eighties. In many cases their memories are fading, their language is fragmented, and physically they are becoming ill. Little time remains to listen to and record their testimonies and submit them in a court of justice.

Over 400 women have registered themselves as former 'comfort women' in Korea (combined total of both South and North Korea). There are currently 155 survivors in South Korea, and of these the testimonies of 67 women have either already been published in the form of testimonial anthologies, or are currently in the process of being published.¹⁰⁹ Among those survivors who have not committed their memories to record, the majority have generally found it difficult to give testimonies due to health reasons, impaired memory, or a wish to avoid the situation, but were able to be interviewed in one form or another. South Korean researchers have been active over the past ten years since the early 1990s gathering the testimonies of the 'comfort women', and have been continuously undertaking the work of collecting and recording those stories.¹¹⁰ This Annex 2 includes an analysis of the accumulated testimonies given by 67 survivors, and presents the suffering experienced by the Korean 'comfort women'. The most commonly occurring and prevalent forms of injury and pain testified by the survivors will be presented. The testimonies are organized into three aspects—forcible recruitment, injury and pain inflicted at the 'comfort stations', and the suffering of the women after Japan's defeat. These are further itemized into three specific subcategories mostly based on the regulations (two clauses) of the Charter of this tribunal. The selected materials presented are most typical of the experiences recounted in the women's testimonies. Due to spatial limitations, the extensive collected testimonies are unable to be presented in their entirety. Although the suffering of the 'comfort women' did not end with the termination of the Second World War and has continued throughout their lives, this indictment will only cover the damage and suffering inflicted upon 'comfort women' until the period immediately after the defeat of Japan.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ The testimonies of the 67 women that have been published or are being published in Korea are collected in the following five compilations: The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (hereafter, Korean Council) & The Research Institute of the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (hereafter, Research Institute), *The Korean 'Military Comfort Women' Forcibly Taken Away* (Seoul: Hanul) Vol. 1-3 1993, 1997, 1999; Korean Council & Research Institute, *The Korean 'Comfort Women' Taken to China* (Seoul: Hanul) 1994; The Testimony Team at Korean Council for the International Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery, *The Korean 'Comfort Women' Forcibly Taken Away IV - Rewriting the History through the Memory*, (Seoul: Pulbit), 2000. For ease of reference, hereafter quoted testimonies will be referred to by volume number, year of publication, and page only.

¹¹⁰ The Korean 'comfort women' do not reside in Korea alone. Of the women giving testimonies at this Tribunal, Song Shindo (Japan), Ha Sangsuk (China). There are other survivors currently living outside of Korea. To these women, living outside of Korea in a state of diaspora represents the continuation of the pain of having been a 'comfort woman'. Testimonies of the 'comfort women' currently living in China have been compiled into a special volume. Please refer to The Korean Council & Research Institute, *The Korean Comfort Women Taken Away to China*, 1994.

¹¹¹ Published in the English translation of volume 1 of the Korean survivors' testimonies. Keith Howard, ed., *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women* (London: Cassel).

The reason for including the testimonies of all 67 women, and not limiting it to the five Korean women testifying here at this tribunal, stems from the conclusion that the survivors are the ones to speak about the Korean 'comfort women'.¹¹² This is based on the assumption that the most typical content drawn from among the reports and experiences of the 'comfort women' as testified by the 67 women can represent, at least to a degree, the experiences of the Korean 'comfort women' victims, the number of which is estimated at as large as one hundred thousand women.¹¹³ However, we should remind ourselves that are in fact extremely 'strong' victims as they have overcome a great many situations in which they may have died. They are the living, breathing survivors of today who have overcome so many crisis situations; threats to their survival in their time as 'comfort women', the threat to their existence in the process of returning to Korea, and the harsh conditions of living after their return to Korea. Thus, through their memories and narratives, we may also listen to the suffering of the countless Korean 'comfort women' who are no longer living.

2. Testimonies Regarding the Forced Nature of the Recruitment

(1) Employment Fraud

Employment fraud appears to have been the most common method used in the recruitment of military 'comfort women.' The majority of Koreans trapped into becoming 'comfort women' were deceived by being told that they would be able to earn money. These circumstances are concretely examined below.

First is the case of Kim Soran, who, together with her older sister fell victim to this deceptive recruitment method. Kim has testified that she signed on after being enticed by the recruiting officer's promise that she would make good money working as a nurse's aide for one or two years. Even upon her arrival in Manila, Kim So-Ran searched for the hospital, and when she did find a large hospital, she thought to herself, "So this is where I will work," completely unaware of the real reason for her being sent there.¹¹⁴

This was also the case for Shin Hyunsun, who was taken away in 1941 at the age of

¹¹² Please see the Appendix for an analysis of the testimonies given by Kim Bokdong, Kim Gunja, Ha Gunja, Song Shindo, and Park Young-shim presented as life histories.

¹¹³ For qualitative sociological analysis, the number 67 is significant enough for the construction of the 'typical' form of certain social phenomenon.. This is even more so as these testimonies came out from the in-depth interviews. For the method, refer to Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (New York: Sage), 1994; Isadore Newman, Carolyn R. Benz & Carolyn Ridenour, *Qualitative-Quantitative Methodology : Exploring the Interactive Continuum*, (Southern Illinois University Press), 1998.

¹¹⁴ Testimony of Kim Soran (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:49-51)

18 and forced to work as a 'comfort woman.' When a Japanese man accompanied by a Korean man, suggested that she take the nursing examination, Shin thought it would be preferable to joining *Chongshindae* (the Women's Voluntary Corps). Even when boarding the ship, she had no suspicions: "I thought I was going to work as a nurse. The ship was a hospital ship named *Haiyo Maru*, and it even had a red cross flag on it."¹¹⁵ These cases show that the Japanese military were actively involved in using the nursing unit within the military as a bait to facilitate, and a front to conceal, the coercive nature of the mobilization of 'comfort women.' In addition, there are cases in which other false pretenses were used for mobilization.

As cited numerous times, the majority of 'comfort women' fell prey to the false promise of well-paying jobs. However, it must be noted they were not all simple cases of deception, but there were many cases that involved threat and trafficking in women which combined with deception. These cases present that the fraud was not committed by individuals, but rather took place under the auspices of the military and administrative organs. Kim Eunrye, who was arrested by the police in 1942, gives the following testimony concerning the circumstances of her forced recruitment:

"A Japanese policeman and a Korean policeman came and told my grandmother that she was required to send me to a textile factory in Japan. They also said that I could bring home a lot of money if I worked there for three years, and told her to keep me at home, saying that they would come for me in a few days. They even added, "If she is not here when we return, we'll shoot the entire family." So what could my family do? I didn't want to go abroad alone, away from my family, but what could I do? If I didn't do what they told me to do, they threatened to kill my family."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Testimony of Shin Hyunsoon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:296)

¹¹⁶ Testimony of Kim Eunrye (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:123-124).

The next case illustrates how young women from poor families were sent to "comfort stations" in the place of daughters of rich families. Orphaned at an early age, Choi Hwason (an assumed name) lived at the home of a distant relative as a housekeeper. One day the village official (*yichang*) approached the fifteen-year-old Choi. He said, "You should go work in a factory. It would be much better than working as a housekeeper. You'd be able to learn useful skills." She was immediately taken away by that village official to a well-to-do home in Taegu, whose family the man seem to know quite well. The mistress of the house told Choi, "From today, you are Choi Hwason. You will go in her place. It turned out Choi Hwason was the fourth daughter [of that family] and she was about my age."¹¹⁷ Henceforth, the orphaned girl had to suffer the tribulation attending her assumed name, Choi Hwason. The following testimony further illustrates that there were organizational framework of the recruitment of the women, in terms of regional quota and so on. Seen this way, employment fraud merely scratches the surface of such diverse and intricately layered systematic methods of forced recruitment.

The seventeen year-old Kim Okju was a maid at a Japanese household, when one day, the master of the house, Masumoto, a Japanese military man, strongly recommended that she go to work in Inchon(a city in South Korea). At the house, Kim earned 2 won a month, but Mr. Masumoto introduced her to a job that paid 8 won a month, and gave her 24 won in advance. "I gave my mother 20 won and I kept 4 won," she recalls. "Exhilarated, I went and bought a dress with the money." She continues, "Then Mr. Masumoto handed me over to two Japanese men. Someone called Hiraki who then handed us over to someone else. I think Mr. Masumoto knew everything from the very start, yet he deceived me."¹¹⁸ Considering the amount of advance payment received by Kim Okju it is likely that a considerable amount of money was paid in exchange for her. Mr. Masumoto, Kim Okju's employer and a high-ranking intelligence agent, not only took part in employment fraud but also in trafficking in women.

Moreover, an investigation of people who took part in the abduction of 'comfort women' reveals the characteristics of employment fraud. According to the testimonies, the majority of people who mobilized 'comfort women' were police, the military, or government officials. According to many testimonies, as shown in Annex I-2, Japanese military men, men in military uniforms, village officials and policemen were the dominant category. This is also echoed in the third volume of the compiled testimonies: "men in military uniform" (Lee Nami), "Korean men in military uniform" (Kim Gunja), "Japanese and Korean policemen" (Kim Okju), "Japanese policemen" (Cho Sundok), "village officials" (Choi Hwasun), "a Japanese city hall employee" (Kim Yugam), etc. Thus, seeing the employment fraud as the acts of 'individual agents' is inappropriate, as is conceptualizing employment fraud as the acts of individuals. The testimonies of employment fraud examined above are more than just acts of deception; they were also combined with coercive power and threats of violence.

¹¹⁷ Testimony of Choi Hwason (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:94)

¹¹⁸ Testimony of Kim Okju (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:96)

The other common characteristics of fraud are false information, absence of information, and the concealment of information. All of the fraud seen above were enacted by keeping information regarding the location of employment, conditions of employment, the employer, and so on, from the prospective employee. Moreover, the fact that tens of thousands of young women fell victim to such cases of fraud over the period of some ten years, without legal sanction against the fraud testifies to the absolute information control over the society; instead, it was institutionally concealed and even encouraged. Therefore, if these cases of "employment fraud" should be called as such, they were only possible within the following social contexts: 1) the impoverished economic conditions of colonial Korea; 2) in the context of war mobilization systems such as conscription and draft; and 3) support of the military and administrative organs in the mobilization of 'comfort women.' In short, these cases of 'employment fraud' exhibit the characteristics of forced recruitment and mobilization in a society under colonial and military domination.

(2) Kidnapping and Abduction

According to the testimonies, the method of forced recruitment appearing next frequently after employment fraud are cases which utilized direct physical force such as kidnapping and abduction. Defined as incidents in which pure force was used to take the women and not purely deception as in employment fraud, abduction also includes those situations in which the women were enticed to follow. Initially beginning with fraud and deception, the forced mobilization of 'comfort women' from among the women of Korea became more blatant and aggressive as the Second World War progressed and the demand for 'sex slaves' on the battlefields increased. According to the testimonies of a Japanese officer involved in the kidnapping and that of a survivor, the experiences differed very little from a slave hunt. Shim Dalyon recollects the time that she was abducted below.

"At that time I was about twelve or thirteen I suppose. Our family was doing a little farming, when the Japanese came and took the most of the rice and grain. There was nothing to eat then, so I went out with my older sister to pick some eatable plants... We were picking them when a car arrived, out got two tall men wearing hats... and they told us to get in the car."¹¹⁹

In a similar case of coerced kidnapping, Cho Sundok was led away and became a 'comfort woman'. The late Cho recalled the following memories of that time.

