

日本の戦後補償に関する

国際公聴会

THE INTERNATIONAL
PUBLIC HEARING
CONCERNING
POST WAR COMPENSATION
OF JAPAN

1992年12月9日(水)

東京

9 Dec. 1992(Wed.)
IN TOKYO

＜プログラム＞

- 前半13:45 開会と司会の自己紹介 司会：船田光義・カーター愛子
- :47 実行委員長・荒井信一さんあいさつ
- :55 国連、NGO関係者の紹介
- 14:00 ファン・ボーベンさんあいさつ
- :10 研究報告 韓国挺身隊問題対策協議会・李美華（イ・ミョ）さん -p.1
- :30 証言 同上元「慰安婦」・姜順愛（カン・スン）さん -p.15
- :50 一質疑応答一
- 15:00 文書提出 フィリピンTPPCF ロードス・サホールさん -p.37
- :05 証言 同上元「慰安婦」マリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソンさん -p.55
- :25 一質疑応答一
- :30 文書提出 朝鮮民主主義人民共和国・許錫七（キョ・シク）さん -p.61
- :35 証言 同上元「慰安婦」・金英実（キム・ヨン）さん -p.76
- :55 一質疑応答一
- 16:00 紹介 オランダ対日道義請求財団・ユングスラガーさん
- :05 証言 同上元「慰安婦」・匿名 -p.108
- :25 一質疑応答一
- :30 紹介or資料提出・中国国際友誼促進会・王麗林（ワン・リリン）さん
- :35 証言 中国元「慰安婦」・万愛花（ワン・アイ）さん -p.127
- :55 一質疑応答一
- 17:00 資料提出 台北市婦女救護社会福利事業基金会会長・Yangさん
- :05 証言 台湾元「慰安婦」匿名 -p.136
- :25 一質疑応答一
- 17:30 〈休憩〉
- 後半司会：藍谷邦雄、油井大三郎
- 18:00 研究報告 中央大学・吉見義明さん -p.142
- :20 一質疑応答一
- :25 文書提出（日本人加害証言ほか） 金玲雲（キム・リン）さん
- :30 研究報告 朝鮮人強制連行真相調査団・洪祥基（ホン・サン）さん -p.162
- :50 証言 韓国元「三菱徴用工」・金順吉（キム・スン）さん -p.178
- 19:10 証言 韓国への永住帰国支援をすすめるためのサハリン韓人老人協議会会長・朴玄東（パク・ヘン） -p.195
- :30 一質疑応答一
- 19:40 紹介 オランダ対日道義請求財団・ハントリー Buntry さん
- :45 証言 オランダ対日道義請求財団・ユングスラガーさん -p.207
- 20:05 一質疑応答一
- :10 報告 日本弁護士連合会・村山晃さん p.216
- :30 一質疑応答一
- :35 紹介 香港軍票被害者・呉福興 徳明さん
マレーシア住民虐殺生存者・孫健成さん
- :40 閉会あいさつ 日弁連・阿部三郎会長

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC HEARING
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9 DECEMBER 1992 (WED)

PROGRAMME

PART I

- 13:45 Opening and self-introduction of chairpersons of hearing:
Chair-persons: Mr Mitsuyoshi Himeda and Ms Aiko Carter.
- :47 Address of the president of the Organizing Committee:
President: Mr Shinichi Arai.
- :55 Introduction of the guest experts:
- 14:00 Address: Prof Theo van Boven.
- :10 Research report: Ms Lee Mi-Gyoeng, Korean Concil for
Women Drafted for Sexual Slavery by Japan (Republic of
Korea). -P.7
- :30 Testimony: Ms Kang Soon-Ae, Ex-comfort woman (ROK). -P.11
- :50 Questions by experts.
- 15:00 Submission of documents: Ms Lourdes Indai Lourdes Sajor,
Co-Coordinator, Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women Core
Group Members. -P.15
- :05 Testimony: Ms Maria Rosa Luna Henson, Ex-comfort woman
(The Phillipines). -P.48
- :25 Questions by experts.
- :30 Submission of documents: Mr Ho Sok-Til, Executive Member,
Committee on Compensation for 'Comfort Women' and Victims
of the Pacific War from Democratic People's Republic of
Korea. -P.17
- :35 Testimony: Ms Kim Yong-Sil, Ex-comfort woman (PDROK). -P.18
- :55 Questions by experts.
- 16:00 Introduction: Mr Gerald Jungslager, Legal officer,
Foundation of Japanese Honorary Debts (The Netherlands).
- :05 Testimony: Ex-comfort woman (The Netherlands). -P.12
- :25 Questions by experts.
- :30 Introduction or submission of documents: Mr Wang Feng Liu,
Chinese Association for Promotion of International

Friendship.

:35 Testimony: Ma Wan Ai Hua, Ex-comfort woman (People's Republic of China). -p.129

:55 Questions by experts.

17:00 Submission of documents: Attorney C. F. Wang, President, Taipei Social-Welfare Foundation for Relief of Women -p.130

:05 Testimony: Ex-comfort women (Republic of China). -p.138

:25 Questions by experts.

:30 ——— Interval ———

Part II

Chair-persons: Mr Kunio Aitani and Prof Daizaburo Yui)

18:00 Research report: Prof Yoshiaki Yoshimi. -p.151

:20 Questions by experts.

:25 Submission of documents: M Kim Lyon-Hi (including testimony by assailants).

:30 Research report: Mr Hong Sang-Jin, Secretary General, Fact-finding Team on Korean Forced Labourers. -p.169

:50 Testimony: Mr Kim Sun-Gil, Ex-Forced Labourer of Mitsubishi (ROK). -p.182

19:10 Testimony: Park Khe-Don, President, Saghalien Elderly Council for Promotion of Returning to Homeland ROK. -p.201

:30 Questions by experts.

19:40 Introduction: Attorney Russel G.N. Huntley, Foundation of Japanese Honorary Debts (The Netherlands).

:45 Testimony: Mr G. Jungslager, Ex-internees of POW camps.

20:05 Questions by experts. -p.206

:10 Research report: Attorney Akira Murayama, Japan Federation of Bar Associations. -p.217

:30 Questions by experts.

:35 Introduction:

Mr Ng Yat-Min, A victim of regarding military money (Hong Kong).

Mr Soon Kian-Seng, A survivor of a massacre of civilians (Malaysia).

:40 Closing address: Attorney Abe Saburo, President, JFBA

「従軍慰安婦」の実態に迫る

イー・ミギョン

アジア諸国の多くは、何らかの形で、日本の占領と帝国主義の犠牲となってきた。中でも韓国は、日本占領下の植民地時代（1910年～1945年）、特に「15年戦争」時代（1931年～1945年）を通じて、最も辛酸をなめた国と言える。この植民地時代に深刻な被害がもたらされた。サハリンに残留者、原爆被災者、強制連行された労働者・兵士・軍属、日本居住者（ＢＣ級戦犯を含む）そして「従軍慰安婦」など、韓国人に対する数々の残虐非情な行為が見られた。

こういった残虐行為の中でも最も悲惨な目に遭ったのは「従軍慰安婦」だが、この問題が広く社会の関心と呼ぶようになり、学術的に注目を集めたのはほんの数年前のことだ。このおぞましい歴史上の事実がこれまで語られなかった一因として、「慰安婦」の存在を秘密にしておくという日本軍の方針があげられる。彼女たちの存在を裏付ける、あらゆる関連書類の破壊命令が終戦時に出された。また、「従軍慰安婦」制度の被害者であった女性も、そのサービスの利用者も、自らの体験を語るということはほとんどなかった。さらに、植民地時代の歴史、特にこの時代の女性の歴史や女性たちが遭遇した問題に関する研究もほとんど行われてこなかった。

数年前、いくつかの文書が発見されたのが契機となり、この痛ましい出来事に対して一部の女性たちが社会的関心に向け始めた。このような雰囲気の中、相当数の元「慰安婦」らが、勇気を持って長年胸の内に秘めてきた悲惨な体験を公にした。また、元兵士の中からも体験を語る者がでた。

1990年11月に組織された「韓国挺身隊問題対策協議会」は、元「慰安婦」から報告を受けてきた。（※韓国政府及び韓国太平洋戦争犠牲者遺族会にもこういった報告は届けられている。）現在も生存している元「慰安婦」併せて70数人から各機関に報告が寄せられた。韓国協議会では、ある研究グループに依頼し、資料の調査及び彼女たちの体験の分析を進めている。このグループはすでに、19人の女性との詳細にわたるインタビュー調査を終えているが、今後も引き続きインタビュー調査を行っていく。この報告は主に、この徹底したインタビュー調査の結果を中心としている。資料となる文書やこれまでなされた研究、さらにはわずかながら情報を提供してくれた別の21人の女性のケースにもふれる。

従軍慰安制度とは何か？

かつて日清・日露戦争時代に、旧日本軍が戦場に「慰安婦」を連行したことは広く知られている。世界各地の軍事基地周辺には常に、兵士のための売春宿があった。しかし、いわゆる15年戦争当時の日本の「従軍慰安婦」制度は、世界の戦争と植民地政策の歴史のみならず、女性史上においても他に例を見ない。「従軍慰安婦」制度の特徴とどのような点

でこれを性的奴隷制度と定義するのかを明確にしておく必要がある。様々な文書とこの制度の被害者の証言から見いだすことができる、日本軍慰安所の特徴を次に示す。

(1) 軍の慰安所は、日本軍兵士及び軍属が専ら利用した。兵士及び軍属は、他の民間売春宿を利用することができなかった。

(2) これら慰安所は、軍の厳しい管理下にあり、また開設、経営、「慰安婦」費用を通じて多岐にわたる援助を受けていた。民間人が慰安所開設、経営、「慰安婦」費用を行う場合には、軍の許可を得て援助を受ける必要があり、手続き全般が軍の管理下に置かれた。各慰安所は、軍が出した規則に従わなければならなかった。

私たちが調査した19人の元「慰安婦」の場合、全員が陸軍か海軍の兵士或いは軍属のみを受け入れ、軍が規定した様々な規則に従っていた。このような特徴をもった日本軍の慰安所には、開設から、経営まですべて軍が行っていたものから、民間人が行っていたものまで、色々と形態は異なる。開設と「慰安婦」費用は軍が行い、経営は民間に委託していたものなど、他にも多くの事例が見つかっている。調査した19のケースのうち、全面的に軍が関与していたものは5カ所で、軍の介入が非常に深く組織だっていたことを示している。

「従軍慰安婦」実施の期間及び地域

軍の慰安所を上記のような特徴を持って定義付けたならば、日本軍が旧満州と中国大陸に侵略した当初から慰安所は開設されていたことになる。1930年代初めの上海にはすでに海軍専用の「慰安所」が多く存在し、軍医による性病検査が定期的の実施されていた事が、いくつかの軍の資料に示されており、日本軍慰安所が最初に開設されたのは1937年とする意見は訂正されるべきである。「従軍慰安婦」制度は、1937年の南京大虐殺の直後から制度化され、日本軍がインドシナ、フィリピン、ビルマなどアジアの広大な地域の占領に乗り出した1941年以降、急速にその数を増やした。

しかし、19人の女性の調査で、彼女たちが連行された時期は1937年以降に集中していることがわかった。

1931～1936	1937～1940	1941～1945
0	10	9

私たち協議会に連絡のあった残り21人の女性（インタビュー調査はまだ実施されていない）から得た情報でも、やはり連行されたのは次の2つの時期に集中している。

1931～1936	1937～1940	1941～1945
1	10	10

「従軍慰安婦」制度が1930年代初めにすでにあったにせよ、この調査の結果から、植民地からの組織だった動員は1937年以降に開始されたと結論付けられる。

慰安所の開設地域が、小さな島も含め、日本国内や朝鮮半島を始めとし、日本軍が駐留していた場所すべてに広がっていたことは、様々な文書に示されている。

私たちが調査した19人と別の21人の情報によると、彼女たちが送られた場所は下記のとおりになる。

	旧満州	中国	南洋諸島	南アジア	台湾	日本	韓国
19人の女性	3	6	1	4	2	2	1
他21人の女性	3	6	2	5	1	4	0

彼女たちの多くが軍と共に移動していたため、1か所に止まることは少なかった。この場合、最も長く滞在した場所が示されている。

軍慰安所開設の公式の目的と隠された目的

多くの文書に示されているように、日本軍は次のような理由で慰安婦を開設した。すなわち、兵隊の士気を高めるため、兵士の間で性病が蔓延するのを防ぐため、兵士による暴行や略奪を防ぎ占領地を管理するためである。しかしながら、こういった公式発表の陰に隠された目的もあったように思える。「従軍慰安婦」制度が主に植民地の女性に強制されたこと、また、創氏改名、天皇崇拝など、植民地国家を消滅させるその他多くの政策と並んで実施されたことは軽視されるべきではない。日本軍が多数の植民地の女性を慰安所に徴用した基本的目的は、植民地の民族絶滅であったと広く考えられている。また、このような軍の慰安所を開設した民間人は軍に対する納税義務を負わされたという事実は、財源確保としての目的をも浮かび上がらせている。

「慰安婦」の特徴及び徴用方法

1) 国籍

多数の元兵士及び元軍医の証言によれば、「慰安婦」の80%～90%は朝鮮人女性だった。しかし、最近になって、日本や台湾の女性も決して少なくなかったこと、また日本軍が占領した国々の女性も徴用されていたことを示す資料が見つかった。しかし、私たちの調査によると、韓国人元「慰安婦」が会った女性はほぼ全員朝鮮人であり、日本人はほとんどいなかった。その他の国籍もほとんど見なかった。これは広く認識されている意見を裏付けるものだ。

2) 年齢

日本軍は、少女たちの年齢にはこだわらなかったようだ。私たちが調査した女性の徴用時の年齢を以下のように分類した。

	15才未満	16～19才	20～24才	25～29才	30才以上
19人	4	12	3		
他21人	8	9	2	2	

日本人「慰安婦」の平均年齢は朝鮮人「慰安婦」よりも高かったとする資料がすでにくつか見つかっている。私たちが調査した何人かの女性がその事実を確認している。一緒にいた少数の日本人の平均年齢は、彼女たちよりも約10才は高かったと言う。こういった日本人は日本国内の遊郭の出身者だった。

3) 出身

私たちが調査した女性のうちほぼ全員が、非常に貧しい家庭の出身で、教育程度も低いか、或いは全く教育を受けていないかのどちらかである。教育レベルは下記のとおり。

教育を受けていない	夜間学校	小学校中退	小学校卒業	高校通学
6	3	9		1

このうち高校通学の女性は、日本の工場から逃げ出した亡した際に誘拐され、慰安所に送られた。

4) 徴用の方法

彼女たちは全員、強制的に「慰安婦」にさせられたと言える。より具体的には、次の2つのケースに分けられる。すなわち、1)初めから強制連行された者、そして、2)良い仕事があるとだまされて連れて来られ、後に性的サービスを強要された者だ。前者は、主に兵隊か憲兵隊によって、後者は民間人によって連行された。私たちの調査結果は下記のとおりである。

第1のケース	第2のケース	その他
5	13	1
兵隊/憲兵隊 4	兵隊/憲兵隊 3	兵隊 1
民間人 1	民間 10	

上記のように民間人がだまして連行した場合、軍は移動の便宜を図るなどして様々な形でそれを援助した。

慰安所の規則は日本軍が作った。すべての慰安所の経営は、この規則にのっとって行われることになっていた。しかし、慰安所によって多くの相違点があり、また、規則違反もあった。

1) 労働時間

労働時間は、各慰安所によって多少異なる。しかし、概ね朝9～10時から夜6～7時までということになっていた。この時間帯は2つか3つに分けられ、階級別に兵士にあてがわれた。各階級の兵士は、約30分から1時間の間で時間を決めることができた。通常の時間帯終了後は、主に士官が夜を徹して慰安所を利用することができた。私たちが調査したケースの内、10人は決められたスケジュールがあったとし、9人は決められたスケジュールはなかったとしている。スケジュールが決められていたにせよ、それが守られることはほとんどなかった。特に週末には大勢の兵士が押しかけ、時には100人を超えることもあり、スケジュールは守られなかった。このような過剰労働により、私たちが調査した女性全員は性病など様々な病気に罹り、現在でもなお苦しんでいる。

2) 料金

規則には慰安所の利用料金も定められていて、兵士の階級によって異なる。料金の支払いは主に軍発行のチケットによって行われ、慰安所の責任者がそれを管理することになっていた。利用料金のうち何割を「慰安婦」に支払うのかは、規則に書かれていないが、恐らく極端に少額であっただろう。しかしながら、私たちが調査した（19人中）15人の女性は全くお金を受け取ったことがなく、衣服と化粧品のみ支給された。終戦後に精算すると言われた者もいる。また、士官からチップを受け取った者もいる。彼女たちの多くは、慰安所を訪れた兵士がチケットを提出していることさえ知らなかった。中には、「慰安婦」の国籍によって異なる料金を指定している規則もある。日本人の料金が最も高く、次に朝鮮人、その次は中国人だった。しかし、これがそのとおり実施されたかどうかは不明である。私たちが調査した19人の女性のうち、このことに触れた人はいない。さらにいくつかの資料によると、日本人女性は士官にしかつかないということになっていた。しかしながら、私たちが調査した女性の内18人は、韓国人も同じように士官を相手にしていたと証言している。

3) 定期検診

日本の公営制度において、「慰安婦」の性病検診は重要であった。軍の慰安所では、軍医による定期検診に大きな比重が置かれていた。私たちが調査した女性のうち3人を除く他全員は、軍の病院か慰安所で軍医による性病検査を定期的に受けた。定期検診の時期は、毎週、隔週、毎月、隔月などで一律ではない。

性病を心配する日本軍は、兵士に対してコンドームの着用を命じ、慰安所責任者にそれを支給した。私たちが調査した女性たちは、兵士にコンドームの着用が義務付けられていたと証言している。ある女性は、コンドームを着用しない兵士がいた場合、「慰安婦」はそれを責任者に報告することになっていたと言う。また、複数の女性の証言によれば、コンドームが不足していた所では、「慰安婦」は使用済みコンドームを洗浄しなければならず、1つのコンドームを5回ほど繰り返し使用した。コンドームを洗うのは、とても不快だったと言う。

それでもコンドームを用いない兵士がいたため、多くの「慰安婦」が性病に罹った。5人の女性が、性病に罹り「608」の注射をされたと証言している。このほか、軍は頻繁に慰安所の衛生状態を検査した。接客の度に消毒液で膣内を洗浄するよう命じられた女性も何人かいる。

終戦時における軍の「慰安婦」取り扱い

「慰安婦」から取りとれるだけ取りとった日本軍は、終戦時には彼女らを慰安所に置き去りにして自分たちだけ逃げた。解放前に帰国したのは4人で、残り15人はそのまま取り残された。ある日忽然と慰安所に兵士が現れなくなったと言う。彼女たちは様々な困難を乗り越え、自力で帰国しなければならなかった。何人かは米軍に保護され、米軍キャンプで少しの間過ごした後、米軍の助けで帰国できた。

元「慰安婦」の帰国後の生活

私たちの協議会に連絡をしてきた元「慰安婦」の大半は、一人暮らしで経済的に厳しい生活をしている。自らの内にある罪悪感、病氣、偏見のために生涯独身を通した、或いは結婚しても破綻している。

Approaching to Real Situation of "Army Comfort Women"

Lee, Mi-Gyeong

In some form of another, most Asian countries have suffered from Japanese occupation and imperialism. Korean is perhaps the nation which suffered most from the Japanese occupation through the Colonial Period(1910-1945), especially during the "15 Years War" period(1931-1945). There happened the serious damages during this colonial period. There were many outrages committed against the Korean people, such as, those who remained in Sakhalin, those who damaged by the atomic bomb, forcibly transferred workers, soldiers and army civilian employees, residents in Japan (including BC level war criminals), and army comfort women.

The 'army comfort women' is perhaps the most tragic among all the atrocities. However, it is not until a few years ago that the problem of the army comfort women began to receive social interests as well as academic attention. One reason that this awful historical fact has been kept silent is the policy in the Japanese army of keeping the presence of the comfort women secret and at the end of the war soldiers were ordered to destroy any related material to their presence. Also the women themselves who were victims of the system and those availed of the service rarely spoke of their experiences. In addition there has been very little research done on the history of the colonial period, particularly women's history and the problems they encountered during this time.

A few years ago some written materials were found which began to awaken the social consciousness of some women about these tragic events. In this social atmosphere a considerable number of former comfort women had the courage to come forward to tell their long held secret of their awful experiences. Some soldiers too reported their experience of these events.

The Korea Council For Women Drafted For Sexual Slavery By Japan, which was formed in November, 1990, had received reports from the former comfort women(Korean government and The Pacific War Bereaved Association, also rec

eived reports). Altogether some 70 women, who are still alive, reported to these institutes. The Korea Council requested a research group to survey the raw materials and to analyze the experience of these women. The research group finished its in-depth interviews for 19 women, and will continue to interview others. This paper depends mainly on the outcome of these in-depth interviews. It also refers to written materials as well as to research already done, and the cases of 21 other women who supplied only a small amount of information.

What is The Army Comfort System?

It is widely known that the Japanese army brought comfort women to the battle fields early during the period of Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War. And there were usually brothels for soldiers around the army bases all over the world. But the army comfort women system of Japan during the so-called 15 Year War is the first and only case not only in the world history of war and colonization but in the women's history. We should be clear on what the characteristics of the army comfort women system are and in what way we define it as the sexual slavery system. Basing on the various written materials as well as testimonies of those who experienced the system. We find the following characteristics of the comfort houses of the Japanese army during that period:

(1) Army comfort houses were used exclusively by the soldiers and army civilian employees, and the soldiers and army civilians could not use other private brothels.

(2) These army comfort houses were under the strict control of the army and received various supports from the army in the process of establishment, management and recruitment of the comfort women. In the cases of establishment, management and recruitment by civilians, they had to get a permit from the army and receive their support and control in all procedures. Every army comfort house had to follow written regulation made by the army.

In the cases of the 19 former comfort women we surveyed, all received

by the army.

In the cases of the 19 former comfort women we surveyed, all received only the soldiers or navies, and army civilian employees, and followed the various regulations laid down by the army. Given these characteristics the army comfort houses showed various patterns from the houses where establishment, management and recruitment were all done by the army, to those where all the processes were done by the civilians. Some were established and recruited by the army, but the management was delegated to civilians. And many other cases were found. Among the 19 cases we surveyed, 5 were all done by the army, which shows that the intervention of the army was very deep and systematic.

The Period and Area of Enforcement of the System

If we define the army comfort houses with the above mentioned characteristic, we have to say that the army comfort houses were established from the beginning when the Japanese army advanced into Manchuria and the Chinese continent. Several army written materials show that there were already many comfort houses for the navy in Shanghai in the early 1930s, where army doctor made regular checkups for venereal diseases. So the argument that army comfort houses were firstly established in 1937 should be corrected. This system became systemized after the Nanking accident in 1937, and the number rapidly increased from 1941 when the Japanese army began to occupy vast areas in Asia, including Indochina, the Philippines, Burma, etc..

However, in our survey on the 19 women, the period when they were transferred is focussed on the time after 1937:

1931-1936	1937-1940	1941-1945
0	10	9

Even if we consider information from the 21 other women who reported to our Council but on whom we have yet made interviews, the period is still focused on the latter two categories:

1931-1936

1

1937-1940

10

1941-1945

10

With this survey result, we could conclude that the systematic mobilization from the colonies began to made after 1937, even though this system began in the early in the 1930s.

The various written materials show that the area of the comfort houses were spread all over the places where the Japanese army were located, even to the very small islands and within Japan and Korea.

The cases of the 19 women of our survey and the information of the 21 other women are as follows:

Manchuria	China	Southern Islands	South Asia	Taiwan	Japan	Korea
3	6	1	4	2	2	1
3	6	2	5	1	4	0

Many of them went to more than one place, since they moved with the army. In these cases the places in which they spent the longest time were counted.

Manifest Purpose for Establishment of Army Comfort Houses and
the Hidden Aim

Many written materials show that the Japanese army established the army comfort houses for the following reasons: to increase the morale of the men, to prevent the spread of venereal disease among its soldiers, and to control the occupied area by preventing the soldiers' rape and plunder. However there seemed to be hidden aim in addition to these manifest direct purposes. It should not be disregarded that this system was enforced mostly with colonial women and that it was proceeded with many other policies of extinguishing colonial nations, such as changing Korean names into Japanese, and worship of the Emperor. It is widely believed that to extinguish colonial people was the basic aim that the Japanese army drafted large number of colonial women into army comfort houses. The fact also that the civilians who established these army comfort houses had to pay

taxes to the army, makes us realize that to secure financial resources seemed to be another aim.

Characteristics of Comfort Women and Recruiting Method

1) Nationality : Many former soldiers and army doctors testified that 80-90% of the comfort women were Koreans. But recently there appeared some materials showing that the numbers of Japanese and Taiwanese were not small and that the women of the countries occupied by the Japanese army were also drafted. However according to our survey all of the Korean former comfort women were mostly Koreans with a very few Japanese. Other nationalities were hardly found. This supports the arguments that had been widely recognized.

2) Age : The Japanese army seemed not to care what age the girls were. The followings are the number of the women we surveyed, drafted in these age categories:

	less than 15	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-
19 women	4	12	3		
21 women	5	3	2	2	

There are already several materials, saying that the Japanese were older than the Koreans on the average. Some women whom we surveyed confirmed that fact. They say the average age of a few Japanese whom they were with, was about 10 years more than that of the Koreans. These Japanese came from professional prostitution areas in Japan.

3) Family background: Almost all the women we surveyed were from very poor families with low or no education. The education level was:

no	night school	some period of	graduate from	high school
		elementary school	elementary school	attending
6	3	3		1

Among them the women attending high school was the one who went for labor but kidnapped to comfort house when she ran away from the factory in Japan.

4) Recruiting Method : It could be said that all these women became comfort women by force. More concretely, they are divided into two categories: those forcibly taken from the beginning, and those deceptively taken with false offers of good jobs and later enforced into sexual service. The first case was done mainly by soldiers or army police men, and the second by civilians. In our survey,

1st case		2nd case		others
5		13		1
soldiers		soldiers		
army police	civilians	army police	civilians	soldiers
4	1	3	10	1

In the above mentioned cases of deceptive transfer by civilians, the support of the army was given in various ways, such as transportation facilities.

Regulation of Comfort House and the Realities

The Japanese Army made the regulations for the comfort houses. All comfort houses were supposed to be managed according to these regulations. But there were many variations in different comfort houses and also violations of the regulations.

1) Working Hour : The working hour were a bit different in each comfort house. But overall it was supposed to begin at 9-10 in the morning and finish at 6-7 at night. This working hour was divided into 2-3 parts for different ranks of soldiers. Each rank of soldier could be used to decide the time, about 30 minutes to one hour. After this regular hour the

comfort houses could be used throughout night mostly by officers. Among the cases we surveyed, 10 cases had a time schedule and in 9 cases no regular time schedule existed. In the cases with a time schedule, that was hardly kept, especially at the weekend, when so many soldiers came, sometimes over 100 persons. With such overwork, all the comfort women we surveyed had various diseases including venereal disease, from which they still suffer.

2) Fee : Regulations decided the fees for each time the comfort house was used, which were different according to the classes of the soldiers. The fees were supposed to be paid mostly by tickets issued by the army, and the paid fees were managed by managers. The ratio of the paid fees given to the comfort women was not written in these regulations, which might be very small. However, 15 women (among 18 women) whom we surveyed did not receive any money, but were only provided with clothes and cosmetics. Some were told it would be cleared up after the war, and some received tips from the officers. Many of these women did not even know whether the soldiers submitted the tickets when they came to the comfort houses. Some regulations designated the different fees depending on the nationalities of the comfort women, while the fee for Japanese was the highest, Koreans' was the second, and the third was Chinese. But actually whether this was enforced or not is not clear. No one among 18 women we surveyed talked about it. In addition to that some materials show that the Japanese women were supposed to serve only the officers. However 18 women we surveyed testified that the Korean girls served mainly with officers.

3) Regular Examination : Examination for venereal disease of the comfort women had been important in Japanese public prostitution system. In the army comfort houses regular examination done by army doctors were emphasized. All women with only 3 exceptions among the women we surveyed received regular examination for venereal disease by army doctors at the army hospital or comfort houses. The terms were somewhat different in each case: weekly, biweekly, monthly, bimonthly, etc..

The Japanese Army, worried about venereal disease ordered the soldiers to use a condom, and provide the managers of the comfort houses with them.

The women we surveyed testified that the soldiers were supposed to use condom. One said that if the soldiers did not use condom, the comfort women should report them to the managers. According to some women, in some places where condoms were in short supply the comfort women had to clean the used condom, and in this way the condom was used about 5 times. They felt disgusted when they cleaned these condom.

Even in this situation there were many soldiers who did not use condom, and many comfort women got venereal disease. 5 women testified that they got venereal disease and were given "606" injection. Besides this, the army often checked the sanitary situation of the comfort houses. Some women were ordered to clean their vagina with antiseptic solution every time they served a soldier.

Army's Treatment for Comfort Women at the Time of Ceasefire

Indeed the Japanese army exploited the comfort women, but at the time of the ceasefire they ran away by themselves, leaving the women in the comfort houses. Only 4 women returned home before the liberation, and the other 15 women were left alone by themselves. They said that one day suddenly no soldier came to the comfort houses. They had to return home by themselves with various difficulties. Some were taken by the American army, spent some time in the American army camps, and returned home with the help of American Army.

Lives of the Former Comfort Women after Returning Home

Most of the former comfort women who reported to our council are living alone in severe economic difficulties. They did not marry or failed in marriage because of their own sense of guilt, ill health, or the bias they suffered in society.

