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Kim Gunja

Kim Gunja was born in Pyonchang, Kangwon Province, in 1926, the eldest of three daughters. Although she grew up under ordinary rural conditions, all three sisters were uneducated. When she was ten, her father died. Her mother adopted her husband's younger brother, but he took possession of all their belongings. One year later, when Gunja was eleven, her mother took the three girls and moved back to her natal family. The second daughter was sent to live in another house, and the mother took the youngest to go and live with relatives in an area called 'Shilli', where she sold rice cakes for a living. Gunja alone lived with her mother's natal family for three years and then she returned to her mother. They lived together for one year before her mother's death, from which point she lived with her mother's sister.

When she was sixteen, she went to live with Choi Chulji (a police officer) as an 'adopted daughter'. She was introduced to him through a rice merchant who was a friend of her aunt's, and went to live with Choi and his concubine. She lived there for about a year, and he called her "Kimiko".

In March 1942, when she was seventeen, Choi sent her off with a Korean man in his thirties. Although this man wore a military-like uniform, he wasn't a soldier. He had come to the house before, but she had no idea who he was and thought she was being sent on an errand. She got on a freight car, and inside there were seven other girls with a different Korean man who was also wearing a similar uniform. They sat on the floor of the freight car, and it seemed as if they travelled all day and all night. When they got out of the freight car, they got into a military truck which had been waiting for them and rode for a long time.

In July of 1941, under the name "Guangdong Special Military Practice" there was a wide-scale mobilization for the armed forces which by that time had enlisted about 3000 Koreans as 'comfort women'. The Government-General had recruited the 'military comfort women' following the orders of the Guangdong Army. The commander of the Guangdong Army who had mobilized the 'comfort women' was Umezu Yoshijiro (in command September 1939—July 1944). The Governor-General of Korea was —. Kim Gunja can think of two facts to support the view that she was recruited through her adoptive father, a police officer. First, she was mobilized because the orders came through the police chain of command, and second, he had a personal connection with the agent in charge of mobilization and so turned Kim Gunja over. Either of these assumption are possible, but transporting a large number of women across the border between Korea and Manchuria, and even on into Soviet Union territory, would have been impossible without cooperation between the Government-General of Korea and the Japanese military.

Kim Gunja went from Korea to Hunchun in Manchuria. She and about nine other women got out at a

two-storey building resembling an old-style inn. She spent close to eighteen months there. There was a sign that read "Kinkaku Ianjo" attached to the door. The building itself was rectangular and contained many rooms. She was put into a room on the first floor, and the man who brought her to the 'comfort station' ran it with his wife. Another man, who was an employee, also lived there. The proprietor sat in his office and checked all the people who came in. They beat the women and monitored them.

Soldiers started coming from about two or three days after Kim Gunja's arrival. At first she refused, and they gave her a hard hit on her right ear that ruptured her eardrum. They just let it bleed, and she still can't hear very well. The soldiers came from about 2 or 3 pm on Saturdays, and there was an especially large number of them between 9 am and 7 pm on Sundays. There weren't many who came alone, and they came on a truck or on foot, led by officers. The soldiers passed through the office and waited in lines in front of the rooms. The halls were swarming with more than a hundred of them. Kim Gunja couldn't walk, and she wasn't allowed to rest during menstruation. On weekdays there were only officers who came, slept, and then left. On Saturdays and Sundays officers only came at night. When there were a lot of them, she had to service up to forty at one time, and she couldn't wash at all, causing additional pain. The soldiers brought condoms which tended to break so some men didn't use them.

Every Friday night they were examined for sexually transmitted diseases. They all got on a truck and went to the military officer who examined them. They were the only women in the barracks hospital. Kim Gunja contracted syphilis and was given the 606 injection. She also got pregnant, but miscarried. She was called "Kumiko" or just her room number, "nine". She feels great resentment toward the Japanese and even now never speaks Japanese.

Not even a few months after going there, someone was caught trying to escape and the proprietor beat her ferociously to make an example of her. After seeing that, Kim Gunja couldn't even dream of escape. An opium user who tried to sell her bedding and was found out by the owner was locked up. Kim Gunja had smoked cigarettes occasionally in bars, but after that she immediately quit.

There are no public records on the military brothel in Hunchun where Kim Gunja was kept, but according to the Japanese soldiers, victims' testimonies, photographs, and maps, there were between twenty and thirty military "comfort station's" with Korean women in the Hunchun River area " (Thinking of War Association", Peace Journal 10, 1992). It appears that Kim Gunja was at "comfort station" number 71.

Just before Kim Gunja went to Hunchun in 1941, the headquarters of the Guangdong Army was retitled the General Headquarters and the 1st and 2nd dispatch armies were newly established, reinforcing military power and reshuffling the organization. The China 2nd Army (commanded by Lieutenant-General xxx July 1942—May 1943) was established under the command of the 1st dispatch army (commanded by

Lieutenant-General xxx July 1942—September 1944), with the foundation as the 71st division (led by Lieutenant-General xxx 1942—Japan's defeat).

From around 1943 on, defeat seemed inevitable, and the division under the command of the Guangdong Army started to be transferred south. As the soldiers were sent to the front lines, they were brought by the truckload to Kokashi (五家子) "comfort station". This concurs with the testimony of Kim Gunja. Kokashi was one of the most important border camps on the Soviet boundary. In 1943, Kim Gunja, along with the couple who ran the station and seven other women, was taken to a shabby and empty one-storey house at Kokashi. Kokashi was on a plain, and the unit was far off in the distance. Just before the liberation of Korea, Kokashi "comfort station" was under the jurisdiction of 127th division. There are testimonies from soldiers at the fortified camp that at that time, regional military "comfort station's" were built following the fortified camps, and the soldiers poured in on Sundays (Comfort Woman 110, pg. 39-40).