"It was the autumn when I was nineteen. I was travelling to my hometown, Hamhung (a province in North Korea) from Seoul where my older sister lived. I was on the train when I was caught by a secret Japanese police.... There were lots of people like that at that time. That wasn't the only time that this kind of thing happened. Before that when I was taking the train they same thing happened.... When the train arrived at Wonsan a Japanese policeman inspected me, whether it was *Chongshindae*. I don't know, but he said that he would give me money if I went and worked. But I said that I had to go home. He said that he would contact my family, but I couldn't contact my family, he just took me away. Even though he said that he would give me money, it was by force. There wasn't one person, maybe two or three."¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Testimony of Shim Dalyon, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 146)

¹²⁰ Testimony of Cho Sundok (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:172)

As was demonstrated in the case of employment fraud, the social conditions that permitted the forced recruitment of 'comfort women' can be seen more even clearly in these cases of 'kidnapping'. The control exercised by the colonial military authorities was a strong force negating any protest, which encompassed every person in society, from a 'young girl picking plants' to a 'young woman taking a trip by train'.

The following is the testimony of Ahn Bopsoon who was kidnapped in the street with no prior warning.

"My father had passed away and when I was about seventeen years old, I went up to Seoul and stayed in someone else's house as a house keeper. When I was living in the house and I went to take a little shopping at the market, and that's how I was out, on my way to Chongno (a street in Seoul). And they just grabbed me."¹²¹

Kim Youngja, who now lives in Yongdong in Chungchong province, describes the once prevalent practice of 'virgin girls' abduction' (*ch'onryo kongch'ul*) as follows.

"The Japanese military would travel from door to door looking for young girls, the police would carry out inspections and just went in under that reason. I was young and pretty, and the police came and saw my father and hit him. They then told him to bring me out from hiding, my father told me not to come out, and they said bring her forward and they put water from the kettle up my father's nose (a kind of torture). It wasn't only me then. When I was young people were married unconditionally just prevent such a 'virgin drafting'.... So, my dad told me to go. Then within a couple of days of leaving, I heard that my father had died. The police beat him to death."¹²²

This case also demonstrates an example of family destruction accompanying the kidnapping of the young girl. In sum, the cases of kidnapping can be seen to merge with the concealment of information and use of force as in the employment fraud.

There were also frequent cases of 'luring' women under the conditions of economic impoverishment prevalent in colonized Korean society. Although these cases do not operate through the use of violence as outlined in the cases above, there is a connection with abduction. Hwang Suni's case is one of them. When she was thirteen, "I went with three friends to gather greens and a Japanese man and a Korean man got out of a little truck and gave us treats and said "if you come with us we'll give you white rice with meat side dishes, and treats and clothes, we'll dress you in nice clothes." She went with the men.¹²³ The following testimonies of Choi Gapsoon and Kim Hwasun narrate the similar condition.

"We lived poorly, so poorly, I hadn't once eaten white rice then. When they caught me I was sixteen years old, a Japanese policeman came. That is how they caught me and said...' Will you come with me? ...If you follow us, we will buy you shoes (rubber shoes) and you will have white rice to eat. Eat as you want,' that is how I came to go."¹²⁴

¹²¹ Testimony of Ahn Bopsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

¹²² Testimony of Kim Youngja (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

¹²³ Testimony of Hwang Suni (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:222)

¹²⁴ Testimony of Choi Gapsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

"They said they will give me the 'caramel' and I asked what that was, and they said they would give me things to eat, and that they would give me a lot of money, so I went. Then there wasn't enough to eat. They had taken all of our land, what was left? The Japanese were delivering rice to Japan. And the Koreans were living hand to mouth, life was so difficult."¹²⁵

The focus on poverty does not imply that the kidnapping of the 'comfort women' was targeted at girls and women of the lower classes only. As is described in the Annex 1-2, the overall economic condition in Korea was, with the increasing economic exploitation of Korean society at that time, one of impoverishment especially in rural areas. The overall economic situation was more important than the specific class position of the individual girls and women. Also, in the patriarchal family, the women were "the first to leave the family and find work and the last to find favor". In this poverty-stricken state women were the most likely to fall into 'temptation'. Women of Korea then can be said to have been under the twofold oppressions of patriarchy and colonialism. However, the use of violence in the case of kidnapping were even stronger than in the previously described 'employment fraud'. This forceful method of recruitment would have been only possible under the Japanese colonial domination.

(3) Traffic in Women

There were many cases of trafficking in the mobilization of 'comfort women', which can be linked with the employment fraud described above. However, the section below will examine the suffering arising from the sale of the human body separately from the issue of employment fraud. One case of trafficking is Ha Youngee (assumed name), who was kidnapped while caring for her nephew at her older sister's home in Japan. The following testimony describes what happened to Ha Youngee in 1936, when she was fifteen. "A middle-aged Korean woman living in the neighboring house said "I will take you to Korea, I'm going", and told me to come out in two or three days. The woman took me down to the docks, and handed me over to another person there. The woman who took me was Japanese... We got on a big ferryboat there, and in the boat there were a dozen other girls... You know what comes next, but that woman took me to Taiwan and sold me there."¹²⁶

In addition, trafficking that did not appear as a case of employment fraud was often enacted by husbands and fathers. Cho Namrye, whose father was an alcoholic, testified that "my father received money from a Korean who used to live in the neighborhood, and sold me off. Father didn't know anything but money."¹²⁷ Kim Changyon (assumed name) experienced the sale of her person twice. "A theatre group came to our town. I went into see a traditional opera and while I was there my stepfather sold me for three won.... And then again at the next place they sold me again. At the place that they sold me a Japanese man was hanging around. A Korean came. He was pimp, collecting girls. He was a pimp on his way to Japan."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Testimony of Kim Hwason (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

¹²⁶ Testimony of Ha Youngee (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:278)

¹²⁷ Testimony of Cho Namrye (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:265)

¹²⁸ Testimony of Kim Changyon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

The background to this kind of family trafficking arose due to the overall impoverished economic life of Korean society as indicated above, and also the moral breakdown which accompanied this economic impoverishment. The contempt for women as both daughters and wives was also an important factor in this kind of trafficking. Very often, the trafficking in women took place in combination with kidnapping and employment fraud as seen above. This kind of trafficking in persons was implicated with a variety of large-scale rings trafficking women for profit. With the expansion of the front line of the Japanese imperial aggression in China, the demand for military 'comfort women' also increased and in Korea large scaled groups of 'virgin abductors' formed.¹²⁹

The rural villages devastated under Japanese domination became a source for the mass provision of the resource needed to fulfil the sudden increase in the demand for 'comfort women' by the Japanese military. A means to meet these demands was the large-scale abduction of young women who were then sold in places like China. The majority of Korean women mobilized as Japanese military 'comfort women' were taken by such kidnapping groups. They were predominately unmarried women in their teens. Japan is unable to avoid responsibility for the provision of young Korean women to meet the demand for 'comfort women' in places such as China through this criminal act of large scale organized abductions operating in rural villages in Korea.

(4) Rape and Bodily Injury

According to the testimonies, rape and other bodily injury began in the process of forcible transfer and abduction. The following are the individual testimonies of Kim Sundok, Kang Deokkyong, and Hong Aejin.

"When we arrived in Nagasaki, a vehicle like a bus arrived and transported our group to an inn... On the first night I was dragged to an officer and he raped me. The soldier had his rifle strapped on. I bled and I was scared, I wanted to run away, and while hitting me on the back the soldier said that rape just happens so I should accept it as such. Every night high officers would come to our rooms and take us places and rape us."¹³⁰

"I was caught and traveled by a truck all by myself. In the truck there was only three people, the driver, a military policeman, and me. I sat beside the driver, and in the middle of the trip the soldier had the car stopped and I got out and he took me to a hill. It was a really black night. There he got on top of me."¹³¹

"We came by military boat. That boat was on its way to Shanghai. On the boat there was one officer who took hold of me and led me to a small room and although I resisted with all my might there was no way of escaping it. My clothes were torn into little pieces and fell away, and in the end I was naked. That officer carried a long sword by his side and threatened me so that I could not resist him physically."¹³²

¹²⁹ It seems that the Japanese government and the Japanese Government-General in Korea gave up (simply allowed to happen) on human trafficking at the time. For example, among the 40-some victims who were sold into Banwollu, Yumyong-lu and other such red-light districts in Seoul city, as many as 12 cases were ascertained to have been resold to other locations. One of these women was found to have been sold for 500won to the 'comfort station' at Sandong-sung Tapkyong.

¹³⁰ Testimony of Kim Sundok (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:49)

¹³¹ Testimony of Kang Deokkyung (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:277)

¹³² Testimony of Hong Aejin (Testimony of the Women in China 1994:46)

In the testimonies, it appears that there were other violent assault occurring in the process of kidnapping. Below are the testimonies of Yi Deuknam (assumed name) and Shim Dalyon.

"When that man came back I asked him to send me home. When I said that, he told me 'just how much money I have spent on you, pay me back the train fare and the inn expenses', and he punched me in the face and I fainted."¹³³

"[When I was in the truck] About six girls of the elementary school who were coming out of school were just grabbed and taken into a truck by the men. We started to cry as if we were going to die. They kicked us with their feet, and there were others crying from the other side. Being kicked just once hurts so much, I can't even explain. We had to just take all that. Then I was young and my skin was tough, but if it were now I wouldn't be able to endure anything like that."¹³⁴

In this way, kidnapping of the 'comfort women' itself consisted of violence. It is not difficult to foresee the damages and pain of being a 'comfort woman' that had awaited those women.

3. Testimonies Regarding the Injury and Pain Inflicted at the 'Comfort Stations'

(1) Enslavement: Confinement and Surveillance

The overall situation at the 'comfort stations' can be characterized as 'enslavement.' The military 'comfort women' were stripped of all forms of autonomy and existed in a state of slavery that totally disregarded and denied them their humanity. The rape, violence, diseases, and so forth that we are going to examine here had constituted the state of slavery.

"Excluding the time we spent in the air-raid shelters, the surveillance was very strict, and there was no way that we could leave. They said that they would hit us and kill us if we went outside the comfort station, so were too afraid to go out."¹³⁵

"During the day there were soldiers guarding us, and during the war there were guards there to stop us from running away or from committing suicide. We just gave up and lived without hope."¹³⁶

"There were men standing watch, the surveillance was so severe. There was always a man to keep surveillance. There was one person who was an opium addict, he was quite old."¹³⁷

¹³³ Testimony of Yi Deuknam (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:202)

¹³⁴ Testimony of Shim Dalyon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:147)

¹³⁵ Testimony of Yi Yongsu (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 129)

¹³⁶ Testimony of Chin Kyongpeng, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 23-4)

¹³⁷ Testimony of Kim Kunja, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:82)

"The toilet was outside, between sentries. So even if you wanted to go to the toilet, you had to go behind the sentries. In the winter, the sentries wore overcoats and fur hats ".¹³⁸

"Sunja and I were caught in Pusan (a city in South Korea) and she also became a comfort woman. She said that she knew the geography of the Youngdo region well and that we should escape together... We hadn't gone more than a few steps when we got caught. After they caught us they beat us on the back and hip with rifle butts, so hard that we fell over and blood poured out from my mouth. I was in so much pain that I broke into a fever and I couldn't even lie down due to the pain in the back. But I still began to 'receive' the soldiers."¹³⁹

"The Obasan, Ojisan (meaning aunt, uncle, but they were the managers of 'comfort station') did nothing but keep watch over us. There wasn't even necessary to keep watch, because we were far off in the middle of nowhere."¹⁴⁰

As stated in the testimony of Kim Soran who was taken to Manila in the Philippines, many women said that they were transported to unfamiliar foreign places. Owing to their lack of knowledge of the local geography or circumstances of the area, they were unable to run away. The case of Cho Sundok, who attempted escape, shows us precisely the case.