公聴会・慰安婦証言者

▲姜順愛（27・12・15生れ）

カンスネ

日本の東京で生れた私が、韓国慶尚南道馬山に完全に引き揚げてきたのは11歳の時だった。その前まで、家族は日本と韓国を往来しながら、韓国には約1年ほど住んでいた。

釜山・影島の橋工事責任者をして働いていた父親は、影島で母と結婚。しかし、両親はその後、すぐ、日本人巡査に捕まり、東京の近郊で働くことになり、母は飯場で炊事仕事をしていた。ある日、ある韓国人労務者がちょっと腰を伸ばしたとき、ある日本人が仕事を怠けるという理由で、彼の後頭部をシャベルで殴った。彼は血を流しながら倒れ、これを見た父は怒り、日本人に反抗した。このことによって父は監獄に入れられた。

ある時、飯場でご飯を早く持ってこないということで、ある日本人が刀で母の左手の甲に斬りつけた。指の筋4本が断れたこともあった。

姉は11歳のとき、日本人巡査の家の子守をすると言って日本人が連れて行って以来、行方不明になっている。すぐ下の弟テジンは、私が慰安婦生活をして帰って見たらもう死んでいた。テジンは11歳の冬、水の配給を受けに母と一緒にいったとき、「いわもと」という日本人巡査が逃げと言いながら、刀のサヤで殴った。濡った表土に弟は倒れて死んだときいた。

私が14歳の4月、「処女供出」（訳者注・日本による献け物を韓国ではこう呼ぶ）が激しくなり、母は割箸でビニョという既婚の女性が髪につけるかんざしを作ってくれた。結婚した女性は連行されないからである。そのような髪型である日、母と一緒に小麦の糠を拾いに新馬山の波止場にある精米所に行った。当時、わが村では月に一度、新馬山駅前で配給をもらっていた。少しの米と小麦2合、コムシンを買っていた。さらに日本人は彼等の国家を歌えといい、歌を歌えないか、歌はなければ配給は中止された。私の祖母が配給をもらいに行ったが、日本の国家を歌えなくて結局、配給を買えず、手ぶらで泣きながら帰ってきたこともある。

精米所で麦の皮を拾っていたら、村長の息子の金ヨンマ（30歳くらい）が、軍人二人と巡査一人とともに来て、配給を買いに行こうと誘った。祖母が行けば、「君が代」を歌えないので、おまえが行けば配給は買えると言うのだった。そこで私は、日本の巡査に連れられて配給所に行った。彼らの前で、私は「君が代」を歌い、配給を受けたが、他の人より2合くらい多かっただけでなく、弟と祖母にコムシン2足、缶詰めなどを買って家に

戻った。この事実が、村人全員に広まると、みな隠していた娘を配給所に行かせるようになった。しかし、配給どころかこれがきっかけとなり、馬山で14人の娘が捕まってしまった。

配給を受けた3日後、祖母の誕生日の準備のために祖母と一緒に新馬山の市場に行った。大きな容器にいっぱいのイワシを拾って家に帰ると、赤い腕章をつけた軍人3人が、銃剣のついた銃を肩にかけ、呼び止めた。留まっていると、彼はまた早く来いと呼んだ。突然、父が飛び出してきて、軍人の襟首を掴み、自分の首を出しながら『俺を殺せ！』と叫んだ。軍人は父を突き飛ばし、お釜の横に倒れた彼は、また立ち上がりながら台所の包丁を掴んで軍人に飛び掛かった。軍人は父親をなだめ始めた。タバコ一箱を渡しながら、「日本、大阪ナカシ（？）株式会社に行って、金を儲ける、技術も学べる、弟たちも勉強させてやれる、そうなればいいじゃないか」というふうに話した。結局、父親は部屋に入り、母親は気絶した。仕方なく私は荷物を包んで着いて行かざるをえなかった。

そうして軍人に連れられ着いたところは、釜山駅前のヨンジ洞にある「大東（？）旅館」だった。旅館の前庭には、見張りが立っており、なかに入ると十数人の少女たちがいた。そこでは何をするでもなく一週間が過ぎ、大邱から来たという「カン・クスン」（16）「カン・オクスン」（14）姉妹を始めとした少女たちもいて合計34人になった。私たちは、その後、20日間くらい旅館にいたが、朝5時半に起床して、旅館の中庭で30分ばかり体操と君が代を歌ってから教育を受けた。主として、船に乗ったときは波が動くとおりにまかせろ、口でヒモをくわえれば船酔いをしないという内容だった。

そこを出る前日、彼らは天皇が描かれている50銭紙幣を渡し、住所を書けと言った。そして切手代として20銭を集めて送りたい人の名を書けと言った。母に会いたいと書いたが次の日の朝10時父親が来た。

その日の夕方7時頃、船に乗り下関に行った。そこから汽車で広島に行き、大きな劇場に行くとするでに30人くらいの娘たちが着いていた。彼らは北朝鮮のヒチュンソンという有名なキーセンだといった。彼女たちはすでに漢州に連れて行かれ3、4年暮してきたというが、20歳から30歳になる女たちもいた。

広島で私たちは全員名前を変えた。私は「マイ子」という名を買った。船がなくて出発できずにいた。そこでも、また、乗船時の注意事項について教育を受けた。残りの時間はミカンといちじくをとって箱に入れる作業を2か月間やらされた。夜はトイレに自由に行くことも出来ず、トイレに行くといって逃げることを警戒したためだった。彼らはトイレ

でお化けに扮装して私たちを驚かせた。お化けが出るという噂のせいで（後でそれは日本人と分かったが）私たちはトイレにも自由に行けずタライで用を足した。

約5～6か月後のある日、かんたん服一着、パンツ二枚、運動靴一足、？タビー一足、手ぬぐい一枚、ハンカチ二枚、化粧品パウダー一つ、クリーム一つ、櫛一つ、爪切り一つ、リボン一つ、かみ止め用ゴム輪などを与えられ、「明日は故郷に戻るから心の準備をしろ」といわれた。そして50銭を買ったので、みんなでコチジャン、シシトウ、にんにくを買って、夕方、集まって喜んだ。

次の日の朝、「進むときは横を見ず、まっすぐ歩いて船の甲板に上がれ。甲板の上を歩く時は2人ずつ歩け。水面は見るな」などの指示を受けた。船に乗ってみると北朝鮮から来たという人はほかに行っておらず、また船のなかではクリモト准尉と神戸出身という木村軍曹が我々を管理した。トイレに行って戻る途中、2人の韓国人に会った。17歳で志願して来たというイム・チャンスと慶尚北道出身というヤン・オンチョルだった。後にヤン・オンチョルは私たちの乗った船が「ミド丸」という名であることと、水の下で潜水艇の名も教えてくれた。

航海3日目の明け方3時、急に明るい火を感じて船の下のほうに降りて行ったがドーンという音がした。同時にサイレンが響き、船も異様な音をたてて沈み始めた。私の体も下に引き込まれるような感じをうけたが、この時、友達2人が流れに巻き込まれて行方不明になった。私は幸いにもヤン・オンチョルさんが助けてくれた。午後4時から5時くらいに飛行機3機が飛んできて「安心しろ、救助する」という意味の信号を出し、引き続き船が来て救助してくれた。海軍島に行った私たちは空軍服を着せられ、履かない靴を履かされた。周りを見回すと女たちは2人死んで33人が生き残っていた。少したって、「大阪丸」と大きくかかれた船が来て私たちを乗せた。

そして広島をたってから1か月と3日ぶりに南洋群島に到着。バラオの本土町へ行った。そこにはトラックで行ったが「軍人慰安所」と書かれてあった。先に来ていたお姉さんたちが迎えでしたが、医者が来て診察の後、一番若い少女たち10人を（慰安所）に入れた。咸鏡道元山出身の「キム・オクスン」という朝鮮女性がその慰安所を運営していたが、ワンピースとハイヒールをくれた。毛布一枚敷けばいっぱい狭い部屋だった。次の日から慰安婦生活が始まったが、初日に13人を相手にしなくてはならなかった。そして朝9時から夜9時まで是一般軍人、9時以降は将校を相手にした。将校たちは翌朝7時には戻って行った。

一方、しばらくの間、週に一回づつ「コボロ病院」で軍医からの診察を受けた。アルコール消毒や606号注射を受けた。痛みが激しい時には、モルヒネ注射やアスピリンを、もっとひどい時には麻薬鎮痛剤をくれた。ここで私たちは、ガスバンのウイ山（？）やサイパンなどに派遣され、慰安婦として働かされた。

食料が底をつけばジャガイモなどを植えて、直接畑仕事をして食べた。その後、米軍の爆撃が激しくなると、ガスバンのウイ山に6000人の入れる穴を開き、そこに避難した。だが、穴の外にテントで慰安所を20個つくり、軍人たちが並んだ。そこではまた一日に20人〜30人の軍人の相手をした。彼らは言うことをきかないといって、右目、額の下、後ろ首、顔などに刀で斬りつけた。今もその傷跡が残っている。

ある日、爆撃が一段と激しくなったとき、穴に入る時に爆撃を受け、体に破片が刺さり私は土に埋まった。幸いにも日本軍人4人が助けてくれたが、両肩下に15センチほどの傷を負い、また両方の臀部は破片によって肉はえぐられ、足も化膿して膿がでて腐ってしまった。そのうちカン・ウンチョルから広島に原爆が落ちたという話を聞いた。そして10月末、アメリカ軍が入ってきた。彼らは韓国人通訳を通して、韓国人、日本人、沖縄人を別々にし、一人ずつ写真を撮った。そして、私たちは韓国に帰ることができ、馬山に着くと1945年12月31日だった。一晩過ごして私は二十歳の新年を迎えたのだった。

Testimony by Koo Soon E. a former army comfort woman, born on December 15, 1927

It was when I was 11 years old that I and my family returned to Masan, South Kyongsang Province, our homeland, to finally settle there although I was born in Tokyo, Japan. Until then, we had lived in Korea for a year, moving back and forth between Japan and Korea.

Torture for my father, mother, sister and brother

My father was taken away and put to forced labor as a surveyor when he was sixteen years old at the construction site for building Yongdo Bridge in Pusan. As soon as the bridge was completed, he was sent to Japan and put to work as a surveyor at a construction site in Tokyo to build a bridge. My father married my mother when he briefly returned to Korea. He went to Japan again about one month after their marriage, and returned to Korea when my elder sister was two years old. At this time, he took his family to Tokyo, where I was born. When I was three years old, we returned to Korea and my two younger brothers were born there.

When I was seven years old, it was decided that my family go to Japan again (with my uncle).

My father was engaged in excavation works as a leader of laborers to construct a tunnel in Kyoto, while my mother became a cook for about 200 laborers at the construction site. One day, a Korean worker was beaten by the head with a shovel when he stretched his back for a while, on the ground that he had been neglecting his duty. My father got angry, seeing him collapse bleeding, and attacked the Japanese by hitting the Japanese using his head. He was imprisoned for this incident.

Within several months after he was released from the prison, a Japanese slashed the back of my mother's left hand with a sword on the ground that she had not delivered him a meal sooner. She had four of the muscles in her fingers

cut. On this occasion, my father hit the Japanese around his neck. Although he did not kill the Japanese, he was imprisoned again.

My elder sister was taken away when she was ten years old, and when I was eight years old, by a Japanese who explained that she was supposed to be a baby sitter for the family of a Japanese policeman named Oura Takeo. She has been missing since then. The older one of my younger brothers, Tae Jin, had already died when returned home after going through a life of a comfort woman. Tae Jin was beaten with a sheath of a sword by a Japanese policeman, Iwamoto, who told him to move away when he went to receive supply of rationed drinking water with my mother. It was his eleventh winter. I heard that he had collapsed and hit himself against the frozen ground to death.

Supply of rice for singing Kimi-ga-ya, Japan's national anthem

In April, when I was fourteen years old, "supply of virgins" (as so called in Korea, referring to the capture of young girls by the Japanese police) became more intense. As I was scared that they might capture me, I hid myself at a crematory (for about 14 days), but eventually went home. Then, as married women were exempted from the requisition, my mother made me a hair accessory called *piyo* which was typically used by a married woman, from disposable chop sticks, in order to be overseen by policemen. One day, I went to a rice mill at the pier of Shin-Nasan to collect wheat bran with my mother, with this accessory on my hair. In those days, the villagers received rationed materials once a month in front of Shin-Nasan Station. We were supplied with a little rice, two go (0.35 L) of wheat and *homshin* (shoes). The Japanese told us to sing their national anthem and did not supply anything if we could not or did not sing it. When my grandmother went to receive rationed supplies, she could not sing Japan's national anthem, and eventually came home in tears with empty hands. While collecting wheat bran at a rice mill, the son of the headman of the village, Kim Yong Ma (aged about 30), came, accompanied by two servicemen and a policeman. He suggested that I should go and receive rationed supplies. He

explained that my grandmother would not be able to receive anything because she could not sing Kimi-ga-yo, while I could sing and would be able to receive supplies. The policeman grabbed me by my hand and took me to the supply office. I sang Kimi-ga-yo in front of the personnel and was supplied with rice which exceeded the ordinary amount by about 0.362. Besides this, I was given two pairs of rubber shoes (black) for my younger brother and grandmother as well as an extra can of food. As this fact spread throughout the village, the villagers started sending their daughters, whom they used to hide, to the supply office. However, this served as a lure, that is, chances for them to capture girls at Masan, and the number of captured girls totaled 14.

Being captured by Japanese servicemen

Three days after I received the supplies, I went to a market at Shio-Masan with my grandmother to prepare for her birthday. We went home with a big container filled with sardines that we had picked up. Upon arriving home, I found three servicemen with red chevrons on their sleeves and guns with bayonets over their shoulders. They told me to come out immediately. Then, suddenly, my father jumped out of the house and caught one of the servicemen by the collar of his uniform. While pointing to his own neck, he cried, "Kill me before you do anything to my daughter! I won't let you take my daughter away!" The servicemen thrust my father away, which caused my father to fall down by a rice cooker. He grabbed a knife in the kitchen while getting to his feet again, then attempted to attack the servicemen. In turn, the servicemen started to calm him down. They handed my father a pack of cigarettes and explained him that I would be able to earn money, acquire professional skills, and even help my brothers go to school if I would go to Japan and work for "Osaka Nakashi (?) Co., Ltd." After all, my father retired into the house and my mother fainted. There was no alternative for me left than to pack up and follow the servicemen. Later, I learned that he was detained in Masan Prison for this incident. He was released with the help of Judge "Akaki." However, he did not tell me of this

fact when he came to see me at Pusan, although he was accompanied by a police detective.

The servicemen took me to "Daito (?) Inn" at Yongji-dong in front of Pusan Station. In the front yard of the inn, there were watchmen stationed. Inside the inn, there were about ten girls. (It was mid-April, 1941.) We spent a week at the inn without doing anything in particular. While staying at the inn, the number of girls increased to 35, including "Kang Kwon Soon" (aged 16) and "Kang Ok Soon" (aged 14), sisters from Taegu. We stayed at the inn approximately for another 20 days. During that period, it was a rule for us to get up at 5:30 in the morning, take exercise in the courtyard for about 30 minutes, then sing Kisei-ga-yo before receiving training. The training mainly focused on how to avoid seasickness by not resisting the movements of waves or by holding a string in our mouth.

On the previous day of our departure, they handed out 50-sen (one sen = one hundredth of one yen) bills with the Emperor's image printed to us, and told us to write down our addresses. They also told us to put down the name of the person we wanted to see and collected money for stamps, which was 20 sen per person. I put down my mother's name. However, my father came to see me on the following morning at 10:00. He knelt down and wept, calling at me, "Soon E, my daughter."

The name, "Raiko," given in Hiroshima

At around 7:00 that evening, we boarded a ship and left for Shimonoseki. We transferred to train there, heading for Hiroshima. When we arrived at a big public hall (theater), we found about 30 girls who had arrived before us. They told us that they were famous *kisshing* (Korean equivalent of *geisha*) called Hoo Chun Song from North Korea. They had been taken to Manchuria and spent a few years there, they said. They were aged between 20 and 30.

All of us were given new names in Hiroshima. I was given the name, "Raiko." We had to wait there because a ship was not available. We were in Hiroshima for

about five to six months. There, we were given instructions concerning how to get on board, took exercise, and received Japanese lessons. Also, the women, "Hee Chun Song" taught us songs. The remaining time was spent for labor in an orchard, then for picking oranges and figs and packing them into boxes, which went on for two months. We were not allowed to go to toilets freely at night as they took precautions against our escape, fearing that we might make use of the opportunity to go to toilets. They scared us by making up as a ghost. The rumor that ghosts appeared in a toilet prevented us from going there at night (although it was found later that it was Japanese persons in makeup of a ghost), and used a washtub inside the room. However, two of the girls went to the rest room and one of them fainted and died. Later, we caught the "ghosts" and found that they were not ghosts but two Japanese, a man and a woman. They were watching us in such makeup. On the day following our finding this out, a high-ranking military man came and arranged so that we could use the rest room at night.

We heard that there were private houses and brothels near the public hall.

Taken away by ship

Five to six months later, each was supplied with a piece of simple clothing, two pairs of panties, a pair of sneakers, a pair of tabi (Japanese socks to go with kimono), a towel, two handkerchiefs, cosmetic powder, cream, a comb, a pair of nail clippers, a piece of ribbon, rubber for fixing hair, etc. and were told to "prepare our state of mind" for we were returning home soon. We were also given 50 sen per person, with which we bought *kochojang* (a Korean condiment), hot pepper, and garlic. We got together in the late afternoon and rejoiced.

Within five days after the supply of the above, we were taken to the pier. That morning, they made us get up at dawn, and gave us instructions such as "Don't look sideways, walk straight until getting on the deck of the ship, and walk in two rows. Don't look at the water." (According to my memory, we did

not use any vehicle to the pier.)

After embarking, a Japanese officer told us that there would be no worry only if we followed their instructions. On the ship, we found that the women from North Korea had not got on board. On the ship, we were under control of Sergeant Major Kurimoto and Sergeant First Class Kimura from Kobe. At the following dawn, on the way back from the rest room, I met two Korean servicemen, Second Lieutenants Im Chan Soo and Yang On Chol from North Kyongsang Province. They had been conscripted as volunteer soldiers at the age of 17, and had been through service in Manchuria. They said that the ship was heading for South Pacific islands to take women there. Yang On Chol told me that the name of the ship was "Mito-maru" and also told me that it was accompanied by three ships (carrying servicemen) on both sides and an observation ship called "submarine" under the water.

Around 3 o'clock in the morning on the third day after leaving the port, I felt sudden bright fire and went down toward the bottom of the ship, then heard a bang. At the same time, a siren started and the ship itself started sinking. I felt as if my body was drawn downward. At this time, two of my friends were thrown into flows of waters, and they never came back. On the deck, I heard a gong and a siren sounding, telling us to jump into the water. But I was too frightened to do so. Instead, I had resigned to give up my life with my friends on that sinking ship. However, a military man threatened us with a sword in his hand and demanded us to jump into the water. So, I jumped into the water, putting a large wrapping cloth over my head. The girl beside me also jumped into the water, but she sank under the water.

I was also tossed around by the waves and the bone at the joint of my right knee was broken, making it unable for me to use a toilet. And the upper part of my left leg was torn and became ugly (the scar from the wound still remains.)

Fortunately, I was rescued by Yang On Chol. At 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, three planes flew over and sent signals meaning "Don't worry, we will rescue you," with a white and a red flags, followed by a Navy rescue ship.

We were taken to Kaigun-to (island where a naval base is located) near the accident site and were supplied with pilot uniforms, socks, flat shoes and army underwear. On that day, we were told to take off air force uniforms and were supplied army uniforms (short pants and half-sleeved shirts).

Looking around, I realized two of the women had died and 33 of us had survived. Before leaving Kaigun-to, I entreated a high-ranking officer, clinging to his leg, to let me return home. He said, "All right," and stroked my head, weeping with me. After a while, however, a large ship marked "Osaka-maru" came and we were taken to South Pacific islands.

There were so many military men on the ship.

Destination: army comfort house on the Palau Island

We arrived at South Pacific islands after a voyage of a month and three days after leaving Hiroshima, according to one of those on the ship. We were taken to Bond-cho on the Palau Island. We went there by truck and found the sign "Army Comfort House." Women who had arrived before us came out to see us. A doctor came to give us check-ups, then the youngest ten girls were assigned to the "comfort house." A woman named "Kim Ok Soon" from Wonsan, Gangyang Province, was managing the comfort house. She gave us dresses and high-heeled shoes. She lived with Shingawa, an officer in charge of management of comfort women. She acted as the supervisor and hit us from time to time if she had found any error in our performance.

The house I was assigned to had three rooms on the right and the left respectively next to the entrance hall, and seven rooms for officers in the back. There were about ten women from Okinawa in the house. There were huge water tanks on both sides of the building, where they stored rain water for drinking.

My room was so small that a single blanket could cover the entire floor. On the following day, my life as a comfort woman started. On the first day, I had to serve 13 men. From 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., we had to serve soldiers in the

ranks, and after 9:00 p.m., officers. Officers stayed overnight but left at five or six o'clock on the following morning.

When servicemen came, they handed in a ticket at the reception, which ticket was affixed the name and the stamp of the unit they belonged to. These tickets were collected again and returned to the respective units approximately once a week. For a while, we received weekly check-ups at "Yuroro (?) Hospital" from army surgeons. These check-ups included disinfection with alcohol and shots called "No. 605." When pain was acute, they gave us shots of morphine or aspirin. For severer pain, they gave us narcotics.

In order to encourage them to use condoms, there was a store of them on a shelf above. However, there were some who did not use any. I would ask them to use one, but they would not accept my advice. Instead, they would kick me at my stomach. Fortunately, I did not catch a venereal disease, nor became pregnant. However, I easily ran out of breath even now.

During the war, those military men had their own way. For example, they would bite off the nipples of a woman sleeply because she was slow in getting ready for them. There was a Japanese serviceman who gouged out the breasts and the genitals of a woman with his bayonet. And it was only natural that it took us some time to get ready; we wore military trousers and could not take them off so quickly. Later, we were provided with simpler clothing and slips.

While staying there, the youngest ten or more girls were selected, including myself, and were dispatched to Miyamashi(?) in Gaspar(?) and to Saipan and were forced to work as comfort women. We had to serve about 15 military men a day. Each one of us was also provided with a bag of medicine and helped treat malarial patients.

On the way back to the Palau Island, air raids became severer and one of the girls and two military men were killed.

When food supplies had been used up, we planted potatoes and lived on the products, undertaking farmwork ourselves. Later, as air raids by the U.S.

troops became severer, we made an underground shelter to accommodate 6,000 people and escaped into it. Outside the shelter, they set up 20 tents as comfort houses, in front of which servicemen stood in queues. We served 20 to 30 men a day in those tents. When they thought I was not obedient enough, they slashed me with a sword at my right eye, beneath my forehead, the back of my neck, and at my head. Even now, the scars from the wounds remain.

As the war became severer, they set up tents in the mountains. There, we were to serve 50 to 60 military men a day and we would fall into a trance by the end. Second Lieutenant Omura treated us, which we appreciated very much.

Escape attempt was out of the question. One of the women there stabbed an officer but he did not die. They built a mound to bury her up to her neck. Then, they gathered us all and made us watch her being beheaded. It appalled me so much and even now I suffer hypersensitivity, heart disease and gastritis.

Several injuries in bombing

Several months after we landed on the Palau Island, air raids started and "Yeroro Hospital" was bombed. One day, when bombing became severer, I was injured while getting into the shelter. Pieces of shells got into my body and I was buried in the soil. Fortunately, four Japanese soldiers came to rescue me. On this occasion, I suffered 15-cm deep wounds beneath both shoulders and the flesh of my loins was dugged out by broken pieces of shells. Part of my leg suffered necrosis after being infected. We were evacuated to the "Gaspar Island" where "Wiyamashi" was. They made us serve as comfort women under this condition, leading us to a most dreadful life. Even food was scarce.

After a while, I heard from Kang Eun Chol that an atomic bomb was dropped onto Hiroshima.

Before the landing of the U.S. troops, a large plane flew over. The Japanese attacked by an antiaircraft gun when it was flying over "Koshiyama Belt" and this plane crashed behind Palau Island Yasukuni Shrine. We went over there to find the airplane, undestroyed. Inside, we found two women and three military

men (pilots) dead besides some food and other military supplies. We divided the supplies into several lots to carry. That morning, we had some soup made from the meat we had found.

Later, in his speech, the unit commander told us that the airplane was a U.S. observation plane and the women were daughters of a high-ranking officer. After this incident, Japanese officers committed suicide. This frightened us and we asked military men about it. They replied that there had been a certain incident in Tokyo.

In mid-September, the U.S. troops landed on the island. They gathered all of us and investigated. They separated Koreans, Japanese, and Okinawans with a help of an interpreter and took photographs individually, then released us. Finally, we were able to return to Korea by the ship prepared by the U.S. military.

It was on December 31, 1945, in the lunar calendar (that is, February 16, 1946), that we arrived at Masan. The following day was my 19th New Year Day.

I was injured and damaged all over my body to the extent that it was impossible for me to perform the complete share of my life as a woman. It deprived me of an opportunity to marry. After I attended my aging parents, I met my husband who was younger than I, when I was 33 years old. We lived together, helping each other. Now that he died in March this year, I am totally alone. I grow flowers for living. Recently, my eyesight has weakened and it is not easy for me to continue to work. The medical expenses are a great burden on me.

Before my husband died, I refused to speak up, feeling dreadfully ashamed of having my past exposed to the public. Now that my husband has died, and as resentment grows that even my only existing younger brother has avoided me because of his hatred toward my having been a comfort woman, it is my firm determination to restore my honor from the abominable society.

As I realize that other victims just like myself are fighting with the

Japanese government which has been deviating from humanitarian practices. I, as a person who has suffered undescribable humiliation and persecution, am determined to dedicate myself to solving this issue by disclosing my experience.

There will be no way for Japan to escape accusation from the international community unless it corrects its own atrocities in the past. I deeply wish that we can solve the issue we face now before such consequence is brought about.

**A SITUATIONER ON THE FILIPINO COMFORT WOMEN
(As of December 1, 1992)**

**By the Secretariat of the Task Force on Filipina Victims
of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan
Prepared for the International Public Hearing on Post-War
Compensation, December 9-10, 1992, Tokyo, Japan**

Maria Rosa Luna Henson, 65 years old, had listened to the radio appeal of the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women first in June 1992 and then again last September 3. She contacted the Task Force on September 11 and gradually overcame her hesitation to go public as she understood that she had a big role to fulfill in enabling other comfort women to come out. Since Lola Rosa (Grandmother Rosa) appeared in a press conference with national and international media last September 10, 29 other Filipino comfort women had contacted the TFFCW, as of 30 November 1992 (a period of two and a half months).

The Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women or TFFCW (its full name is Task Force on Filipina Victims of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan) was organized and convened by the Asian Women's Human Rights Council - Philippine Section and BAYAN Women's Desk on July 17, 1992. It is currently composed of 14 women's organizations at the national level who coordinate their efforts in the search for victims and in disseminating information on the Filipino comfort women issue.

**TFFCW Chapter Building and Media Work
in the Provinces and Regions**

To assist the Filipino Comfort Women (FCW) survivors who have come out in the provinces, and to continue the research and investigation of FCW cases, the TFFCW Secretariat had set up in the first two weeks of November local chapters in five provinces, namely: Pampanga in Central Luzon, Antique, Iloilo, and Capi in the Panay Region, and Bacolod in Negros Occidental. The five local chapters now attend to the verification and written documentation of every FCW cases in their respective areas. TFFCW local chapters will also undertake local actions and education campaigns on the issue. The Task Force believes that the realization of justice for the comfort women can only be achieved within the context of a social movement.

TFFCW Secretariat and the local Task Force members embarked on a radio campaign in several stations in Capi (2), Antique (2), Bacolod (3), Iloilo (3), and one radio hook-up to Aklan from Capi. Regional dailies provided coverage on the issue, among them, Panay News-Bacolod, Today News, Visayan Daily Star, and Panay News-Iloilo. The radio campaign centered on education of the public on the FCW issue with the hope of changing social attitudes that blame or stigmatize the victims for speaking out publicly. The radio was an important medium for the TFFCW to

further make appeals for the FCW to come out and contact the Task Force offices or telephones.

National and International Media Provided Big Assistance to TFFCW in Disseminating Information on FCW (Filipino Comfort Women)

In locating survivors, and verifying testimonies of the comfort women victims, TFFCW was mainly assisted by national and international (Japanese) media for a period of two months. Seven national dailies provided prominent coverage of the issue. Eight television talk shows and documentaries were done on the FCW issue: Inside Story of Channel 2, Probe of Channel 7, Focus on the World Tonight of Channel 2, Kape at Balita of Channel 7, Magandang Gabi Bayan of Channel 2, Mel and Jay of Channel 2, Viewpoint of Channel 7, and Woman Watch of Channel 4.

Among the international media, we monitored reportage of the International Herald Tribune, Newsweek, Asiaweek, TV Asahi, NHK Television, Mainichi Television and newspaper, Kyodo News Agency and several others.

Reports on Comfort Women and Comfort Stations Received by TFFCW

TFFCW received around 100 reports from six telephone hotlines set up in Manila and in Iloilo since September 1992. Other reports were received through letters and with the help of media (radio and television) who would usually refer comfort women victims who had directly approached them, to the Task Force office.

I. Preliminary reports Received From March - August 1992: Japanese War Documents Revealing Names of Filipino Comfort Women and Location of Comfort Houses in the Philippines

The medical report dated March 19, 1942 submitted by a Japanese army doctor to the Kempai-tai (Japanese military police) showed a sketch of the location of a "comfort house" or army-built brothel in Iloilo City. The document also listed partial names of nineteen (19) Filipino "comfort women" in Iloilo. It is actually a medical report by a Japanese doctor who conducted a medical examination on the 19 Filipinas to prevent the spread of venereal diseases among Japanese soldiers.