In January 1945, the 71st division stationed at Huchun was transferred to Taiwan (10th dispatch army). In February, the 9th border garrison stationed at Kokashi under Koga Ryutaro was reorganized into the 127th division according to the division commander's orders. At that time, the commander-in-chief of the Guangdong Army was Yamada Otozo (July 1944—Japan's defeat).

As mentioned above, at the beginning of 1943 there was a movement toward Kokashi, and less than eighteen months later Korea was liberated. At that time, Kim Gunja had not yet turned twenty. The proprietor of the 'comfort station' paid her no money and told her to go where she liked. Seven women had to walk down from Baekdusan for fifteen days. Crossing the Duman River and passing through Hoeryong, Kim Bokdong walked, rode freight cars and came to Chulwon in a month. She worked as pedlar and servant in Seoul and other cities, and while moving around, met a man and was married for a time. She now lives in a shared house and has converted to a religious life.

Park Youngshim

Park Youngshim was born in Kungyo, Pyongyang in 1921. In March of 1938, when she was 17, she was taken by a Japanese police officer with fifteen other young women to Pyongyang station. He told her she would be going to work in a hospital, but instead she was taken to Nanjing and became a comfort woman. She was put in a three-storey brick building in Nanjing which was a 'comfort station'. There, she was called by the Japanese name Udamaru. She was forced into sexual service under threat of death if she didn't respond to the demands of Japanese soldiers. If any of the women there caught a disease or became malnourished, she was physically carried out of the 'comfort station' or pushed into a river to drown. Park Youngshim was there for about three years.

The central China dispatch army (commanded by Masei) which had carried out the Nanjing Massacre

was organized into the Central China Expeditionary Force in February 1938 and was sent to its station. In September 1939, this army was disbanded, and to unify the Japanese soldiers in the Chinese post, General xxx was made commander-in-chief of the China Expeditionary Force Headquarters established in Nanjing. xxx, Toyama Noburo, and xxx were the Central China Expeditionary Force commander and China Expeditionary Force commander-in-chief responsible for the Nanjing region where Park Youngshim spent three years.

After more than three years, she was transported by two Japanese soldiers to Shanghai, from where she passed through Singapore to a 'comfort station' in Rashio, Myanmar. She spend two years of forced sexual service there under the name Wakaharu.

At the end of January, 1942, the 33rd and 55th divisions of the 15th Army, led by xxx commander, invaded Myanmar by land, and seized Rangoon on March 8. The 18th and 56th divisions subsequently arrived by sea at Rangoon, and on May 18, Myanmar fell to the 15th Army.

Myittha The 56th division, which had landed at Rangoon in March 1942, marched north to Rashio and ~~Mittha~~. They invaded Unnan (also called Tengchung) in May and established camps in Ramo, Sungsan. From then until Japan's defeat they were scattered around various (encampments). Park Youngshim was sent from Rashio to Sungsan in 1944 and appears to have been assigned to the 56th division. The 56th division (commanded by xxx) at that time entered under the command of the 15th army, part of of the Myanmar dispatch army (formed March 1943, commanded by xxx). In April 1944, the 56th division was reorganized under the new establishment of the the 33rd army commanded by xxx (?—defeat).

When Park Youngshim was sent to the 'comfort station' in Sungsan, the Ramo garrison was the 115th infantry regiment of the 56th division. The Ramo garrison fought with the Chinese Unnan invading army, and all soldiers were killed on September 7, 1944. A few days previous, Park Youngshim had hidden in an air-raid shelter with other Korean 'comfort women', and she was taken as a prisoner of war by the Chinese army and was sent to a POW camp in Kunming. At that time, there were only four other Korean women still alive.

There are photographs and the memories of testifiers remaining which connect to Park Youngshim. War correspondant Walter Rundle wrote an article on these survivors on November 30, 1944 for the China Burma India Roundup (an American military newspaper). The route taken by Park Youngshim to Burma wasn't the overall experience of survivors, but at the same time it does show the position of the 'comfort women' who were in Sungsan.

[According to these testimonies, in Pyongyang in the spring of 1942, the Japanese civilians attached to the military began a poster and speech propaganda campaign to recruit for the Women's Army Corps. The material claimed to be sending women to Singapore to work in maintenance of Japanese military housing, condolence activities, nursing in hospitals, and other such noncombatant work. There were 24 women in Sungsan, and in addition to this work they had to launder military uniforms, cook, and clean the cave where they lived together. They were paid no money for this work, nor could they receive mail from their families. When the Chinese army invaded Sungsan, they were living in an underground earth cavern. Out of 24 women, 14 were killed in the bombardment. The ones taken alive were said to have been tortured, and all of the women frankly stated that they believed it.] (attachment)

The Korean 'comfort women' in Sungsan lived in a state of slavery below the Japanese prostitutes, and as a result of endless brainwashing, were unable to even consider the thought of escape. They lived under the constant threat of their lives.

According to current research in Japan, the attached photograph was found in Sungsan on September 3, 1945 by the Chinese army. A pregnant Park Youngshim can be seen in the photograph. Hayami, a surviving soldier of the Ramo garrison of the 56th division, succeeded in escaping just before all members of the garrison were killed. He was taken prisoner by the Chinese and appears in the picture taken with the 'comfort women' in Kunming prisoner of war camp. He claims to remember Wakaharu.

Park Youngshim was held in the Kunming camp until February 1946, when she returned to her home in Inchon.

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Ha Sangsuk

Ha Sangsuk (a pseudonym) was born in Sosan, South Chungchung Province in 1928. She had one younger brother and one younger sister. Her parents made and sold *yot*. She was sent to primary school but hated studying. In her third year of primary school, her father contracted pneumonia and died. The family was left with no money and Sangsuk's mother sold the inn she had managed to her sister, remarried, and moved to Yesan. At the age of twelve, Ha Sangsuk began work taking care of children in

Jinnampo. After doing childcare for a year, she went to work in a factory.