"I was afraid, so I fled. I ran away at night, but I was caught before I could get very far. It seemed like there would be nobody there, but when I went out, there were Military Polices scattered all over and military camps here and there. The MP captured us and turned us over to a house. Two, three people beat us hard with a cane that had rubber or something attached to it. At first, it hurt so much that I took the beating without saying a word. But when I let out a loud scream because it was so severe, they stopped and locked me up. Actually, I didn't know the roads or where's where. Even if you tried to go, you just get beaten."¹⁴¹

It is evident that Korean 'comfort women' were in a state of exile in a strange country. On foreign soil in a war state running away did not even have meaning. This situation operated more effectively than any other aspect of control exercised over the women. In addition to the fact that these women were forcibly taken away and subjected to repeated rape, the 'comfort women' were placed in positions of indenture as they accumulated 'debt' and became 'debt bonded'.

¹³⁸ Testimony of Choi Hwason, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 205)

¹³⁹ Testimony of Yune Duri (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 294)

¹⁴⁰ Testimony of Kim Soran, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 55)

¹⁴¹ Testimony of Cho Sundok (Testimony compilation 3, 1999:174)

"The 'comfort station' owner, who paid the money to a Korean man, told me about how much he had spent on my train fare and my clothing. That inferred that I had to sell my body to pay for it. He said that in order to pay for those things that I would have to work for three years."¹⁴²

"If you handed the money you got from the soldiers over to the owner, they said that they would give it to you later, after taking out your debts. But the expenses just kept growing. You have to buy clothes to wear and makeup, too, so the debt just kept growing... I knew only that I had a lot of debt, but never even knew exactly how much. Even when we were moved to a different owner, the debt followed us as is, and I was moved about four times in Manchuria alone."¹⁴³

It seems that 'debt' was very prevalent for the former 'comfort women.' This condition can be understood as traffic in persons linked with employment fraud testified earlier, and confirms that the 'military comfort women' system discussed here was run in the fashion of the Japanese-style prostitution system. Most importantly, such administration methods were a highly effective way of chaining the 'comfort women' to the 'comfort stations' and keeping them under the control of the 'comfort station' managers. From this position, debt was nothing more than an extension of the surveillance as a means to control the 'comfort women.'

(2) Beating and other Assault

According to the testimonies, the life of a 'comfort woman' began with being beaten. Beating and other assault was the means of forcing the submission of the 'comfort women' who had been abducted by fraud, kidnapping and other forces at the first signs of resistance. As testimonies regarding torture and beatings were prevalent in almost every woman's memories, their testimonies will be presented without much explanation.

"The Japanese bastard told me to have sex with him, but I wouldn't. So they locked me up in the storeroom, beat me, and just left me in there to starve. I had no food, and they asked me to 'receive' soldiers or not, and they beat me for no reason. That's how I spent my time. I couldn't do anything. I couldn't do anything but take it (receiving the soldiers)."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Testimony of Ha Sangsuk, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1994: 65)

¹⁴³ Testimony of Ha Younghee, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 268)

¹⁴⁴ Testimony of Han Okson (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

"Since I was told to go into the room but didn't go, the owner grabbed me by my hair and dragged me into some room. There I was subjected to electric shock torture.... He pulled out the telephone cord and tied up my wrists and ankles. Then, he said, "gonoyaro" and turned the telephone receiver around. There was a flash of light before my eyes and my entire body started trembling and shaking. When I couldn't take it anymore I said I would do whatever he wanted and screamed and cried and begged with my two hands together."¹⁴⁵

"I said that I wouldn't do as they said and I got beaten, really beaten, and just blacked out. So they gave me a shot to revive me, and I pissed and it got all mixed up with the blood. I was lying down and some bastard gave me a hard kick and just left. When I was lying down with my skirt pulled up over my face, I was beaten. When someone shoved his penis in my mouth and told me to suck on it, if I didn't suck it I'd get beaten. When I spoke Korean, I got beaten. Whatever I did I got beaten, and I thought I might get crippled so I just stared off into space and lay there like a corpse."¹⁴⁶

"Put up a struggle? Sure I did. So much I got thrashed like a dog, clubbed just like a dog. They said "bagayaro goroyaro (Japanese curses)"¹⁴⁷

"If women didn't service a man we were put in line and beaten with a stick. If I was hurt and tried to lie down, they beat me anywhere in my body. I was beaten so hard my arms still hurt and I can't bend my waist... They beat me enough to kill me, and I cried and cried."¹⁴⁸

"The [first] year that I went to Mongolia, a Japanese soldier who had two shiny things on his shoulder beat me on the head with the barrel of his gun. Because I wouldn't listen. I didn't know what to do, I was so terrified.... At first, I didn't know how to speak Japanese.... Still, he kept telling me to come and lay down. No, I wouldn't do it! I tried to shake him off and kicked, and if I tried to leave, he would drag me back, and if I tried to leave again, he would drag me back again.... So then, he knocked me over the head with a gun barrel without any warning. I fainted!"¹⁴⁹

"The owner called me an 'escape bitch' and beat me mercilessly. When my injuries had healed, the soldiers often came looking for me, but I said I wouldn't take them, and the owner beat me over the head with a club. My head bled so much I fainted right away."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Testimony of Yi Yongsu, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 127-128)

¹⁴⁶ Testimony of Choi Myungsoon (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:264)

¹⁴⁷ Testimony of Kim Hwason (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

¹⁴⁸ Testimony of Kim Bunson (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:104)

¹⁴⁹ Testimony of Hwang Suni (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:224). Even today, the crown of Ms. Hwang's head is abnormal. The crown sits about a hand's width below normal, and the skull bones around the crown protrude out.

¹⁵⁰ Testimony of Ha Soonnyo (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:80)

"After about two days at a countryside 'comfort station' in Hankou, once I didn't 'serve' the soldiers, the Japanese officers who was an owner of the station came into my room, and said I wasn't listening to him and said he would cut off my finger. He indeed cut off the first digit of the second finger of my left hand."¹⁵¹

"The owner would tell them not to feed me when we went to eat. (He) said, 'why have 'the guest' return his money?'" and said that there would be no problem if someone like me was to die. That "if you don't receive men, you just die". He was just kicking me while he said that and then he kicked me in the eye and ahh... (deep breath) He grabbed me by the hair and smashed my forehead against the ground, I couldn't even cry. I couldn't eat for so many days and my face was so swollen. Then my teeth fell out. I haven't got one single tooth left. Before I was thirty I had lost all of my teeth."¹⁵²

"If it hurt so much below (vagina) that you couldn't 'receive' them, they would beat me like beating an animal. My head must still keep hurting now, because I was hit in the head so much then."¹⁵³

"How could I understand when they are speaking Japanese? It was fifty-four years ago, you know. I was badly beaten, because I refused. He hit me hard on the head. I was beaten so hard, my eardrum burst... This side, that side, he hit both sides, and my right ear burst. I can't hear, even now."¹⁵⁴

For many women, physical injuries experienced during that time continue to victimize these women today. Choi Hwason, who was fifteen years old in 1942 when she was lured away on the promise of work at a textile factory, recalls the following experience:

" When several guys heckled us, we youngsters didn't know what to do. When I said I couldn't do it anymore because I was in too much pain and too tired, they told me to do it with my mouth. They stuck it in my mouth, but I bit it.... Then, an officer immediately struck me across the cheek and called in the guard and told him to stand watch and beat me. Although it was night time, we couldn't turn on any lights because of the planes. The guard just dragged me out and just battered me all over. I was fainted after taking a few hits.... Later, when I came to, it was daytime, and whoa, how I was hurting. Because all my bones mended, all fractured as they were, I ended up like this now, even when I was all better. The arm on my right side still kills me."¹⁵⁵

Choi Hwason recollected that the "soldier of high rank who had beaten her stayed for about

¹⁵¹ Testimony of Yeok Yeongnan (Testimony of the Women in China, 1994:142)

¹⁵² Testimony of Choi Kapsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

¹⁵³ Testimony of Kim Eunrye, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 128)

¹⁵⁴ Testimony of Kim Kunja, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 81)

¹⁵⁵ Testimony of Choi Hwason, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:202) Even today, Ms. Choi still experiences severe aches and pains in her right arm, which is firm and protrudes slightly here and there.

ten days [she] was with that man alone".

From these testimonies, we can see that beating and other kinds of assault were the tools to shape the women into obedient 'military comfort women'. In order to counter the women's resistance to the incessant rapes, the Japanese soldiers used whatever violence they had. It is almost needless to say that this kind of assault intersects with the consistent rape that we will examine.

(3) Sustained and Systematic Rape

The most fundamental aspect of the crime deliberately committed at the 'comfort stations' can be found in the so-called act of 'comforting'. This 'act' was not a singular occurrence, but was the one carried out in a consistent and repetitive manner. According to the testimonies of the women who were 'comfort women', they "received" the Japanese soldiers from six to dozens of men in a day. After living in these circumstances for a number of years, the number of rapes mounts into the tens of thousands. Such repeated rape appears across all of the women's testimonies.

"On Sundays there would be uncountable numbers of soldiers from nine o'clock in the morning to six at night. In a day maybe twenty, or thirty, or forty men...who would count that?"¹⁵⁶

"The number of soldiers which we had to receive in a day was between thirty and forty, and on the public holidays there were so many of them that they would be standing outside waiting in their underwear only."¹⁵⁷

"When the soldiers from other places came in the evening, they took the women. They called me 'Harue'. When the soldiers call my name, I need to come out with a blanket and had to follow the soldier. Who knows how many soldiers were out there, and forced to have sex with me on that pitch black night! After having too much, I couldn't walk. Then the soldiers would drag me off to a tent. I cannot describe how unbearable I felt then."¹⁵⁸

She cannot lift that arm above her head.

¹⁵⁶ Testimony of Ha Soonnyo, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:78)

¹⁵⁷ Testimony of Hwang Keumju, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 100)

¹⁵⁸ Testimony of Kang Deokkyong, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 298)

"The soldiers would pass through the office and stand in a line in the garden. In total, at least over a hundred men would be standing there waiting. The place was boiling over.... When there were a lot of them, we would receive about forty men. We couldn't rest. It hurt, because of that insertion. When it hurt, what could I think about... It was only me hurting."¹⁵⁹

"I would usually receive more than ten men per day. Somewhere between ten and twenty men in the daytime as well, and in the afternoon it was mainly privates. They didn't take off their shoes, they were in a hurry. There was no need to take off their shoes or their clothes, just a place to lie down together and then off they went. Oww (sigh), I have to forget it."¹⁶⁰

"In a day I would receive more than ten. That kind of excess at such a young age, the blood just flowed out and for days afterward I was in such pain and couldn't urinate. I just cried and couldn't eat, I was in so much pain I thought I would die."¹⁶¹

"They were coming both night and day from Phnom Penh. The first of the soldiers to come seemed to be the lower ranks. So many soldiers came from Phnom Penh. When a lot came there were twenty, and when there were a few there were ten men... because there were so many of them arriving from Phnom Penh even though they came into the building there were still many waiting outside. They shouted '*jotto*' '*jotto*' (hurry, hurry), with kicking the door."¹⁶²

"From 9 o'clock the soldiers would come and stand in front of the door of each woman, the man at the front of the line would be dressed in his underwrappings only. He would undo his cloth a little bit here (pointing to pants' zipper) and just stand there, in the olden days the soldiers wrapped a cloth around themselves for underwear (meaning *huntosi*). They would just be standing there in front of the door shouting out to be quick, and the man in the room would have sex quickly and then get out. Ahh.. (sigh)... we just had to take it... Then we would go to have dinner. At about 6 o'clock we would go and have dinner for about thirty minutes only. There would still be men standing outside the door. People....After dinner, the way they wanted it, on my side, to the other side, on my back, on my knees, the vagina...ahh (sigh)... it was so very, very awful."¹⁶³

According to the location and particular case, the original concept of 'comfort station' was also sometimes expanded to include 'comfort trips'.