Other Japanese war documents received contained reports of comfort stations and women in Masbate province, Cagayan Valley and Samar.

In August, a Japanese official disclosed to the media the high possibility of the presence of comfort houses in Ormoc (Leyte province), Santa Cruz (Laguna), Masbate, and in Cagayan (Mindanao).

A Japanese newspaper also pointed three (3) places where comfort

houses were established in the Philippines. These areas were Manila, Tacloban (Leyte), and Iloilo province. The newspaper report said that in an August 1943 report from Tacloban, 9 Filipino comfort women were recorded by the Japanese Imperial Army.

~~RIDGE AREA ECONOMIC~~ includes Antique (Panay Island), Mindoro, Negros Provinces, and Cebu (Cebu Island).

II. Reports on Comfort Houses Received from September 1992 - November 1992 through TFFCW Telephone Hotlines

1. A University Professor reported of a whole block of apartment houses used as comfort houses in Herran Street corner Kansas Street in Manila. He also said that in a certain Leonard Wood Dore in Dewey Boulevard in Manila, there were Filipinas forced as comfort women.

2. A Japanese Press Agency also reported the existence of a former comfort house in an offshore island in Bacolod owned by the wife of a politician and businessman. The island was once a concentration camp of the JIA during the Japanese occupation years -- 1942-1945.

3. A respected Professor also shared with the TFFCW about Spanish-style houses in Paco Park which served as quarters for the JIA officers and also used as a comfort house.

4. A war veteran who was a former medical sergeant called the TFFCW to say there was a comfort house near Avenida in Sta. Cruz, Manila.

"Comfort houses" have also been pointed through the testimonies of the women who contacted the Task Force.

III. Description of the Cases Received by the TFFCW

A. The cases gathered and received so far by the TFFCW can be classified into three categories:

1. Comfort women or sex slaves forced to have sex with a number of Japanese soldiers or to provide sex to one high-ranking soldier for a period of time;
2. Rape cases; and
3. Torture cases.

As of November 30, 1992, there are already 30 Filipino comfort women cases documented by the TFFCW. In addition, we received 17 rape cases and 3 torture cases. These makes a total of 50 cases. Around 80% of these cases have still to be studied and verified by

the Task Force researchers and lawyers. There are 30 other reports received by the TFFCW on the existence of comfort women in Samar, Aklan and Leyte but these reports still need to be checked and the women whose names were given, have still to be interviewed

B. Of the above cases, 15 of the women have come out in public through TFFCW press conferences in Manila and in Panay held in September, October and November, 1992 have spoken directly to the local radio. The following are the women who had presented themselves to the media:

Filipino Comfort Women - Names, Ages and Location of Comfort Houses

1. Maria Rosa Luna Hanson, 63, Angeles, Pampanga
2. Nenita Gertrudes Balisaelias, 73, Naga City, Camarines Sur
3. Anonita Balajadia, 64, Santiago, Isabela
4. Anastacia Cortes, 69, Fort Santiago, Intramuros, Manila
5. Tomasa Balinog, 64, San Jose, Antique
6. Francisca Macabebes, 68, Iloilo City
7. Estelita Morandante, 65, Roxas City, Capiz
8. Rosario Nopueto, 66, Miag-ao, Iloilo
9. Laurence Dillo Crida, 66, San Jose, Antique
10. Lourdes Divinagracia, Iloilo City

Rape Cases

1. Dominga Esponilla, 75, Iloilo City
2. Emiliana Arenque, 63, Roxas City, Capiz
3. Salvacion Castillo, 71, Paco, Manila
4. Presentacion Villar, 65, Alares, Capiz
5. Paz Alvarez Geronimo, 68, Capas, Capiz

C. Profile of the Comfort Women:

This report wishes to focus on FCWs although references will be made to rape and torture cases based on need.

1. Age Range/Status The ages of the women are currently from 64 to 80 years old. When conscripted by the Japanese Imperial Army, they were from 12 to 26 years of age. The estimated age distribution based on the 30 cases is a little more than 50% for those below 20 years old and more than 40% for 20-30 years old.

Both married and unmarried women were taken. Some had children already. Some of the women who were in their early teen years then were not yet menstruating when taken.

2. System of Recruitment Based on the women's testimonies, it was revealed that the women were forcibly taken from their houses where members of their families were either killed or put under

threat. Some were taken while in the streets or while laundering clothes along the riverbanks. Some women and young girls were taken from their homes.

Occurrences of mass rape of women by Japanese soldiers were reported - the girls were gathered in school houses, and a cotton plantation. Rape of religious nuns in a Carmelite monastery in Davao was also reported. The raped women either experience gang rape, torture or were killed. Some of the raped women who were considered pretty were taken away to comfort houses to serve as "comfort women".

The soldiers who took the young women were usually ordered or commanded by an officer. In a few cases, Filipino informers collaborating with the Japanese Imperial Army called "Makapili" recruited the young women from the villages to service the Japanese soldiers in the comfort stations both as laundry women and as sex slaves.

The women were either abducted singly or in groups. Japanese soldiers manning a checkpoint in Pampanga province picked up two of the FCWs who were passing. Four of the women were abducted up and loaded in a military truck or vehicle, picked-up and brought to garrisons with comfort stations. One FCW was brought along to prison with her captured husband who was a guerilla. After seeing her husband tortured (and eventually killed), she was turned into a sex slave inside prison.

3. Conditions of Captivity in the Comfort Houses:

The comfort houses were situated in Japanese garrisons, military barracks, hospitals and rice mills which served as garrisons, Spanish-type houses owned by the Filipino elite, huge air raid shelters called tunnels by the FCW, especially constructed wooden and nipa huts and cottages used as Japanese message centers in the forest wilderness. The women were confined or imprisoned in small rooms where they are usually locked from the outside. In these rooms, Japanese soldiers come in one by one to force sex on the women. Rooms in some houses had identification written in Japanese characters.

The FCW who was kept imprisoned in Fort Santiago in Manila was kept in a dark and cold cell. She was taken out and brought to another room for the Japanese sexual comfort. Another woman from Ilocos Sur said she was tied and her face covered while soldiers take turns in raping her.

The number of soldiers that the FCWs were forced to provide sex range from one to three Japanese soldiers or to as many as 20 soldiers a day. The time of servicing ranges from early evening to midnight; from early afternoon to late evening (2 PM - 10 PM); others told of occasions where they have no rest - being forced

to service from morning to evening. For those FCWs who had to service many soldiers, the latter would arrive in truckloads and then wait in line outside the rooms. Officers usually come in first. There was one case in Iloilo where soldiers were provided a set of pictures of the FCW. Upon choosing, they will enter the room of the FCW of their choice. The said Iloilo comfort house was being managed by a Japanese soldier who recruited and kept the women. Each ordeal lasted for a few minutes then another soldier would come in. Another FCW said she was raped several times a day for 8 days by a single officer in a Japanese garrison.

Any sign of refusal or hesitation from the FCWs always received either harsh words, slaps, hitting by a gun or bayonet, excessive beatings and other forms of torture from the soldiers. The physical torture and psychological trauma that the FCWs experienced have, later on in their life, led to long-lasting effects of physical pain such as one FCW's left ear was damaged due to the slap she received from a soldier she was servicing. Another reported that she lost her mind for several months because of the trauma she felt. Another FCW said that it took her 5 years to recover her emotional balance and mental health. An FCW showed a big ugly wound scar in her left leg because she was beaten up by Japanese soldiers while being abducted.

Many of the women experienced bleeding as a result of excessive sexual use by the soldiers. Two got pregnant but suffered miscarriages due to lack of care and the beatings. Another two FCWs gave birth. Another FCW, who was 18-19 years old at that time, bled profusely and brought to a hospital where her reproductive organ (uterus) had to be removed. The wound became infected because of lack of proper treatment.

Japanese or Filipino doctors conduct visits to some comfort houses for medical examination on the women. Certain kinds of medicines were sometimes applied to the women's vagina. One FCW said they underwent a vaginal wash during their periodic visits to the doctors. Other FCWs said they did not have any medical check-up at all.

There were also other Asian women in the comfort houses, according to some women. Some said there were at least 3-7 of them in their respective comfort houses. One FCW identified two Chinese women. Others said there were Koreans. Other FCWs did not know the nationality of the Asian women - they simply described them as chinky-eyed or "chinita" looking. The comfort women had the common experience of not being allowed to talk nor glimpse at each other. One FCW, however, said that she was able to chat with the other women one whole afternoon before soldiers arrived.

The women's daily routine differs according to the comfort house where they are placed. A common routine among them is that in the

morning they either had to cook, do laundry or clean the comfort house. In the afternoons, Japanese soldiers would arrive. Some FCWs said that they were not allowed to go out of their rooms or cell and thus, had to stay in their rooms all day and wait for the Japanese soldiers to come.

The women were given little food and water, sometimes they were forced to eat raw meat soaked in spices. Two FCWs reported they were regularly given a few clothes, soap, and powder to make themselves desirable to the soldiers.

At the time of their defeat, the Japanese soldiers would hurriedly leave the women or release them. One FCW reported that before the Japanese troops left, they lined up all the Filipinos including the women and cut their heads with their swords. One FCW survived this mass killing. When American troops bombed Japanese garrisons, some FCWs were able to flee while others were found by the Filipino guerrillas or American troops.

Demands and Goals of the Task Force

Since its formation in July 1992, the Task Force had made a lot of headway in making the FCW issue visible to the public. The TFFCW Secretariat is made up of full time volunteers from Asian Women Human Rights Council - Philippine Section and BAYAN Women's Desk - about six (6) women make up the day-to-day implementation of the activities of the Task Force. The TFFCW has put forward the following demands:

The main goal of the Task Force is to organize a social movement that will work for the realization of justice for the Filipino comfort women.

A. For the Japanese government to fully face up to its responsibility for its crime of sexual slavery and other wartime atrocities by taking proper actions regarding the comfort women issue:

1. A formal apology from Japan to the Filipino people and specifically to the women victims and survivors and their families;
2. Adequate compensation for the women victims and their families from the Japanese government;
3. For both the Japanese and Philippine governments to include as reference in texts and history books the reality of women's human rights violation in the form of sexual slavery through "comfort women" as a war crime of Japan in order that war and militarism, and consequently, abuses against the people, especially women and children may not repeat itself;

4. For the Japanese government to admit that they used force and violence in the conscription and treatment of "comfort women" as sex slaves, contrary to the Japanese government's report that they were not forced.

B. For the Philippine government to act on the issue of Filipino comfort women:

1. By undertaking an official investigation and search for surviving comfort women or their families;

2. By demanding for a formal apology and compensation from the Japanese government for the victims, survivors and their families.

C. For the UN Commission on Human Rights to conduct a thorough investigation and to censure Japan for its human rights violations and cover up of information.

D. To repeal the Peacekeeping Operations Law or PKO Law of Japan which opens up once more the possibility of dispatch of Japanese troops to Asian countries and the rest of the world, threatens the peaceful coexistence and equality of countries and raises the specter of violence against women and children through the resurgence of Japanese militarism.

E. To forge a strong solidarity network for all Asian women drafted for military sexual service by Japan.

Conclusion

These are just some of the initial findings of the TFFCW and investigations based on the 30 PCW cases and interviews made on local people. We hope to provide a more comprehensive and in-depth view of the comfort women phenomenon based on the Philippine context or how it has happened in the Philippines. We in the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women wish to end this report by stating our view on the comfort women issue.

For Filipino women, the "comfort women" issue is indeed very important not only because Filipino women were involved but we also believe that this issue involves gender, racial, colonial and imperialist oppression and domination by Japan to Asian countries.

Forcing the women to provide sex several times a day are acts of repeated rape and molestation by Japanese soldiers and are human rights violations against Asian women. It is an historical illustration of how women are commodified as sex objects for men's gratification. In the present day, we continue to see intense forms of violence against women and modern forms of sexual slavery in Asia - mail-order brides, contract

entertainment work, sex tourism industry, military prostitution, pornography, traffic in women and forced prostitution. In our country, sex tourism by Japanese men and unscrupulous travel operators in Cebu and Manila is increasing yearly. Many Filipina migrant workers who were lured to Japan's economy, are forced to become sex entertainers or "Japayukis". The unequal trade relations between Third world countries and industrialized countries such as the Philippines and Japan breeds conditions of poverty, exploitation and gender oppression.

The use of "comfort women" is also a vivid proof of how, in this patriarchal international order, militarism such as wars by Japan, the United States or by any militarist government both in the North and the South, provide the conditions for degrading, abusing and exploiting the women of their colonized or exploited countries, in this case, those of the Asian women and peoples.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of socialist states in Eastern Europe, we are now witnessing how war and militarism is increasingly becoming the order of the day. The Gulf war and the war in Yugoslavia are clear examples. In these wars, we have again seen the use of women for the soldiers' sexual gratification.

We thank the participants of the International Public Hearing of Post-War Compensation for this opportunity to share the situation of Filipino comfort women. We are determined to continue our campaign for justice for the Filipino comfort women and to share our solidarity with all Asian comfort women. We believe we need to stand together to uphold Asian women's dignity and basic rights. We hope to unite and make a strong fight. We will undertake collective action for an end to Japanese militarism and those of the US and other powers to stop the sexual abuse of Asian women.

We call on the Japanese government to fully face up to its responsibility to the comfort women - giving an apology to each individual victim and just compensation will not be too much for the Japanese government to give. It is the very least it can do for a mistake committed against Asian women. Such an action by Japan's government will help heal the wounds of war - and foster real friendship and new human relations. Let Japan set an example to the world to show that this can be done.

We women and other peace-loving peoples desire for a world free from wars and militarism, an international community of peace, justice, sustainable development with new values that express a caring for humanity and all creation.

Thank you very much.

フィリピン「慰安婦」に関する報告

(1992 年12月 1 日現在)

日本軍による性的奴隷調査委員会作成

日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会提出

1992年12月9-10日 東京

65才のマリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソンがフィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会の訴えをラジオで初めて聞いたのは1992年6月だった。そして同じことを9月3日に再び聞いた。9月11日彼女は調査委員会に連絡し、その他の元「慰安婦」たちが名乗り出る勇気をもつには彼女の役割が大きいことを理解し、序じょに公の場に出ることへのためらいを克服していった。ロラ・ロサ（ロラは“おばあちゃん”という意味で、年寄りの女性の名前の前につける親しみをこめた敬称）がこの9月18日に国内及び海外の報道陣の前に現れて以来、1992年11月30日現在で合計29人のフィリピン元「慰安婦」が調査委員会に連絡してきた（二か月半の間）。

フィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会、略称 TFFCW（正式な名称は、日本軍による性的奴隷のフィリピン女性被害者特別調査委員会）は、1992年7月13日、アジア女性人権協議会フィリピン支部とバヤン女性部によって設立された。現在は14の全国規模の女性団体に構成されており、所属メンバーたちが被害者の調査とフィリピン元「慰安婦」の情報収集に力を注いでいる。

各地方における調査委員会（TFFCW）支部の設置と報道活動

地方の州で出てきたフィリピン元「慰安婦」の生存者を助け、元「慰安婦」の調査を続けるために、調査委員会事務局は11月第1週に五つの州に初めて地方支部を設置した。それらは、中央ルソンのパンパンガ、バナイ島のアンティケ、イロイロ、カピス、そしてネグロス西州のパコロドである。五つの支部は、現在それぞれの地域のフィリピン元「慰安婦」の事実証明と記録を行っている。また支部は、地元の人々のこの問題に対する意識を高揚させる活動や運動を行っている。調査委員会は元「慰安婦」の正義は、社会的な運動の流れで実現されるものと考えている。

調査委員会事務局と地域の委員会メンバーは、各地域のラジオ局を通してキャンペーンを行った。それらはカピス、アンティケ、パコロド、イロイロ、そしてアクランとカピスの中継ラジオ局である。地方の日刊紙も問題を取り上げた。代表的なものには、バナイ・ニュース・パコロド版、ツディ・ニュース、ピサヤ・デイリー・スター、そしてバナイ・ニュース・イロイロ版がある。ラジオでのキャンペーンは、公に名乗り出る元「慰安婦」に対して非難や中傷をする一般社会の意識を変革することを願い、元「慰安婦」問題に関

して一般の人々を教育することを目的にしていた。さらにラジオは、元「慰安婦」に名乗り出て調査委員会に連絡をとるよう呼びかける重要な媒体であった。

フィリピン元「慰安婦」に関する情報配布において 国内び国外の報道機関が委員会に与えた大きな助け

生存者を見つけ出し、被害者の証言を実証する委員会の大きな力になってくれたのは、二か月間に渡る国内及び外国（日本）の報道機関による報道であった。七つの全国日刊紙が問題を大きく取り上げた。八つのテレビのトーク・ショー及びドキュメント番組がこの問題の特集を行った。それらは2チャンネルのインサイド・ストーリー、7チャンネルのブループ、2チャンネルのフォーカス・オン・ザ・ワールド・トゥナイト、7チャンネルのカベ・アト・バリタ、2チャンネルのマガンダン・ガビ・バヤン、2チャンネルのメル・アンド・ジェイ、7チャンネルのビューポイント、4チャンネルのウーマン・ウォッチである。

国外の報道で私たちが追跡できたのは、インターナショナル・ヘラルド・トリビューン、ニュースウィーク、アジアウィーク、テレビ朝日、NHK、毎日放送と毎日新聞、共同通信、その他である。

委員会に寄せられた元「慰安婦」及び慰安所の情報

委員会は1992年9月以来マニラとイロイロに六本のホットラインを設け、これまで約百件の電話による連絡を受けた。その他にも手紙による連絡や、元「慰安婦」が最初に接触した報道機関（ラジオ）から回ってきた委員会への連絡もあった。

I. 1992年3月から8月まで受けた初期の報告

フィリピン元「慰安婦」の名前及び元慰安所の所在地を明らかにした日本の戦争資料

軍医がケンベイタイ（憲兵隊）に1942年3月19日付で提出した医療診断報告書には、イロイロの「慰安所」すなわち陸軍が設置した売春宿の地図が載っている。またこの報告書にはイロイロの十九人の「慰安婦」の名前の一部も列挙されている。これは、日本人兵士への性病の伝染を予防するために十九人のフィリピン女性を検査した日本人医師の報告であった。

私たちが受けたその他の日本の戦争資料にも、カガヤン・バレーのマスバテ州とサマーラにあった慰安所と「慰安婦」に関する情報が掲載されている。

この8月日本政府は報道機関に対し、オルモック（レイテ州）、サンタ・クルツ（ラグナ）、マスバテ、そしてカガヤン（ミンダナオ）に慰安所があった可能性が高いことを公表した。

日本のある新聞も、フィリピンに設けられていた慰安所の所在地を三箇所明らかにしていた。それらはマニラ、タクロバン（レイテ）、そしてイロイロである。1943年8月タクロバンからの報告に日本軍が九人のフィリピン「慰安婦」を記録したことが報告されていたことを新聞記事は伝えていた。

その他記録に残されている地域には、アンティケ（バナイ島）、ミンドロ、ネグロス州、カガヤン・バレー（イサベラ）などがある。

11. 調査委員会が1992年9月より11月までホットラインで受けた慰安所に関する情報

1. 大学教授より、マニラ氏のカンサス通とヘラ通の角にあるアパートの立ち並ぶ一角が慰安所として使われていたという情報を受けた。また、マニラのドゥエイ大通にあったレオナルド・ウッド・ドームと呼ばれる所にも「慰安婦」としてフィリピン女性が閉じ込められていたことも知らされた。
2. 日本のある新聞社が、政治家であり実業家の妻がバコロド沖合いの島に所有していた慰安所がまだ残っていることを報告した。その島は1942年から1945年の日本占領時代に日本軍の捕虜収容所として利用されていた。
3. 著名な教授より、バコ・パークにあるスペイン風建物が日本軍の士官の住居や慰安所として使われていたという情報を受けた。
4. 元軍区の退役軍人より電話があり、マニラ、サンタ・クルスのアヴェニダ近くに慰安所が一軒あったと聞かされた。

「慰安所」の存在は、調査委員会に連絡をしてきた女性たちの証言の中でも指摘されている。

111. 調査委員会が受けたケースの分析

1. これまで調査委員会が収集したり受けた報告より、ケースは三つに分類できる。

1. ある一定期間、多数の日本兵とセックスすることを強制されたり、一人の上官にセックスを提供することを強制された「慰安婦」または性の奴隷
2. 強姦のケース
3. 拷問のケース

1992年11月30日までに調査委員会が調査したフィリピン元「慰安婦」のケースは、すでに30件になる。それ以外に、十七件の強姦のケースと三件の拷問のケースも受けている。これらを足せば合計五十件になる。これらケースを、私たち委員会と弁護士はさらに調査し実証しなくてはならない。また、サマル、アクラン、レイテに「慰安婦」がいたという別の報告も50件受けている。しかし、これら報告はまだ調べる必要があるし、名前が分

った女性にもインタビューをしなくてはならない。

- B. 前述のケースの内、15人の女性が調査委員会が1992年9月から11月にかけて開いた記者会見の席に現れたり、地元のラジオ局に出た。報道機関の前に現れたこれらの人々の名前以下の通りである：

フィリピン元「慰安婦」－ 名前、年齢、慰安所の所在地

1. マリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソン、65才、パンパンガ州アンヘレス
2. ネニタ・ダルトルード・バリサニサ、73才、南カマリネス州ナガ市
3. アメニタ・バラハディア、64才、イサベラ州サンチャゴ
4. アナスタシア・コルテス、69才、マニラ市イントラムロス、サンチャゴ要塞
5. トマス・バリノ、64才、アンティケ州、サンホセ
6. フランシスカ・マカベベ、68才、イロイロ市
7. エステリタ・モランダンテ、65才、カピス州ロハス市
8. ロザリオ・ノベト、66才、イロイロ市ミアグラオ
9. ロレンサ・ヘラーエリダ、年齢不明、アンティケ州、サンホセ
10. ロードス・ディビナグラシア、年齢不明、イロイロ市

強姦のケース

1. ドミンゴ・エスポニラ、75才、イロイロ市
2. エミリアナ・アランケ、63才、カピス州ロハス市
3. サルバシオン・カスティロ、71才、マニラ市バコ
4. プレゼンタシオン・ピラ、65才、カピス州アララス
5. パス・アルバレス・ジェロニモ、68才、カピス州カバス

C. 元「慰安婦」の概略

必要に応じて強姦や拷問のケースを引用するが、この報告はあくまでもフィリピン元「慰安婦」に焦点をあてている。

1. 年齢層と婚姻の有無：女性たちの現在の年齢は64才から80才に及ぶ。日本軍に徴用された時、彼女たちの年齢は12才から26才であった。30件のケースを基にした推定年齢分布は、20才以下が50%強で、20～30才が40%強である。
既婚者も未婚者も連れて行かれた。一部の女性にはすでに子供がいた。十代の初めにあり初潮を迎えていない女性もいた。
2. 連行の方法：女性の証言によれば、家から強制的に連行されたケースが多く、その時家族は殺されたり脅されたりした。その他、道を歩いている時や、川で洗濯をしている時

に連れて行かれた女性もいる。

日本兵による集団強姦の発生も報告された。少女たちが学校や植農園に召集されて強姦された。ダバオのカルメリタ修道院で修道女が強姦されたケースが報告された。強姦された女性はずべて、輪姦されたか拷問されたか殺されている。美人とみなされた女性は「慰安婦」として慰安所に連れて行かれた。

大抵兵士たちは、側にいる上官の指揮を受けるか、あるいは上からの命令によって、若い女性たちを連れて行った。ごくわずかなケースだが、「マカビビ」と呼ばれ日本軍に協力したフィリピン人情報提供者が、日本人兵士のために慰安所でセックスの相手をさせ同時に洗濯女として働かせるために、村から若い娘を徴用した事もあった。

女性たちが単独で誘拐されたケースもあれば、集団で誘拐されたケースもある。パンパン州の検問所に配属された日本人兵士たちが、通過した若い娘二人を連れ去ったケースもある。四人の女性が集団で誘拐され、軍のトラックか車で駐屯地にある慰安所に連れて行かれた。ある元「慰安婦」は、抗日ゲリラの夫が捕まえられた時一緒に連行された。目の前で夫は拷問され（最後には殺された）、その後彼女は刑務所内に閉じ込められ性の奴隷にされた。

3. 慰安所での収監状態

慰安所は、日本軍の駐屯地、官舎、病院、駐屯地に使われた精米工場、フィリピン人金持が所有するスペイン風の家、「慰安婦」がトンネルと呼んだ大きな防空壕、日本人専用のマッサージ室として使われた森の中の木や椰子の小屋などに設けられていた。女性たちは小さな部屋に閉じ込められ、大抵外から鍵がかけられていた。そのような部屋に日本兵が一人ずつ順番に入ってきて、無理やり女性とセックスをした。日本語で表示された部屋もあった。

マニラのサンチャゴ要塞にいた「慰安婦」は、暗くて冷たい独房に閉じ込められていた。日本人に性の相手をさせられる時だけそこから連れ出された。南イロコスの女性は何回も目撃された状態で日本人兵士に次々強姦されたと報告している。

「慰安婦」が無理やりセックスさせられた兵士の数は、一日につき一人～三人程度のものから、多くは二十人までだった。時間は夕方から深夜まで、午後早めから夜遅くまで（2時から10時）、その他、時には朝から晩まで休む間もなく相手をさせられたケースもある。何人もの兵士の相手をさせられた「慰安婦」の場合、兵士は集団でトラックに乗ってきて、部屋の外で列に並んで待つことが普通であった。士官たちが大抵は先だった。イロイロのあるケースによれば、兵士たちには「慰安婦」全員の写真が配られ、それを見て男たちはどの女性にするか選んだ。このイロイロの慰安所は、フィリピン女性を徴用していた日本兵が管理していた。試験は数分で終わり、すぐに次の男が入ってくる。別の元

「慰安婦」は、日本軍の駐屯地に閉じ込められ一人の士官に八日間続けて毎日数回強姦されたと言っている。

拒否やためらいを少しでも見せれば、兵士は必ず罵声を浴びせたり、ひっぱいたり、銃や銃剣で叩いたり、目茶苦茶殴ったり、その他苦痛を与える仕打ちをした。肉体的な拷問や精神的な傷は後遺症となり、いつまでも肉体的・精神的苦痛を残している。ある「慰安婦」は、相手の兵士にひっぱたかれ左耳が聞こえなくなった。また、大きな精神的打撃を受けたため数か月間正気を失った女性も報告されている。情緒が安定し、精神の健康を取り戻すのに五年かかったという元「慰安婦」もいる。拉致された時に日本兵に殴られ左脚に大きな深い傷が今も残っている元「慰安婦」もいる。

多数の女性は、兵士たちに頻りに性の相手をさせられたため出血を経験した。妊娠した女性の内、二人は発生しなかったり殴られたため流産した。別の二人は出産した。もう一人は、当時十八才か十九才だったが、大量出血して病院に運ばれ、生殖器官（子宮）を取られてしまった。適切な処置がとられなかったため、その後傷口からばい菌が入った。

日本人またはフィリピン人の医師が一部の慰安所を訪れ、女性たちを検査していた。ある種の薬が時々女性の性器に塗られた。一人の元「慰安婦」は、定期的に訪れる医者に性器を洗浄されたと言っている。まったく何も検査を受けなかったと言う元「慰安婦」たちもいる。

何人かの女性によれば、慰安所には他のアジア女性もいたようだ。少なくとも三人から七人位のアジアの女性が同じ慰安所にいたことを、何人かの元「慰安婦」は証言している。二人の中国人女性がいたと言う報告もある。幾人かの朝鮮人女性がいたという報告もある。どの国からきたのか分らなかったという元「慰安婦」たちもいた。細い目、または“中国人っぽい”顔だったとしか説明できない。どの「慰安婦」たちもお互いに話すことを禁じられていたし、視線を交わすこともできなかった。しかし一人の元「慰安婦」は一度だけ、兵士たちが来るまで昼間ずっと別の「慰安婦」と話しができたと言っている。

毎日の生活は慰安所によって異なっていた。典型的な一日は、午前中は料理をしたり洗濯したり掃除をさせられ、午後になれば日本兵が到着し始めた。幾人かの元「慰安婦」は部屋や独房から一步でも出ることを禁止されていたので、日本兵が来るまでずっと部屋に閉じ込められていたと言っている。

女性たちはわずかな量の食事と水を与えられ、時折スパイスに漬けた生の肉を食べさせられた。二人の元「慰安婦」は、日本兵の好みに合うよう数枚の服や石けんや粉おしろいを与えられたと報告している。

敗戦が色濃くなった頃は、日本軍は女性を残すか釈放して償いなく立ち去った。一人の元「慰安婦」は、逃げる前に日本の部隊は女性を含めフィリピン人を一列に整列させ、

刀で首を斬ったと報告している。彼女はこの大屠殺で殺されずにすんだ。アメリカ軍が日本の駐屯地を爆撃した時脱出に成功した女性もいれば、フィリピンのゲリラがアメリカ軍に救出された女性もいる。

調査委員会の要求と目標

1992年7月に結成されて以来、調査委員会はフィリピン元「慰安婦」問題を社会に明らかにしながら多くの布石を敷いてきた。フィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会事務局は、アジア女性人権協議会フィリピン支部とバヤンから送られた、専従のボランティア・スタッフで構成されている。約六人の女性が調査委員会の日々の活動をこなしている。フィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会が掲げる要求は次の通りである：