One day in 1944, when she was fourteen, she went to play at a neighbouring friend's house and found the older girl wearing nice clothes and makeup. She asked how her friend had earned the money, and her friend answered that she had gone to work in a Japanese factory. Sangsuk suggested that this time, when the friend went to Shanghai, they go together. Her friend agreed, and two days later a Korean man came looking for them at home. The man asked whether they wanted to go to China or Japan, and they answered China. Her mother said Manchuria was too far and told her not to go, but Sangsuk insisted on going.

It was sometime in June when she left. The Korean man took the two girls as far as Kyongsong, and they went to an inn near Jangchungdan. The inn was run by a couple, and there were already five other young women there who were older than Ha Sangsuk. Later, there was a total of about forty women, most of whom came from Kyongsang Province. The older ones said that women who went away did welcoming calls of "heitai (soldier)", sang, and made condolence visits. The couple who ran the inn gave Ha Sangsuk the name "Kimiko".

She got on a train carrying soldiers and left Kyongsong. She went through Pyongyang and Tenjin and arrived at Nanjing. Because she had had to transfer trains in Tenjin, she slept all night. She spent about two weeks in Nanjing, rode on a boat, and spent another two weeks in Muho, Anhuisong, before finally going to Wuhan. There were also soldiers on the boat, but all of the civilians were Korean.

It was around December 1944 when she got out at Hankow. After a thirty minute walk, she and the other forty women arrived at Jokgyong village. Twenty of them went into some kind of house, named xxx. The proprietors were from Pyongyang. When the women first entered, they were examined by a doctor. They were given medicine, and injections to prevent pregnancy. They were presented to the military department responsible for 'comfort stations', and with the permission slip stating that women had to be older than eighteen was presented, Ha Sangsuk's age was raised to eighteen.

The 'comfort station' had two storeys, and was the third house in Jokgyong village. There were about twenty rooms, all with tatami floors. First, three Japanese soldiers came in, and after that, it was only soldiers. Usually, ten to fifteen soldiers came each day. If the soldiers gave money to Ha Sangsuk, she gave it to the owners in exchange for condoms and tissue. The amount was about one or two Chinese yuan, and the managers kept record of it in an account book.

On Sundays the soldiers waited in lines outside. Each soldier was allotted about one hour. When Ha Sangsuk refused to allow a soldier to go twice, she was sometimes beaten. Some soldiers showed up drunk and threatened to kill her. She fought with those who refused to wear a condom. If a soldier was

dissatisfied with any of the women, he complained directly to the proprietor who then beat and kicked that woman. Of the military units of the time, Ha Sangsuk remembers Sakura unit.

There was a bathhouse. After servicing a soldier, she went to the bathhouse and washed with medicated water. Every Monday she went to a hospital in Jokgyong village and was checked for sexually transmitted diseases. On the day before the examination, the groups of women examined each other with a device that resembled a duck's bill (a speculum). The owner hated it if anyone had contracted a disease so they covered cotton wool with dust and swabbed themselves. This way, even if there was an infection, it was possible to pass the examination. Women who contracted syphilis were hospitalized and treated with the 606 injection. They usually recovered within fifteen days.

There were no rest days, and the women couldn't leave the brothel. Once a month, they went to a bathhouse outside the Jokgyong village's iron gate. They were fed by Chinese people twice a day. The proprietors of the 'comfort station' bought them clothes and makeup but gave them no money. At first, Ha Sangsuk borrowed money for trainfare and clothing from the Korean man who brought her. He said that it would take three years of work to repay the loan.

Then, one morning, she heard that Japan had lost the war. The Japanese women in the next house were crying. The money they had received from the soldiers became useless and they threw it away. Koreans gathered in Jokgyong village. She could now return to Korea, but wondering what she could do after going back with this body, she decided not to go.

Ha Sangsuk remained in China, married a Chinese man who already had three children, and became their stepmother. She kept her Korean citizenship and still lives in Muhan, China. She wishes to visit her hometown, but because of citizenship problems it is a difficult process.

Hankow's special army 'comfort station' in Jokgyong village was established in November, 1938. As can be seen in the testimony of Song Shindo, this regional 'comfort station' was under the direction of the Japanese military. From March, 1943 until Japan's defeat in the war, according to the Yamada Seikichi, officer in charge of the 'comfort station' department, new 'comfort women' who arrived were presented with the manager to the officer in charge of ^{comfort stations}. At that time, the woman had to bring a photograph of herself, a copy of her family register, a contract, a letter of consent from her parents, a police permit, and her identification card. A non-commissioned officer in the 'comfort station' department drew up a report on her family which was forwarded to the military police. According to these reports, in 1943, there were nine Japanese-run 'comfort stations' and eleven Korean-run ones in Jokgyong village. They report 130 Japanese 'comfort women', and 150 Korean women. In November 1944, the officer in charge of this area was China Expeditionary Army's commander-in-chief Okamura Yasuji, and the officer of the 6th dispatch army was Okabe Naosaburo. They were first called into the army in 1932 and were the ones who established the 'comfort stations'.

Song Shindo

Song Shindo was born in Nonsan-gun, South Chungchong Province in 1922. She lost her father when she was twelve, and at sixteen, was persuaded by her mother to marry. She hated that first night, and the day of the ceremony, she returned to her natal family with nothing but the clothes she was wearing. However, it was impossible for her to stay with her family, so she took herself to a person she knew in Daejeon. In Daejeon, she eked out a living doing embroidery.

In 1938, she was solicited by a middle-aged Korean woman to "go work and earn money on the battlefield" because "it's not like marriage, and you can live alone". Living alone and not being married—this was exactly what Song Shindo had in mind, and she followed up on the woman's proposition. At that time "I had no idea I would turn out to be a comfort woman. When I went with the Korean woman to Pyongyang, there were a lot of women in their late teens gathered there. And on the way there, even though I asked what kind of work it was, the woman didn't answer."