¹⁵⁹ Testimony of Kim Kunja, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:80-81)

¹⁶⁰ Testimony of Choi Hwason, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:203)

¹⁶¹ Testimony of Hwang Suni, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 226)

¹⁶² Testimony of Yi Namee, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:28-29)

¹⁶³ Testimony of Choi Kapsoon, (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

"Ten women arrived by motor boat... On that island we hung curtains under a tree and worked. We traveled to the islands where there were no women and saw the soldiers. ... When we went we were there for about ten days."¹⁶⁴

"Usually there were not really that many men, we had to receive about fifteen or so per day, but on the weekend there was an unspeakable number. More than fifty. Sometimes we would go from here (Singapore) deep into the mountains for a while to see soldiers there... We would pitch a tent and make a temporary comfort station, and then divide up the tent using partitions with three or four going at one time. We would lie there with our legs up in the air like a frog, just lying back, half sitting, half lying constantly 'receiving' soldiers all day long."¹⁶⁵

Korean 'military comfort women' were described as "hygienic public lavatories" for the spread of the Japanese soldiers' sexually transmitted diseases in one Japanese military report.¹⁶⁶ The women of colonial Korea were a kind of equipment for the release of Japanese soldiers' tension. Their body was utilized for the prevention of the rape of the women in the occupied region. Thus, the 'comfort women' were military provisions for the effective engagement in war, rather than beings with human status. This presents the difference from the wartime violence against women perpetrated during the war in former Yugoslavia. Such violence against women in that time of war was an attack against "the enemy" or "the enemy's women."¹⁶⁷ The existence of the Korean 'comfort women' was simply one as 'supplies' without even a position of enemy people. In this kind of situation of extreme violence, the injury and pain inflicted on the women's body and mind were indescribable. The following section will try to outline these.

(4) Destruction of the Sex Organs and Sexually Transmitted Diseases

This incessant rape committed on an extraordinary scale, as testified above, inevitably leaves physical wounds and damage the sex organs of the 'comfort women'. Testimonies from the women revealed that, in the case of young women—especially those who had been raped repeatedly—their genitals were 'torn'. Hwang Suni, who was twelve years old in 1934, recalls the following:

"It hurt so much I thought I would die. The tears just came pouring out. I couldn't eat. Every day was terrible. If I just thought about the soldiers, it seemed like I was going to hell... I was living like a dog.... In one day, I had to receive more than ten men. Owwww! At such a young age, having to deal with such excessive demands, the blood just flowed out, and it hurt for so many days, and I couldn't even urinate. I just cried. I couldn't eat. I really felt as if I were dying."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Testimony of Kang Muja, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 57)

¹⁶⁵ Testimony of Kim Bokdong, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 91)

¹⁶⁶ Aso Tetsuo, "Karyubyō no sekkyoku-teki yoboho" [Methods to prevent venereal disease] (1936), quoted in Korean Council (ed.), (Collected Materials of the Comfort Women 2, 1992: 85)

¹⁶⁷ Alexandra Stiglmayer, ed., *The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

¹⁶⁸ Testimony of Hwang Suni (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 225)

"Later on my vagina was so swollen. It got to such a state that they couldn't even get the sterilization hose inside me."¹⁶⁹

Shim Dalyon spoke with great pain recalling the following memories:

"Ouch. It wouldn't go in and they forced it and it throbbed and it split. It hurt so much, I wanted to die right there, bam bam bam bam! It was like that for a while. Then, later, [my genitalia] turned all red and swollen. After that I couldn't go to the toilet for about a week... When I tried to urinate, I could not. My stomach, here, hurt so much I couldn't stand it, and below, here, tore open and overflowed with blood.... Even like that, they took me again if they wanted to do it with me. And the following night, they came again. They came and did it again. As it was, every time, I would die each time. After I was there for a year, they dragged me again to another place... Somewhere in Manchuria, in the countryside. I have no idea where is where.... [But then] soldiers came and looked at me wanted to do it again. When I looked here [at my genitalia], it was really puffy and it was bleeding a lot. As it continued like that, my whole body was torn apart and turned strange and wired."¹⁷⁰

The following is the testimony of Hong Kangrim who became a 'comfort woman' after being dragged to Pongchon in Manchuria. Born in Kimchon in Kyongbok, Korea in 1922, Hong was forced onto a train by an old woman in her village.

"Not long after that I started receiving soldiers again. I didn't do that for long before I received my regular check-up and they said that I was small down there, so a soldier took a knife and cut the entrance to my vagina. Since they didn't even use anesthesia and just tore up my reproduction [reproductive organs], I can't explain that pain."¹⁷¹

Hong Kangrim was unable to return to her hometown after the war and remained in China. The genital damage described by many women can be seen as the first and chronic state of injury to their sexual organs. The majority of the women also suffered from infection with a sexually transmitted disease.

"My body wouldn't listen to me, and both sides of my groin burst 'pop' open and bloody pus came out. What it was is, after the infection that formed inside my womb decayed, it swelled and burst by itself. My legs also swelled up. It was such a mess down there that I couldn't even urinate or defecate."¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Testimony of Park Yonce (assumed name) (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 125)

¹⁷⁰ Testimony of Shim Dalyon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 151-152)

¹⁷¹ Testimony of Hong Kangrim (Testimony of the Women in China, 1994:32)

¹⁷² Testimony of Kang Muja (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 59-60).

"[I contracted syphilis] so I think I was even hospitalized.... It's just that pus was coming out. [In a small voice] Now something like a crushed bug was coming out from below. Now they kept washing it down with medicated cotton."¹⁷³

Kim Kunja did not explain the situation of that time in great detail, but did have the following to say. "I'd caught a sexually transmitted disease. Syphilis, and I had treatment."¹⁷⁴ Kim Eunrye also caught syphilis.

"If we caught a disease down there or if something formed there, we were examined. But after I had been there for about six months, I caught *baidoku* [syphilis]. Also, once I had an inflammation inside my vagina and it was very itchy and then swelled up to become incredibly painful... After examining my vagina, they said, "Oh, it is still alright. After a few days, we will open it up and it will be right" and I had to keep 'receiving' the soldiers. I said that I was in too much pain to continue to see the men.... A lot of pus formed down below and I swelled so much that I was almost died, and then the comfort station manager just took out his knife and tore at the part which was covered in pus and put some white powder on some cotton and inserted it. And then told me to go back in and keep working."¹⁷⁵

Destruction of sex organs and sexually transmitted diseases made the thought of the comfort women having children—should they survive and return to their homes—impossible. The majority of military 'comfort women' who survived their terrible ordeal were unable to marry in a "regular way," as Shim Dalyon said. "What kind of man would love a woman whose vagina(*mit*) is literally torn out? Also, it makes me shudder to be with a man. I hate just looking at man".¹⁷⁶ Like Ms. Shim, the women had experienced such thorough destruction of their physical and psychological sexuality after having surviving the 'war'.

It was also revealed that there were cases of the sexually transmitted diseases of the 'comfort women' caught at that time persisting and inheriting. Choi Hwason who caught syphilis during her time as a comfort woman is one such case.

"We were frequently given the 606 injection, and once I returned to Korea, I was given the treatment in Korea, too. There were no disease-free women. Though there were some soldiers who used condoms, there were more who didn't.... [After coming back to Korea] as soon as I finished my treatment, I became pregnant and had a daughter. I was twenty-two years old at that time. On Korean war (in 1960), I was with my husband [whom I met when I was 'comfort woman' and he

¹⁷³ Testimony of Ahn Bopsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

¹⁷⁴ Testimony of Kim Kunja (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 81)

¹⁷⁵ Testimony of Kim Eunrye (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 130)

was a Korean 'laborer' also forcefully drafted]. They (North Korean) said that my husband would become a volunteer army, but I hadn't heard about him after that.... I waited for him there so long.... My daughter, who was married, became pregnant with a child exterior to her uterus, so she had an operation, and the medical examination revealed that she had the disease, Syphilis. Her in-laws requested a divorce and she got divorced. The doctor said that it could have been passed on to her by her parents."¹⁷⁷

Kang Deokkyong also expresses the constant period of suffering as a 'comfort woman' from the damage caused to her genital organs.

"After returning from there my body has been particularly painful. When I was young every month when I had my period (menstruation) I had to stay in my room for two days. Even so I was in pain and had to receive injections. And I would frequently discharge blood... At the hospital I was told that something was wrong with the lining of my womb and the fallopian tubes."¹⁷⁸

In this way, the damages inflicted upon the 'military comfort women' affected their genitals, uterus and the entire body. They were followed by additional damage to their reproductive capability, evading men, and their entire life.

(5) Pregnancy and Induced Miscarriage

The possibility of an unwanted pregnancy in the context of repeated rape is the issue, something which the 'comfort women' constantly faced. In fact, pregnancies were even less desirable for the Japanese military authorities than they were for the women themselves. Accordingly most pregnancy cases were subject to human intervention. The following testimonies describe this circumstance.

"I was pregnant once, and at about 3 or 4 months I had an injection and miscarried. A fetus came out in the shape of a human."¹⁷⁹

"If you were pregnant, then the proprietor would order an abortion. I started my period when I was 16 years old and finished when I was 48 years old. (Silence) I've had an abortion."¹⁸⁰

"I've been pregnant, a number of times. The proprietor took me to a civilian hospital and they removed

¹⁷⁶ Testimony of Shim Dalyon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 165)

¹⁷⁷ Testimony of Choi Hwason (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 215)

¹⁷⁸ Testimony of Kang Deokkyung (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 282)

¹⁷⁹ Testimony of Kim Chunja (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 157)

¹⁸⁰ Testimony of Kim Kunja, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 82)

it without leaving a trace. If you were to have a child then it would be to your own disadvantage. If I had had a child how would I have lived? I was pregnant lots of times. There was not one woman among us who did not get pregnant. But if they used a condom, it was ok. It's just that there were men who didn't use a condom."¹⁸¹

"Among the women who were there in the 'comfort station' with us, there were two who got pregnant. One among the women who got pregnant had an abortion which didn't go right and she died. And the other one her tummy got so big and she tried to commit suicide on the stairs but the soldiers found her and they moved her off somewhere else."¹⁸²

"There was one woman among the comfort women who became pregnant. As soon as she gave birth to her baby it died and another who was pregnant who caught pleurisy and had an abortion."¹⁸³

"[After returning home in Korea] I went to the hospital and I received a medical examination and they said that a baby had already died in my womb. After they had taken it out it was a boy and from the face to about half the body it was already rotten. ...It was about 6 or 7 months old. The baby had been in my stomach dead for about a month."¹⁸⁴

As with Choi Myungsoon, survivor Song Shindo exposes the wretchedness of the experience of pregnancies and interruptions.