調査委員会の大きな目標は、フィリピン元「慰安婦」に正義をもたらすような社会運動を組織することである。

A. 日本政府は、元「慰安婦」問題に関して適切な措置を取って、同政府が犯した性的奴隷の犯罪やその他の戦時中の人権侵害の責任をまっとうすること。

1. フィリピン民衆、特に女性被害者と生存者並びにその家族に対する日本の公式な謝罪
2. 女性被害者とその家族に対する日本政府の適切な補償
3. 戦争と軍国主義、そしてそれがもたらす女性や子どもを始めとした一般市民への虐待を繰り返さないため、日本政府並びにフィリピン政府は「慰安婦」として性的屈従の人権侵害を受けた女性たちの事実を、日本の戦争犯罪として歴史の教科書に引用する。
4. 日本政府は、強要しなかったという主張とは裏腹に、「慰安婦」の徴用と処遇に武力と暴力を行使した事実を認める。

B. フィリピン政府は「慰安婦」問題に以下のように対応すること：

1. 生存している「慰安婦」とその家族を探し出す正式な調査を行う。
2. 被害者、生存者並びにその家族に対する補償と公式謝罪を日本政府に対し求める。

C. 国連人権委員会に対し徹底的な調査を行い人権侵害とその情報隠蔽に対して日本を非難するよう求めた。韓国女性たちの要求を正式に支持する。

D. 日本の軍国主義復活により世界の平和と共存を脅かし、女性と子どもに向けられる暴力の危機を増大させ、アジア諸国始め世界各地への日本軍派兵の可能性を再び広げた日本の国連平和協力法を撤廃させる。

E. 日本軍へ性的サービスをするために徴用されたすべてのアジア女性の間には、強固な連帯のネットワークを築く。

まとめ

これまでの報告は、フィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会が行った三十人の元「慰安婦」のケースを基にした調査や、地元の人々のインタビューから得た初期の結果にすぎない。フィリピンの当時の状況（すなわち、なぜフィリピンで起こったのか）を基にした、「慰安婦」問題の包括的で詳細な考察を提供できるようにしたい。フィリピン「慰安婦」調査委員会は「慰安婦」問題に対する私たちの見解を次のように述べて、この報告のまとめにする。

フィリピン女性にとって「慰安婦」問題は非常に重要である。単に、フィリピンの女性が巻き込まれたという理由からだけではなく、この問題には性、人種、日本のアジア諸国に対する植民地的で帝国主義的な抑圧と支配が絡んでいると私たちは考えているからだ。

女性に一日何度となくセックスを強要したことは、日本兵による強姦の繰り返しであり、アジア女性に対する人権侵害であった。これは、男性を喜ばせる性の対象としていかに女性を商品化してきたかを物語る一つの歴史である。今の時代においても、アジアには女性に対する様々な暴力や、近代的な形をとった性的奴隷が、まだそのまま残っている。メールオーダーの花嫁、エンターテナーの仕事、セックスツアーを奨励する観光産業、軍事基地周辺の売春、ポルノ、女性の人身売買と強制売春。私たちの国では、日本人男性や破産した旅行代理店によるセックス・ツアーが、マニラやセブを中心に年々増えてきている。日本経済に恵かれて出稼ぎに行ったフィリピン女性たちは、性のエンターテナーとなっていく。フィリピンと日本に見られるように、第三世界と工業発展国の不平等な貿易関係は、貧困と搾取と性差別を生み出している。

「慰安婦」問題は、この父権性の国際秩序において、日本やアメリカ、または南や北の軍事国家による軍国主義が、その植民地や搾取する国の女性を卑しめたり虐待する状況を作り出すことをみごとに証明している。

ソビエト連邦の解体と東ヨーロッパにおける社会主義の崩壊により、戦争や軍国主義の風潮がますます強くなって行くのを私たちは目の当たりにしている。湾岸戦争やユーゴスラビアの戦争がそれをはっきりと示している。これらの戦争でも、女性たちが兵士の性の慰めとされるのを私たちは見てきた。

日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会に参加された皆様が、こうしてフィリピン元「慰安婦」の状況を積極的に理解して下さることに私たちは感謝しています。元「慰安婦」たちの正義の実現のために、またアジアのすべての元「慰安婦」との連帯のために、私たちは運動を続けて行く決意です。アジアの女性の尊厳と基本的人権を守るため、一緒に立ち上がりましょう。団結して力強く闘いましょう。アジア女性に対する性の搾取をなくするため、日本やアメリカや他の国家権力の軍国主義を停止させるような共同行動をとりましょう。

日本政府は、元「慰安婦」に対する責任をすべてとらなくてははいけません。一人一人の被害者に謝罪して適切な補償を行うことは、日本政府にとって大変な仕事ではないはずです。アジア女性に犯した過ちに対して政府ができるごくわずかなことです。日本政府によるそのような措置は、戦争の傷を癒し、真の友好関係と新しい人間関係を築くきっかけになります。それができるという手本を、日本は世界に示さなくてはなりません。

私たち女性、そして平和を愛するすべての人々は、世界から戦争と軍国主義をなくし、平和な国際社会を築き、正義が実現され、人類とすべての創造物を大切にする新しい価値観で持続可能な開発が進められることを心より望んでいます。

ありがとうございました。

AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC HEARING
ON POST-WAR COMPENSATION
FROM MARIA ROSA LUNA HENSON
65 Years Old, Filipino Comfort Woman Survivor
December 9, 1992
Kanda Panse, Tokyo, Japan

I wish to appeal to the participants of the International Public Hearing on Post-War Compensation for their compassion to the plight of all victims of the last world war especially to the Filipina and other Asian women victims of military sexual slavery by Japan.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to the support given to us by the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women composed of 14 women's organizations who gave their full support and solidarity to make our story of sexual slavery by Japan visible to the Philippine society and to the whole world. We are also thankful to all women's groups in Asia for helping us find the strength and the voice to tell our stories courageously. With Asian women in solidarity and the peoples of Asia together with us, our cry for justice - for Japan government to face up to its responsibility for the atrocities committed against us, whose effects of trauma and nightmares, low esteem and stigma by some sectors in the society still unable to understand us, remain. We demand for an apology to us individually and for adequate compensation which is our just and our basic right under international law. We hope that justice will be achieved while we are still alive.

I have been lucky enough that I have come out from my experience alive. I believe I have a duty to all the women victims who have died in the hands of the Japanese during the war, to tell the whole world what happened to women during World War II or during any war. Let us tell the whole world we need to stand together to stop wars from happening again. Let not our bitter, painful and traumatic experience be repeated. For the sake of the women, children and all people, let us live in peace. But I also realize now that for peace to reign, the people of the world have to work hard to achieve it - by struggling against resurgence of militarism in ideas, policies and actions of governments or by individuals. I know that by stopping wars, militarism and male degradation of women's bodies and dignity, violence against women can be stopped.

Marumi pong salamet! Domo arigato gozai masta!

"The Story of Rosa, A Filipino Comfort Woman Survivor"

I am Maria Rosa Luna Henson, 65 years old, married (who died last 1954), and has three children. I just celebrated my birthday on December 3, 1941. That was a Friday. Three days after, on Monday, 8 December 1941, war was declared. I even went to school that day but we were sent home as they said we were at war already. The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i.

On December 9, we evacuated to Ipo Dam, Norzagaray, Bulacan together with my mother and my other relatives. We hid at a cave in Barrio Bigti, Norzagaray, Bulacan, near Ipo Dam, until such time that the Japanese arrived in the Philippines. It was there that we spent Christmas and New Year. But then, a general -- Gen. Wainwright -- declared Manila as an open city. As such, we went back to our home on foot where we passed through the mountainous San Mateo, Montalban. We walked through New Manila up to the place where we are staying now. I grew up here in our present residence.

At that time, we have no means of livelihood so we went along with our neighbors who gathered wood in Camp McKinley at Balagbag, Taguig, Rizal which is now called Fort Bonifacio. The area was full of trees which we cut down and chopped into small pieces. Then we sell it by bundles as firewoods. That place is now occupied by the National Manpower Youth Council where young students take up vocational courses. There were huts in the area which served as homes for the peasants living there.

One day, I went along to fetch firewood for our own use. While my uncles were cutting trees, I was surprised when I saw two Japanese soldiers who then held and pulled me. I didn't know what to do, I was afraid they might kill me. Then, another Japanese came whom I surmised is an officer. His name is Captain Tanaka. He shouted at the two Japanese soldiers and slapped them. Then, he was the one who took me. He raped me. After he raped me, he gave me to the two Japanese soldiers. It was a very painful experience for me. I had a bleeding. I couldn't walk.

I was lucky because a farmer who lives in one of the huts in the area passed by and he brought me to their house. I couldn't conceal to them what the Japanese did to me. I wanted to go home but couldn't as our house was about four kilometers away. You would just walk through the train tracks. Thus, I stayed in their house for two days. My uncles thought I have already went home but they couldn't find me there so they continued looking for me. When I was ready to walk, I went home and reached our house. I first cried to my mother and I told her everything. She calmed me down and said that I was lucky enough that I was not killed. She counselled me not to make any noise and just be silent about the incident. I thought the incident would not happen again.

I rested for about two weeks and when my condition normalized, I again joined my neighbors and relatives in gathering firewood. But then, the soldier whom I thought was an officer -- he has a saber -- was waiting for me and upon seeing me, raped me again. I couldn't do anything. I narrated it to my mother and we concluded that they would be waiting for me again.

By March, my mother decided that we should go home to Angeles, Pampanga which is actually my parent's hometown. On my part, I was born, grew up, and studied in Pasay. I was able to visit Angeles only during special occasions like a fiesta. We decided to stay there so that I may be able to forget what happened to me and prevent it from happening again. We lived together with my mother's siblings and relatives in Barrio Pampang, but our house was in an island -- in the midst of a forest.

I joined the HUKBALAHAP, a guerilla group, which was already established at that time. I personally volunteered to the HUKBALAHAP maybe because of my experience with the Japanese soldiers and my anger. Our group was codenamed Dos-cuadro-quarenta y nueve (Two-four-fourty and nine) with Commander Pinatubo as our head. Rapido was my colleague at that time who's known now as Commander Sumulong. My role then was to ask and gather medicines and old clothes from the town's residents for the guerilla forces. When a guerilla force is within the perimeter of the barrio, I would immediately inform the area's residents and request from them some food like rice, viand, and kasote. I would collect and bring it to the guerilla forces.

That was my job until the year 1943. Sometime during the holy week in April, which I know was a time for praying, we were heading home from Magalang wherein I was riding in a cart pulled by a carabao. The cart contained four sacks of dried corn which we will be cooking. Also stacked in the sacks was a .45 pistol, some ammunition, and a grenade. We passed through a checkpoint near a hospital whose name I cannot recall already. But it is next to the block going to our barrio, Pampang. At that time, the people have passes including us. The Japanese sentries read our passes and let us through. There were three of us and I was the only woman. My two men colleagues were behind me and was carrying sacks of corn. But when we have passed through, I was called by the Japanese soldier while my men companions were allowed to go on. Deep within my heart, I was thinking, "Oh my God, here we are again". However, I was relieved that the guns were not caught. And so, I was forced to stay at the hospital which they have made as a garrison. I met six women in the garrison after two or three days in the place. The Japanese soldiers were forcing me to have sex with several of their colleagues. Sometimes 12 soldiers would force me to have sex with them and then they would allow me to rest for a while, then there are about 12 soldiers who will have sex with me again.

There was no rest. they have sex with me every minute.

That's why we're very tired. They would allow you to rest only when all of them have already finished. Maybe, because we were seven women in the garrison that's why it was only minimal.

But then, due to my tender age, it was a painful experience for me. I stayed for three months in that place after which I was brought to a ricemill also here in Angeles. It was nighttime when we were fetched to be transferred. When I arrived in the ricemill, the same experience happened to us. Sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the evening -- not only 20 times. At times, we would be brought to some quarters or houses of the Japanese. I remembered the Pamintuan Historical House. We were brought there for several times. You cannot say no as they will definitely kill you. During the mornings, you have a guard. You are free to roam at the garrison but you cannot get out. I cannot even talk to my fellow women two of whom I believe is a Chinese. The others I think they are also from Pampanga. But then, we were not allowed to talk to each other.

Sometimes we were allowed to be checked up by a doctor whom I remember as Dr. Tayaq. He's old and big. Sometimes, a Japanese doctor would examine us. That was what happened until a change in the headquarter's leadership occurred. I think that was on December 1943. The official who replaced the existing one was familiar to me. I was thinking where I saw him. The Japanese official also frequently looked at me. The Japanese officer asked me -- as I was able to understand some Japanese -- if I was the woman he saw in Fort McKinley. I just nodded my head.

He said to me his name was Tanaka. He knew a little English. In fact, he was saying to me something like 'anata -- 'anata in the Japanese language, which I think is "I love you". He treated me differently. If possible, he wouldn't allow any Japanese soldier to come near me. However, he cannot do anything if there are officers higher than him. Sometimes, he would give me food. Sometimes, she would request me to mix tea for him.

About my other women colleagues, we were not able to see each other. We did not talk to each other. We are not permitted to talk and see each other.

I always pray to the Almighty God that we be given freedom. Not only for me but for all of us. And then I got sick of malaria. While the Japanese were having sex with me, I felt cold, even my intestines were shivering. Even when I had a fever, they slap me with a bayonet. They thought I was just fooling them. Then, they allowed me to rest as the doctor said I really had a malaria. Then, I drank Altabrid. I then experienced too much bleeding. I heard the doctor say that I had a miscarriage. So I learned I lost a child.

At this time, we were transferred every night. We were brought where there are Japanese soldiers and they would abuse us. Then, they would send us home again. At one time, guerillas

were spotted in our town, in Pampang. My mother was there who thought I was already dead. She had no news about me. But then, I hope my companions in the guerilla force would tell her that I was just taken by the Japanese. I was very worried about my mother because she was alone.

Then, I noticed that the Colonel and Tanaka were discussing one day, that they will conduct a zoning operation at our barrio -- Pampang -- because of the presence of guerillas there. The day after, I waited for those who were passing through our area. I recognized one person who is from our barrio. I hurriedly whispered to him that they should evacuate the barrio tonight because the Japanese will burn their houses. At midnight, I noticed that Tanaka and some soldiers went to our barrio but they went home angry as they did not see any resident in the area. As they arrived at the garrison, Tanaka and the Colonel were fighting. The latter reasoned out that I was the only one who heard their previous discussion and I was the one who told the barrio residents. I need to be punished. That night, I was led downstairs where I was brutally beaten. I was hit with a bayonet and I dropped down at the floor. Tanaka couldn't do anything as he was of a lower rank than the Colonel. He pitied me very much. It was about January 1944. My face was full of "passa", my hands were tied, and I was in the company of other prisoners. I even acquired malaria again in that place. I just regained consciousness later on. The last thing I remembered was that Tanaka was helping me drink because my hands were tied. That was the last time I saw him.

I remembered that when I regained consciousness, I was already in our hut, and my mother was facing me, smiling. I hugged my mother. I learned that I got sick with very high fever. There was no doctor then only quack doctors. I was unconscious for two months, my only sustenance was liquids which was spoon-fed to me. One day, I suddenly woke up and everything seems bright. I wanted to talk but I can't. I lost my voice. That's why until now that I am already old, my speech is still like this. I oftentimes cannot articulate some words. I felt like a child who's crawling, cannot speak properly, and cannot even eat directly with a spoon. Like a child who's just eighteen months old. Slowly, I managed to stand again, with somebody aiding me. Every morning, they would allow me to rove around the sands not that my veins would be heated. Then, I gradually remembered what happened to me. I didn't serve in the guerilla forces again as I cannot walk properly. I was taken care by my mother until such time that she decided to go to Manila to see a doctor, Dr. Tibbol, who was our doctor before the war. We rode in a train, in its roof, so that we could go to Manila. We saw our doctor and he said that I have a cerebral malaria, that's already dead. He said that the accumulated beatings I got has gotten through my head as a malaria disease does after a long period. My fever, he said, might have become typhoid fever. At that time, I was gradually losing my long hair, I was slowly balding. Now, I'm settled peacefully.

During the month of September 21, 1944, there was a dogfight in Villamor, a dogfight occurred against the Japanese. We were already here, where we're residing now.

The airplanes fought. Villamor abruptly came from Leyte. The Japanese then were having a practice in the skies and were not ready. Thus, Villamor was able to kill many Japanese. That's why there is a Villamor Air Base. I saw that event with my two eyes. That's September 21, Thursday, 11 A.M. Now, my mother said, we have nothing to eat here. We cook the leaves of the banana tree including its roots.

I was able to get away from the ricesill which was a Japanese garrison when I was freed by the HUKBALAHAP. It was January then. I just couldn't remember the exact date. They attacked the garrison after they learned that we were being held there due to the tip I gave them regarding the zoning operation the Japanese soldiers would conduct in Barrio Pampang.

When I tipped that the barrio would be burned down, the residents left the area. When the Colonel and Tanaka went to the barrio, they were not able to see any resident. They went home angry. They suspected me as I was the only one who heard their previous conversation and I understand a little Japanese. But then I couldn't speak the language. So they pulled me, allowed to run around the garrison. There were men then, about two. I didn't speak. Then, I lost consciousness. When I regained my consciousness, I was in a hut. I was facing my mother. I lost my consciousness for about two months because of the torture I received and the malaria disease I acquired. When the guerilla attacked the garrison and took me, I didn't know that. It was told to me by my mother when I regained my consciousness.

When I remember my experience under the hands of the Japanese, especially when I dreamt about it, I would stare blankly for several days. I even speak to myself, whispering to myself. If only I didn't bore children, and then grandchildren, I think I would rove around the streets like a crazy person. Until now, there are bad effects to me if I remember my experiences. Like when I heard from the radio that they were looking for those who became "comfort women".

I didn't forget what the women said in the radio. "Don't be shy. Stand up. Fight for your rights." I heard Lidy of BAYAN last June 30, 1992 in DZXL. I waited if anyone would speak again on the matter until on September 3, I heard Nelia of the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women. Nelia said that they are looking for the comfort women, that they will help us. She said two Korean women were already found, still alive today. They are here in the Philippines. So I immediately wrote to Duckie Paredes of DZXL to get the telephone of the Task Force on Comfort Women so I will be able to contact them.

I hope the other comfort women would also come out in the

open. They should not be ashamed. In the first place, what happened to us is not of our own doing. We're lucky enough that we're still alive today. So that we could come out and tell the people of what happened. That if possible, our experiences should not be repeated in the whole world -- where soldiers are looked upon with fear because of their abuses.

Ma. Rosa Luna Henson

12 September 1992

For the Task Force on Filipina
Victims of Military Sexual Slavery
by Japan (AMHRC - Philippines and
BAYAN Women's Desk)

日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会へのアピール

マリア・ルナ・ロサ・ヘンソン
フィリピン元『慰安婦』生存者65才
1992年12月9日
神田パンセにて

戦後補償に関する国際公聴会に参加された皆様、先の世界大戦におけるすべての戦争被害者、特に日本軍による性的従役を味わされたフィリピン及びアジアの女性たちの苦境に思いを寄せてくださいますよう訴えます。

この機会を利用して、十四のフィリピンの女性団体からなるフィリピン元『慰安婦』調査会が、支援と連帯の手を私たちに差し伸べ、日本によって受けた性的従役の話をフィリピン社会及び世界に向けて表面化させてくださったことに対し、感謝の気持ちを伝えたいと思います。また、私たちが勇気をもって話ができるように力を与えてくださったアジアのすべての女性団体に対しても、感謝を捧げます。私たちはアジアの女性と連帯し、またアジアの人々と一緒になって、日本政府が私たちに対して犯した残虐な行為の責任を認めるまで声をあげ続けます。私たちの後遺症と悪夢はまだ終わらず、私たちを誤解した社会の一部による軽蔑と汚名はまだ残っています。私たち一人一人に対する謝罪と、国際法のもと基本的な権利である適切な補償を、私たちは要求します。生きている間に、正義が下されることを願っています。

生きている間に私の体験を明らかにできて幸運でした。私には、第二次世界大戦中またはあらゆる戦争において女性たちの身に降りかかったことを、戦争中日本軍の手によって殺された女性犠牲者になり代わり、全世界に知らせる責任があると考えています。戦争を再び起こさないよう一緒に立ち上がらなくてはならないことを、世界に向かって声を大にして言いたいです。私たちのような辛くて苦しい体験を、二度と誰にも味わせないようにしましょう。女性、子供、そしてすべての人々のために、平和に暮らしましょう。しかし平和を実現するには、世界中の私たちが努力しなくてはなりません。軍国主義の復活を呼ぶような政府や個人の考え、政策、行動に反対しなくてはなりません。戦争や軍国主義、また男性による女性の体や尊厳への卑しめを止めさせることによって、女性への暴力はなくなるでしょう。

マラミン・ボン・サラマト、どうもありがとうございました。

証 言

マリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソン

私はマリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソンといいます。年は六五になります。結婚して子供が三人いますが、夫は一九五四年に亡くなりました。

一九四一年十二月五日は私の誕生日でしたが、そのお祝いの三日後の十二月八日に戦争が始まったのです。その日、私は学校に行っていましたが、戦争になったというので家に帰されました。日本人がハワイの真珠湾を爆撃したのです。

翌九日には、母親と他の家族と一緒にブラカン州ノルサガライのイボダムに疎開しました。私たちは日本軍がフィリピンに来るまで、イボダム近くのブラカン州ノルサガライ、ビグテイ村にある洞窟に潜んでいました。クリスマスと新年はそこで迎えました。

ウェインライト将軍がマニラを開城すると宣言したので、私たちは徒歩で山を越えて家に戻りました。そして、ニュー・マニラを歩いて通り、現在住んでいる場所まで移動し、そこで私は育ち、現在に至っています。

当時、私たちは生活の糧がなかったので、隣の家の人についてリサール、タギグ、バラグバグにあるキャンプ・マッキンレー（現在のボニファシオ要塞）まで行き、薪を集めて生計をたてました。そこには木がたくさん生えていて、私たちは木を切って薪にして売ったのです。この場所は現在、全国青年労働協会があり、学生たちが職業訓練を受けています。当時は、そこには農民の小屋が建っていました。

ある日、私は自分の家で使う薪を集めて歩いていました。叔父たちは木を切っていました。その時、私は二人の日本兵に会いました。驚いている私を彼らはつかまえ、連行して行きました。私はどうしてよいか分かりませんでしたし、殺されるかもしれないと恐れていました。そこにもう一人の日本兵がやってきました。彼は士官だったと思いますが、名前は「田中」と言いました。彼は、二人の日本兵に何か叫んで殴りました。そして私を連れて行き、強姦しました。強姦の後、私を今度は二人の日本兵に渡しました。それは非常に辛い体験でした。出血があり、歩けませんでした。

幸い、近くの農民が通りかかり、私を彼の家まで運んでくれました。日本人にされたことをその家の人たちに隠すことはできませんでした。家に帰りたかったのですが、四kmほどあるので無理でした（線路に沿って歩くだけだったのですが）。こうして、私は彼の家で二日間滞在しました。

私が先に帰ったものと思っていた叔父たちは、心配して私を捜し続けました。歩けるようになってから帰宅しましたが、母に会うや否や泣きつき、全てを話しました。母は私を落着かせ、殺されなかっただけ幸運だったと言いました。また、この出来事について騒ぎ立てず、沈黙を守るように言いました。私は、もうこんなことは起こらないだろうと思っていました。

約二週間の休養をし、元の体調に戻ったので、薪集めをする隣人や親類たちのグループに再び加わりました。しかしまた、あのサーベルを持った士官と思われる日本兵が待ちぶせて

おり、私をみるとすぐに強姦しました。私は何もできませんでした。母に出来事を話し、彼らはこれからは私を持ち伏せするだろうと話し合いました。

三月までに、母と父の故郷であるバンバンガ州のアンヘレス市に帰ることに決めました。私はバサイで生まれ育ったので、アンヘレスには祭りのような特別な行事がある時に行っただけでした。私がこれまでのことを忘れ、二度とあのような目にあわないように、アンヘレスに移ることを決めたのです。私たちは、母方の兄妹や親類と一緒にバムバン村に住みましたが、私たちの家は森の中にあり、陸の孤島のような感じでした。

私は、当時組織されていたゲリラ集団のフクバラハップに自覚的に加わりましたが、これは多分、日本兵との体験と怒りに基づくものだったと思います。私たちのグループは“二一四一四〇一九”と呼ばれピナツボ司令官が指揮をとりました。ラビドは当時私の仲間でしたが、彼は現在ではスムロン司令官として知られています。私の役割は、このゲリラ勢力のために市民から粟や古着を集めることでした。部隊が村の周辺に近付くと、私は先に村に行って村人たちから粟や甘藷などの食物をもらうのです。そして、それを部隊に持って帰りました。

一九四三年まで、このような仕事を続けました。四月の聖週間のある日、私たちが水牛の荷車に乗って、マガランから家に帰ろうとしていた時のことでした。荷車には食糧の乾燥とうもろこしを四袋積んでいましたが、袋の中には四五口径の拳銃及び弾薬、それに手榴弾を入れていました。ある病院—その名前は思い出すことができません—近くの検問所まで来ました。それは私たちのバムバン村に通じる道の近くでした。当時、みんな通行証を持たされていました。日本人の番兵が私たちの通行証を見て通ってよいと言いました。私たちは三人で、私一人が女性でした。二人の男性は私の後に続き、とうもろこしの入った袋を運んでいました。通過し終わった時、私は日本兵に呼び止められ、二人の仲間はそのまま行ってよいと言われました。心の中で私は「またなの・・・」と思いました。ただ、拳銃を押収されなかったのは救いでした。私は、日本軍が駐屯地に使っていた病院に監禁されました。数日後、そこで六人の女性と会いました。その駐屯地で私は、兵士たちのセックスの相手にさせられました。時には十二人の日本兵の相手をさせられ、その後少し休んで、また約十二人の相手です。息つく暇も無く、彼らの性の慰みにさせられました。

そのため私たちはとても疲れました。日本兵が全日事を終えた後、やっと休息できたのです。おそらく、女性は7人しかいなかったのも、わずかな休みしかもらえなかったのもでしょう。年端のいかない私にとって、それは苦痛にみちた体験でした。

駐屯地に三カ月いましたが、その後アンヘレスの精米所に連れて行かれました。そこに移されたのは夜でした。精米所に到着した時、私たちは再び日本兵の相手をさせられました。朝夕関係なく、二十回はゆうに越えました。日本人の宿泊所や家に連れて行かれたこともありましたが、その一つが、バミントゥアン歴史館だったことを記憶しています。そこには数回連れて行かれました。拒めば必ず殺されるので、拒否することができませんでした。

午前中は見張りがいます。駐屯地の中は歩き回れますが、外には出られません。他の女性たちと言葉を交わすことさえできないのです。その内の二人は中国人だったと思います。残りの女性は、バンバンガ州出身者のように思えましたが、互いに話すことは許されませんで

した。

時々私たちは、一人の医者－タヤグ医師だったと記憶していますが－に検診してもらいました。彼は年輩の大柄な人でした。時には日本人医師が診ました。

駐屯地の指揮官の交替があったのは一九四三年の十二月だったと思います。新しい指揮官の顔に見覚えがありました。どこで会ったのか考えていました。その指揮官も私の顔を何度となく見ました。そして、マッキンレー要塞で会った人だねと尋ねてきました。私はいくらか日本語が分かっていたので、「はい」とただうなずきました。彼は、「私の名前は田中だと言いました。」英語は少し話せるようでした。私に日本語で「アナタ……」とか何とか話しかけましたが、彼は多分「愛している」と言ったと思います。彼はこれまでと違う扱いをしました。可能な時はどの日本兵も私に近づかせませんでした。でも、彼よりも地位の高い士官に対しては、黙っていました。時々、食物をくれたりもしました。私にお茶を出してくれと、頼むこともありました。他の女性たちとは会うことも、会話することも許されませんでした。私は、早く自由になれるよう神に祈っていました。私だけではなく、私たち全員が。そして、私はマラリアにかかりました。日本人との相手をさせられている時でも、悪寒があって、震えもぞくぞくするようでした。熱があると言ったら、銃剣で殴られました。私が嘘をついていると思ったのでした。医者がマラリアだと言ったので、やっと休養を許されました。アルグブリッド（薬）をのみました。その後、多量の出血があり、医者は流産したと言いました。

この頃、私たちは毎晩、日本兵の宿泊所に連れて行かれ、辱めを受けました。終われば精米所に連れ戻されました。ある時、私たちの町バムバンにゲリラがいることを日本軍がつかとめました。私を死んだとあきらめている母がそこに住んで居るのです。私のことは、母に届いていないはずですが。ひょっとしたら、ゲリラの仲間が、私が捕らわれの身になっていることを母に伝えてくれるのではないかと思います。一人暮らしの母を、私は非常に心配しました。

しばらくして、大佐と田中の話を耳にし、バムバンでゲリラの囲い込み作戦を行うことを知りました。翌日、私はバムバンを通る人々を持っていました。その中に村の人がいました。すばやく、耳元で日本兵が村を焼き討ちにするので避難するよう囁きました。夜中に田中と何人かの兵士が私たちの村に行きましたが、住民が誰も居なかったので、怒って駐屯地に戻ってきました。そして、田中と大佐は口論をしました。大佐が言うには、私が話を聞いて、村の住民に伝えたということです。私は罰を受けなければなりませんでした。その夜、私は階下で連れて行かれ、ひどく殴られました。銃剣で殴られ床に倒れました。田中は大佐より位が低かったので、どうすることもできませんでした。それは一九四四年の一月のことでした。私の顔はあざだらけになり、手を縛られ、他の囚人と一緒にさせられました。しばらくして、意識を取り戻しました。私が最後に覚えていたのは、田中が水を飲むのを助けてくれたことです。それが彼を見た最後でした。