From Pyongyang she was taken away by a Korean man. They crossed the border and passed through Hankow until she was taken to Wuxi. This was near the end of 1938, just after the Japanese forces had invaded Wuhan. Arriving in Wuxi, Song Shindo was taken to a military 'comfort station' for army use called "World View". The station was an enormous two-storey structure with a tile roof that looked like a remodelled Chinese store. The remodelling had been performed by a soldier who had been a carpenter. The fighting had just finished, and the 'comfort women' were forced to handle dead bodies. Song Shindo was even had to wash blood stains off the walls. Upon arrival at Wuxi, they were all examined for sexually transmitted diseases. It was at this point that Song Shindo, who had left her home and come so far to work and be independent, first received the inexpressible shock of what she was about to do.

The proprietor of "World View" was a short Korean man. Just above xxx, there were some other 'comfort stations' called "Yamato" and "Kotobuki". There were a dozen or so 'comfort women' at "World View", and they were all Korean. They were not allowed to speak Korean, and even speaking familiarly among themselves was prohibited.

Of all the women, Song Shindo had the hardest time at "World View"; she was so young she had not even begun to menstruate yet. The first time she was forced to service a soldier, she didn't know what she was supposed to do. She couldn't stop crying, and she ran out. The first man to come in her room was an officer named Takahashi, and when he saw her run away crying, he didn't do anything and left. That officer reported it, and someone from the office exploded with anger at Song Shindo.

In the 'comfort station' office, Song Shindo got very frightened. Since she didn't know where she was, she didn't speak the language, she had no money and no idea how to take the train, and the area was surrounded with soldiers, escape was impossible. Even so, when the soldiers came into her room, horrifying and terrifying her, she cried and tried to run away. The manager slapped her cheek until her

nose bled, withheld her food and shut her up in a narrow room. However, complete escape was impossible, and while crying, she became a tool for the sexual appetites of the soldiers.

The 'comfort women' at the stations required military permission, but at "World View", the soldiers started pouring in even before the permits were received. Users of the brothels were limited to soldiers. At that time, the soldiers who came were under the command of the 6th and 9th divisions. The commanding officer of the 6th and 9th divisions, under the jurisdiction of the 11th army, was Okamura Yasuji (June 1938—March 1940, then of the 6th dispatch army and successor to the commander-in-chief of the China Expeditionary Force). The senior commander of the Central China Expeditionary Army was Hata Junroku (February—December 1938).

At the 'comfort station', Song Shindo was called by the name "Kaneko". She was forced to service dozens soldiers every day. Rest was not permitted during menstruation. Especially on Sundays, there were a lot of soldiers, and some of them demanded dominant and barbaric sexual acts. It was truly an unbearable life.

If the 'comfort women' were too exhausted and tried to refuse the soldiers' demands, they were threatened with knives, beaten, and subjected to all sorts of violence. The scars still remain on Song Shindo's body. She can't hear out of her right ear. The wounds of her time as a comfort woman are left behind on her body. Amid the growingly desperate soldiers, who wanted to die here as if dying at the hands of an enemy, there were those who demanded that she join them in *seppuku*. To Song Shindo, who wanted to live under any circumstances, the orders for *seppuku* were terrifying.

Among the 'comfort women', many caught tuberculosis, malaria, and sexually transmitted diseases. Patients were moved to separately prepared small rooms. Inside the rooms were also the dead left by enemy bombing. Some women, beaten by the manager for contracting disease or refusing the demands of the soldiers, out of despair went to the bathroom to commit suicide by drinking undiluted cresol solution. Others hung themselves.

At 'comfort stations', it was a duty to use condoms. However, most of the soldiers didn't. Because of this, many 'comfort women' got pregnant. The pregnant women were not allowed a rest period, and some were expelled from the brothel. Song Shindo got pregnant. She was forced to keep having sex, and her first pregnancy resulted in a stillbirth at seven months. She gave birth alone in her room. It was a difficult labour, and when the baby's body came out, it was dark purple and already dead.

In this way Song Shindo was imprisoned in the 'comfort station', and following this organized, collective, and continuous rape, she was wounded so deeply it was impossible for her to ever fully regain

her own human dignity.

Song Shindo lived at the "World View" for about three years until she was expelled for getting pregnant. At a navy brothel in Hankow, she did chores like laundry and cleaning, and after the birth, she was moved to Kakushyu (pronounced Hwakinyo in Chinese). The baby born in Hankow was sent away to a stranger. She continued servicing soldiers in a 'comfort station' in Kankushyu. In addition, she was taken to work in stations including ones in Anni, Choan, and Hoking.

The 'comfort women' were increasingly sent closer to the front lines to work at brothels for special units. It was frightening to be brought onto the battlefield, but they had no choice. Particularly in these circumstances, there were no medical officers so the women weren't examined for sexually transmitted diseases, and they were always exposed to infection.

As the war got harsher, the lives of the 'comfort women' also got more difficult.

The 'comfort women' were placed at the scene of the massacre of Chinese prisoners of war by Japanese soldiers. Holes were dug, the prisoners blindfolded, and killed with swords. Right after witnessing such acts of brutality, Song Shindo had to serve liquor at a party. When the camp was empty and the security got lax, the 'comfort women' had to do sentry duty as well. No one knew when the Chinese army would be attacking, so they lived quaking with fear.

Beyond being forced to live in such cruel circumstances, Song Shindo and the others received next to no payment. In the case of the regiment, there weren't even nominal "wages". Even when there was a little income, it was taken away as a "national defense donation" so in actuality Song Shindo was left with practically nothing.

Also, after leaving Hankow, she was passed through many 'comfort stations' and gave birth twice, including the birth in Hankow. She had to leave the second baby with strangers. She had other pregnancies in addition to the two births, but because she was expelled for each pregnancy, she induced early termination with a folk remedy (at eight weeks, refrain from moving and eating for three days and then drink a mixture made from the root of a certain kind of plant). Song Shindo was completely prevented from giving birth or raising her children.