"I fell pregnant (at the Muchang comfort station), but I was forced to keep having sex. I had about seven months old baby. At that time, I had a baby in my own room. The baby had barely come out of my body when the baby turned purple and died. After we had left Muchang and were moving onto another 'comfort station' I had my second birth, including the one that I had had in Hankou. I had to leave my baby with some other people. I was pregnant at other times as well. If you got pregnant then you got kicked out, so we had to use folk remedies."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Testimony of Kim Okchu, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 103)

¹⁸² Testimony of Yune Duri, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 293)

¹⁸³ Testimony of Be Chokkan (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 177)

¹⁸⁴ Testimony of Choi Myungsoon. (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 167)

¹⁸⁵ Testimony of Song Shindo (Song Shindo Indictment, 2000)

The ways of interrupting pregnancy clearly show that the 'military comfort women' were not for reproduction, but were military supplies for the sexual satisfaction of the Japanese military personnel. This contrasts with the Japanese policy to promote the fecundity of Japanese women at the same time.¹⁸⁶ These experiences left permanent damages to sex organs and social identity of the 'comfort women' of Korea.

(6) Infertility

According to the testimonies, after their experiences of disease and pregnancy, many of them became infertile. Due to the excessive methods used to during and before pregnancy many have reported the destruction of their reproductive capacity. The following experiences are indeed in continuation of the pregnancy and brutal interruption testified above.

"I didn't know that I was pregnant at the time when I received the Injection No. 606 and my body swelled and I bled. I was taken to the hospital and the doctor scrapped out the insides of my uterus. I had this kind of scrapping maybe three or four times and then I couldn't become pregnant any longer."¹⁸⁷

"My stomach started to hurt and I just became exhausted and I couldn't eat anything. I went to the military infirmary though I don't know where that was, anyway they took me there and gave me a medical and then they said that the baby had come removed in my stomach. The baby had detached and then maybe they took the baby out, I don't know. When I think about it I don't think they did the right thing. They just scraped it all out."¹⁸⁸

"[When I had a baby] I had an operation here (showing her scar). During the Japanese occupation. There was a Japanese guy called Guzzi, a Japanese doctor. He did the operation. After he did that operation, well I couldn't have any children."¹⁸⁹

As testified above, there are women who became infertile after pregnancy. Some of them were having '606 injection' and other crude intervention. Some of them became infertile, after giving a birth to a (dead or alive) baby through c-section. Thus, it is very doubtful if the Japanese military offered the proper and safe medical treatment to those women. However, it

¹⁸⁶ For further information concerning the Japanese population policy, see Suzuki Yuko, "The 'Military Comfort Women' Issue and Japanese Women," in Korean Council (ed), (Collected Materials of the Comfort Women Issue 1, 1991: 13-15), and Suzuki Yuko, "The Social Milieu That Conceived of the 'Comfort Women' System: Legalized Prostitution, Patriarchy and the Emperor System," presented at the see ICJ Seminar, Tokyo (1995).

¹⁸⁷ Testimony of Hwang Keumju (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 100)

¹⁸⁸ Testimony of Kim Bokdong, (Testimony Compilation 4:2000)

has been also testified that many women were given some medicine or injections in order to prevent pregnancy, which induced them infertility. Ha Sangsuk who was taken to China in December of 1944 to at the Hankou 'comfort station' speaks of her experience.

"The doctor who carried out my initial inspection knew that I was a virgin. When I received my examination I also received an injection. I asked the older girls there what kind of injection it was and they told me that it was one that stopped me from being able to have babies. They told us to take medicine that would stop us from having children so I took that too. When I first went there that's what they said. So there wasn't anyone in our comfort station who got pregnant."¹⁹⁰

Hong Aejin who was also taken to China eventually came to have a hysterectomy. Born in 1928 in a rural town in Tongyeong, Kyongnam Province she was called by the name of Hongddobun, and in the 'comfort station' she was so pretty that they called her Hanako (meaning Flower Child). She recalled the following.

"When I had my regular check-up, the doctors would give us an infertility injection. But when I started my life as a 'comfort woman' I got pregnant just the once. I was about three months gone when it was detected and I aborted through an operation. They gave me a hysterectomy and I stopped menstruating then also. I still have the scars from that operation."¹⁹¹

Kang Muja also recalls, "they gave us an injection to stop us from having children (1997:58)." Choi Kapsoun believes that "they twisted the tubes" in order that the women could not have children., because Choi was unable to become pregnant once during and after the stay at the 'station'.¹⁹² Through the destruction of the 'comfort women's' ability to reproduce, the Japanese destroyed women's individual opportunities to bear children. As the destruction of women's ability to bear children destroyed their chances to establish a normal family life this also caused these women to suffer throughout their lives. These chain of damages - repetitious rape, destruction of sex organs, pregnancy and miscarriage, and infertility- also had a dimension of degrading 'Korean' and , nullifying the culture and ethnicity of Korean .¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Testimony of Kim Youngja (Testimony Compilation 4: 2000)

¹⁹⁰ Testimony of Ha Sangsuk (Testimony Compilation 4: 2000)

¹⁹¹ Testimony of Hong Aejin, (Testimony of the Women in China, 1994: 48)

¹⁹² Testimony of Choi Kapsoun, (Testimony Compilation 4: 2000)

¹⁹³ Yi Kyoungsang, a resident of North Korea, testified that when she was pregnant, a Japanese soldier said to her "We have no need for the child of a Korean (*josenjin*)" and interrupt her pregnancy brutally. [Refer to Takashi Ito, *White Ribbon (otkorum) in My Mouth*, , (Seoul: Nunbit, 1994:117-122)].

(7) Mental Anguish: Shock and Fear

In this chain of agony and pain, it is not difficult to imagine that these women experienced the indescribable psychological shock and fear. Shim Dalyon who was caught when twelve out picking eatable plants recalls in comparative detail the situation at that time.

“When Japanese officers called us to come, we should run to him as soon as I heard. Otherwise, they just ‘whoosh’ throw the knife that they carried all the time. One day, the knife hit me, here in my thigh. Ahh, how painful it was!... The other evening, a man came in and he took me somewhere. I’m not sure where it was, but he took me to see someone who was high-ranking officer. That officer told me to take my clothes off. So I took off my clothes but I left the bottom half covered. Then he said why I hadn’t taken off all of my clothes and while saying that he kicked me with his foot and grabbed my hair and started knocking my head against the floor.”

Shim continues her recollections with the following.

“In this crazy situation, how could I be sane? All of my body was bruised, and my head was swollen like many stones inside. I couldn’t even touch them. . Then, I was out of my mind (*hon*), no mind... I am very curious if I see some former ‘comfort woman’ who still has clear mind. After such a beating and pain, nobody would keep her mind!”¹⁹⁴

In fact, once Ms. Shim had returned to Korea, she had to receive treatment for her “psychological difficulties” and she has been unable to fulfill normal roles in society. Ms. Shim’s recollections of the psychological stress and her loss of wits is not an uncommon experience among the ‘comfort women’. Cho Sundok who was taken to a region of Sakhalin for four years recounts that she had the symptoms of mental illness.

“[After returning Korea] I went to Chongryangli [mental] Hospital, nothing remains in my memory. So don’t listen to me.... After I came of the hospital, I was standing front of the bokchoy vegetable and just looking at it, without knowing what to do with it. I didn’t know how to bathe myself, they had to help me.”¹⁹⁵

By definition, amnesia has a vicious cycle in which the reason why they become in the state of amnesia remains unknowable, because they cannot remember, i.e. it is difficult to

¹⁹⁴ Testimony of Shim Dalyon, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 148.)

¹⁹⁵ Testimony of Cho Sundok, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 170)

concretely assess why they have lost their memories. However, it does appear that this memory loss is a psychological reaction to a terrible situation which they do not wish to remember. In the case of Kim Soran, who was taken with her older sister, she has been afflicted with psychological problems since her return to Korea after the war. "At first I put all the clothes from the closet in a pile in the room and tried to set fire to them. I tried to climb up the mountain by myself higher and higher. The problem was really bad. I had those kinds of symptoms. So, I had to take medicine all the time and hid all those experiences only in my heart." Even when the doctor told me unburden all those stories, she could not open "stories of there".¹⁹⁶

Like Kim Okju who was "constantly nervous everyday like a person being chased, even after a drink,"¹⁹⁷ memory loss, psychological disorder and insecurity are the after effects which the remain until today. Through these after effects, we can see the degree of 'trauma' experienced by the women during their time as 'comfort women'. At this point, we can reflect the impact of incessant and brutal rapes seen earlier. The women testified that they 'received' tens of soldiers per day, and recounting the rapes, particularly in terms of what kinds of acts were committed. Although the testimonies of the women might have sounded as if they actively accuse the perpetrators, for many of the women in their 70s and 80s this remains the most difficult aspect in the survivors' recollections of their experiences. There are many who have avoided the stories of rape in recounting their experiences. Perhaps this is because telling and recollecting those experiences themselves made them shameful, victimized again, ostracized them from the society. This double victimization of 'there and now' signifies how this issue of 'military comfort women' has not been illuminated upon in both national and international level as discussed in the beginning of this Annex. Most indicative of this is found in the absurdity of describing the 'rape' at the 'station'. As heard in so many testimonies, the women generally express the rape as "receiving guests". There is even no proper language and concept to indicate the nature of the crimes in which they were forcibly taken from Korea and endured forced sexual intercourse countless times. This empty or ambiguous signification precisely marks the space within which former 'comfort women's mental agony have just grown and accumulated. The continuing absence of formal recognition made by the Japanese government of their national intervention in the 'comfort women' system sustains the conditions of their hatred and oppression intact until today.

(8) Murder

¹⁹⁶ Testimony of Kim Soran, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 65)

¹⁹⁷ Testimony of Kim Okju, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 115)

As all of the testimonial material gathered here is drawn from the testimonies of surviving women, we are unable to hear of those cases of women murdered. However, by the threats directly experienced and the observations made by those survivors, we can determine that the very lives of the 'comfort women' were threatened.

"At the time, one of the Japanese soldiers just pulled out a knife, intending to stab me. I wish he would have just killed me then."¹⁹⁸

"After I was beaten on my body I was so scared, I didn't resist. I didn't even care if I died then and there. Those people, if they felt like killing you, they dragged you away and killed you".¹⁹⁹ As this testifies, a life of 'comfort women' was not a life as such; it didn't matter whether they lived or died. Other survivors remember other women being murdered.

"I was there (the 'comfort station') for six months people and people were killed. A lot of women were killed trying to run away. And then they dumped them [the bodies] into the well."²⁰⁰

Also, there seems routine neglect of 'comfort women' who became sick or had other problems was a means of killing them. The following testimonies of Park Youngsim (North Korean testimony), Lee Okbun, and Yune Soonman describe such circumstances.

"When the bastards played around like (meaning raping), the young women would get sick or become malnourished, and then they ruthlessly carted them out and dumped them in the river to drown."²⁰¹

"When the women's body became just broke down, the *nakai* dragged off three out of five women at this one comfort station and threw them into a tiny room. They didn't give them any food. They gave them injections and then if they thought there wouldn't be any repercussions, the soldiers loaded the women on a truck and took them up to a mountain. They just threw the women off the mountain."²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Testimony of Hwang Suni, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 225)

¹⁹⁹ Testimony of Choi Hwason (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:203)

²⁰⁰ Testimony of Kim Hwason (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

²⁰¹ Testimony of Park Young-shim, *The Cry of a Trampled Life — Testimony Compilation*, Committee for Compensation for 'Comfort Women' and Victims of the Asia Pacific War, (Pyongyang, 1995:80)

²⁰² Testimony of Yi Okbun (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:140-141)

"[After resisting], I myself was deserted there [that isolation house]. They didn't give you rice and people starved to death... At that time, there were bean cake (*kongkkaemuk*). We lived on that and water. Some people lived eating that, and starving, just starving, they came down with a sickness, and the sick people died. There was one big tall girl. But she went partly rotten here (indicated her groin). That was because she didn't listen to what they said and they shot her in the vagina. The bullet went in here and out here."²⁰³

In addition, suicide committed by the women was another cause of violence. The following are testimonies of women who attempted or witnessed suicide.