意識を取り戻した時、私は家に帰っていました。そして、母が微笑んでいました。私は母に抱きつきました。私は非常に高熱で病気になっていました。医者はおらず、偽医者が居ただけでした。二カ月間意識を失くしたまま、液状物を、スプーンで口に運ばれるだけで何

とか生命を維持していたのです。ある日、私は突然意識を回復し、全てが輝いているように思えました。話をしたかったのですができません。声を失っていたのです。だから今でも私の声はこのようなのです。いくつかの言葉をはっきり言えませんでした。はいつくばうだけでうまく話もできず、スプーンでさえ食べることのできない赤ン坊になった気がしました。生後十八カ月の赤ン坊のような。誰かに支えられながら、どうにか立ち上げられるようになりました。血管が暖まるよう、毎朝砂の上を歩かせてくれました。ゆっくりとこれまでのことが思い出されました。うまく歩けないので、ゲリラにはもう加わりませんでした。母が私の面倒を見てくれました、そして戦前私たちの主治医であったティンボル医師に診てもらうためマニラに行くことにしました。列車の屋根に乗って母とマニラに行きました。医者は、私は脳マラリアだったがもうなおっているとしました。医者によれば、私が殺られ続けたためにそれが結局マラリアに影響を与えたというのです。高熱は脳チフスのせいだろうと言われました。その頃、私の長髪はゆっくり抜け、はげていきました。今は直っていますが……。

一九四四年九月二日には、ヴィラモールの空中戦、すなわち日本との戦闘がありました。その時私は今の住所にいました。ヴィラモールがレイテ島から突然現れましたが、その時日本の戦闘機は空中演習を行っており、戦う準備はできていませんでした。こうして、ヴィラモールは多くの日本軍を殺しました。それにちなんでヴィラモール空軍基地があります。私はその戦いをこの目で見ました。一九四四年九月二日本曜日、午前十一時のことです。当時、母はここには食べるものが無いと言っていました。私たちはバナナの葉やその根を料理しました。

フクバラハップが、日本軍の駐屯地であった精米所を襲ったので、私は逃げることができました。一月でしたが正確な日付は分かりません。私が彼らにバムバン村で日本軍がやろうとしていた作戦を知らせたので、私たちが駐屯地につかまえられていることを知り、そこを攻撃したのです。

私が村を焼き討ちされる事をそっと知らせたので、住民は避難しました。大佐と田中が村に行った時には誰もいませんでした。彼らは怒って帰ってきました。彼らの話を聞いたのは私だけで、その上日本語が少し分かるため、私に疑いをかけました。しかし、その時私は日本語で答えることはできませんでした。意識を取り戻したときは小屋の中でした。母が目の前にいました。私は拷問とマラリアのため2か月間意識を失っていました。ゲリラが駐屯地を攻撃し連れ出してくれたことを私は知りませんでした。意識を回復した時、母がそれを教えてくれたのです。

日本軍にとらえられていた時のことを思い出したり、特に夢に見ると、数日間ばんやりとしてしまいます。独り言さえ言います。私に対してつぶやくのです。子供や孫たちがいなかったら、狂人のように通りをさまよっていたことでしょう。今でも自分の体験を思い出すと、悪い影響が心や体に出ます。ラジオで「従軍慰安婦」となった人を捜しているときいたときもそうでした。その女性がラジオで言っていた言葉は忘れられません。「秘ずかしがらないで、さあ立ち上がって。あなたの勝利のために闘いましょう」。1992年6月30日、ラジオのDZXL局でバヤンのリディがこう語るのを聞きました。次にまた誰かが言ってく

れのを待っていました。9月3日フィリピン従軍慰安婦調査委員会のネリアの声をラジオで聞きました。ネリアは彼女たちが従軍慰安婦を捜している、そして私たちを助けると言いました。彼女は2人の韓国女性が既にみつきり、今日も生きていますと言いました。従軍慰安婦はここフィリピンにもいます。それで私はすぐにR.N.S.I.島のドッキーパレダスに手紙を書き、フィリピン従軍慰安婦の調査委員会の電話番号を聞いたのです。

他の従軍慰安婦にも公の場に出てほしいと思います。恥じることはありません。第一に私たちの身に起こったことは私たちが選んでやったことではありません。またこうして生きているのです。だから表に出て、みなさんに何が起きたかを伝えられるのです。世界のどこであっても私たちの体験は繰り返されてはなりません。兵士はその暴虐さのため恐怖の目で見られています。

マリア・ロサ・ルナ・ヘンソン

1992年9月12日

日本軍による性的奴隷の

フィリピン犠牲者調査委員会

(アジア女性人権評議会、フィリピンおよび
バヤン女性デスク)

『日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会』実行委員会事務局御中

『従軍慰安婦』及び太平洋戦争被害者補償対策委員会は、貴実行委員会が『日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会』への招請状を送って下さったことに
対し感謝申し上げます。

私たちは、日本政府が過去の犯罪行為に対し不誠実な態度を取っていることは日本に対する国際世論の不信を増大させるのみであるという公聴会開催の趣旨に全面的に賛同するものであります。また私たちは、本国際公聴会が大きな成功を収めるよう祈念するとともに、わが国における『従軍慰安婦』問題の初歩的な調査に基づく報告書をここに提出させて頂きたいと思ひます。

『日本軍慰安婦』に関する真相調査報告書

去る8月に発足した『従軍慰安婦』及び太平洋戦争被害者補償対策委員会が行った調査結果によると、元『従軍慰安婦』であったと自ら過去の境遇を明らかにした者は11月現在で123名である。

わが委員会は、彼女らの証言とその他の資料の分析に基づいて、『慰安婦』制度に関し次のような事実を明らかにするものである。

1. 『従軍慰安婦』制度の設置とその定着過程の背景

われわれが行った真相調査によれば、『慰安婦』制度は1920年代より、日本『皇軍』内において実施され始めたと考えられる。日本政府は、1918年の『シベリヤ出兵』の時の教訓から、長期化する侵略戦争の過程で性病による戦闘能力の減退を防ぐには『従軍慰安婦』制度を設ける必要性を痛感し、そこから同制度を実施したと見られる。このことは、1929年に『慰安婦』として動員されたリ・ギョンセンの証言からも裏付けられた。彼女は次のように証言している。「それは1929年8月のある夜のことであった。当時私は12才だった。区長に呼ばれて行って見たら、長い刀を腰にさげた日本人警官3人が待っていた。おびえる私を見て区長は、『お前を良いところへ連れて行ってくれる人たちだ。こわがるな』と言った。私は彼らに連れ

去られた」

1930年代に入ってから、中国本土に対する侵略戦争を開始した日本軍は『皇軍』用の『慰安所』の設置を制度化した。そのことについては、元『慰安婦』のキム・デイルさんが「1934年から私は日本の『従軍慰安婦』として中国各地を転々とした」と証言していることから推測される。さらに、当時上海派遣軍参謀副長だった岡村寧次が、『皇軍』兵士が頻繁に女性をレイプした1932年の上海事件がきっかけで各部隊内に『慰安婦』を配置したと証言している。が、今回、朝鮮人強制連行調査団が発見した資料によれば、1933年に朝鮮人『慰安婦』がいたと記録されている。（『岡村寧次大将資料』）

1937年の日中戦争の勃発後、『慰安婦』制度は急速に拡大されたために『皇軍』内における不可欠の『軍需品』とされたのである。関東軍後方担当参謀だった原善四郎が『関東軍特殊大演習』に動員された70万『皇軍』兵士の性欲を満たすため『慰安婦』として一度に2万人の朝鮮人女性を調達する計画の下朝鮮総督府へ飛んだことが記されている。（千田夏光著『従軍慰安婦』）

2. 『従軍慰安婦』制度の真相

『従軍慰安婦』制度の設置に責任があるのは日本の政府と軍部であったし、日本の軍部はかかる制度の統轄、運営、実施に直接関与したのである。

1944年5月、独立歩兵第13旅団中山警備隊は、軍人倶楽部（第1軍人倶楽部は食堂で、第2は慰安所）の使用に関する規定を設けたが、それによると、日本の政府及び軍部が『慰安婦』制度を組織し、運営し、実施した当事者であることを示している。

日本政府及び軍部は、『慰安婦』の大半を朝鮮女性で賄うことを方針とした時から朝鮮半島は『慰安婦』の草かり場となったのである。彼らは、『慰安婦』を集めるために強制的な徴発や拉致という手段に訴えた。

被害者の証言によると、日本政府と軍部は当初は「驛を与える」という口実の下に朝鮮女性を誘い出し、やがて「慰安婦」の必要が急増するにつれ政府、軍の強権を発動して20代の女性ひいては母親や12～13才の女生徒まで狩り集めた。これについて、強制徴発の担当者之一人であった日本人吉田清治は、『朝鮮人の強制動員に責任を負っていたのは大日本労働報国会』であり、氏が労働報国会山口県下関支部長の頃、朝鮮人「慰安婦」の強制動員に自ら関与したということを明らかにしている。吉田氏はその強制連行について、次のように語っている。「われわれが村に入った時、村中の女性を通りに引きずり出した。逃げようとする者は誰でも、棍棒で殴りつけトラックに乗せた。われわれは、泣き叫ぶ若い母親たちを押さえ付け、そのため2～3才の赤ん坊が泣き出せば、放り投げた。村全体が修羅場と化した。女たちは貨車あるいは船に乗せられ前線に送られた」

「慰安婦」の正確な数はいまだに明らかにされていないが、20万人以上に上ると見られ、その80%から90%が朝鮮人女性であったと思われる。

日本軍は「慰安婦」に対し忍び難い苦役を強要した。日本軍は、「慰安婦」が「天皇」の名の下に絶対的に服従するよう強制した。

その証拠は、「皇軍」兵士が次のような発言をしたとする、シム・ピョンオクの証言に見られる。「お前らは軍の命令に服従しなければならない。これは「天皇陛下」のためのお務めだということを肝に銘じておけ。ちょっとでも逆らったりしたら、首が飛ぶぞ」。その他の元「慰安婦」の証言でも、日本軍が彼女らに「天皇」の名において命令に従うよう強要した、という点で一致している。

日本軍は、反抗する「慰安婦」は虐殺した。

ユン・ギョンエは、「必死に抵抗すると、やつらは脚、腕、首を5頭の馬に括りつけばらばらに引き裂いて殺しておき、私たちに向かって、「もしも皇軍に逆らえばお前らもこうなるぞ」と言った」と証言した。「皇軍」は、自らの性欲を満たすべく「慰安婦」に対し何らためらうことなくありとあらゆる暴力と汚らわしい行為を行った。チョン・ムンボクの証言では、「日に

30名から40名の兵隊が昼となく夜となく私に襲いかかって来た。晩は、無理やりに8人の将校の相手をさせられた」という。リ・ギョンセンは、ユンという少女が泣き叫んだために窒息死させられたと証言している。

日本軍は『慰安婦』のほとんどを殺した。キム・デイルの証言によると、伝染病が上海の慰安所内で発生し多くの朝鮮人『慰安婦』がこれに感染した時、日本人は慰安所に火を放ったといい、「シンガポールで敗北した『皇軍』が腹いせに『慰安婦』を手当たり次第銃殺、彼女らを穴に入れ手投げ弾を浴びせた」という。

リ・ボブは、「約30人の女性が『慰安所』で私と一緒に働かされていたが、生き残ったのは僅か5人に過ぎなかった。だから、どれだけ多くの朝鮮女性が殺されたか想像できるでしょう」と述べている。チョン・スンヨンの証言では、「やつらは、毎週『検診』を行い、病氣にかかっている女性は私たちに知られないように殺した。数が減った分だけ、新たに朝鮮人女性で埋め合わせされた。私は26人のグループの中にいたが、生き残ったのはたったの4人だった」という。

日本政府と軍部が働いた残虐行為は、人道に対する犯罪である。

国際法の見地からは、『ニュールンベルク国際軍事裁判所条例』及び『極東国際軍事裁判所条例』は「戦前又は戦時中の一切の一般人民に対して為された殺りく、殲滅、奴隷的虐使そして追放」などを人道に対する罪として規定している。

あれわれは、1948年オランダのハーグ軍事裁判所において、太平洋戦争当時にインドネシアを占領した日本軍がオランダ女性を『慰安婦』として狩り出したかどで『皇軍』将校12名に対し死刑並びに有罪判決を言い渡した先例が実際にあることを知っている。

日本軍の犯罪は、1932年に批准したILO「強制労働に関する条約」に違反する行為である。

またニュールンベルク国際軍事裁判所条例に明記されているが、『戦争犯罪と人道に対する犯罪の時効不適用に関する協定』に従えば、人道に対する犯罪行為には時効は適用されないのが国際慣行となっている。

われわれは、日本政府と軍部が『従軍慰安婦』に加えた残虐な犯罪行為は時効に関係なく徹底的に非難、処罰されるべきであると主張する。

3. 日本政府の『従軍慰安婦』問題に関する『調査報告書』に対する『従軍慰安婦』及び太平洋戦争被害者補償対策委員会の見解

日本政府は、去る7月6日、『従軍慰安婦』問題に関する『調査報告書』なるものをしゅしゅ発表した。

日本当局は、『調査報告書』の中で「『従軍慰安婦』問題に政府が関与したことが確認された」と述べることで、あたかも日本政府と軍部が民間人組織の業務に消極的に関与しただけだという印象を与えようとした。

しかし、日本政府と軍部は一体となって『従軍慰安婦』制度を自らの責任で計画し、政策を立案し、準備しかつ実行したことがこれまでに明らかにされた資料によって立証されている。

このことにも拘らず、『関与』などという曖昧なことばではぐらかそうとするのは、事の真相を意図的にゆがめようとする試みに他ならない。

日本政府の一当局者は、朝鮮女性にたいして従軍慰安婦を「強要したという資料は見当たらない」と『調査報告書』で述べて、強制動員の事実を認めようとはしていない。

記者たちにより繰り返し行われた質問に答えて同当局者は、「包括的な調査は技術的に困難かつ不公平である」との口実の下に関係者の証言を聴くつもりはないと発言した。

日本政府当局が事情聴取を拒否するのは、『従軍慰安婦』問題の真相調査

を意図的に回避しようとするものとしか受け取れない。

『従軍慰安婦』問題に関わった証人が今も数多く生存しており、その内多くの人々が過去の行為に対する自責の念から証言することを望んでいるのである。

従って、日本政府当局がかれらの証言の聴取を拒否するのは、『従軍慰安婦』問題の真相を解明し過去を反省する意思を持ち合わせていないことを証明するのみである。

すでに見たように、日本政府による『調査結果』なるものは真相を意図的に歪め、責任を回避するのを目的としており、うわべだけであるがゆえに誰にも受け入れられるものではない。

われわれは、『日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会』が、日本政府の戦争犯罪に対する無関心な態度を是正させ、『慰安婦』問題の真相を十分に調査し公表するとともに、日本政府当局が心からの謝罪と適当な補償を行うようにさせ、さらには人道に対するかかる重大な犯罪が再び起こるのを防止するためにも歴史教科書に日本の過去の犯罪行為を正確に明記させるにおいて貢献することを信じてやまない。

朝鮮民主主義人民共和国『従軍慰安婦』
及び太平洋戦争被害者補償対策委員会

1992年11月 日

To the Secretariat of the Executive Committee
of the "International Public Hearing on
Post-war compensation by Japan"

The Committee for Measures on Compensation to "Comfort Girls for the Army" and Victims to the Pacific War would like to thank the Executive Committee for its kind invitation to the "International Public Hearing on Post-war compensation by Japan."

We fully share with the purport of the holding of the Hearing that the insincere attitude of the Japan Government to whitewash its past crimes only adds to the international distrust of Japan. And we wish the hearing a great success for the sake of the success of the International Public Hearing, we hereby submit our report based on the initial investigation into the "comfort girls" issue in our country.

Fact-Finding Report on "Comfort Girls for the Japanese Army."

According to the result of the investigation conducted by the committee for measures on compensation to "Comfort Girls for the Army" and Victims to the Pacific War, which was established last August, the former "Comfort Girls for the Army" have been confirmed to number 123 as of the end of November 21 of whom volunteered to publicly declare their past status:

Our Committee has analyzed their testimonies and other materials, on the basis of which the Committee sets forth the following truth behind the system of the "comfort girls".

1. The Background of Establishment and the Course of Fixation of the System of the "Comfort Girls for the Army"

Our fact-finding investigation proves that the "comfort girls" system began its operation within the Japanese "Imperial Army" since the 1920s. The Japanese Government is believed to have realized, on the basis of the lessons of the "dispatch of military personnel to Siberia" in 1918, the need to establish the system of the "comfort girls for the Army" to head off the diminution of combat capability by the venereal disease in the prolonged war of aggression and therefore put into practice such system. This was proved by the testimony from Li Gyong Seeng, who was drafted as "comfort girl" in 1929. Who said: "It was one night in August 1929, when I was 17 years old. The Japanese policemen armed with swords and rifles were led by the head of village into the yard of the landowner's. After a few words with the landlord they abruptly forced me onto a truck and took me away".

Entering the 1930s, the Japanese military, that started the war of aggression on mainland China systematized the establishment of the "comfort houses" for the "Imperial Army". This is confirmed by Mrs. Kim Dee Il, a former "comfort girl", who said in her testimony that "from 1934 I was taken to various parts of China as a 'comfort woman' for the Japanese army". This is also proved by the fact that the then Deputy Chief of Staff Yasuzi Okamura placed comfort girls in each military unit because of the 1932 Shanghai Incident when the 'Imperial Army' soldiers frequently raped women. (Records on General Yasuzi Okamura" authored by Masao Inaba)

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the "comfort girls" system so rapidly expanded that it was firmly established in the "Imperial Army" as much as indispensable "military supplies". Kenjiro Hara, staff officer for logistics of the Kwantung Army, writes in his memoir that he "flew to the Korean Government-General under the plan

to draft 20,000 Korean women as "comfort girls" at one time to satisfy the sexual appetite of over 700,000 servicemen of the 'Imperial Army' engaged in the 'special manoeuvres of the Kwantung Army'". ("The comfort girls" written by Kakko Senda, p. 120)

2. The Truth of the System of "Comfort Girls for the Army"

It was the Government and the military of Japan which were responsible for the establishment of the "comfort girls" system and the Japanese military was involved directly in the control, management and operation of this system.

In May 1944, the Garrison Unit in Guangdong of China issued the regulation of use of the Military Club (the first club is cafeteria, and the second club is the comfort house) to its soldiers, a regulation which stipulates that "the leader of the military unit is responsible for the management of the military club and medical officer of the unit is in charge of the hygienic affairs of the club" (Files of All Regulations, Nakayama Unit, 1944) which also specifies the time and payment of its use. This shows the Government and the military of Japan are the organizers, managers and operators of the "comfort girls" system".

The Government and military of Japan set it as a policy to draft Korean women for a majority of the "comfort girls". This was clearly established when Kenziro Hara wrote that "at a time when a unit was formed and went into mobilization the Army was supposed to recruit the required 'comfort girls' from the Korean peninsula". They are presumed to have resorted to forceful drafting and abduction in recruitment of "comfort girls".

According to the Testimonies by the victims, the Government and military of Japan at first lured Korean women under the pretext of "offering employment" and later as the need rapidly increased they invoked government and military power in drafting girls of 20 years and even mothers and 12 or 13-year old schoolgirls. On this, Sheizi Yoshida, a Japanese who was one of the heads for the forceful drafting, disclosed that the "Japan Patriotic Labour Agency was responsible for the forceful drafting of Koreans" and when he was the head of the Yamakuchi Prefectural Branch of the Agency he was involved in forcefully drafting Korean "comfort girls" and he further testified that he was directly involved in directing the forceful drafting of more than 1,000 "comfort girls". He went on to describe how the "comfort girls" were forcefully drafted. "When we got to a village, we dragged all women out into the streets. If anyone tried to flee, she would be beaten with a baton and loaded onto a truck. We beat down screaming young mothers and ^{if} 2-3 year-old babies followed crying, they would be thrown away. The whole village turned into a pandemonium. These women were loaded onto wagons or ships and sent to the Headquarters of the Western Army."

The exact number of the "comfort girls" has not been fully confirmed but it is estimated to be over 200,000 and 80 to 90 percent of them were Korean women.

Arafure, former elderly statesman of the Liberal Democratic Party and ex-Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, told people in his electoral district that "... 143,000 Korean comfort girls were killed. They were killed by the Japanese army men". (Japanese magazine "Kendainomc", April issue of 1972)

The Japanese military imposed unbearable slavery on the "comfort girls".

The Japanese military forced the "comfort girls" to unconditionally obey in the name of the "Emperor."

This is evidenced by Sim Pyong Ok who testified that the "Imperial Army" soldiers said: "You must obey to the military order. Keep in mind this is the fulfilment of your duty for the 'Emperor'. Any disobedient gal will have her neck cut" and other former "comfort girls" were unanimous in their testimony that the Japanese military forced them to obey their order in the name of the "Emperor."

The Japanese military brutally killed resistant "comfort girls."

Yun Gyong Ae testified that "once a girl desperately resisted the Japs bound her legs and arms and neck to five horses and dismembered her body to death, telling us 'if you do not obey the Imperial Army you will die like this.'" The "Imperial Army" never hesitated to commit all kinds of violent and nasty acts against the "comfort girls" to satisfy their sexual appetite. Chong Mun Bok testified that "a 30 to 40 soldiers a day turned on me day and night. At night I was forced to serve for 8 officers." Ri Gyong Seeng testified that a little girl, named Yun, suffered from a long queue of Japs until she was suffocated to death.

The Japanese military killed most of the "comfort girls". Kim Dae Il testified that when an epidemic broke out in comfort houses in Shanghai, infecting a number of Korean "comfort girls" the Japs set the houses on fire and that "the 'Imperial Army', which lost the battles in Singapore, vented their anger on the 'comfort girls' shooting them at random and throwing hand-grenades on them in a hollow."

Li Bo Bu said "about 30 girls served with me at a 'comfort house' but only 5 girls survived. So it is imaginable how many Korean women were killed." Chong Bung Yon testified that the "Japs conducted weekly 'medical check-up' and those sick women were killed without our knowledge. New Korean girls were supplemented to fill the vacancies. I was with 26-member group and only four women survived.

According to the testimonies made so far, there is no evidence of any payment from the Japanese army, which indicates that those girls were gang-raped, not forced into prostitution. And most of the "comfort girls" were killed towards the end of the war. Others are presumed to have died of hard labour.

Indeed, because of the massacre of the feeble Korean women by the "Imperial Army", most of the "comfort girls" were innocently killed. The barbarities committed by the Government and military of Japan are the crimes against humanity.

In the point of the international laws, the "Rules of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal" and the "Rules of the Far Eastern International Military Tribunal" stipulate murder, slaughter, enslavement and forced immigration of civilians either before or during war as crimes against humanity.

In practice, we know one precedent in which the Hague military court in the Netherlands in 1948 sentenced 12 officers of the "Imperial Army" to death and guilty for the drafting of Dutch women as "comfort girls" by the Japanese Army occupying Indonesia during the Pacific War.

The crimes committed by the Japanese military were violation of the basic provisions of the "Convention on Forced Labour", an international convention on human rights concluded in 1930 (to which Japan also acceded).

In compliance with the "Convention on Non-Application of Prescription to War Crimes and Crimes against Mankind" it is international practice that prescription is not applied to crimes against humanity.

We believe that the inhumane crimes against the "comfort girls for army" committed by the Japanese government and military should be thoroughly condemned and punished regardless of the prescription.

3. View of the Committee for Compensation for
"Comfort Girls for the Army" and Pacific War
Victims on the "Investigation Result" by the
Japanese Government on the issue of "Comfort
Girls for the Army"

The Japanese Government reluctantly released on July 6 last an "investigation result" on the issue of "comfort girls for army."

The Japanese Government authorities attempted to give an impression as if the Government and the military of Japan were passively involved in a business of non-governmental organizations by stating in the "investigation result" that "it has been confirmed that the Government was involved in the issue of "comfort girls for the army."

However, informations disclosed so far prove that the Japanese government and military, in integration planned on their initiative, made a policy, prepared and executed the "army comfort girls" system.

Notwithstanding this, the behavior to put off by ambiguous word such as "involvement" is an attempt to intentionally distort the truth of the fact.

The Japanese Government authority is not trying to admit the fact of forced draft by stating in the "investigation result" that "no information was discovered on forcing" girls to serve as comfort girls for army.

Answering to the repeated questions by the journalists he said he is not going to hear testimonies under the pretext that "comprehensive investigation is technically difficult and unfair."

Seiji Yoshida, one of the former chiefs for forced draft of "comfort girls for army", testified that either official records or related documents regarding the "comfort girls for army" and other forced draft were all disposed of by fire after the war by the instruction of Deputy Minister of Home Affairs."

Despite the fact, the refusal by the Japanese Government authorities to hear testimonies cannot be understood but as a behaviour to intentionally avoid the truth investigation of the issue of "comfort girls for army".

There would be no reason or pretext for Japan to refuse the testimony hearing if she is willing to sincerely disclose the truth of the forced draft of "comfort girls for army."

There are still so many alive witnesses involved in the issue of "comfort girls for army" and a number of them are willing to testify repenting their past.

Therefore, the refusal to hear their testimonies proves only that the Japanese Government authorities has no intention to disclose the truth of the issue of "comfort girls for the army" and repent the past.

Japanese Government authorities do not reveal the number of the "comfort girls" the major object of investigation but answer the reporters' questions by simply saying "the great number of the comfort girls were of Japanese citizenship."

If that was true, it cannot be construed otherwise but as a petty guile to refuse to accept the fact that the majority of the "comfort girls" were Korean girls or foul intention to treat the Korean "comfort girls" as Japanese citizens even now.

As can be seen in the above, the "result of investigation" by the Japanese Government is aimed at distorting the truth intentionally and evading responsibility, and it is so perfunctory that it cannot go down with anybody.

We have no doubt that the "International Public Hearing on Post-war Compensation by Japan" will contribute to putting right the indifferent attitude of the Japanese Government to the war-time crimes, fully investigating into and making public the truth of the "comfort girls" issue, making the Japanese Government authorities offer sincere apology and make appropriate compensations and to describing correctly Japan's past crimes in the textbooks of history so as to prevent the recurrence of such a grave offense against humanity.

The DPRK Committee for
Measures on Compensation to "Comfort
Girls for the Army" and Victims to the
Pacific War

November , 1992

金英実さんの証言

私は、1924年10月21日、両江道ポチョン郡で生まれました。家が貧しく、父が病に倒れてからは、母が家庭を支えていました。わが家には両親と5人の子どもたち（二人の息子と3人の娘）がいました。私は、二番目で長女でした。

非常に貧しかったので、私が13才の時、父は私をフェリョンにいる叔母のもとへ預けました。私は、フェリョンに行きましたが、叔母はすでに亡くなっていました。その結果、私は方々を物乞いして歩き、見知らぬ人の家で女中をしながら、かろうじて生計を立てました。

私が18才の時でした。ある日、スーツをまとった日本人が、私に歩み寄り、金になる仕事を提供するから自分と一緒に来るよう言いました。その仕事がどういうものなのか知りもしませんでしたが、物乞いを続けるよりはましだと思い、私は彼について行きました。そこは、すでにたくさん少女たちでいっぱいでした。そこから私たちは、トラックに乗せられフェリョン鉄道の駅へと連れて行かれました。フェリョン駅で列車に乗せられ、咸鏡北道キョンフン郡（現ウンドク郡）チョンハク洞で降ろされました。またトラックに乗せられ、30分ほど揺られると私たちはある溪谷にたどり着きました。

そこには17、18才ぐらいの少女たち10人余りがいました。彼女たちの中には、まだ15才にも満たない子もいました。

私は、彼女たちに「ここは、いったいどこなの？」と聞きました。

彼女たちは答えました、「生きて出ることのできないところにどうして来たの？」と。

私たちは、出入口にわら袋が吊され、まるで便所のようなつぎあて小屋に住むことになりました。日本の軍人が私たちのところへやってきて、チョゴリ・チマを脱ぎ日本の着物を着るよう命じました。私たちは、その馴染みのない服を着ることをためらいましたが、結局力づくで脱がされました。

その日から私は、日本人としてエイコと呼ばれ、兵士は私の胸にエイコと書かれた名札を張り付けました。

部屋には、やっと二人が横になれるくらいの二枚のわら敷が敷かれていました。私の部屋に初めて入ってきたのは、私をそこへ連れてきたうちの一人でした。スーツをまとっていた以前の格好とは違い、中尉の軍服を着ていました。彼は力で私を強姦し、続いて7人の将校が私を強姦しました。

私は、助けをもとめオモニと叫びました。しかし、それは無駄なことでした。次の日から私は、20、30人の将校や兵士を相手にさせられました。日曜日は、それ以上でした。大妻のおにぎりとおかずかな汁を与えられる以外は、何も口にできず常に飢えに苦しみました。

近くにホンウイと呼ばれる山村がありました。私たちは、その村の周辺に駐屯していた軍人たちのために出張奉仕を強要されました。その地域にあった三つの駐屯基地のうち、ホンウイだけ「慰安所」がありませんでしたので、日本軍が私たちに出張奉仕を命じたのです。

私たちは、一週間に一度、身体検査を受けました。病気であることが知れたり、栄養不良であるため性的奉仕を行うことができないと見なされた者は軍人に連れて行かれました。そのため、また新しい「慰安婦」が空いた部屋を埋めました。

私は、朝9時から夜遅くまで奉仕しなければなりませんでした。夜明けまでつづく日が何日もありました。

ある日、トキコと呼ばれていた少女が朝鮮語をしゃべりました。将校は、私たちを野原に集めると、みせしめとして彼女の首を刀で切り落しました。恐怖のあまり、私たちは泣き叫びながらその場から逃げだしました。

ジュンコという少女が妊娠しました。しかし軍人たちは彼女をいたわりはしませんでした。彼女が出産を終えたのち、将校は彼女とその子どもをどこかへ連れて行きました。それ以来、私たちは彼女について何も聞かされませんでした。

幾人もの少女たちが「慰安婦」という仕事に耐えられず首を吊って自殺しました。

私をだましてここへ連れてきた将校がひどく酔っぱらい私に奉仕を強

要したのは、ある日曜日のことでした。私は、拒みました。体調が悪かったのです。すると彼は、私の上にまたがり私の髪をわしづかみにしては私の頭を何度も床へ打ちつけました。私は、将校の腕を噛みました。彼は腕を払い、私の二本の歯が折れました。

次の日、数人の悪漢が、私に襲いかかってきて鼻から水を流し込みました。私の胃がふくれあがると、彼らは私のお腹に板をのせ上から踏みつけ強く押しました。彼らは、私が気を失い意識を取り戻すと、また同じことをくり返しました。ほかの少女たちは、恐怖のあまり目を背けるしかありませんでした。このようなことが日常茶飯事でした。

1945年8月13日、日本軍将校が私たちに自分たちと一緒に日本へ帰る仕度をしろと命じました。私たちは、皆で話し合った結果、逃げ出すことに決めました。別々に逃げることで同意しました。集団逃亡は、日本軍に全員殺されるかも知れませんでしたのでやめました。

一回めの逃亡を敢行しました。厳重な非常線が張られていましたが、トウモロコシ畑をぬけなんとか山中に逃げ込むことができました。今日になっても、ほかの少女たちがどうなったのかわかりません。

山中で飢えを耐え忍び二日間ほどさまよったのち、村に降りました。そこで朝鮮が解放されたことを知りました。私は、チョンジンへ向いヘサンのシンジャン村に住みつきました。そこはヘサンから8キロほどの人里離れた山岳村でした。それからというもの、私は過去の恥辱が明るみにできることを恐れ、人目をさけて暮らしてきました。

私は、自分自身の過去を恥じ、結婚しないと心に決めました。

私の中に深く根をおろした怨根に苦しみました。

今年に入ってテレビで報道された元「慰安婦」の証言は、私にとって多大な衝撃であり、私を勇気づけてくれました。

長く深い思慮の末、私は日本軍がかつて犯した残虐行為を明らかにすることを心に決めました。夫も子供もない私に、恐れるものは何もありません。私の胸をしめつけるようなこの怨根を晴らさずには、たとえ死んでも両目を閉じることができません。

私は日本軍が犯したこのような残忍で非道な行為を世界中の人々にお話し、私が胸の中の恨みをすべて吐きだせるよう、世界の良心ある全ての方々が力を貸してくださることを訴えます。

報道によると、20万人を超える朝鮮女性が私と同じように「慰安婦」の苦境に追いやられたといえます。

私が、どうやって彼らの罪を許すことができますでしょうか？

しかし日本政府は、今だに私たち朝鮮女性に犯した日帝の残忍非道な罪をありのままに認め謝罪しようとしません。

日本政府は、このような罪を認め、真相究明調査を行い私たち朝鮮女性に対し謝罪すべきです。

また日本政府は、これにともなう補償をすべきであり、このような罪や過ちをくり返さないことを誓うべきです。

Testimony of Mrs. Kim Yong Sil, a citizen of
the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as
a former "comfort girl for the Japanese Army"

I was born on October 21, 1924 in Pochon County, Hysanggang Province. I was born into a poor family. Since my father fell sick, my mother supported my family. The family consisted of both parents and five children; two sons and three daughters. I was the second child as well as the eldest daughter.