In August 1945, Song Shindo learned about Japan's defeat through the 'comfort station'. The army didn't inform the women about it. At about this time, a Japanese soldier from another unit (the independent combined 17th brigade) suggested that they leave together. Song Shindo didn't know

how to get back to Korea and had no means of supporting herself, and because she was completely left on her own by the Japanese military, she decided to return to Japan with the soldier and get married. However, as soon as they had escaped the hostile territory of China, the soldier abandoned her.

Left on their own by the Japanese military, the former 'comfort women's' situation became wretched in the extreme. For their bodily safety, some women went to live with Chinese, and some sold their bodies to Chinese soldiers. Like Song Shindo, others went to Japan with Japanese men.

After being abandoned in Japan, Song Shindo was introduced through a Korean-Japanese man to "H", another Korean-Japanese who owned a restaurant. She began to do kitchen work there. From then until H died, they lived together (although their relationship was never sexual). While H was alive, even though she felt like it was giving him trouble, she kept drinking every night. The battleground scenes never left her dreams. She lived alone after H's death, without any family, and racked with guilt over the two babies she had had to leave behind in China.

As mentioned above, Song Shindo was with the Japanese military for seven years from age sixteen to twenty-three. As a "voluntary comfort woman", she was forced to live as a sex slave, thoroughly deprived of her human and sexual freedom. During that time, her life was continuously threatened, and after the war, she was granted no means to return to Korea. Left on her own, she had no choice but to pursue a life in Japan.

Materials on the Responsibility of the Japanese Military and Government

1) Context of the 'comfort stations' in xxx

In December 1937, after the central Chinese dispatch army took occupation of Nanjing, the central Chinese Expeditionary Force was ordered by the main headquarters to attack and take occupation of Hankow and its vicinity on August 22, 1938 and Wuhan (Wuhan included the three cities of Hankow, xxx, and xxx) was full of activity. On September 28, 제상해 a representative of the consulate-general sent the details of a decision of 연락회 to the Minister of the Interior "order for emergency settlement with regard to advance of xx (designated as Japanese, Koreans, and Taiwanese) following the Hankow invasion. According to this document, the entry excluding residents was a perspective following the appearance of some freedom in the transport of residents who wished to return to their homes. However, entry in order to establish the 'comfort stations' became unrestricted. Also, claiming that construction of military comfort houses puts a priority on transportation. It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the Central China Expeditionary Force's main force, the 11th Army, took occupation of Hankow on October 26, before the occupation of Wuhan on October 27. Just after the occupation of

Wuhan, the Japanese army granted special benefit schemes to recruiters to facilitate construction of 'comfort stations'.

The Central China Expeditionary Force's 2nd Army entered Hankow on November 3 and set up guard posts for both Hankow and xxx. According to the "2nd Army Synopsis" of the 2nd Army Headquarters mobilized on December 10 of that same year, "all leave, xxx excluding leave to enter a 'comfort station', is not authorized. The 'comfort station' opens on November 25, and congestion shall be prevented with the ticket system congestion, and we must make an effort to maintain the dignity of the Imperial Army. We believe we can achieve our first goals." This demonstrates the significant level of involvement of the Japanese military in the establishment and operation of the military 'comfort stations'.

In support of the details above, "Nagazawa Kenichi, the medical officer attached to the Hankow Army Headquarters and the prostitution agents on standby for the fall of Wuhan, Shanghai, and Nanjing took 'comfort women' and continued on toward Wuhan and started to go up the Yangtze River. The Expeditionary Force took them as "war materials" and transported them as a priority" (Hankow 'comfort station', pg. 50). It is recorded that "in the middle of November of the year Showa 13 (1938) the Hankow Army Headquarters, following orders from a superior Headquarters, selected a building to serve as a 'comfort station', xxx 'comfort station' agents to bring women, and even had the 'comfort station' built" (ibid, pg. 55).

In addition, according to the same book, through the army's link to military duties, including the regulations for use of the 'comfort station', formulation of the fee, regular examination for sexually transmitted diseases, systematization of the Hankow 'comfort station' league (조합), it controlled, regulated, and operated the 'comfort stations'. It also states that the Hankow 'comfort station' "continuously prospered right up until defeat accompanying the China Expeditionary Force because of its content and scope" (ibid, pg. 62).

It is presumed that the 'comfort stations' at Hankow and xxx, across the river from Hankow, were built at almost the same time. The Employment Statistics Table of the Hankow consulate-general states that on November 30, right after the Hankow 'comfort station' was built, Hankow had 17 men employed as inn cooks, xx, and 'comfort station' xxx; 2 as xxx, xxxx while in comparison xxx had 33 and 245 (???). From this material it can be inferred that the xxx 'comfort station' was constructed at almost the same time at the one at Hankow, and that its numbers of 'comfort women', xxx, and xxx exceeded those of the Hankow station's. According to Japanese government material, such as the "Showa 13 Hankow consulate-general Police Affairs", the xxx station didn't house all the 'military comfort women', but had between 245 and 292.

Also, Nakazawa Kenichi has stated that "the xxx and Hankow Army Headquarters received demands for 'comfort stations' similar in scope and type of services to the one built with the fall of Wuhan. The managers were predominantly Japanese, and the 'comfort women' were a mix of about 200 Koreans and

Japanese. A medical officer named Kitamura was in charge of the sexually transmitted diseases examinations, and like Hankow, managed and directed (???)” (op.cit. pg. 220), supporting 이것을.

As the Song Shindo has described, the construction of the xxx ‘comfort station’ likely occurred in November between the arrival of troops in xxx through Hankow and the construction of ‘comfort stations’ following the invasion of Wuhan.