"Once I got drunk and because my life was so bleak, I climbed up to the third floor [of a building] and jumped off."²⁰⁴

"Another woman and I, the two of us talked about killing ourselves... One of us said 'alcohol. I heard if we drink enough alcohol we can die', so we got some Chinese liquor and split it up and drank it. It felt like it tore right through my throat... We sprawled out like that. We were unconscious for three days and then woke up again."²⁰⁵

"A number of the women who were there with me died. One woman from Hwanghae Province hanged herself from a tree, another secretly stole a gun from a sleeping soldier and shot herself, and there was another woman who died from taking opium. Quite a lot died."²⁰⁶

"One comfort woman's belly really swelled, and as it swelled she wanted to kill herself and hung herself from the stairs. But she was discovered by a soldier and moved to a different place."²⁰⁷

"A woman from Cholla Province caught a disease and couldn't endure the pain and committed suicide by hanging herself from the ceiling... Later, another woman got syphilis and killed herself."²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Testimony of Yune Soonman (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

²⁰⁴ Testimony of Moon Okju (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:161)

²⁰⁵ Testimony of Kim Bokdong (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:89-90)

²⁰⁶ Testimony of Kim Eunye, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 133)

²⁰⁷ Testimony of Yune Duri (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 133)

²⁰⁸ Testimony of Yeo Boksil (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 204)

"At the comfort station, people came down with tuberculosis, malaria, and sexually transmitted diseases. Some people got killed by enemy bombing too. Some comfort women, after being beaten by the owner for refusing the demands of a soldier, went into the bathroom to drink undiluted cresol solution to kill themselves. Others hanged themselves."²⁰⁹

Although these suicides are not direct forms of violence like murder, they have the respect of indirectly perpetrated violence. By extension, indirect violence also appears in deaths caused by the diseases. The followings are only the small portion of many testimonies.

"One older girl had a lung infection and had no choice but to stay on some island, and after the others left, I volunteered to take care of her. But she stopped breathing after ten days."²¹⁰

"A woman from Pyongyang who was two years older than me came with me to the Mokdan River in Manchuria. She caught a sexually transmitted disease from a soldier and was sick for a long time, and then died."²¹¹

"After six months I caught syphilis. In Japanese it's "*yokone*", I had sores on my vagina and my head, even my eyeballs, I felt itchy all the time. I took some Japanese medicine and got better, but later two women died from syphilis."²¹²

"A woman in our group called 'Tamako' got sick. She had a fever and couldn't eat, and her whole body trembled like an aspen leaf. Tamako was pregnant and her belly was swollen. Tamako shook really seriously and had seizures that kept her awake all night. Starting with me, a group of us nursed her. We were really worked hard to save her, but after two days she stopped breathing."²¹³

Although death from disease cannot be labeled murder, it has the characteristics of indirectly perpetrated murder. We have seen willful negligence and forms of violence that brought about death of women. Indeed, these are the extension of violence examined thus far, as the extreme of it. Thus, it is fair to say that 'comfort women' were exposed to diverse forms

²⁰⁹ Testimony of Song Shindo (Song Shindo Indictment, 2000)

²¹⁰ Testimony of Mun Okju (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:162)

²¹¹ Testimony of Yi Deuknam (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:207)

²¹² Testimony of Jin Kyungpeng (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:23)

²¹³ Testimony of Park Yonee(assumed name) (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:126-127). In the 'comfort stations', Korean women were called by Japanese names. For example, Son Panim remembers the following: "At that time [Korean 'comfort woman'] friends were called Hideko, Mariko, Hiroko, Sumipo, Akiko, Kinue, and Kazumaru (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:75). Also, speaking Korean among themselves was strictly forbidden. Accordingly, it was often difficult to distinguish them from Japanese women through names or language.

of violence and threat to the life. In essence, they were exposed to the condition of 'total obliteration of the humanity'.

(9) Other Injury and Pain

a. Forced Marriage

Also revealed in the survivor's testimonies are cases of relationships with specific Japanese officers, which were similar to a form of forced marriage. Born in 1921 in Kyoungnam, Korea, Kim Dokjin (assumed name) came to be a 'comfort woman' after being taken to Shanghai following what was ostensibly a Japanese factory's recruiting drive for female workers. She recalled the following.

"I had to receive between 30 and 40 regular soldiers a day. Those that came more regularly sometimes said things like "I love you" or "Let's get married". The most highly ranked soldiers would choose the brightest and prettiest girls and take them out of the comfort stations and into the barracks. I was one among the women chosen and came to have a special relationship with a man called Izumi ... Izumi's room was large with a big bed and he had a flashy gun and uniform. When things were quiet and he had some time, he used to give orders to a private and take me to sleep in his room for a few days... I met Izumi a lot and thought of him like he was my father and my husband at the same time. Every single day he told me he loved me, and that he would take me back to Japan after the war was over."²¹⁴

The following testimony made by Han Okseon, who was forcibly taken to Jilin in China, depicts her close relationship with a medical officer named Hagashoi. Han gave birth to two daughters with him.

"Hagashoi was an medical officer. I guess, when I went to have my examination he found how 'clean' my body was. After few nights he came to see me. He came looking just for me. So I went with him. He was an officer, an army doctor. So he called for me. And well, I had already thrown this body away, and so I thought I'd 'serve' him. There were two babies with him. One (stifling tears) went to Japan. I was unable to raise them both so I gave one away for adoption."²¹⁵

Han Okseon currently lives with her second daughter. She recognizes her experience of being a 'comfort woman' not as something of the past, but rather something that continues until today.

²¹⁴ Testimony of Kim Dokchin (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:53-54).

²¹⁵ Testimony of Han Okson (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

b. Opium and Other Medical Injections

It is necessary to take note of the opium injections prevalent among the women at the 'comfort stations', as this can be understood as a reaction to the suffering experienced by the women. The following are testimonies concerning opium addiction.

"I saw one older woman who was addicted [to opium], later the money ran out and there was nowhere left to insert the needle and her fat stiffened and she died."²¹⁶

"I had been there maybe two, three years when a woman from Pyongyang who used to write letters for me died of an opium addiction. They said that she inhaled white powder through her nose off the table. I asked what it was and they said it was medicine. After taking the opium, they had an energy stirred up in them and they would dance around and make a big stir... The women took opium secretly and the manager was completely unaware of it."²¹⁷

"There were a lot of people taking opium. Really, in China, there were so many opium addicts... The Korean dealers came in secretly to make sales deals. Once I tried it too, my life could never be as good as that world... One of the girls I was with, she used to use opium a lot. The soldiers used to inject it for her. If you got caught, it was very serious. You see, the soldiers weren't supposed to inject themselves with opium. Even so the soldiers would secretly inject themselves and they would use the opium together, thinking that it was really good. They would give the girls an injection and then inject themselves, and that's how they did it."²¹⁸

c. Forced Labor

Many of the survivors have testified that they were forced to perform a variety of other jobs outside of the so-called work required of the 'comfort women'. Cases of work disguising the women as nurses, and forced participation in military training and the National Defense Women's Association also appear in the testimonies. These methods utilizing the Japanese military's 'comfort women' in the course of the war proves that the coordination of the 'comfort women system' occurred within the overall system of Japanese military war effort.

"Soon we began taking care of the soldiers. We washed their clothes, and sent them off to the front line, and we would wear black hats and kimonos to attend the funerals of those soldiers who had died. We also washed the blood from the privates who returned from combat wounded.

²¹⁶ Testimony of Kim Chunja (Testimonies Compilation 2, 1997:158)

²¹⁷ Testimony of Ha Soonnyo, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:81-82).

²¹⁸ Testimony of Kim Eunrye, (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999: 133-134).

We would have to accompany the soldiers when they drank and we would pour drinks and help entertain them... A soldier would come and gather about five women, take a little bit of blood from our ears and examine it. After the examination I was called by a high ranking soldier and I had to sleep with him... After that we cared for the soldiers' washing and wounds, entertained them with alcohol and also had to sleep with them."²¹⁹

"As soon as we arrived at the comfort station they would examine us to see which of the women had a sexually transmitted disease and which were virgins. After that I began nursing work for a few months at the infirmary and learnt how to disinfect wounds and apply bandages. I did the washing in the hospital as well. In the day I did work in the hospital and in the evening the military medical staff would come and sleep with me. ... While I was doing the work as a nurse I did not have to sleep with any other soldiers, but a few months later I had to finish my nursing work and was made to do the work of a comfort woman. But even while I was working as a comfort woman, when there were a lot of wounded I would occasionally have to work in the hospital as a nurse."²²⁰

"The place that the Japanese soldiers took us was to the Tenth Army Hospital in Singapore. There were already about 300 women like us there. The Japanese soldiers made us undertake nursing training... And in the hospital after we had all had blood tests we would too often have to give blood to the patients whose blood count was insufficient. When they took blood I'd get a whizzing noise in my ears and feel dizzy."²²¹

"After one month we left the unit and were loaded into a vehicle again for about two to three hours until we arrived at a military field hospital in the middle of a vast plain. ... The hospital director gathered us together and told us that we would be at the hospital only three months then we would be able to leave by boat. We only knew about this after we returned to Korea, but at the time there were American soldiers occupying the island and the Japanese were worried that if our identity as comfort women was exposed it would be a real source of shame, so we were made into nurses. We wore temporary nurse's uniforms, and hats and badges. We helped treat the patients, bandaged them and dispensed medicine."²²²

²¹⁹ Testimony of Choi Illye (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:187-188).

²²⁰ Testimony of Moon Pilgi (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:112-113).

²²¹ Testimony of Kim Bokdong, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:95).

²²² Testimony of Son Panim, (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997: 79).

"We received training from the soldiers. We had epaulets which read "National Defense Women's Association" which we hung off our shoulders, we wore a hat and a black uniform, and received training as the soldiers instructed."²²³

4. Testimonies about the Sufferings of the Immediate Post-War Period

The suffering of the 'comfort women' did not end with the conclusion of the war. The injury and damage inflicted upon them continued after the conclusion of the Second World War. In particular, it can be presumed that a great number of the 'comfort women' died during this period. Although incomplete, through the testimonies of survivors we can further illuminate their collective experience. Below we address the crimes perpetrated against, and suffering experienced by, the 'comfort women' in the immediate aftermath of the war. This section focuses the abandonment of the women on the battlefield, murder, mass killings and forced diaspora, although they were in many cases overlapped with each other.

(1) Abandonment on the Battlefield

According to the testimonies, it was revealed that the survivors were generally left unaware of the fact of Japan's defeat and the end of the Second World War. This reveals the total control of information and the 'comfort women's' exclusion from all information right from their initial abductions through to the end of the war. The most important aspect here is that from the final stages of the Second World War that majority of 'comfort women' were in a situation of abandonment and neglect. The 'comfort women' were exposed not only to maltreatment and violence in the 'comfort stations', but also experienced the horror and dangers of the war itself.

"[At the end of the Second World War] they told us to go to hide ourselves. So we went into the mountains, quite a group of us. There were many of us in the mountains, and we had to find some way to keep ourselves alive. I was so hungry and I couldn't keep only cry, saying that 'we will never go home, and never see our parents.' The Chinese accused us of having sided with the Japanese and a great many of us were killed."²²⁴

"We took refuge in the mountains and we were so hungry. We ate the cane that they make sugar from ... and we ate snails, we would mince the snails and put them in a kettle to boil and eat that for a meal. I can't describe our suffering with words. We didn't even know that the war

²²³ Testimony of Oh Omok, (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:90).