Being poverty-stricken, my father sent me to my aunt in Hoeryong when I was thirteen years old. I went to Hoeryong but my Aunt was gone. Therefore, I went begging from one place to another and worked as a housemaid of others to eke out a bare living.

I was 18 years old when, one day, a Japanese in a suit approached and asked me to go with him, promising to offer me a lucrative job. Judging it would be better than begging in spite of the ignorance of the job, I followed him to a place where I found a dozen of girls already gathered. There we were driven by a truck to the Hoeryong railway station. We got aboard the train at the Hoeryong Station and after a while of journey disembarked at Chonghak-Dong, Kyonghung County(Undok County at present), North Hamgyong Province where half an hour's drive by truck got us to a valley.

There we found ten-odd girls aged from 17 to 18 years. Among them were even young girls aged no more than 15. I asked them "What place is it?" They answered "For what have you come here where you are not allowed to get out alive."

We settled in a toilet-looking board-patched hut with a straw-bag hanging over the exit. A soldier of the Japanese army came and ordered to undress Korean clothes and wear Kimono (Japanese dress).

We hesitated to wear a strange dress, only to be disturbed by force. With a word that I was named Kiko, a Japanese, from that day, the soldier stuck a tag bearing the name of Kiko on my breast. The room was floored by two straw mats, scarcely possible for two persons . . . to lie on. The man who was the first to enter my room was the one who had lured me here. Unlike his former appearance in a suit, he was in a middle-ranking officer's uniform. He raped me by force, to be followed by seven other officers. I called mother for help but in vain. From the next day, I served 20 or 30 officers and men, much more on Sundays. I suffered constant starvation, having nothing but a lump of rolled barley with a bowl of thin soup. In the neighbourhood was situated a mountain village called "Hongui". We were forced a mobile service for the army units stationed near the village. Among the three stationary places in the region, Hongui was the only one without a "comfort station." As a result, the Japanese army after organized mobile services.

We were given a medical check-up once a week. Those who were found to have a disease or too undernourished to give sexual service were taken away by soldiers. And new comfort girls filled up the vacancies.

I had to serve from 9 a.m. until late at night, even till dawn at times. One day a girl named "Doiko" spoke Korean. Then an officer gathered us in the yard to show a lesson by cutting her neck with a sword. Horror-stricken, we fled with a cry of terror.

A girl named "Jungko" became pregnant, but the soldiers did not take care. When she gave birth, an officer took her and the baby to somewhere and we never heard from her since then. Some girls hang themselves for suicide, unable to bear the burden of the life of "comfort girls".

It was one Sunday when the officer, who fooled me to come here came heavily drunken and forced me to serve him. I refused to do so because I was in a poor condition. Then he sat on me and grasped my head by hair and pounded my head down on the floor. I bit the officer by the arm. He snatched away his arm, breaking my two incisors. The next day several rascals turned on me and poured water into the nostril. When my stomach was swollen, they pressed my belly hard stamping a board on it. Every time I awake from unconsciousness they repeated the pouring of water. Other girls could not but simply watch in horror. Such was the daily routine of life.

By the 13th of August 1945, an officer of the Japanese army ordered us to get ready to follow them back to Japan. In a discussion, we all decided to escape. Individual runaway was agreed on. The idea of group escape was ruled out as it might lead to a wholesale death by the Japanese army.

I ventured the first escape. In spite of a strict cordon, I managed to slip through a maize field into mountains. What became of other girls I do not know even now. After starvation and wandering for a couple of days in the mountains, I descended to a mountain village where I heard that Korea was liberated. I made for Chongjin and then settled in Sinjang village in Hyesan. It was a remote mountainous village about 8 kms from Hyesan. From then on I have lived shunning people in fear of revealing my disgraceful past. I decided not to marry, shameful of my past.

Throughout my life I have suffered a deep-rooted rancour.

This year it was a great shock for me to see on TV former "comfort girls" disclosing their past which encouraged me.

After a long and deep thought, I made up my mind to bring to light the atrocities committed by the Japanese army. Without a husband or child, I have nothing to fear.

I could/^{not}close my eyes even if I die without exposing my heart-breaking rancour.

I tell the world about such barbarous and heinous atrocities committed by the Japanese and appeal to all the fair-minded peoples in the world to help me vent my grudge.

According to the broadcast, over 200,000 Korean women were forced into the plight of the "comfort girls" as I was. How can we pardon their crimes? But the Japanese authorities are still reluctant to frankly admit and apologize for the barbarous crimes committed by the Japanese imperialists against our women. They ought to acknowledge such crimes, conduct thorough investigation, clearly reveal the truth and apologize for them, they ought also to make appropriate compensation and pledge not to repeat such crimes.

CRY OF THE RAPED

...a story to be told

by Jeanne O' Herne

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Introduction

On Sunday March 8th 1992, I laid a wreath at the Adelaide War Memorial. It was the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Japanese troops on Java, formerly the Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia. Many thousands of Dutch civilians were consequently interned in Japanese Prisoner-Of-War camps. I was in one of these Japanese P.O.W. camps in Java for three and a half years during World War II.

When I laid my wreath at the War Memorial that Sunday, I particularly wanted to pay tribute to the women and children who were imprisoned in the camps. These women endured many horrors, insults, brutalities, rape and starvation in appalling conditions. I laid my wreath to pay tribute to the courage, suffering and endurance of these women, and in memory of thousands of women and children who died in Japanese prison camps.

Many stories, books and films have pictured vividly the history, conditions and suffering of (Dutch) women in Japanese prison camps. But there is one story yet to be told, the most shameful story of the worst human rights abuse to come out of World War II.

It has taken me fifty years to break the silence. What the Japanese did to me is not something you can easily talk about. For fifty years I have wanted to scream it out, but for obvious reasons I could never do this. I could never talk about it, not even with my own family. Nor could the other women. Fifty years of nightmares, of sleepless nights, fifty years of pain that could never go away, horrific memories bedded deep down in the mind, always there to be triggered off. Now I will tell my story. I have forgiven the Japanese for what they did to me. Only in forgiveness can healing be found. I even invited the Japanese people to stand beside me as a sign of peace and reconciliation when I laid my wreath at the War Memorial in Adelaide. I have forgiven the Japanese for their crimes, but I can never forget.

Here then is my story, my crying out after fifty years of silence. It is also the story of other brave women who suffered as I did.

I was born on the 18th January, 1923, in Semarang, Java. I had the most wonderful childhood anyone could imagine, growing up in the Dutch East Indies, on a sugar-factory plantation in Central Java called s.f. Tjepiering, near Semarang.

My memories of the first nineteen years of my life are the greatest treasure, they are part of me, and they have influenced me and enriched my life up to the present day. Ours was a happy family. I was the third of five children. I had, loving, intelligent, and artistic ^{parents}. They were both very talented in different ways, and I owe them so much. I am only what I am now because of my parents. All my life I will thank them and praise them for their love and inspiration. I was brought up in the true Catholic tradition and went to Catholic schools and College. My parents, especially my father, had implanted in me a great and strong Faith, a love for prayer and Scripture and for the Mass. I was soon to find out that my deep Faith was my most precious gift from God and my support and strength in suffering.

My earliest memories of my father are seeing him at prayer, on his knees by the side of his bed. To us children it seemed as if he was there for hours and getting impatient we used to jump on his back as he finished his prayers. This image of my father at prayer has been an example and inspiration to me all my life. My father taught me how to pray and from an early age I recognised the importance of prayer in my life. It was this love for prayer that helped me through the war years and it helped me to experience Christ's presence and love at a time when I needed it above all other things.

My parents were very musically gifted, and they had a great love for classical music. I have vivid memories of going to sleep at night while listening to my parents making music together. My father was an excellent violinist, my mother an equally talented pianist and singer. My mother used to sing in several languages, but she had a special preference for the Schubert "lieder" which she rendered most beautifully, with her rich mezzo-soprano voice.

My mother, Josephine, was Dutch. She had come out from Holland to Java as a young bride at the age of twenty-three. She had met my father, Celestin, in Amsterdam where he was studying to be an engineer. Looking at the photographs of my father as a young man, I can imagine my mother falling hopelessly in love with him. He was quite handsome! My father was born in Java of a French father and Dutch, Indonesian mother. His upbringing had been very French and he would always speak French to his Father, Henri. His

mother, Jeanne, was a beautiful woman, adored by her husband and family. At home she would dress in "sarong and kebaya" as was the custom with Dutch women in those days. Unfortunately I never knew her. She died at the age of forty-eight, four months before I was born. I was given her name, Jeanne.

I absolutely adored my French grandfather, Henri. He had come to Java at the age of eighteen and spoke fluent Dutch with a charming French accent. He was a very hard working man and always walked with a straight back. At the age of seventy-seven he would still do his daily exercise and touch his toes without bending his knees!

All my school holidays were spent at my grandfather's place in Bandoengan, where he owned a holiday resort three thousand feet up on the slopes of the Gengarang Mountain in central Java. During holiday-time it was a happy relief for my mother to exchange the hot climate of Tjepiering for the cool mountain air of Bandoengan. My grandfather's house was large enough to house not only our large family, but our Batavia cousins as well.

Our days were spent in the swimming pools, on the tennis court or climbing the mountain. In the evening we would sit around the table and play games. My French grandfather had a lovely singing voice and he taught us many French songs. As small children we would sit on his lap while he sang French nursery songs to us.

Every Sunday morning the French National Anthem was played on the gramophone and through a loudspeaker the "Marseillaise" was heard right throughout the grounds. Yes, old Henri always remained Frenchman at heart, even though he obtained Dutch Nationality. My memories of weekends and holidays spent in this lovely place of my grandfather are the most precious and I only hope that heaven will contain one little corner just like Henri's resort in Bandoengan.

I grew up in a very sheltered environment, mine was an innocent generation, when girls were still virgins on their wedding day. As a teenager I did not know anything about sex, apart from that once a month I would get a period.

After completing high School, I went to the Franciscan Teachers' College in Semarang. I loved the Franciscan Sisters. They had a great influence on me. At this time in my life all I wanted was to become a nun. My religious vocation gave me a great joy of heart and the good nuns nurtured my vocation.

Up till 1942 we in the Dutch East Indies thought we were safe from the war. Then came Pearl Harbour (Dec. 7th 1941) and the war came closer. After the fall of Singapore in February 1942, we in Java knew that it would only be a matter of time before the Japanese would attack us. My father was 48 years old at that time and was called up for military service. My mother thought that it would be best for our safety to move in with my grandfather in the mountains. We packed our bags and moved out of our house. We were never to see our home again.

On March 1st 1942 the Japanese troops invaded Java. The Dutch put up a brave fight. On March 8th they surrendered and the Japanese troops occupied the islands till Japan lost the war on August 15th 1945. When the Japanese invaded Java, I was nineteen years old. Suddenly all my girlhood dreams were shattered.

Prison Camp

The next three and a half years I was to spend in a Japanese Prisoner-Of-War camp, together with my mother and two younger sisters and thousands of other Dutch women and children. Our family was interned in a large POW camp in Ambarawa, which was not very far away from Bandoengan where we were living with my grandfather.

The conditions in camp Ambarawa were appalling. On arrival in the camp we were searched for money and jewellery and valuables. The compound of stench, filth, rats, overflowing sewerage pits, deprivation and degradation, no privacy, hard work, starvation, beatings and sickness was where 3000 women were kept for three and a half years.

Daily roll calls, standing in hot sun for hours with repeated head counts, bowing to the waist, was exhausting, especially for the old and the sick. During these years in prison camp food was to be our greatest obsession and our greatest need. As the war progressed we got less and less food.

We ate anything that we thought wouldn't kill us; weeds, snails, rats, offal and even the Japanese Camp Commandant's cat! Scavenging in the Japanese rubbish bins for scraps, bones or banana skins was common. The women were forced to work very hard. The chores included cleaning the lavatories and emptying the overflowing sewerage pits, chopping wood, carrying heavy loads, digging and so on.

There were countless inspections. Often during roll call our barracks were searched for money or valuables, while we stood for hours in the sun. There was a great shortage of medicine and we would trade anything for quinine tablets. The most ordinary, everyday things suddenly became the most valuable, like a piece of soap, paper or pencil, needles and cotton, matches, candles to mention just a few.

Women and children suffered malaria, tropical ulcers, dysentery, beri beri and malnutrition. Children stopped growing because of lack of nutrition. Women were often punished, sometimes for no reason at all. They were beaten, kicked or had to stand for hours in the hot sun, or bury their food.

Life in camp depended on the moods of the guards. On reaching thirteen years of age boys had to leave their mothers and go to the mens' camp at unknown destinations, also the whereabouts of other family members was always a concern.

The women never lost their sense of humour and were a great support for each other. Prayer meetings were held, Rosaries prayed together. My deep Faith was my greatest support and it was something I could share with others. I learned that it is not the outward circumstances which determine what you can endure but something inside oneself which breaks, or stays intact under strain and suffering. An inner strength which comes from God alone. You learn to say, "thy will be done". Now I know the meaning of Christ's words "Blessed are the poor in spirit." It means that we are totally dependent on God for everything. We are in God's hand. We have to die a little every day on our journey until in the end we have totally died in Christ.

Cry Of The Raped

We had been in the Japanese P.O.W. camp for almost two years. It was February 1944. It seemed just another day in our camp Ambarawa. The usual disturbances at roll-call, another death, shouting of the guards, crying of hungry children, the tempers of frustrated mothers, heavy chores and duties of camp life. Was it my turn already to empty the overflowing sewerage pits with the "strontploeg" (shit brigade)?

I was returning to my barrack with aching back, to find my little ten year old sister in tears because her doll was broken. Suddenly there was a great commotion in the camp. The sound of Japanese army trucks, the excitement among the guards when high ranking military would arrive in our camp, for inspections or the giving out of new orders and rules.

Somehow this time seemed different. As common procedure with inspections, we were expecting to be called for roll call in the compound. However this time the order was given; all single girls from seventeen and up were to line up. We did not like this command and immediately became suspicious.

"That's you Jantje", my mother said and I could hear the trembling in her voice and see the fear in her eyes. I tried to make myself look as unattractive as possible, pulling my hair across my face. There was an air of fear throughout the camp and some girls tried to hide. We were assembled in a long line and we trembled with fear as a number of Japanese officers walked towards us. We did not like the look of these Japanese, it was the way they looked us up and down, the way they laughed among each other and pointed at us. The young girls stood there frightened, heads down, not daring to look up. The Japs paced up and down the line. At times our chins would be lifted up with a stick so they could see our face. We were forced to look at our captors. Up and down they marched, sneering, pointing, laughing.

"O God", I prayed "don't let them take me away, please don't let them take me away." After some discussion among themselves half the girls were sent away. I was left standing with still a long line-up of girls, while they continued looking, touching, pointing. Oh, how I wished I was ugly or unattractive in some way. Again some girls were sent back.

I was not sent away and the girls left standing automatically grasped each others hands. My whole body was

numb with fear. It was obvious by now that this was not just another inspection or work party selection. We stood there motionless for what seemed like hours. We dared not look at one another, each one locked in her own fear. The selecting process started all over again. This was the last one. One officer seemed to be in charge. Ten girls were told to step forward, the others could go back to their anxious waiting mothers. I was one of the ten. I could hear crying and wailing from the women, as they tried to pull us back, fighting bravely.

We had an interpreter in our camp, a young Dutch woman who spoke fluent Japanese as she was engaged to a Japanese businessman. Through the interpreter we were told to pack a small bag of belongings and report immediately to the camp office, where a truck was waiting to take us away. We were not told any details. The girls and the mothers and indeed the whole camp, protested with all their might. The entire camp was in uproar, screaming, crying, protesting. It was all in vain. Our human rights had been taken away, our freedom gone. Oppressed and bullied by the enemy, broken and enslaved helplessly by a brutal force we were sheep for the slaughter.

The guards stood looking on as we hastily packed a few things. I threw in my Bible, prayer book, crucifix and Rosary beads. At that moment they seemed the most important things. Almost like weapons, they would keep me safe and strong.

My mother was very brave, my two little sisters were crying. It was time to say our goodbyes. My mother and I could not find words to speak. We looked into one another's eyes and threw our arms around each other. There in that moment we both died in each other's arms. At least it seemed like dying. Would we ever see each other again? Where would they be taking me? All the fear was written on my mother's face.

This must have been the same sort of fear Our Blessed Mother Mary suffered when she had her last meeting with her son Jesus, before he was to die on Calvary. What sword of anguish must have pierced Mary's heart. This was the anguish and pain my mother was suffering when I was taken away from her. And I too felt an enormous compassion for my mother whom I had to leave behind.

Flanked by guards we were taken up to the front gate where the office and guardhouse was. On the way up, women tried to give us little gifts to take with us on our journey to the fearful unknown.

Father Diderich S.J. ran towards me and said "Here Jantje, take this." It was a small black book, a volume of the "Navolging van Christus" (the "Imitation of Christ") by Thomas a Kempis. He looked at me so sad, as if he knew what was going to happen to me. Father Diderich clasped my hands as he handed me the small book, then gave me his blessing. I was never to see him again.

Only a few months earlier he had allowed me to make my one year temporary vows, my first step towards becoming a Religious. From the moment I had told him that I wanted to become a nun, he had gently guided my soul, taught me how to meditate, how to detach myself from worldly things. He was moulding me into a bride of Christ and I experienced a joy in my soul which I had never known before.

By this time all of us girls were crying, as we were forced into a big open truck. Six other girls joined our miserable group. A total of sixteen girls were then taken from the Ambarawa camps, forced against their will. We huddled together like frightened animals, clutching our bags as a shield of safety. We had no idea of where we would be taken as we left our Ambarawa camp.

We soon realised that we were travelling on the main road from Ambarawa to Semarang, the capital of central Java. So many times I had travelled this road with my family, for weekends or holidays with my grandfather. We would sing happily in the car. What a contrast to now.

It was the first time we had seen the outside world since we had been taken prisoners in 1942. The countryside had changed; the usually smiling faces of the natives didn't smile anymore, they looked poor and starving and frightened. As we came closer to the city Semarang, we drove through the "Heuvel terrein", the hillsides of Semarang. This was the best suburb of the city, the hills being slightly cooler. I knew it well. The houses were quite familiar too. Many of my school friends had lived here and I had often spent weekends in these homes. Now the houses and gardens looked depressing as we drove past and floods of memories went through my mind. The truck slowed down and pulled into the drive of a large house. Seven of us girls were told to get out. I was one of them. Then there were more tears and goodbyes as the truck moved on with the rest of the girls.

The Virgins' Brothel

We were soon to find out what sort of house we were forced to live in.

Nervously we kept together as we were ushered into the house by a Japanese Officer who seemed to be in charge. We mistrusted him immediately and we became very suspicious. Each girl was shown her own bedroom. The house was named "The House Of The Seven Seas" by the Japanese. It was still furnished with the furniture belonging to the Dutch family that had once lived here.

Ornaments of Delft Blue, a Dutch Calendar showing the Edam cheese market, even a photo album of a happy carefree family. It made me feel intensely sad and I wondered who was now occupying our home at Tjepiering that we had to just walk out and leave behind. Who was touching my things? Staring over our photographs, using my hair-brush, eating from our plates?

That day we were given a good meal of nassi goreng. It was the first decent meal we had seen since our internment but somehow we were too scared to eat, we had no appetite. An Indonesian "Baboe" and "Djonges" nervously introduced themselves to us. They would do our various household chores, cooking, cleaning, washing.

I looked at them and saw the only friends we would have. They looked back at me full of understanding and almost apologetic. Yes, they too knew what we all feared. I could not sleep that night and neither could the other girls. We ended up altogether in the one big bed, huddled together in fear, and finding comfort in prayer.

The next day some high ranking Japanese officers came to our house and we were all called to the living room. Communication with Japanese was always difficult. The better educated or higher ranking military would speak a little English. Some of them had picked up enough of the local language to make themselves understood. Somehow they made us understand that we were here for the sexual pleasure of the Japanese officers, in other words we found ourselves in a brothel. We were to obey at all times, we were not allowed to leave the house, in fact the house was guarded and trying to escape was useless. We were here in this house for only one purpose, for the Japanese to have sex with us. We were, in fact, enslaved into enforced prostitution.

My whole body trembled with fear, my whole life was destroyed and collapsing from under my feet. Not this,

surely not this! We protested loudly that we would never allow this to happen to us, that it was against all human rights, that it was against the Geneva Convention, that we would rather die than allow this to happen to us. The Japs stood there laughing, saying that they were our captors and they could do with us as they liked. We had already considered the possibility of escape. There was none. The house and grounds were well guarded and anyway as white women we would be spotted and picked up instantly in the outside world.

The following day we saw the front room of the house being turned into a reception area where the Japanese could sit and talk and buy tickets for the girl of their choice. We were ordered to have our photographs taken. We all looked at the camera angrily or with sad expression on our face. the photographs were placed on a pin-up board in the reception area shortly after. Flowers arrived for the house and each of us was given a vase of flowers in our bedroom. We immediately removed the flowers and took them into the garden, where they were consumed overnight by snails, much to the annoyance of the Japanese.

A Japanese woman arrived on the scene. She had a hard face, wore glasses and was bow-legged. She looked rather clinical in her white uniform type dress. "At last, a woman", I thought. "A woman would understand and help us and listen to our plight, surely." But not this female. The Japanese war machine had turned her into a hard, cruel, ruthless woman. I asked her to please complain on our behalf to the highest authority as we were held against our will. The woman showed no pity and rather turned against me, shouting as only the Japanese can.

In the meantime the whole house was being geared up to function as a brothel. In the bathroom strange looking objects appeared, we had no idea what they were or how to use them. Opening night had arrived. We were all terrified and we huddled together in the dining room. Never before had I felt such paralysing fear. We were all virgins and none of us knew anything about sex. We were all so innocent and we tried to find out from each other what to expect and what was going to happen to us. Prices were high on opening night because we were virgins.

As we sat there waiting, fear had completely overpowered our bodies. Even up to this day I shall never forget that fear and in a way it has been with me all my life. I knew that the only thing that could help us now was prayer and the girls looked to me to lead them in prayer. I put my Bible on the table and opened it at St. Paul's letter to the Romans, Chapter 8. With trembling voice I read;

"Let us find strength from the Lord. What we suffer in this life can never be compared to the glory which is waiting for us. We must share his sufferings, if we are to share his glory. Nothing therefore can come between us and the love of Christ, even if we are troubled or worried or being persecuted or hungry or naked, or being threatened by the sword or even attacked. For your sake, says the scripture, we faced death at every moment, reckoned no better than sheep marked down for slaughter. These are the trials through which we triumph, by the power of him who loved us.

For I am certain of this; neither death nor life, no angel, or principalities or powers, nothing that exists, nothing still to come, no force whatsoever, neither the height above us nor the depth below us, nor any other created thing, will be able to separate us from the love of God, which comes to us in Jesus Christ our Lord."

The girls listened intently and I could sense that Christ was touching everyone of them through these words of faith and love. The Psalms had always been a source of strength and comfort to me, so I turned to Psalm 27 and together we prayed that beautiful psalm, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom need I fear? The Lord is the fortress of my life, I will not be afraid." We prayed the whole psalm, each verse giving us more consolation. We followed this by praying the "Our Father". The prayers had given us some calmness, we crowded closer together, holding each other's hands, needing each other's strength.

We could hear the arrival of more and more military to the house, the throaty, ghastly sound of Japanese voices and laughter and boots treading the floor. We were ordered to each go to our own rooms, but we refused to go. We stayed closely together, clinging to each other for safety. My whole body was burning up with fear. It is a feeling I can't possibly describe, a feeling I shall never forget and never lose. Even after almost fifty years I still experience this feeling of total fear going through my body and through all my limbs, burning me up. It comes to me at the oddest moments, often while watching TV, seeing an old war movie. I wake up with it in nightmares and still feel it just lying in bed at night. But worst of all I have felt this fear every time my husband was making love to me. I have never been able to enjoy intercourse.

The house was now filling up with Japanese officers. We sat there waiting, huddled together till the time had come and the worst was to happen. One by one the girls were dragged out of the dining room and into their bedrooms crying, protesting. They pleaded, they screamed, they kicked and

fought with all their might. This continued until all the girls were forcefully taken to their rooms.

After a while I hid under the dining room table. I could hear the crying coming from the bedrooms. I could feel my heart pounding with fear. I held tight to my wooden crucifix that I had tucked into my belt around my waist. I had been wearing the crucifix like this continually. I thought that wearing it might convey some message to the enemy. At the same time it would help to keep me strong. Eventually I was found and dragged out from under the table.

A large, fat bald-headed Jap stood in front of me, looking down at me, grinning at me. I kicked him on the shins. He just stood there laughing. My fighting, kicking, crying and protesting made no difference. I screamed "Don't, don't" and then in Indonesian "Djangan, djangan". He pulled me up and dragged me into my bedroom, while I continued to fight him. Once in the bedroom, he closed the door and I ran into a corner of the room. I pleaded with him in a mixture of English and Indonesian and tried to make him understand that I was there against my will and that he had no right to do this to me.

I stooped down and curled myself up in the corner like a hunted animal that could not escape from the hunter's net. "O God, help me", I prayed, "Please God don't let this happen to me." The Jap, who's name was _____, stood there looking down at me. He was in total control of the situation. He had paid a lot of money for opening night and he was obviously annoyed, consequently he became extremely angry. He took his sword out of its scabbard and pointed it at me, threatening me with it. He yelled at me in that typical Japanese tone of voice, threatening me again and again with the sword. "I kill, I kill" he shouted.

Suddenly I was aware of enormous strength which filled me, a strength I had never known before. It was as if Christ Himself was taking possession of my whole being, giving me strength and taking over. I told _____ that he could kill me, that I was not afraid to die and that I would not give myself to him. I repeated it again and again. "Djangan", "No, no", "Tidak, tidak". But he kept pointing the sword at my body. I pleaded with him to allow me to say some prayers before he would kill me.

With his sword touching my flesh, I fell on my knees to pray. I think at that moment I loved God more than I had ever loved Him, or anything or anyone ever before. "My God, I love you, stay close to me now," I prayed. "Dear Lord, forgive me all my sins. Jesus, make me strong as I die for you. I love you Jesus, I love you with all my heart." A

serene feeling of peace and calm came over me, as I was thus lost in prayer.