2) The ‘comfort station’ at xxx (Sekaikan = World View)

The appearance of the xxx ‘comfort station’ where Song Shindo spent three years was as described. The Central China Expeditionary Force’s 11th army which carried out the invasion of Wuhan, was composed of the 6th, 7th, 27th, 101st, and 106th divisions and the xxx division. Following the occupation of Hankou, the Main Headquarters limited the operation to Wuhan and its vicinity, and to prevent further expansion of the front line, all divisions participating in the operation were changed to guards of the Wuhan area, the 2nd Army revoked the order of battle, and the 2nd Army Headquarters were returned to Japan. According to the “China xxx Military Operation (2)” in the guard of Wuhan by the 11th Army, the 6th division was posted to guard the region of xxx, and the 9th division was sent to the xxx region.

The World View, where Song Shindo was kept, fell under the category of “military-use (soldiers and civilians attached to the military) ‘comfort station’” designated for “soldiers posted in cities”. Through the examination of recruitment of ‘comfort women’, the passage of soldiers, the military police, and the participation of the consulate-general in the Hankow and xxx ‘comfort stations’, the extensive and direct involvement of the military in the transfer of ‘comfort women’, operation regulations, fees, establishment of use time, supply of ‘comfort station’ facilities, control of agents and ‘comfort women’, regular examinations for sexually transmitted diseases conducted by medical officers, and the control, direction, management of officers is evident. Although the ‘comfort stations’ in Hankou and xxx were operated by civilians, the military participated in this operation and xxx. The civilian managers did not exceed the orders of the military, and the Hankow and xxx ‘comfort stations’ must be seen as typical military ‘comfort stations’.

References

xxx;

Nagazawa Kenichi

Kim Bokdong

Kim Bokdong was born on May 1, 1926 in Yangsan, South Kyongsang Province, as the fourth of six daughters. Her father had acted as guarantor for someone’s loan, but when that person failed, her father

lost all his fields. Soon after, he fell sick and died. Her mother was left to raise the six girls. In 1941, when Kim Bokdong was only fifteen, at her mother's urging she dropped out of her fourth year at Yangsan primary school. One day, when she was staying at home, the village headman and leader of the village association came to her house accompanied by a Japanese man wearing yellow clothing without any insignia.

These men told Kim Bokdong's mother to turn her daughter over because she was to be sent away as a Taishintai. They said "you don't have any sons, so for the sake of your country, you have to send daughters. If you don't, you will be a traitor and you won't be able to live here anymore." When her mother asked what Taishintai was she was told that it meant "going to work in a factory producing military uniforms". The men added that "it would only be for three years, and she will be sent home earlier if she has to get married, so you have nothing to worry about. And if she wants to keep working and earn more money after three years, she can stay."

They ordered her mother to put her seal on some documents. There was no choice but to go.

The Japanese man who had come with the village leaders put Kim Bokdong on a bus and took her to Busan. She was locked into a warehouse at the pier. An armed soldier stood guard in front of the warehouse, already containing about twenty Korean girls and young women. They had all been dragged from Daegu, Jinju, Gimhae, and Uiryong. Although most of the girls were older than Kim Bokdong, they were all too young to be married. There was a Korean man there who monitored the girls and served as an interpreter, and he said that his parents, who were Korean, had lived in Japan for a long time. It appeared that this man had recruited all the girls there. That evening, they boarded a boat bound for Shimonoseki, led by the Korean man who had brought them and done interpreting.

It is possible to understand the recruitment of *jongshindae* by the village leaders in two ways. First, mobilization of military women was systemically directed through the administrative organization, under the influence of the Korean Government-General, and second, that people were directly or indirectly sent by the military and women were recruited through the lower ranks of administration.

Administrative units moved, and as soldiers stood guard duty when the units were stationed at the Busan piers and in 1941, they were clearly under the responsibility of Minami Jiro (1874-1955) and the Korean Military General Headquarters (Busan vicinity army ???). The victims travelled from Korea to Japan, Taiwan, and China, and because of the thorough survey and direction of the movement of women outside Korea, we can question the responsibility of Japanese Prime Minister Tojo Hideki together with the accused Minami Jiro.

After arriving at Shimonoseki, the girls spent about a week confined in a warehouse-like place at the pier. After a week, they boarded a cargo boat and arrived at Taiwan. They got out of the boat, walked for a long time, and came to a place similar to a farm. A person dressed in civilian attire monitored the

girls and said he was part of the Japanese police. After spending about a month there, they again got on a boat and went to Guangdong. Before boarding, they changed into national defense uniforms with collars and Japanese-style pants. They first 'comfort station' Kim Bokdong was taken to was Guangdong.

Disembarking at Guangdong, they got on a concealed army truck and directly went to a place that resembled a hospital. They were led by the same two Japanese and Korean men who had taken them from Korea. They gave some documents to a high-ranking person, and told the girls to unconditionally answer "hei, hei" (yes, yes) to everything. Kim Bokdong went into some kind of room, and was examined by a Japanese medical officer who told her to strip below the waist, get on a wooden board and open her legs. Kim Bokdong, who had never undressed in front of a man in her life, was shocked and frightened. She refused to get on the board and struggled against the medical officer, but he forcibly stripped off her clothes and examined her.

After the examination, the girls walked for a long time and finally came to a building. It was the 'comfort station'.

When Kim Bokdong and the twenty girls rounded up with her arrived at the Guangdong 'comfort station', there were already ten women there, making a total of thirty. Except for one Chinese woman, they were all Korean. There was a corridor in the middle of the building with rooms running along each side. There were thirty rooms. Each woman was assigned to a room. The rooms were separated only by plywood, and it was possible to hear someone breathing in the next room. The rooms were very small and contained only a bed thrown down on some wood assembled on the concrete floor. Each room was marked by a number on top and the comfort woman's name beneath. Kim Bokdong was called "Kanemura Huyuko", and sometimes "Yushiko". As all the names were given by soldiers, many women ended up with the same name and subsequently had them changed by different soldiers. The most common name was "Kanemura Huyuko". Inside the 'comfort station', it wasn't just names that became Japanese; Kim Bokdong had to use the whole Japanese language too.