²²⁴ Testimony of Kim Youngja (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

was over and that we were liberated. The Japanese didn't tell us that we had been liberated from Japan. The nasty sons of bitches not telling us that we had been liberated. If we had known I would have remembered their names. But then I was young and I wasn't in a position to remember that kind of thing."²²⁵

"There was the man who had taken us with him was a Japanese. One day [after Japan had been defeated in the war], he was suddenly disappeared. I shouted that I would beat out him to death (I was very strong). I had to get back to Korea, but I couldn't. How could I not be going crazy? I had to get back but they had all suddenly disappeared... Later I heard that those who took a boat out were all dead. I heard it when I arrived in Pusan, everyone had died while taking a boat back. There were about three or four women there, but I didn't hear about them."²²⁶

"In August of 1945, we found out about the Japanese defeat at the military comfort station. The military didn't tell the comfort women about their defeat, the Japanese military had just neglected us. The situation of the comfort women was extreme distress. There were some women who began to live to Chinese for their safety. Some women had to sell ourselves to the Chinese soldiers. There were also women who made suicide pacts with their children."²²⁷

In this situation of abandonment, the women were exposed to the dangers of war. Considering that they had neither weaponry or defense skills, in some ways they were in a more dangerous situation than the soldiers. The following testimonies are from the survivors of this situation.

"There were so many explosives going off that there was a great smell and we couldn't open our eyes, sometimes we couldn't even breathe. So we just threw ourselves on the ground behind the marker, until we were practically breathing the air in the dirt, and we stayed sprawled out like that. That was when we were on that island."²²⁸

²²⁵ Testimony of Kim Changyon (assumed name) (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

²²⁶ Testimony of Ahn Bopsoon (Testimony Compilation 1, 2000).

²²⁷ Testimony of Song Shindo (Song Shindo Indictment, 2000).

²²⁸ Testimony of Shim Dalyon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:155).

"[In Parao] The bombing was severe and the doctors and nurses separated taking refuge in Iwayama. There was nothing to eat so we ate the huge snails on the riverbank. They said that these were poisonous for human beings and so I hadn't been eating them. Later in the mountains I caught and ate live lizards and mice. One evening I washed some rice in the bowls that the soldiers had given us and tried to cook it while hiding the flame, but we were bombed. I took the rice and ran away with it like crazy and found that the rice was dark red. I had poured the water that was mixed with the blood of the dead."²²⁹

"At that time (the end of the Second World War), America had entered the war and the Americans came with their large bombs. The sky was black and went ratatatatat. In the day time if they were falling right above my head that meant that they wouldn't end up on me. If they seemed to be falling a little ways away that meant they were coming toward me so I'd try to avoid them and run away. So I run away."²³⁰

"Later there was a huge fire in the city center...the soldiers disappeared so suddenly not even the birds or mice knew about it, and so we were liberated...the newly liberated Chinese who had been treated so badly, came with a pickaxe and stabbed the comfort women to death. They used everything and anything to stab them, axes, sickles, spears, whatever."²³¹

These testimonies tell us how the 'military comfort women' of Korea, once utilized as the military supply for the war effort, were plunged into the even more severe condition at the end of war, and how many of them would have lost their lives from this direct exposure to the dangers of war. The casualties of the Japanese 'military comfort women' from allied bombing or in the midst of battles, confirms the Japanese imperial government and military's "death as acceptable" form of willful negligence. Japan cannot avoid legal responsibility for the deaths resulting from this type of neglect, in addition to the more apparent killings.

(2) Murder and Mass Killing

In continuation of the situation testified above, there were also testimonies about Korean 'comfort women' who were killed from bombings or in mass murders.

"One day we were down in the underground bomb shelter when because of the bombing the house fell down. A lot of rubble fell on top of the shelter. ... One of the comfort women, a tall girl with a long face named Pak died because of that bombing."²³²

²²⁹ Testimony of Yi Sangok (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:194).

²³⁰ Testimony of Kim Changyon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

²³¹ Testimony of Choi Kapsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000)

²³² Testimony of Yi Yongsu (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993: 129)

"After the blast [in the boat], I found that my older friend Susurang who was right next to me had died from a bullet wound to the neck... We sometimes met an air-raid in the evenings we would cut the engine of the boat and had to just sit still. But still you could hear the 'ratatatat' noise of the guns across the sea. And in the morning the sea would have changed to be a deep red color. By the time that we had reached our destination almost every friend [who were caught in Taegu region in Korea] had died."²³³

"We had been travelling for about a week when it happened... the ship was torpedoed... water was pouring into the ship and a girl from Kwangju sank under the water while her belly was torn away. She was in the middle of a pregnancy.... Girls were getting swept off here and there. Akiko also got swept away. Only fifteen survived (of approximately fifty women)."²³⁴

Apart from this, there were also testimonial reports in which the women were intentionally murdered at the time of Japan's defeat.

"In each cave they gathered Koreans and killed them. The officers attacked saying they would kill the women who were infected with diseases and who they couldn't have sex with, and those who had threatened to kill the Japanese soldiers with a knife. They took those women to a cave and in front of us they shot them in the womb and then cut off their breasts."²³⁵

"There was a Korean civilian who was attached in a high position in the Japanese army. He would inform us of things. The Korean man told us, "when Japanese soldier s direct to get in some freight cars, absolutely not to. Don't get on because there were explosives. Whenever I think of what that bastard (the Japanese army) had done to us, each part of my body including my teeth is trembling. Nobody got on that train. That man told us because he was Korean, and none of us from Honto (the name of a 'comfort station') got on."²³⁶

For the Japanese military, this kind of slaughter would carry the meaning as a destruction of the evidence concerning the existence of the military 'comfort women'. However, this also means that it is very difficult to find evidence of such acts of that period. This is made even more difficult as the Japanese government possesses and has classified the military documents of that time.

²³³ Testimony of Kang Muja (Testimony Compilation 2, 1997:62).

²³⁴ Testimony of Park Soonae (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:250-251).

²³⁵ Testimony of Kang Muja (Testimony Compilation 1, 1997:62).

²³⁶ Testimony of Kim Changyon (Testimony Compilation 1, 1993:250-251).

(3) Diaspora and Family Destruction

The suffering inflicted on the Korean women occurred on multiple levels from their forced recruitment until Japan's defeat. Although the means and methods for recruiting the 'comfort women' were manifested in diverse forms, their intrinsic nature lay in the mobilization of colonized women through the exercise of colonial power. This forced mobilization inflicted on women led to the unexpected separation from their families, hometowns and countries against their will. After the war, without any means of leaving the war zones or of being able to return to Korea at the end of the war, many of those women were left in the permanent state of diaspora. They would never come back to their motherland. Furthermore, the families of the 'comfort women' in Korea were often scattered. To be more precise, the act itself of taking a single family member away as a 'comfort woman' meant the break up of that family. Also, many women who survived suffering and death had no 'family' to return to in Korea.

With reference to the collected testimonies, all of the Korean 'military comfort women', except Yun Duri who was taken to Pusan, were forcibly transferred out of Korea to other countries. They were transferred to places as widely dispersed as Japan, Taiwan, Sakhalin, China, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, Palau, Truck Island, Saipan, Guam, Parao, Papua New Guinea, and other Pacific Islands. A report puts it succinctly: "where ever the Japanese army was fighting, there were 'comfort women.'"¹⁴⁵ For these women, this meant 'uprooting' from their foundation in home and land. As a result, many women knew absolutely nothing about the places where they were forcibly taken as 'comfort women' and have testified of the meaninglessness of escape. Even at the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, as testified, the majority of women were left abandoned on foreign ground. Based on these testimonies, we can infer the existence of those victims who lived and died unable to return to Korea after Japan's defeat.

The 1996 disclosure of Yi Namee as still living in Cambodia and the former comfort women still left in China substantiate this inference. At present, names of thirty Korean former 'comfort women' living in China have been disclosed. These women were taken to China and after 1945 were unable to return to Korea.¹⁴⁶ Even though these survivors wish to return to Korea, there are difficult circumstances surrounding their return, or they have established lives in those countries and cannot easily begin another life in Korea. The interviewer of Yi Namee described the following:

"More than anything, the sight of Yi who only had uncertain memories of home, who had to forget the language they had used, everything, even their names—these alone are sufficient justifications to prosecute for the atrocities committed under the 'comfort women' system."¹⁴⁷

Choi Gapsoon, who was taken to China, spent four years walking, while selling bean in coming back to Korea. Her experience attests to the extreme difficulty of the actual process of returning to Korea.

"I can't even say it. It took four years, if someone died in the fields she died and buried in snow, and in summer, they just died in the fields as if they were pigs or dogs. That's what I saw to come back."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Psychological Warfare Team, United States Office of War Information, 1944.

¹⁴⁶ Refer to Korean Council & Research Center, *Testimony of the Women Taken to China*, (1994: 6-7).

¹⁴⁷ Testimony of Yi Namee (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:41).

¹⁴⁸ Testimony of Choi Gapsoon (Testimony Compilation 4, 2000).

For those women who overcame such hardship to come back to Korea, there was no suitable place in society to which to return. Some women were unable to find their families, and others, on finding them, were placed in the situation of being unable to live with them. First, in the case of many of the 'comfort women's' families, this is because families were abducted through conscription or drafting processes often taken place during colonial rule, many of whom never have returned. As many women experienced dissolution of their families, the physical and psychological suffering is too evident. One example of this case is Kim Geutsoon's (assumed name) family of her older sister and her three younger brothers.

"Two of my younger brothers were drafted to go work in a factory in Manchuria, and all my brothers died. They were drafted and died, they went into the Japanese army and died, didn't all my brothers die. They all died and I'm the only one left. My older sister too came back from Japan and died when she was in Korea."¹⁴⁹

Second, even though some families remained intact, the experience of having been a 'comfort woman' brought such shame that those women were unable to bring any financial assistance, and the thought that they would just become a burden on their families prevented many of them from meeting their families. As a result of such conceptions, it was also common for women to be driven out of their families. In effect, the experience of being a 'comfort woman' caused many women to lose their families and thus their most important social relationships. As this means that surviving 'comfort women' are deprived of any kind of familial support and exchange, it directly connects to later problems of poverty and social alienation. This demonstrates the deep and long-term agony endured by the 'comfort women'. Below is the testimony of the late Kang Deokkyung.

"I had a baby at the end of my time as a 'comfort woman' and went back home but my mother told me not to come in if I had a baby. [So I placed my baby in an orphanage] and worked in a restaurant in Choryang, and every Sunday I went to see my baby at the orphanage. One day when I went another child was wearing my baby's clothes, and when I asked about it, they said my child had caught pneumonia and died. My child was only four years old... After that I never married, not in my whole life."¹⁵¹

5. Conclusion

¹⁴⁹ Testimony of Kim Geutsoon (Testimony Compilation 3, 1999:243-244).

¹⁵¹ Testimony of Kang Deokkyung (Testimony Compilation 1 1993:283).