After being reunited with my mother eventually, she told me that it was on the same night at the same hour as she was lying in bed, that she suddenly saw a great light, a light that was almost blinding.

He was getting impatient by now and threw me on the bed. He tore at my clothes and ripped them off. As I lay there naked on the bed, he got hold of his sword again and slowly he ran the sword over my body, up and down, up and down. I could feel the cold steel touching my skin as he moved the sword over my throat and breast, over my stomach and legs.

He played with me like a cat with a helpless mouse. This game went on for a while, then he started to undress himself. And I realised that he had no intention of killing me. I would have been no good to him dead. He threw himself on top of me, pinning me down under his heavy body. I tried to fight him off, I kicked him, I scratched him, but he was too strong. The tears were streaming down my face as he raped me. It seemed as if he would never stop.

I can find no words to describe this most in-human and brutal rape. To me it was worse than dying. My whole body was shaking when he eventually left the room. I gathered what was left of my clothing and ran off to the bathroom. I wanted to wash all the dirt, the shame and hurt off my body.

In the bathroom I found some of the other girls. We were all in shock and crying, not knowing what to do, trying to help each other. We washed ourselves as if it could wash away all that happened to us. I dared not go back to the dining room or bedroom and decided to hide myself. I hid in a room on the back verandah. My heart furiously pounding in my body. "O God, don't let anybody find me", I prayed. My whole body was shaking with fear. "Not again, I can't go through this again", I thought.

But after a while the angry voices and footsteps came closer and I was dragged out of my hiding place. The night was not over yet, there were more Japanese waiting. The terror started all over again. I never realised suffering could be so intense as this. I offered it all up to Jesus Christ and to make up to God for all the sins committed by Japanese. How was I to survive the days, the months to follow?

At the end of that first horrific opening night, in the early hours of the morning, seven frightened, exhausted girls huddled together to cry over lost virginity, to give

each other comfort and strength. How many times was each one raped that night? What could we do?

In the day time we were supposed to be safe, although the house was always full of Japanese coming and going, socialising, eyeing us up and down. There was little privacy. Our fear would be for the evening to come. As soon as it was getting dark, the house would be "opened" and a terrible fear would burn up our bodies. Each evening I tried to hide in a different place, but I was always found and I soon ran out of hiding places. I even climbed up a tree and still they found me. I was always found, then dragged into my room, after severe beatings. But every minute, every bit of time helped to delay the horrifying start of the evening.

One morning I decided to cut off all my hair to make myself look as unattractive as possible. There was a pair of scissors in the dressing table drawer. I stood in front of the mirror and I cut off all my hair until I was quite bald. I looked at myself in the mirror, I looked quite ugly with uneven hair cut close to the scalp. "No one would want me now", I thought. When the other girls found me like this they were horrified and one girl got a scarf to cover my bald head. I said I wanted to be bald and ugly and gave her back her scarf. I kept my head uncovered but of course it did not help one bit. The rumour spread that one of the girls had cut off all her hair in order to be bald and ugly. It had turned me into a sight-seeing object.

As time went on we discussed more and more our situation and how best we could deal with it. We shared our fear and our pain and humiliations. We were a tremendous support for each other, we needed each other desperately and a beautiful bond of love and friendship was formed between us. The girls turned to me for spiritual strength and each day I would lead them in prayer and read from the Psalms and Gospels. I wore a wooden crucifix tucked into my belt and was referred to by the Japanese as "the girl with the cross".

The Japanese enjoyed playing card games and we used packets of cards from the house to hold off the inevitable rape. The routine was that I tried to make them understand that I was in this house against my will, that I was forced into this and that I would not allow them to touch me. This plea never made the slightest difference. Next thing was to bide time, anything to pass the time away and this was when the card games were useful. Every minute, every half hour that I could hold off being raped was important. Because as soon as one Jap was finished another one would be waiting.

When they got tired of playing cards they would show impatience and try to get me on the bed. Always, and each

time I tried to fight them off. Never once did any Japanese rape me without a violent struggle and fight. Often they threatened me with death. Perhaps it would have been easier not to keep on fighting as the Japs always won anyway. But I could never do this. During these fights I hit out strongly and delivered some mighty blows and kicks, scratches and injured the Japanese quite often. Because of this and because of my persisting fights, I was told that if I did not stop the fighting they would move me to a brothel down town for soldiers, a brothel with native girls. There the conditions were worse and I would have to work in the day as well at night. This threat was not carried out.

One day a Japanese doctor in uniform arrived at our house. Immediately I thought that he would be able to help us. Surely, as a doctor he would have compassion for us and help us. I requested to speak to the doctor and went to his room. I made him understand that we were here against our will, that we were taken out of prison camp by force. That this was against the Geneva Convention and could he please report this scandalous crime to higher authorities.

The doctor just looked at me with his hands folded behind his head, leaning back in his chair he just eyed me up and down. He showed no interest in what I had just told him and showed no signs of compassion or apology. My heart sank, but at least I had tried. Then the doctor stood up briskly and walked towards me. He tried to grab me but I was too quick for him. I dashed out of the room and into the garden to hide myself. I ran into the fowl pen. It was a rather low and small pen. He was big and fat, he would not be able to follow me into this fowl pen, was my quick thinking. I stooped down among the chickens under loud cackling and flying of feathers. A few minutes later a big fat panting torso tried to squeeze through the narrow opening of the pen. All this was accompanied by hideous laughter from onlookers. As always I was the loser in the end and it all ended up with the doctor brutally raping me on the first day of his visit.

In the days leading up to the doctor's visit, gynaecological type equipment had been installed in one of the rooms on the back verandah. This was to be the room where from now on we were to be examined for any possible disease.

One morning we were told to see the doctor for examination. To give each other support, one girl would accompany another during the examination. I was terrified and felt totally humiliated by this Japanese doctor examining me in this way. The doctor visited regularly and each time he would rape me in the day time.

There was no door in the doctor's examination room and to make things worse and to humiliate us even more, we always had other Japanese looking on. They would come into the room or stand at the open door to look at us while we were being examined.

This humiliation was as much as I could stand. For the first time in my life I fully understood what Jesus must have suffered when he was stripped of his garments before crucifixion. Each time after the doctor's visit I went to my room and prayed the Tenth Station of the Cross. Jesus is stripped of his garments. "Arrived at last at the place of sacrifice, they prepare to crucify him. His garments are torn from his bleeding body, and he, the Holy of Holies, stands exposed to the vulgar gaze of the rude and scoffing multitude."

"Dear Lord", I prayed, "They can strip me of everything, they can take everything away from me, humiliate me, abuse me, take away my freedom, my possessions, my family. But they can never take away my love for You, they can never take away my Faith. This is mine, it is my most precious possession and nobody, nobody can take away that from me."

With the prophet Isaiah I prayed: "I will give glory to you all the years of my life for my sufferings." (Isiah 38:15)

In all those wartime years of Japanese occupation in the Dutch East Indies, I only met one decent Japanese. This man gave me a short breathing space of rest during these terrible months of suffering. My elder sister was living and working in Semarang. She had not been interned in a prison camp at the onset of the Japanese occupation of Java. She held an important job at N.I.S. (Netherland's Indies Railways) and the Japanese still valued her services. They were a small number of Europeans who were not interned, some were German or French or Dutch if their services were needed. It was just as hard for these people to survive outside the camps as it was for us on the inside. At a later stage all were imprisoned.

One day I asked our "djongos" (house-boy) if he would do me a great favour and take a letter to me sister in town, or rather if he would be prepared to smuggle the letter out. If he was found out doing this it could mean death. he said that he would take the letter to my sister because he felt so sorry for the "nonai blanda" (European girl) and he would like to help in some way.

My sister was devastated with the news in my letter and the atrocities that had been done to me. How could she help me? Could she trust any Japanese at all? She turned to a

Japanese called Yodi, who worked in the same N.I.S. building. he seemed to be the only one she could trust and she told him my story. He was very upset and said that he was prepared to help me.

They planned that he would visit the brothel and "buy me out" for the whole night, thereby preventing any Japanese from raping me that night. With the help of the house-boy once again, I received a letter from my sister. I cried with joy when I saw her familiar handwriting. She was so close and yet so far. She was only a short distance away and yet I could not reach her. But she shared my suffering and that was a tremendous comfort. In her letter, my sister told me to expect a visit from Yodi.

The house-boy also gave me a small parcel which he had concealed under his clothing. The parcel contained medicine, quinine tablets, a piece of soap (very precious at that time) and a Sunday missal. On the front page of the missal my sister had written a poem called "Deroeping tot het kruis van Christus" (The call to the cross of Christ). She also wrote in Dutch: Night and day I am with you. With all my thoughts and strength I beseech God to help us. This prayer book is still one of my dearest possessions. It was comfort and strength during those dark war years. I will treasure it always.

That evening a friendly looking Japanese came looking for me. I immediately recognised him as being Yodi, the one who was going to help me. Yodi was very understanding and he was ashamed at what the Japanese had done to us and he apologised. He seemed rather shy as he told me that I had nothing to fear that night, as he had bought a ticket for the whole night.

We talked and played card games and I thanked God that I could sleep peacefully that night. I offered Yodi to sleep on my bed and I would sleep on the floor. But he insisted that he would sleep on the floor and this he did. For a whole week Yodi came every night to the house so as to keep me safe. This short period of his visits gave me a real break. But it could not last of course. Yodi told me he was being teased and laughed at by the other Japanese because he visited our house every night and stayed all night. This must have been hard on him especially as he never touched me.

After Yodi had helped me out for two weeks, I received a letter from my sister saying that Yodi was moving out of Semarang with other troops and that he was not coming again. Although I had always thanked him after he kept me safe for the night, I was sorry that I never had the opportunity of

saying goodbye to him and thanking him again for all he had done for me.

As the months passed all of us girls lost weight. We hardly touched our food. We were exhausted and our nerves were stretched to the limit. Continually we put in a protest to any high ranking officer that visited our house, but it just fell on deaf ears.

Each of us had to find out her own way of dealing with the situation, trying to keep up strength and hope at the same time. I missed my mother and my two young sisters terribly. My mother was in poor health and was very weak when I had to leave her. I worried in case she died. How would my sisters manage on their own? But my trust in God was great and somehow I knew I would see them again.

More anxiety came my way when I thought I was pregnant. I was absolutely terrified. Not this, not this as well. How could I expect to give birth to and love a child conceived in such horror. My mind could hardly cope with the situation. Like always I put my life into God's hands, knowing that whatever happened to me was God's plan working itself out in my life. God would never abandon me. Like pillars of strength the girls gave me their support and they advised me to tell our Japanese woman guard that I was pregnant. There might just be a chance that they would let me go back to the prison camp.

I approached the woman, and as an answer to the whole problem she produced a bottle of tablets. She handed me a handful of the tablets to swallow. I had no idea what kind of tablets they were, but obviously they were to produce a miscarriage. I refused to swallow the tablets. I could not kill a fetus, not even this one. It would be a mortal sin if I did. I continued to refuse to take the tablets. Eventually they were forced down my throat. I miscarried shortly after. It was one more trauma I had to cope with.

I can't remember exactly how long we were in the Semarang brothel, but it was at least three months. Suddenly the order came that we were to pack up our things to leave. No reasons were given. We were not told where we were going either. We were all terrified. Would we end up in a worse situation than we were in now? What did they have in mind for us?

Once again, a frightened group of young girls was trucked away. This time to make a long train journey lasting two days. From the time we left Semarang all the blinds in the train were kept down, so we could not see anything. The ride was exhausting and we ended up in Bogor Camp in West Java.

We were told and threatened that we were never to tell anybody ever of what had happened to us. The camp in Bogor was to be a transit camp only. It consisted of a number of former Dutch homes, fenced off completely and turned into a prison camp. Here we were reunited with all the other Dutch women who had been forcibly taken out of their camps and who had suffered the same fate as us.

We were also reunited with our own families. It was a moment for sheer rejoicing, being reunited with my mother and two sisters. We clung to each other for a long time. The first night in the Bogor camp, when we were lying there all together again, side by side in the dark, I was not yet able to tell my mother all that had happened to me. I did not have to tell her, it was as if she knew. That night in the dark, she kept on stroking her fingers over my bald head, softly and lovingly and full of understanding, my mother's fingers soothed my head until I fell asleep.

We spent a short time in Bogor, before we were once more transported to another camp. This time we were sent to a large women's P.O.W. camp called Kramat Camp, in Batavia (Jakarta) On arrival we found that the part of the camp that we were to live in was completely isolated and separated from the rest of the camp. We were, in fact, a camp within a camp. The Japanese Officers were afraid that rumours would spread and the truth would be found out of what had been done to us. By isolating us they tried to prevent the terrible story from leaking out. Our suffering had still not come to an end. The women in the other part of Kramat Camp had been ordered not to make contact with us. Somehow rumours had spread why we were kept in isolation and cruelly they gave our camp the name "Hoeren Camp", meaning "Camp Of Whores". In fact they thought that we had been voluntarily working in brothels for the Japanese. They also believed that we were given special treatment and food because of this. In fact none of this was true and we were starving just as much as all the other women and children in Kramat. Conditions in our camp were the worst ever, with damp walls, the rats, the hunger, mothers devastated by seeing what the Japs had done to their daughters. We now realised the great number of Dutch women who had thus been abused. The first day of the roll call in Kramat Camp is forever engraved in my memory.

We had all lined up obediently and made our required bowing ritual, when the Camp Commandant came marching up to me. He pulled me out of the line and in curious anger snatched the scarf off my head. There I stood, bald headed in front of all the Japanese guards and women prisoners, an object of scorn, a witness to the brutal abuse done to me. My sisters tell me that even to this day they will never forget that

moment when the Jap ripped off my scarf to see my bald head, wanting to make sure the rumour was true that one of the girls had cut off all her hair.

At this time my mother was in very poor health. She was skin over bones, and she was so thin that I could lift her up as if she was a child. She had pneumonia from sleeping on a damp mattress in a damp room. The walls were dripping. The camp grounds were covered with sewerage overflow. My mother was moved into a makeshift hospital for the dying. She was delirious and didn't know anybody but me. She would only take food from my hand. My sisters and I would go without our rations to give the food to our mother. I was determined she was not going to die. I got all my friends to pray for her. I managed to get word through to the nuns in the main part of the camp and they promised to pray for my mother. I never gave up hope, even though she was expected to die at any time. We prayed Novenas, we prayed Rosaries and Litanies and my mother did not die.

Hiroshima was bombed on August 6th 1945. The war for us in Java ended on August 15th, the feast of our Lady's Assumption into heaven. It was at that time that planes came flying over our prison camp. This time they were not Japanese planes as we first thought. What excitement there was when we realised that the planes were our allied planes! The planes dropped food and medicine and penicillin which had recently been discovered. The penicillin saved my mother's life; my mother lived!

God had been good to us. My whole family had survived the war, including my father who had been imprisoned by the Japanese on Sumatra. We were all reunited in Holland in 1946, including my elder brother who had been a prisoner of the Germans in Europe.

The moment we realised that the war had ended, someone produced a Dutch flag out of nowhere. None of us knew where it had come from but it sent shivers down our spines and we were all in tears when we saw our red, white and blue flag up in the air after three and a half years of occupation.

At this time there was great confusion in the camp. Everyone was trying to find out if relatives had survived. We had nowhere to go. In fact we were to spend the next five months in our camp. Food was distributed and doctors arrived at the camp. The most seriously ill, including my mother were transported to an outside hospital. She looked so pale, so little and fragile as she was carried away from us. Once again we were separated and I was left to take care of my two younger sisters.

Gradually news from the outside world reached us. The famous pianist Lily Kraus had been interned in Kramat Camp. A piano was found for her and brought into the camp and for the following months Chopin and Liszt never sounded so sweet and even Lily's endless scales were music to our ears.

A Catholic Priest arrived at our camp and for the first time we were able to celebrate Mass again. My heart was overjoyed! At this stage I felt a desperate need to talk to a Catholic Priest and after Mass I arranged to meet him. I did not know this priest and I wished I could have seen dear Father Diderich. I told him the story of my ordeal at the hands of the Japanese. It was painful and difficult and at times I had to pause and swallow my tears. The priest sat motionless through my story. Finally I told him that I still wanted to become a nun and I asked him for guidance and advice. My heart sank when his response finally came. He told me that under the circumstances and because of what had happened to me, it was better that I did not become a nun.

Looking back I realise that the advice he gave me was totally wrong and unnecessarily cruel. I felt shattered and sadly disappointed by what I had been told. It gave me a terrible inferiority complex. Was I not good enough now to embrace the religious life? Had I suddenly changed? Was I soiled and dirty? I had come for understanding and support, instead I walked away totally confused, rejected, unwanted and unloved. I had always regarded the words and opinion of a priest as absolute and I did not question his opinion.

I had to come to terms with the fact that the convent was not the place for me. Christ too had been scorned, rejected and misunderstood. As always, my faith remained as strong as ever. With my mother in hospital I had become responsible for the welfare of my sisters who were now fourteen and eleven years old, and I was desperate to find out if my father was still alive. The war might have been over but for us in Kramat Camp, Batavia, more terror lay ahead. The Indonesians did not want to return to Dutch rule and spurred on by the Japanese anti-Dutch propaganda they turned against us with violence.

In the camps we were easy prey for Indonesian terrorist attacks. Night times were feared the most when they jumped the fences into our compound, wielding knives and hand grenades. It was horrifying to see women and children killed so brutally after surviving three and a half years at the hands of the Japanese. My best friend was killed by a knife attack as she crouched beside me on the floor.

During this time it was most dangerous to leave the camp. However I continued to visit my mother in hospital. This involved a twenty minute walk and every time I made this walk I faced possible death at the hands of snipers. I had faced death so many times that it didn't seem to matter anymore. I recall one day in particular when I could see an Indonesian man in the a tree above me armed with a knife. I pretended not to see him and with my heart pounding in my chest I kept on walking. Arriving at the hospital was always traumatic, as there were always Dutch casualties being brought in. A gruesome sight of people who had been knifed, cut up or shot at by Indonesians.

The situation had become so dangerous that British troops of the 23rd Indian Division were sent to the Dutch East Indies. These soldiers, stationed at Singapore, had just been through the Burma campaign and were en route to England. Instead they were sent to Java to protect us. There was great jubilation at the arrival of the British soldiers, which included not only British but also Indian military. Machine guns were positioned at every corner of the camp and constant watch was maintained. For the first time in nearly four years we felt safe again.

The arrival of the British brought joy to our camp. Rations were shared, dances and parties were organised, children laughed again. We were now able to leave the camp safely with military escort. A handsome young soldier took it upon himself to make sure I reached the hospital safely on the visits to my mother. With bullets flying around us I would crouch on the floor in the back of the army truck while he and his co-driver escorted me to my destination.

This was the beginning of a war time romance and Tom and I began to meet regularly. When I told him of my experiences with the Japanese, it made not the slightest difference to his love for me. Unlike the Catholic priest who had so wrongly judged my situation, Tom responded with love and understanding and my self esteem and confidence returned.

We had only known each other for a couple of months when we decided to get engaged. It was a Christmas Day party in 1945 and the band played "I'll be loving you always" Tom produced a jade engagement ring and slipped it on my finger. With this kind and gentle man, I was to leave my wartime memories behind and start a new life for myself in England.

クライ・オブ・ザ・レーブド
(強姦された女の叫び)

今、語りつく

ジョン・オ・ヘンレ

はじめに

一九九二年三月八日、日曜日、私はアデライデ戦争慰霊碑に花輪を捧げました。この日は、現在インドネシアである旧オランダ領東インドのジャワ島に、日本軍が侵略してちょうど五十年目にあたります。侵略により数千人の民間のオランダ人が、日本の戦争捕虜収容所に抑留されました。私も捕虜として、第二次大戦中、三年半ジャワの日本軍捕虜収容所に入れられました。

その日曜日、私は慰霊碑に花輪を捧げながら、特に収容所に入れられた女性と子どもたちの冥福を祈りました。女性たちは劣悪な環境の中、恐怖、屈辱、暴力行為、強姦、そして飢えなど、数々の試練に堪えました。これら女性たちの勇気、苦難そして忍耐をたたえ、日本軍捕虜収容所で死んでいった数千人の女性と子どもたちを追悼するための花輪でした。

日本軍捕虜収容所時代の（オランダ人）女性の身の上話や当時の状況や苦難を、鮮明に伝える物語や本やフィルムは数多くあります。しかし、第二次世界大戦で最もひどい人権侵害といえる屈辱的な話はまだ一度も語られていません。

沈黙を破るまで五十年かかりました。日本人が私に行ったことは、そう簡単に語せるようなものではありません。この五十年間、そのことを声を大にして叫びたいと思い続けてきました。でも、明らかにそれはできませんでした。どうあってもそれを話せませんでした。私の家族にさえも、他のどの女性にさえも。五十年続いた悪夢、眠れぬ夜、癒されることのない五十年の痛み、私の心の奥深くに横たわる恐ろしい思い出、いつ爆発しても不思議ではありませんでした。そして今私はすべてをお話します。日本人が私にやったことを許しています。許すことでしか傷は癒されないのです。アデライデの慰霊碑に花輪を捧げる時も、平和と和解の印として私は日本の方々を招待さえしました。日本人の犯した罪を私は許しました。しかし決して忘れはしません。

五十年の沈黙の闇を抜け、今ここに私の叫びを、話をお伝えします。これは私と同じ苦しみを味わった勇気ある女性たちの話でもあります。

幸せな日々

私は一九二三年、一月十八日、ジャワのセマランで生まれました。皆さんと同じように

とても素晴らしい子供時代でした。オランダ領東インド、中央ジャワのセマラン近くにあるチェビエリン砂糖工場と呼ばれるさとう農場で育ちました。

十九才までの思い出は一番大切な宝であり、私の一部でもあります。現在に至るまで、その貴重な思い出が私の生活に様々な影響を与え、豊かにしてきました。とても幸せな家族でした。私は五人兄弟姉妹の三番目でした。愛情深く、知的で芸術的な両親に育てられました。二人ともそれぞれ違った分野に才能を持ち、私はその恩恵を大きく受けています。今の私は両親があってこそです。一生私は両親に感謝します。そして愛情と感化を讃えます。私は厳しいカトリックの伝統の中育てられ、大学までカトリックの学校に通いました。私の両親、特に父によって、私の中に偉大で強力な信仰、すなわち祈りと聖書そしてミサへの愛が植えつけられました。私の深い信仰は神からの最も貴重な授かり物となり、受験の時の支えと力になりました。

幼い頃の思い出の中の父は、ベッドの側でひざまづいて祈りを捧げている姿です。私たち子どもにとって、父は何時間もそうしているように見え、我慢できずに祈りを終えるまで父の背中に飛びついたものでした。祈りにつく父のイメージは、生涯私にとっていさめと励ましになってきました。父はどのように祈るのかを私に教えてくれました。そして幼い頃すでに私は祈りの大切さを理解しました。戦争時代を通して私を救ってくれたのがこの祈りへの愛であり、キリストの存在と慈愛を体験させてくれました。

私の両親は非常に音楽の才能に恵まれ、クラシック音楽に深く傾倒していました。両親が音楽を奏でるの聞きながら眠りについたことを鮮明に覚えています。父は素晴らしいバイオリニストで、母は同じように才能あるピアノリストであり歌手でした。母はいくつもの言語で歌を歌ったものですが、特に豊かなメゾソプラノの声で美しく歌うシューベルトの“リエダー”を好んでいたようです。

私の母ジョセフィンはオランダ人です。二十三才の時オランダからジャワに若い新妻として渡りました。母はアムステルダムでエンジニアの勉強をしていた父セレスティンと出会いました。若い頃の父の写真を見れば、父と即座に恋に落ちた母が理解できます。とてもハンサムでした。父は、ジャワでフランス人の父とオランダ系インドネシア人の母の間に生まれました。彼はフランス人の教育を受け、祖父のヘンリにはいつもフランス語で話していました。祖母のジーンはとても美しい人で、夫や家族から愛されていました。家にいる時、祖母は、当時のオランダ女性が習慣としていた『サロンとケバヤ』を着用していました。残念ながら私は祖母を知りません。私が生まれる四か月前、四十八才の若さで亡くなりました。私は祖母の名ジーンを与えられました。

私はフランス人の祖父ヘンリを心より愛していました。彼は十八才の時ジャワに来て、魅力的なフランス語のアクセントでオランダ語を流暢に話しました。祖父は勤勉な労働者で、いつも背中をまっすぐにして歩いていました。七十七才の年でもまだ毎日体操をし、園のひざを曲げることなくつま先に手を届かすことができました。

学校時代、休みはいつもバンドンガンの祖父の所で過ごしました。中央ジャワのウガラ
ン山の尾根、標高三千フィートに祖父の別荘がありました。休暇中は暑いチェビエリンか
ら逃げて、バンドンガンの涼しい山の空気に包まれることができ、母にとっては幸せな一
時でした。祖父の家は、大所帯の私たち家族だけではなくバタビアのいここ達も泊まれる
大きな家でした。

休暇中はプールで泳いだり、テニスをしたり山登りをして過ごしました。夜になればテ
ーブルを囲んでゲームに興じたものです。フランス人の祖父は美しい声で歌い、私たち
にたくさんフランス語の歌を教えてくださいました。幼い私たちは祖父のひざに座ってフランス
の童謡をきいたものです。

日曜日の朝になればフランス国家が蓄音機でかけられ、スピーカーから“ラ・マルセイ
ユ”が聞こえてきました。そう、ヘンリおじいさんはオランダ国籍を取ったものの、心情
的には常にフランス人でした。祖父の所で過ごした週末や休暇中の思い出は最も大切なも
のです。天国にもバンドンガンの祖父の別荘のような一角が少しでもあればと願うばかり
です。

私はとても保護された環境で育ちました。私の世代の娘たちは純粹無垢で、結婚まで純
潔でした。ティーンエイジャーの私は毎月生理を迎えていても、セックスについて何も知
りませんでした。

高校卒業後、セマランにあるフランシスコ会の教育大学に行きました。私はフランシス
コ会の修道女が好きでした。彼女たちに大きく影響を受けました。その頃、私はひたすら
尼僧になりたいと思っていました。神のお召しは私に大きな喜びを与え、よき尼僧たちが
私の神命を育ててくれました。

一九四二年まで、オランダ領東インドにいた私たちは戦争に巻き込まれるとは思ってい
ませんでした。そしてあの真珠湾攻撃（一九四一年十二月七日）があり、戦争はみじかに
なりました。一九四二年二月のシンガポール陥落後、ジャワにいる私たちは、日本が攻撃
してくるのは時間の問題だと思いました。四十八才の父は戦争にかりだされました。母は
祖父のいる山に疎開するのが一番良いと考え、私たちは荷物をまとめ家を出ました。それ
が我が家を見た最後でした。

一九四二年三月一日、日本軍がジャワに上陸しました。オランダ人は勇敢に戦いました
が、三月八日降伏し、日本軍が一九四五年八月十五日の敗戦まで島を占領しました。日本
がジャワを侵略した時、私は十九才でした。突如として少女の夢はすべて奪い取られてし
まいました。

それから三年半。私は母と二人の妹、そして数千人のオランダ人女性と子どもたちと共に日本の戦争捕虜収容所で過ごさなくてはなりませんでした。私たちの収容所はとても大きく、祖父と共に過ごしたバンドンガンからあまり遠くないアンバラワにありました。

アンバラワ収容所の状態はひどいものでした。収容所に着くなりお金や貴重品を取り上げられました。悪臭、汚物、ぬずみ、あふれ出る下水、剥奪と退廃、プライバシーの皆無、重労働、飢え、暴力と病気、この混沌の中、三千人の女性たちは三年半閉じ込められました。

毎日の点呼は熱い太陽の下何時間も立させられたままで、繰り返し讃歌を数えられ、深々とおじきをさせられました。特に年寄りや病気の女性たちにとって、これは非常にきついものでした。捕虜収容所時代、私たちが最も悩まされ必要としたものは食べ物でした。戦争が進むにつれ、私たちの食料は減らされました。

毒でなければ何でも食べました。雑草、かたつむり、ぬずみ、さらには収容所司令官の飼っていた猫まで。日本人のごみ箱からゴミや骨やバナナの皮をあさるのは普通でした。女性たちは重労働を強いられました。仕事の内容は、トイレや下水管の掃除、薪割り、重い荷物の運搬、穴掘り、その他いろいろありました。

点検は頻りに行われました。特に、点呼で数時間太陽の下で立たせている間に、私たちの営舎に入って金品を探しまわりました。また薬がほとんどなく、キニーネ剤（マラリア特効薬）のためなら何とでも交換しました。ごく普通の日用品が突然最も貴重な品になりました。石けん、紙、鉛筆、針と糸、マッチ、ろうそく、数え上げればきりがありません。

女性も子どももマラリア、熱帯性潰瘍、赤痢、脚気、栄養失調にかかりました。子どもたちは栄養不足のため成長が止まりました。女性たちは理由のないまま、しょっちゅう罰を加えられました。殴ったり蹴ったり、または照りつける太陽の下数時間も立たされたり、食料を埋められたりしました。

収容所の生活は喜怒哀楽の気分次第です。男の子は十三才になれば母親から離され、どこか分からない男性の収容所に移されました。誰もが家族の行方をいつも心配していました。

女性たちは決してユーモアのセンスを失わず、お互いに支え合いました。祈りの集まりを持ち、ロザリオを握りながら祈りを唱えました。深い信仰が私の最大の支えであり、他の人々と分かちあうことができるものでした。何かに耐えられるかどうかを決めるのは外部の要因ではなく内的なもので、それが緊張と苦痛の下つふされてしまうか、または動揺せずにいられるかを決定するのだと知りました。信仰だけから来る内的な力です。「み心のおこなわれんことを」、この言葉を学びます。「幸いなるかな心の貧しき者」というキ