The medical officer who had conducted the examinations for sexually transmitted diseases on the day of arrival at the 'comfort station' came into Kim Bokdong's room. Frightened, she tried to escape out back and hide but he caught her and slapped her sharply across both cheeks. It was hard enough that her whole face went numb. He told her to do as he ordered, and she couldn't not but hear him. She guessed that if she tried she resist, she would be the only one to suffer, so she resigned herself to doing as he said. But because it was her first time, it was utterly unbearable. She bled between her legs and it hurt as if she had been ripped open. Her vagina swelled, and burned so much she couldn't urinate. The next day she and two other women talked about killing themselves. They gave 1 yuan to the Chinese man who cleaned the 'comfort station' and tried to gesture to him to get them some medicine. However,

instead of the poison they wanted, he brought back some Chinese liquor. It appeared that he had thought they wanted alcohol. They thought they could drink enough alcohol to kill themselves, so they shared it out and sprawled out on the verandah. A woman coming out to hang up the laundry found the three of them and reported it to the soldiers. A medic came out and turned on a hose which he aimed down their throats. They were put in solitary confinement for three days, and then released to the hospital. The hose had torn them up inside, and they couldn't eat properly for three months. Kim Bokdong still suffers from digestive disorders and other problems as a result.

Fifteen soldiers usually came each day, but on the weekend the number often exceeded fifty. The enlisted soldiers came between noon and 5 pm on Saturdays and from 8 am to 5 pm on Sundays, and they had to be gone by 5 pm when the military police came to check on the station. Officers arrived after 7 pm, many of whom slept there and then left. If her vagina was swollen and it was hard to penetrate, the soldiers put an ointment on the condom and forced themselves in. If she didn't know that her menstruation had started and a soldier saw the blood, he would get angry and slap her face and hit her.

There was a door in the back of the room and in the next room had a drain taking water out, and at the top there was a hose that looked like surgical tubing which discharged red disinfected water, which the women used to wash between their legs. On Saturdays and Sundays when lots of soldiers came, there was no time to wash and they only washed once in the evening. There was a bathhouse outside the 'comfort station' building where the women bathed in the evening.

If their vaginas were swollen or painful, they were treated by the medical officer and they couldn't service soldiers for four days. They also didn't service soldiers during menstruation. At this time, the supervisor put something red in front of the door and the woman rested.

The sexually transmitted disease examinations were enforced weekly. The medical officer came into the building and laid down a wooden board. Every woman was given the 606 injection a few times a month regardless of whether she had an infection. The women were told that getting the shot would improve their blood. However, after the shot, the patient's nose gave off a strange smell and she became dizzy.

Life was spent entirely within the confines of the 'comfort station' building. No one was allowed to go outside. The Japanese and Korean leaders wore civilian clothes and stood beside the door to watch the victims. If there was any kind of urgent reason to leave, that woman was closely monitored by the soldiers while she left.

The 'comfort station' was outside the army, but it was possible for only Japanese soldiers to enter. To go inside the 'comfort station', the soldiers showed some kind of identification to the operator at the door, received a ticket and a condom, and went inside the room. The Korean manager who had brought the victims from Busan printed something in an account book. Each evening, the 'comfort women' gave him the tickets they had received throughout the day. That was also recorded. The Korean supervisor wore a Japanese military uniform but had no insignia. The tickets were printed on a sturdy yellowish

card stock folded in four. All cooking and cleaning was done by a Chinese man. At that time, Kim Bokdong didn't even know she was supposed to receive money. When she needed food, clothes or makeup, they were bought for her. The operator often said that when the war was over, everyone would receive a large sum of money. Sometimes they were given small gifts. The Korean manager often slept with the 'comfort women' whom he favored, and swore and beat them if they didn't hear something he had said.

This description shows that the Japanese man who had recruited the women in Korea and brought them to Guangdong was the operator, and the Korean man was in charge of running the 'comfort station' and the women in it. The 'comfort station' where Kim Bokdong stayed was called "Koakurakbu", and everywhere around Guangdong had the same name. In this way the 'comfort stations' were exclusively owned by army which placed an operator there, and the army directed the management of the 'comfort stations' through the operator. In addition, the 'comfort stations' were moved following the army's orders. The 'comfort station' operator led the women following the movements of the army.

Kim Bokdong was forcibly transferred through Japan and Taiwan to Guangdong. At that time, in 1941, the 23rd Army was posted in Guangdong. At the time relevant to Kim Bokdong, the commanders of the 23rd Army were Iamura Hitoshi (June 1941-November 1941) and Sakai Takashi (November 1941—March 1943). At the end of 1938, right after the invasion and subsequent occupation in November, the 21st Army (commanded by Lieutenant-General Anto of the 5th, 8th, and 104th divisions), predecessor of the 23rd, made a request to the Department of the Interior or the Government-General for recruitment of 'comfort women'. An official document of the 21st Army issued in April 1939 reported the recruitment of approximately one thousand 'comfort women' for 'comfort stations' in Guangdong and its vicinity, each unit's allotted number of 'comfort women', and the infection rate of sexually transmitted diseases. There are also testimonies from soldiers and photographs.

In 1941, when the victim Kim Bokdong was transferred to Guangdong and became a comfort woman, the previously mentioned 21st Army was reorganized as the 23rd Army under the Central China Expeditionary Force (commander-in-chief 진준육대장) and took defense of the Guangdong area. The special main-force unit of the 38th division under the 23rd Army commanded by the accused Jung Jeon Yoong attacked Hong Kong on December 8 1941 and took occupation on December 25. In January 1942, the Governor-General of the occupied territory of Hong Kong (Governor-General Isokai Renskei) was formed. It is recorded that the 'comfort women' were transported from Kwangju to Hong Kong on the first day of 1942 (reference). The accords with the following statements made by Kim Bokdong.