Through the testimonies of the Korean survivors, it is intended to draw a collective picture of the 'comfort woman' crime. Transgressing the individual experiences of suffering of the survivors, the most prevalent forms of suffering have been interwoven from the testimonies of the 67 survivors. This material aims to reveal the nature of the crimes and suffering of the Korean 'comfort women'. Of course there are limitations in their testimonies. It is not easy to recall precisely all of the details of personal experiences that occurred over sixty years ago and generally when they were in their teens. Further difficulty is that this is the 'silence' with which this issue has been surrounded, originating in the context of thorough information control. However, despite these limitations this resulting document has been founded on the memories and language of these women, and has been constituted collectively of the experiences that have been most frequently expressed in the testimonies. Although still incomplete, it is now possible to have a holistic view on "what was it to have been a Korean 'comfort woman'." Being such, it is time to conclude by asking what is the nature of the crimes perpetrated against the 'comfort woman' of Korea?²³⁷

The Korean 'comfort women's' experiences of violence and fear range through a period from their forcible recruitment and transfer to arrival and life at the 'comfort stations', and through to the conclusion and immediate aftermath of the Second World War. As we have seen, the recruitment of the women of Korea through the means of a combination of the methods of fraud and official power, abduction and kidnapping etc, was a forcible recruitment. The combination of violence and intimidation in all of these methods demonstrates the forced and systematic nature of mobilization of the 'comfort women'.

These young women who were recruited in such a fashion reached the 'comfort stations' in a process in which they were raped or kept unaware of the circumstances as all information was tightly controlled. The injury and suffering met upon them in the 'comfort stations' ranged from enslavement, beating and other kinds of torture, repeated and sustained rape, the destruction of the sex organs and reproductive capability, sexually transmitted diseases, to psychological shock and threat on their lives. This damage and pain was both diverse and fatal.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the women in the 'comfort stations' were placed in life-threatening situations. According to the testimonies, the majority of Korean 'comfort women' were unaware of Japan's defeat even after the war, and were abandoned in countries which were completely unknown to them. From the final days of the Second World War the women were exposed to bombing, combat and other such war circumstances. Sometimes, the danger that they faced worsened with the new threat from the local people and difficulties to eke out their daily survival. The act of keeping the women in a state of detention in a place in which there was no provision for their return to their native countries proves that there was no interest taken in the women's safety. There were also testimonies, the ships and other means of transport used to move the Korean 'comfort women' were exploded in an effort to destroy any evidence. There, many women were forced into a state of diaspora often against their wishes and many would have died. For those women who miraculously returned to Korea, the families to which they returned were often destroyed or did not accept them. These injuries and pain intersect throughout the lives of the women who have survived as 'comfort women'. Accordingly, the crimes committed against the 'comfort women' can be understood as an 'obliteration of the human being as a whole entity.'

The multifaceted nature of the crime can be traced through the name itself: Korean, military, comfort, women. That is, Korean women who were forcibly drafted for the purpose of 'comforting' Japanese military men. At least three social structures are at play in this practices: Japanese imperialist war and the corresponding militarism; patriarchy which instrumentalizes

²³⁷ For further reference see Hyunah Yang, "Revisiting the Issue of Korean of Korean 'Military Comfort Women': The Question of Truth and Positionality," *positions-east asia culture critiques*, 5-1, 1997.

women's sexuality; and Japanese colonialism under which the Korean people were dominated by Japan during the period of 1910-1945.

From the perspective of the Korean 'comfort women', these three social structures are bound to one another, constitute the 'comfort woman' crime. As such, if this is misunderstood it is most difficult to grasp the reality of the pain they experienced. The execution of forced recruitment of Korean women using methods such as fraud and kidnapping on a large scale across the Korean colony over ten years speaks much of the nature of the recruitment. Firstly, the administration of the recruitment and the actions of the rank and file military organizations, as well as the spread of the practice throughout Korea could be only possible as the systematic mobilization under the domination of Japanese imperialism.

Second, Korean women and men's inability to resist the violent means of mobilization such as kidnapping, demonstrates how deeply Korean society was under the extensive and thorough control of Japan. That this practice of forced recruiting using methods such as employment fraud and abduction lasted for over ten years, is in itself an example of the degree to which Korea was in a situation of information absence and control.

Third, within the characteristics of the Korean women who were abducted as 'comfort women', appears the nature of colonial control. According to the testimonies the age of the women at the time of their abduction ranged from eleven to twenty-eight. This range in ages shows that all young women of Korea were the targets of abduction. It is a fact that girls as young as eleven, twelve, and thirteen were abducted as 'comfort women'. It is worth noting that the majority of Korean women who were abducted as 'comfort women' were minors with no experience as prostitution.²³⁸ The Korean women who were forcibly mobilized as 'comfort women' were not related to entertainment or prostitution districts, and the majority had no sexual experience. The experiences of becoming 'comfort women' of the women who had already had experience in the service or prostitution industries and those of many of the Korean women are at large contrast. We have already clearly demonstrated the fact that an overwhelmingly larger number of the Korean women forcibly transferred were virgins. This bold recruitment of virgin girls of Korea within the culture in which women's sexuality was cherished so much, also attests the power and violence of the nature of Japanese domination over Korean society.

Fourth, that women became the object of forced recruitment is the affect of the social disdain held for women. In the case of families in poverty, the family wished that the first to leave to seek work or reduce family numbers (and the corresponding costs of living) would be women.

Generally, the Japanese military's 'comfort woman system' is explained in terms of a continuity of the Meiji Era's system of state organized prostitution. It follows that the 'comfort women system' was an institutionalization of the Japanese state-regulated prostitution system that was established under the totalitarian Meiji state within the context of the war drive.²³⁹ This mode of explanation clearly explains the relationship between women and militarism.

²³⁸ According to Aso Tesuo a Japanese military medical officer, among the eighty Korean and twenty Japanese comfort women on whom he had conducted medical examinations, the Japanese women had been employed in the prostitution industry for a number of years, but the Korean women were young and many of them sexually inexperienced. Inter-Ministerial Working Group on the Comfort Women Issue [Republic of Korea, Military Comfort Women under Japanese Colonial Rule Interim Report, (1992: 143)].

²³⁹ Suzuki Yuko, "The 'Military Comfort Women' Issue and Japanese Women" in *Collected Materials of the Comfort Women Issue*, 1, 1993: 13-15, and Yuko Suzuki, "The Social Milieu That Conceived of the 'Comfort Women' System: Legalized Prostitution, Patriarchy and the Emperor System," presented at the ICJ Seminar, Tokyo, 1995.

The 'comfort women' system is understood as generally established with the aim of preventing the Japanese soldiers from raping local women, especially alarmed after the rape of women in the Nanking Massacre, and of avoiding sexually transmitted diseases due to the use of non-regulated prostitution. In this means of explanation, however, it is presumed that male sexual desire is uncontrollable, and the 'madness' of the army can be dissipated through the having sex with woman. In this assumption, of logic of thought, women's bodies are located as the 'objects' for the satisfaction of sexual and war instinct of men.. Taken further, the various horrors and tensions arising during war can be dispelled by the instrumentalization of women's body and sexuality. This demonstrated clearly how militarism uses women and their sexuality as a military tool. While this does serve to make certain issues very clear, it also makes certain aspect obscure.

Firstly, explaining the 'comfort' system in terms of prostitution as organized under the Japanese imperial state skews attention to focus exclusive on the Japanese 'domestic' state. While consideration of the Japanese prostitution model may problematize Japanese-style patriarchal and imperial social structures, it leaves the colonial aspect in the project of military 'comfort' women unexplored. Although the 'creation' of the project would not have been possible without officially sanctioned prostitution in Japan, the 'prostitution' model, it is clearly insufficient to explain the forcefulness of draft of tens of thousands of Korean girls, through lies, threats, and kidnapping, in terms of that model. The 'prostitution' model does not distinguish the colonial aspect of the crime committed against the Korean military 'comfort' women, rather it silently incorporates the Korean soil into the map of Japan, as if Korean women were equivalent to the Japanese. Thus, this explanation can be considered a very appropriate to explain the position of the Japanese 'comfort women'.

Secondly, the emphasis on the model of 'state-regulated prostitution' is only applicable to those aspects in which the 'system' (that is, the 'comfort woman' crime) are designed, planned and executed. This kind of explanation leaves unclear the meaning of the violence originating in the 'comfort stations', and responsibility is seen in terms of the senior level state bureaucrats who designed and implemented the 'comfort station' system alone. According to an examination of the testimonies, the core of the crimes committed against the 'women' at the 'stations' were every acts of forced sexual intercourse by individual soldiers. Problematicization of the institution only makes the status of each and every 'rape' occurred at the 'station' in this crime dubious.

Thirdly, the institutionalized prostitution mode assumes a minimal level of consent between the 'comfort' women and the Japanese soldiers. Thus, it softens and dilutes the effect of the many forms of violence that accompanied the 'comforting' services. This criticism does not imply that prostitution is not a violent act, but rather that the crimes perpetrated against the Korean 'comfort' women were different than those occurring in institutionalized Japanese prostitution system. It is evident that there was not even minimal consent concerning the intercourse by any means, and the women did not receive any form of compensation. Far from being motivated by monetary gain, all of these women had to survive under threat of torture and murder. As a result of the unimaginable frequency of intercourse, most suffered from sexually transmitted diseases and the destruction of their reproductive organs.

According to the testimonies of the 'comfort women,' rape and beating were the first act that informed the young women of for what it was they had been taken. These rapes continued for a few months in the shorter cases, and for a period of years in the longer cases, occurring tens of times each day. Even if understood as founded on the previously established state-regulated prostitution system in Japan, these willfully forced sexual intercourse with the women was nothing other than rape. The military 'comfort women' system is nothing other than institutionalized rape system. Particularly, the rape experienced by the women of Korea

must be understood as inter-racial gang rape originating between Japanese men and Korean women within the context of colonial domination and the war mobilization drive.

Fourth, this crime is also a violation of those women's 'identity'. As seen in the war in former-Yugoslavia, 'rape' as an attack on the women of the enemy is an act belittling the family, religion and culture of the enemy. Thus, that kind of rape is an effective means of attacking the enemy in the circumstances of war, rather than any expression of men's sexual desire for women. Those who are raped are not only the women, but also the societies and cultures in which those women live.²⁴⁰ However, as discussed, in the case of the Korean 'comfort women', they were a war supply that was not even in the position of the enemy. Women's bodies were represented as 'sex organs' that were not for reproduction. This kind of rape adequately destroys the most fundamental self-identity and the symbolic base on which their identity depends. As this kind of rape was carried out against Koreans it has dimension of a contempt for the Korean race and culture, and as it destroyed their reproductive capacity it is also genocidal in nature. In addition, after their miraculous return to Korea, they have been agonized by the chastity ideology in which their bodies are perceived as having been 'made dirty' their whole lives. This informs us of the extent to which the crime of 'comfort women' in Korea has damaged the social life of each woman at the most fundamental level.

Seen all of this, the 'comfort woman' issue is a cruel and brutally violent crime perpetrated through rape and murder of their physical and symbolic being. It is a crime of the obliteration of human beings by injuring their identity and dignity. And it is a social crime that exploits women's sexuality and violates women's own morality. As examined, this kind of crime exists in the various layers of the contempt for women under patriarchy, the dissipation of the men's sexual desire for the accomplishment of war under the militarism, and the instrumentalization of 'Koreans' under the colonialism. This was a multi-faceted crime produced by militarism, patriarchy and colonialism. Therefore, to restore the minimum dignity to the many Korean 'women' who lived and died we must judge and punish those who are responsible. To achieve this, we must grasp the multiple nature of the 'comfort women' crime and achieve a just declaration concerning this crime. Through the illumination of this historical crime that has not been judged over the past sixty years, there may be a great elevation of the standards of historical justice and truth in the region of Asia, Korea included.

²⁴⁰ Renata Salecl, "The Fantasy Structure of War," *The Spoils of Freedom* (New York: Routledge), 1994; Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1985.