One morning the soldiers came in a truck and told them to pack all their belongings and get in the truck. They got on a truck and then a military cargo boat and arrived in Hong Kong. When the 'comfort station' moved, they rode on a truck which jounced around a lot and broke down. Also, Kim Bokdong

had an abscess on her buttocks which caused considerable pain.

The conditions of the 'comfort station' in Hong Kong were similar to the one in Guangdong. The building itself had been a private home commandeered by the army and the interior was then sectioned off into little rooms with plywood. It was located in an area separated from the army units and there were few houses in the surrounding area. The managers of the Hong Kong 'comfort station' were the same; only the messengers were changed to people from Hong Kong. From then on, every time the location changed, new messengers were taken from among the local residents. After spending about three months in Hong Kong, Kim Bokdong was taken to Singapore behind the army.

At that time, the 25th army under the command of the accused Yamashita Tomoyuki, occupied the Malaysian peninsula including Singapore, and the island of Sumatra of Indonesia. The (군위) division and the 5th, 8th and 56th divisions were under the 25th Army. After invading Singapore on February 15, 1942, these units began the massacre of the local Chinese residents and established 'comfort stations' around Singapore and the major cities of the Malaysian peninsula. Korean and Chinese women were transported to these 'comfort stations' (reference). According to the (자료?) of the infantry in the 5th regiment mobilized to construct the 'comfort stations' in the vicinity around Singapore and the Johol (?) district, the Japanese and Korean women who had been in Guangdong were brought down to the new comfort station in April and May of 1942. According to an official document of the 25th Army Headquarters dated August 25, 1942, there were 196 Koreans and 194 'comfort women' (who were not all Korean). The victim Kim Bokdong was at a 'comfort station' under the jurisdiction of the 25th Army, which also controlled the Malaysian peninsula and Sumatra. The regulation of 'comfort stations' in Singapore and the Malaysian peninsula shows that the military organizations of director of military politics and district governors determined the installation and operation of the 'comfort stations', the recruitment of the 'comfort women', and the employment conditions, and managed the 'comfort stations' in general.

The 'comfort station' in Singapore where the victim Kim Bokdong stayed was a distance from the army unit and was isolated from private residences. It was the fourth three-storey Western-style house. Its windows were barred and the entrances guarded. The environment was similar to previous 'comfort stations', with a lengthy building partitioned off into rooms. The soldiers came in trucks. They got out beside the door, scattered, and went inside the 'comfort station' building. The sounds of artillery fire were often heard in the distance. Sometimes, the 'comfort women' made special trips to soldiers stationed deep in the mountains near Singapore. They were escorted under guard in groups of about ten. They made the entire trip in a covered truck and so were unable to see out. A tent was erected as a temporary 'comfort station' with the interior partitioned with plywood boards. Three or four women at a time were made to go into the tent. There was someone responsible for the trips for each unit. The women spent all day lying down to service soldiers and returned to the 'comfort station' after about a

week. After a few months in Singapore, they were transported again. They stayed on the move through Sumatra and Java, spending days riding trucks and boats, and finally returned to Singapore again.

At the time of Japan's defeat, Kim Bokdong was in the Singapore 'comfort station'. The then commander of the 7th dispatch army was xxx. In 1944 the Southern Army Headquarters was transferred from Singapore to Manila, and in July of the same year the 7th dispatch army under the command of the accused General Tohihara Kenji was established. The 25th Army (commanded by lieutenant-general Tanabe Moritake) was stationed in Sumatra 방면 and the 29th Army (commanded by lieutenant-general Ishikuro) was stationed to Malaysia 방면. Until May of 1945, there were counteroffensives against the Allied forces, but the 'comfort stations' flourished right up to the end of the war.

The pain of life at the 'comfort station' continued until suddenly one day the soldiers didn't come. The 'comfort women' prepared food for the Korean man who ran the station, and stayed there as they were. After a month had passed, Japanese soldiers came riding a truck with a red cross on it. They took the 'comfort women' and left. At that point, the Korean man ran away somewhere. Even then, Kim Bokdong had no idea that the war was over and Korea had been liberated. The Japanese soldiers took her to the 10th Army Hospital in Singapore. There were already about three hundred women gathered there. The Japanese soldiers gave the women nursing training. The women also cleaned the hospital and were ordered to donate blood, ostensibly for the patients.

After Japan's defeat, at the orders of the Japanese soldiers, Kim Bokdong remained at the 10th Army Hospital and receiving nursing training, becoming a 'temporary nurse' as referred to by the special advisor to the 7th dispatch army Imamura Yutaka (?) (on September 1, 1945 there were 3040 patients and 560 nurses, 300 of whom were 방인 women trained as temporary nurses) (7th dispatch army xxx library). The testimonies of women who were made into temporary nurses by the Japanese military are frequent. The 'comfort women' were not converted into nurses because of a nursing shortage, but because it functioned for the most part to deceive the Allied forces.

Even after Japan's defeat, Kim Bokdong was dispatched and forced to work as a nurse according to the exigencies of the Japanese military. One day, however, the brother-in-law of a cousin on her mother's side named Oh Bongsun came looking for her. He had come to the South Seas region with the Japanese army and had been looking for her with a picture as a favor to her mother. With his help, she went to a camp run by the United States military, and after a few months, was able to return to Busan.

After returning home, she told her mother that she had spend her time as a nurse working in a hospital. When she couldn't resist her mother's insistence that she get married, she had no choice but to confess that she had been a comfort woman. After hearing the news, her mother suffered a heart attack. She did marry in response to her mother's entreaties, but she was unable to bear children and her husband started frequenting brothels. They separated after four years. She remarried, but after her second husband's business failed, he died. She now lives alone, without her mother and without her husband.

Reference

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