リストの言葉の意味を、今私は理解できます。私たちはすべて神に依存しているのです。私たちは神の手の中にあるのです。私たちは完全にキリストの中で死ぬまで、日々少しずつ死への旅路をたどらなくてはなりません。

強姦された女の叫び

私たちは日本軍戦争捕虜収容所にはば二年間いました。それは一九四四年二月のことでした。アンバラワ収容所のいつもの日と変わらないようでした。日々の点呼、あらたな死者、看取のどなり声、おなかをすかして泣く子供、いら立つ母親たちの怒り、厳しい日課と労働。“ストロントブルフ（糞尿処理班）”として、あふれ出た下水の掃除当番がもう回ってきたのかしら？

人形をこわされ泣いている十才の妹を探すため、私は背中に痛みを感じながら営舎に戻ろうとしていました。突然収容所に大きな騒ぎが起きました。日本軍のトラックの音、点検とか新しい命令や規則を与えるために将校が到着した時の看取のあわてぶり。

でもこの時はどこか違うようでした。点検があるなら、きっと集合がかかるだろうと思っていました。ところが今回は、十七才以上の独身の女性は整列しろという命令でした。この命令に従いたくありませんでした。不吉な予感がしました。

「あなたのことよ、ジャンティ」そう言う母の声は震えていて、恐怖の色を隠せません。私はできるかぎり目をひかないよう地味に身づくろいをし、髪でできるだけ顔を隠すようにしました。収容所は恐怖の空気に包まれ、中には身を隠そうとする少女もいました。一列に並ばされた私たちに、数名の日本軍将校が近づいてきました。恐怖で震えあがりました。将校たちの振舞いに嫌悪を感じました。私たちを上から下まで見て、仲間うちで笑いあい、指さすのです。娘たちは恐ろしさでいっぱい、顔を垂れ、まっすぐ前を見ることができませんでした。顔を見るため、棒を使って一人一人あごをこづきあげました。無理やり征服者の顔を見させられました。列に沿って彼らは進み、せせら笑い、指をさして笑いあいました。

「神様、彼らに私を連れて行かせないで、私を連れて行かせないでください」そう祈りました。彼らの間で何か話しあった後、少女の半分が立ち去るよう言われました。それでもまだ長い列が残り、彼らは続けて私たちをじろじろ見て、さわり、指さしました。自分が醜くて魅力的でないことをどんなに祈ったことでしょう。再び何人かの少女たちが捕されました。

私は残されました。そして少女たちはいつの間にかそれぞれ手を握り合って立っていました。恐怖で全身がこわばりました。これは単なる点検でもなければ、作業班の選別でもないことは、今や明らかです。微動だにせず、そこに数時間立たされているような気がしました。私たちはお互いに顔を見ないようにし、ただ恐怖に体を強張らせていました。ま

た一から選別のやりなおしです。これが最後です。最終判断は一人の将校にまかせられているようでした。十人の少女が前に出るよう言われ、その他は心配する母の元に帰ってよいことになりました。私は十人の一人でした。女性たちの泣き叫ぶ声が聞こえ、私たち十人を引き戻して勇敢に戦おうとしてくれたのが分かりました。

収容所には若いオランダ女性の通訳が一人いました。彼女は日本人の実業家と婚約していて、日本語を流暢に話しました。通訳を介して、私たちは所持品をまとめ、すぐにトラックが待っている担当者の所に集合するよう言われました。何も詳しい説明はありません。少女たち、母親たち、まさに収容所全体が力の限りこれに抵抗しました。収容所に怒号と泣き声と抗議の音が満ちました。しかしすべて無駄でした。敵の抑圧と威嚇を受け、暴虐に力なく倒れて屈するだけの私たちは、まさに屠殺場に連れて行かれる羊のようでした。

あわてて荷物を詰める私たちを看護が見張っていました。聖書、祈祷書、十字架像、ロザリオをかばんに入れました。その瞬間、それらが最も大切に思えたのです。ちょうど武器のように私を守って支えてくれると思いました。

母はとてもしっかりしていましたが、二人の妹は泣いていました。さよならを言う時です。母も私も言葉がみつかりませんでした。お互いの目をみつめ、しっかりと抱きあいました。その瞬間私たちはそれぞれの腕の中で死んでいました。少なくとも死に行くようでした。再び会うことはできるのだろうか？私はどこへ連れて行かれるの？母の表情には恐怖がありありと表れていました。

これは、聖母マリアがカルバリで処刑される息子イエスと最後に会った時の苦しみと同じだったにちがいありません。マリアの胸にどんな苦悩の剣が突き刺さったのでしょうか。私を手元から奪われる母が受けた苦悩と痛みでした。そして私も残して行かねばならない母にたいへん心を痛めました。

護衛に囲まれ、私たちは事務所と衛兵所のある正面ゲートまで連れて行かれました。途中何人もの女性たちが、どこか分からない恐ろしい所に行く私たちには、小さな贈り物を手渡してくれました。

ディアドリッチ神父が私の所に走りより、「ジャンティ、これを持ってゆきなさい」と言って小さな黒い本を下さいました。それは、トーマス・ア・ケンピの『キリストのまねび』でした。まるでこれからどうなるのか知っているかのように、神父様は悲しい目で私を見ました。彼は本を手渡しながら私の手を握りしめ、祝福して下さいました。これが最後になるのです。

神父様はわずか数か月前、修道女になるための第一歩として、私が一年間一時的に修道院に入ることを認めて下さったところでした。修道女になりたいことをお話しして以来、神父様はやさしく私の魂を導き、どのように黙想し、どのように自己を俗事から切り離す

か教えて下さいました。神父様は私をキリストの花嫁に作り上げようとしておられ、私はそれまで知らなかった魂の喜びを経験しました。

大きなトラックに乗せられる時になって、私たちは全員泣きました。更に六人の少女が追加され、合計十六人の少女が意思に反して力づくでアンバラワ収容所から連れ去られました。私たちは怯えた動物のように一緒にうずくまり、防御の盾としてかばんをしっかりと抱きました。一体どこに連れて行かれるのか、私たちにはまったく検討がつきませんでした。

すぐにアンバラワから、中央ジャワの首都セメランへの幹線道路を走っていることが分かりました。祖父と週末や休暇を過ごすため、この道を家族と共に何度走ったことでしょうか。車ではいつも楽しく歌を歌ったものです。何という違いでしょう。

一九四二年に捕虜収容所に抑留されて以来、これが初めて見る外の世界でした。農村の風景はすっかり変わっていました。現地の人々のいつものほほえみは消え、生活が苦しくおなかを空かし、何かにおびえているようでした。セメランの市街地に近づいた時、丘陵地帯を抜ける道に曲がりました。ここは市のもっとも快適な郊外で、すこしばかりひんやりとしています。私はこのあたりをよく知っており、立ち並ぶ家々も懐かしく目に映りました。学生時代ここに住む友達がたくさんいて、時には週末をここで過ごしたものでした。今や家も庭もさびれ果て、その光景を見る私の脳裏に塵をきったように思い出が蘇ってきました。トラックが速度を落とし、ある大きな家の門に入ってゆきました。ここで七人が降りるよう言われました。私はその一人でした。トラックが残りの少女を乗せて去ろうとした時、また涙いっぱいにお別れをしなくてはなりませんでした。

乙女たちの売春窟

連れて来られた所がどんな場所なのか、私たちにはすぐに察しがつきました。

びくびくしている私たちはくっついて、責任者と思える日本軍将校の後について家に入りました。彼はまったく信用のおけない感じの人で、私たちはすぐに疑いを抱きました。一人一人に部屋があてがわれました。この家を日本人は『七つの海の家』と名づけていました。この家には以前住んでいたオランダ人家族の家具がまだありました。

デルフト・ブルーの装飾品、エダム・チーズの市場の写真があるオランダのカレンダー、それに幸せで屈託のない家族の写真までそのままです。私は切ないほど悲しくなり、私たちが残してきたチェビエリンの家は一体誰が今占拠しているのだろうと思いました。誰が私の物を触っているのだろう？ 私たちの写真に見入り、私の棚を使い、私たちのお皿で食べているの？

その日、私たちにはナシ・ブレンのご馳走が出されました。収容されて以来初めてのまともな食事です。でも幾分食べるのが恐かったし、それに食欲もありませんでした。インドネシア人の女中と下男が、神経質そうに自己紹介をしました。彼女たちが私たちのために、料理、選択、掃除などの家事をやってくれるのです。

私たちの友達になれるのは彼女たちだけでしょう。見つめる私に振り返った彼女たちには、精一杯の理解とすまなさそうな表情が見えました。そう、彼女たちも私たちが何を恐れているのか分かっているのです。その夜、私も他の少女たちも一睡もできませんでした。みんな一緒に大きなベットで恐怖にうづくまるようにして横になりました。祈りに安らぎを見いだそう、そればかり考えていました。

次の日、高い地位にある日本人将校が家にやって来て、私たち全員を居間に呼び出しました。日本人とのやりとりはいつも大変でした。高い教育を受けていたり、地位が上の軍人ならば少しばかり英語を話します。現地の言葉を使って、使用人に指示をしていた人も何人かいました。日本人上官に性的快楽を与えるためにここにいるのだ、ということを経らは何とか私たちに理解させました。すなわち、私たちは売春宿にいるのです。いついかなる時でも受け入れなくてはならないし、外出はなりませんでした。事実、家の周りにはいつも見張りがいて、逃走を試みてもまったく無駄でした。私たちがここにいる目的はたった一つ、日本人のセックスの相手をすることです。実際、強制売春の奴隷にされました。

全身が恐ろしさで震え、未来は足下から崩れおちました。許せない、絶対こんなこと許せない。私たちは絶対にそんなことをさせてなるものか。これは人間性をふみにじっている、ジュネーブ条約の違反だ、そんなことになるなら死んだ方がましだと、大声をあげて抵抗しました。ジャブたちはあざ笑い、かごの鳥なんだからどうしようと俺たちの自由さと言いました。その時すでに、逃げる道はないかと考えていました。でも何もありません。家も周囲もすっかり監視されているし、白人女性だから外に逃げてもすぐに見つかるに違いありません。

次の日、玄関のすぐ横に部屋があり、そこを待合室にしていることを知りました。日本人たちが座って歓談したり、自分の好みの女性のチケットを買ったりする所です。私たち一人一人に写真を取るよう命令が出ました。皆なカメラに向かい悲しい顔をするか怒った顔をしました。その後すぐ、写真は待合室に飾られたのです。花が届けられ、それぞれのベッドルームに花瓶の花がそえられました。私たちは花をすぐ庭に捨て、それは一夜にしてかたつむりの餌と化しました。日本人へのいやがらせです。

一人の日本人女性が現れました。メガネをかけ、こわばった表情をしたX脚の女性です。白い制服みたいな服を着ていたので、事務的で冷たい感じがしました。『ついに女性が現れた』そう思いました。『女性なら私たちのことを理解し、助けになってくれるに違いない。耳も傾けてくれるわ』。でもこの人はそうではありませんでした。日本の戦時体制はこの女性を、強固で残忍で無慈悲な人間に変えてしまっていました。私たちは意思に反し

てここにつれてこられたのだから、代わりに将校たちに文句を言ってほしいと彼女に頼みました。でもまったく同情は見せず、むしろ私に敵対するような感じで日本人にしか分からない言葉で怒鳴りました。

そんな私たちにお構いなく、家全体が売春宿の機能を果たすように変えて行かれました。浴室には変な物が置かれ、一体何のなのか、どう使うのかも分かりません。ついに開館の夜が来ました。私たちは恐怖に震え、食堂で一つになってうずくまっていたいます。こんな驚愕に襲われたのは初めてです。私たちは全員処女で、セックスについては何も知りません。皆とても無垢で、一体これからどうなるのか、何が起きるのかお互いに闇の中を探るような気持ちでした。開館の夜の料金は、私たちが処女のため特別に高くされていました。

待っている間、恐怖が全身をすっぱり包みました。今でもこの時味わった恐怖を忘れることはできず、一生私につきまといてきました。唯一の救いは今や折りしかなく、皆は私が折りを始めるのを待っていました。聖書をテーブルに置き、聖パウロのローマ人への手紙第八章を開きました。震える声で私は読み始めました。「主よ力を与えたまえ。今この時の苦しみは、やがて私たちに現されようとする栄光に比べると、言うに足りない。キリストと栄光を共にするためには、苦難をも共にしなければならない。誰がキリストの愛から私たちを離れさせるのか。患難か、苦悩か、迫害か、飢えか、裸か、危険か、剣か。私たちはあなたのために終日、死に定められており、ほふられる羊のように見られている。しかし、私たちを愛して下さったかたによって、私たちは、これらすべての事において勝ち得て余りがある。私は確信する。死も生も、天使も支配者も、現在のものも将来のものも、力あるものも、高いものも深いものも、その他どんな被造物も、わたしたちの主キリスト・イエスにおける神の愛から、わたしたちを引き離すことはできないのである。』

少女たちは熱心に聞き入り、私にはキリストがこの信仰と愛の言葉を通して一人一人にお触れになっていることが感じられました。詩篇はいつも私の力の源であり慰めであったので、私は詩篇二七を聞いて皆でその美しい詩篇を捧げることになりました。『主は私の光、私の救い。私は闇を恐れよう。主は私の命の誓、私は闇の前におののくことがあろう。』。私たちは慰めをえられるよう詩篇を一つつつ読み、『父なる神よ』の言葉を捧げて終えました。祈りによって幾分か落ち着きが戻ってき、さらにくっついてお互いの手を握り力を分けあいました。

そうしている内に、軍人たちが家に次々と到着し、日本人たちのしわがれたぞっとするような話声や笑い声、そして床を歩く長靴の音が聞こえてきました。それぞれ部屋につくよう言われましたが、私たちは拒否し、かたまってびったり寄り添いました。私は全身が炭のように熱くなるのを感じました。何とも言いようのないこの感覚を一生忘れません。ほぼ五十年たった今も、この恐怖が全身を、四肢を走り貫け、私を焼き尽くす感覚が甦ってきます。その感覚はとても奇妙な瞬間に私を襲います。それは、テレビで古い戦争映画を見ている時によく起こります。また夢で見ることもあり、突然夜中に目が覚め、あたかもこの恐怖が私のベッドに忍び込んでいるように思います。最も不幸なのは、夫と営みを

もった時で、常にこの感覚に関われました。性の欲びを一度も感じることはできませんでした。

さて、今や家は日本人の士官たちでいっぱいです。最悪の時が来るまで、私たちはそこでうずくまりじっとしていました。一人ずつ食堂からひきずり出され、泣き叫び抵抗する中、部屋に連れて行かれました。懇願し、叫び声を上げ、足をばたつかせ、力の限り闘いました。最後の少女が連れて行かれるまで、これが続きました。

私は食堂のテーブルに身をひそめていました。しばらくすると、ベッドルームから泣き叫ぶ声が聞こえてきます。心臓がドキドキ音をたて始めました。ベルトの間に挟み込んでいた木製の十字像をしっかりと握りしめました。いつもこうして身につけていたのです。これは私のお守りで、敵に無言のメッセージを伝えてくれると同時に、私を強くしてくれると信じていました。でもついに見つかり、テーブルの下から引きずり出されました。

背の高い太ったはげ鬚のジャップが、私を見下ろし、にやにや笑っていました。男のむこうずねを思いきり蹴りましたが、笑ったままです。蹴っても、叫んでも、抵抗しても、無駄でした。『いや、やめて』『ジャンガン、ジャンガン（やめて）』（インドネシア語）。男は、抵抗する私をひきづってベッドルームにまで連れ込みました。ドアを閉められた私は部屋の片隅に逃げました。英語とインドネシア語を混じえながら、私は無理やり連れてこられたのだ、あなたには私をこんな風に扱う権利はない、と訴えました。

廊下の隅から逃げそこねた獲物のように、私は角にうずくまって小さくなりました。『ああ神様、私を救いたまえ』『神様、今すぐこれを止めさせてください』私は祈りました。ジャップは私を見下ろしたままです。完全に彼が優位でした。開館の日の高い料金を払った彼は、いらいらし、非常に腹を立てていました。靴から刀を抜き、その先を私に向けました。典型的な日本語の音調で、刀を向けながら何度も何度も『お前を殺してやる、殺してやる』と奇し声を上げました。

突然、私の中に思いもかけない力があふれてきたのです。まるで、イエス様ご自身が私に乗り移り、力を与え、私の代わりになって下さっているようでした。私はその男に、殺してもかわまない、死ぬのは恐くない、死んでも体を許さない、と言いました。『下劣』『いや』『やめて』何度も何度も繰り返しました。そして殺す前に祈りを捧げさせてほしいと頼みました。

ひんやりした刃先を体に当てられたまま、私はひざまづいて祈りました。その時、こんなに神を愛したことはなかったし、誰にも何にもこんなに愛を感じたことはなかったと思いました。『神様、愛しています、どうぞ私のそばにいて下さい』そう祈りました。『神さま、これまでの罪のすべて許したまえ、イエス様、あなたのために死にます。だから私を強くして下さい。イエス様、愛しています、魂をかけて』。そして穏やかで安らかな気持ちに包まれ、私は祈りの世界へと入ってゆきました。

その後母とついに再会してから聞かされたのですが、同じ日、同じ時間、母がベッドに横たわっている時、突然偉大な光、目もくらむような光がさしてきたそうです。

男は段々我慢できなくなり、私をベッドに放り投げ、乱暴に着ているものを破って脱がせました。裸にされ横たわる私に再び刀を向け、それで頭からつま先を撫でました。喉、胸、おなか、足と、刀の動きがひんやりと肌で感じられました。

窮地に追いこまれたねずみと猫のように、男は私をもて遊びました。ゲームをしばらく続けた後、男は自分も裸になりました。殺す気などまったくなかったのです。彼にとって私が死んでも何の得にもならないんです。重い体で私におおいかぶり、押えつけました。必死になって抵抗し、蹴ったり、引っ掻いたりしましたが、相手は余りにも強すぎます。強姦される私の目から涙がとめどなく流れました。まるでずっとこれが続くように思えました。

この最も非人間的で野蛮な強姦を説明する言葉がありません。私にとって、死よりひどいことでした。やっと男が部屋から出ていった時、私は全身震えていました。その辺にある服をまとい、体からすべての汚れと恥辱と傷を洗い流そうと浴室に走りました。

浴室には他の少女たちもいました。皆なショックで泣きましたが、どうしてよいのか分からず、ただお互いに慰めあうだけでした。今起きたことをすべて洗い落とすかのように、私たちはごしごし体を洗いました。私は、食堂にもベッドルームにも戻らず、どこかに隠れようと決め、裏のベランダにある部屋にもぐりこみました。心臓が破裂しそうでくらいドキドキしています。『神様、誰にも見つかりませんように』そう祈りました。恐怖で全身がガクガクしています。『二度といや、あんなことは二度とできない』そう思いました。

しかし、しばらくしたらどなり声と足音が近づいてき、私は隠れ場所から引きずりだされました。夜はまだ終わっていなかったのです。何人もの日本人がまだ待っていたのです。恐怖の繰り返しです。これほど厳しい苦難があるのでしょうか。すべてをイエス・キリストに託し、日本人の犯した罪の償いを神にお願いしました。これから来る日々をどのようにして生きのびればよいのでしょうか。

最初の恐ろしい夜も終わり、翌日早朝、恐怖に打ちのめされ疲れ切った七人の少女は、抱き合って奪われた純潔に泣き、お互いに慰め励ましあいました。昨夜、それぞれ何度強姦されたのでしょうか？どうすればよいのでしょうか？

家には昼間でも日本人が出入りし、歓談したり、私たちを上から下までじろじろ見まします。日が暮れ始めると、すぐに家は闇かれ、激しい恐怖に私たちは身を焦がされました。私は毎晩いろんな所に隠れてはすぐに見つかり、思いきり殴られて部屋に連れ戻されました。でも、たった一瞬でも遅くなれば、恐ろしい夜の始まりも遅れます。

ある朝、私はできるだけ美しく見えなくするために、髪をぜんぶ切ろうと思いました。鏡台の引き出しからはさみを出し、鏡に向かってはげ丸坊主になるまで切ってしまいました。鏡の中の私は、頭皮近くまで不揃いに切られた頭で、十分醜く見えました。『もう誰も私を求めないわ』そう思いました。他の少女が私の髪を見て驚き、スカーフで顔を包もうとしました。丸刈りにすれば醜くなりたいからこうしたので、そう言って私はスカーフを返しました。そのままでいましたが、もちろん効果はありません。醜くなるよう髪を全部きった女の子が一人いるという噂が広がり、私は珍しい見せ物にされてしまいました。

時がたつにつれ、私たちは状況について話しあい、どう対処するのが一番よいか話しあうようになりました。恐怖と苦痛と屈辱を分かちあったのです。それぞれが大きな支えとなり、お互いを激しく求め合うようになり、美しい愛と友情の絆で結ばれました。皆が私の精神的支えとなり、毎日私が祈りを導いて詩篇から福音書まで読みました。しっかりと十字架像を額につけた私を、日本人はやがて『十字架の少女』と呼ぶようになりました。

日本人はトランプ・ゲームが好きだったので、私たちは強姦されるのを少しでも避けるよう、家にあるトランプを利用しました。意思に反してこの家に連れてこられセックスを強要されるが、私の体には指一本も触れさせない、そう毎日彼らに言い続けました。もちろん何も変わりはありません。次に時間稼ぎです。何であれ時間を遅らせるものがあればそれを利用しました。そしてこのトランプ・ゲームはかっこうの道具でした。例えば一分でも、半時間でも、強姦される時間を遅らせることが重要でした。一人のジャップが終われば、すぐに次が待っているからです。

カード遊びに飽きた男たちは、やがて我慢できなくなり私をベッドに連れてゆこうとしました。毎回私は抵抗しました。格闘や抵抗なしで私を強姦した日本人は一人としていませんでした。彼らはしょっちゅう殺すぞと言って私を脅しました。いずれにしても勝つのはいつもジャップでしたから、抵抗しない方がよかったのかもしれません。でも、私は続けました。揉み合う中、思いっきり殴ったり蹴ったり引っ掻いたりして、何度も日本人を怪我させたものでした。こうしていつまでも抵抗したため、これを止めないならば、下町にある兵士たち専用で現地の女性たちがいる売春宿に移すぞと言われました。そこはもっと状態が悪く、夜だけではなく昼も働かされます。この脅しは実行されませんでした。

ある日、制服を着た日本人の医者が家に来ました。彼なら私たちを助けてくれるだろうと喧嘩に思いました。医者として私たちに同情し救いの手をさしのべてくれるに違いない、そう期待しました。医者に面会を求め、彼のいる部屋に行きました。私たちは意思に反して連れてこられた。収容所から無理やり連れ出されたと彼に説明しました。これはジュネーブ条約の違反だから、然るべき所にこのスキャンダラスな犯罪を報告してほしいと頼みました。

医者は腕を顔の後ろに回して椅子に背中をもたれさせながら、私を頭からつま先までなめるように見ました。私の言ったことにはまったく関心も示さず、同情の念も謝罪の念も示しませんでした。すっかり気が沈んだものの、やることはやったと思いました。すると医者は突然立ち上がり、私の方に進み、つかまえようとしてきました。私は素早く身をおかし、部屋から飛び出て庭に走りました。低くて小さな鶏の園いに逃げこんで、『ここなら太って大きな彼も追いかけてこれない』咄嗟の判断でした。こっこっと大きな泣き声をあげ羽をばたつかせる鶏たちの間に身をおがめていたら、二三分後、大きく太った男がぜいぜいと息を吐きながら、狭い入口から手を入れて私を引っ張り出そうとしてきました。周囲には、恐ろしい笑い声をあげて見物人が立っています。いつものように、最後には私の負けとなり、初めて来た日に医者は私を強姦しました。

医者が来る前に、婦人科用のものと思える医療機器が、真のベランダの部屋に運び込まれていました。これからそこで私たちは検査を受けるのです。

ある朝、医者の検査を受けるよう言われました。國衛のため、私たちは診察に誰か一人つくようしました。この日本人医者に診察されると思っただけで恐ろしくなり、屈辱的な気持ちになりました。医者は定期的に訪れ、その度に延間私を強姦するようになりました。

医者の診察室にはドアがなく、検査はいつも他の日本人の男たちにのぞかれ、私たちはさらに侮辱されました。検査中に部屋に入ってきたり、戸口で立って見物するのです。

この屈辱を私は耐えることができました。イエス様が十字架像の前で衣服をはがされた時に受けなければならなかったことを、生まれて初めて理解できました。医者の訪問を受けた後は、いつも部屋に戻って十字架の道の十番目の場面を祈りを捧げました。イエス様は衣服をはがされています。『いけにえの場所に到着したら、彼らははりつけの準備をした。血の流れる身体から衣服がはぎとられ、彼は野蛮な人々の視線とあざけり笑いの前に立たされた。』

『神様、彼らは私の衣服をはぎ、何でも奪うことができます。侮辱し、虐待し、私の自由も所持品も家族も奪いとります。でも、あなたへの愛を奪いとることはできません。信者を奪いとることはできません。これは私のものです、私の最も大切なものであり、誰もそれを私から奪いとることはできません。』

オランダ領東インドを日本が占領した時代、私が出会った情み深い日本人はたった一人だけでした。その人は、この受難の時期、わずかばかりの休息の場を与えてくれました。姉がセマランで働いていました。彼女は日本がジャワを占領した当初、捕虜収容所には入れられませんでした。オランダ領インド鉄道(N. I. S.)に勤務しており、日本人は姉の仕事はまだ評価していたからです。収容されなかったヨーロッパ人はごくわずかです。ドイツ人フランス人オランダ人など、その仕事を必要とされた人々です。収容所の外にいても、この人たちの生活は中にいた私たちと同じくらい厳しいものでした。後になって、この人

たちもすべて収容されました。

ある日、私は家の『ドジョンゴ』（下男）に、町にいる姉に手紙を届けることはできないか、こっそりと外に持ち出してくれないかと頼みました。見つければその子は殺されます。彼は、私たち『ノニ・ブランダ』（ヨーロッパの娘）を気の毒に思っているし、何とか助けになりたいので、引き受けると言ってくれました。

姉は手紙の内容と、私の身边に起こっている残虐な行為に衝撃を受けました。どのように私を助けることができるでしょう？信頼できる日本人はいるのかしら？姉は同じ N. I. S. の建物で働くヨディと言う日本人に頼みました。姉が唯一信頼できる人のようでした。話を聞いた彼はたいへんショックを受け、助けてみようと言ってくれました。

姉たちは、彼が売春宿にきて、一晚『私を買いあげ』、その夜はどの日本人にも私を強姦させないという計画を立てました。再びドジョンゴの助けで、その内容の手紙を姉から受け取りました。見慣れた姉の字を見て、うれしさのあまり泣きました。こんなに近く感じて、まだ遠く離れています。距離にすればすぐそこなのに、会うこともできません。でも姉は私の苦難を分かちあってくれました。とても大きな慰めです。手紙には、ヨディが訪ねるから待っていなさいと書かれていました。

ドジョンゴは服の下に小さな箱も隠して持ってきてくれました。箱には薬や錠剤、石けん一つ（これは当時とても貴重品でした）、それに祈祷書が入っていました。祈祷書の表紙に、『キリストの受難への招き』と題する詩を姉は綴っていました。またオランダ語で：夜も昼も私はあなたと共にいます。私たちを救いたまうよう全身全霊で神に祈ります。この祈祷書は私の最も大切な品です。この暗い戦争の時代の慰めと力でした：私はこれを大切にしようと思いました。

その夜、人なつっこい感じの日本人が私を買いにきました。すぐに彼が助けに来てくれたヨディだと分かりました。ヨディはとても物分かりがよく、日本人がやったことを恥ずかしく思い、謝りました。一晚中のチケットを買ったから何も恐がることはないと私に告げるのも、むしろためらいがちに見えました。

私たちはおしゃべりをしたり、トランプに興じました。その夜安らかに眠れることに對し、神に感謝を捧げました。ヨディに私のベットを提供し、私は床で寝るつもりでした。ところが彼は床で寝ると言って、そのまま寝てしまいました。その週は毎晩ヨディがやって来て私を守ってくれました。短い間でしたが、私は芯から休息を取ることができました。しかし長続きするはずはありませんでした。毎晩ここで泊まってゆくので、他の日本人からからかわれ笑いものにされたそうです。私に指一本触れなかった彼にとって、これは大変つらかったに違いありません。

ヨディが毎晩私を買いあげ二週間たった頃、彼は他の部隊と一緒にセマランに移動する

のでもう来れなくなったという知らせの手紙を、一姉から受け取りました。毎回私を救ってくれた後にお礼を言いましたが、お別れとあらためて感謝の言葉を捧げる機会を逃したことはとても残念です。

月日が経つにつれ、私たちはやせてきました。食欲はほぼなくなり、疲れ果て、神経が切れる寸前でした。家にくる料校すべてに抵抗を続けましたが、彼らは傾ける耳も持っていないませんでした。

私たちはそれぞれ自分なりの対処の仕方を探し出さなくてはなりませんでしたが、同時に気力と希望を失わない道もみつけました。母と二人の妹に会いたい気持ちは募るばかりです。別れた時の母は健康がすぐれず、とても弱くなっていました。母が死んだらどうなるのだろう。幼い妹二人はどうして生きてゆけるのだろう？そんな思いがよぎりましたが、神様への信頼を失わず、いつか必ず会えるとどこかで信じていました。

妊娠という別の心配が出てきました。とても恐くなりました。そんなこと、そんなことあっていいはずがない。こんな恐怖の中で宿した子供を生んで愛することができるのだろうか？その状態に私はかろうじて耐えることができました。何があろうともそれは神様がお決めになった私の一生に沿って起きていることと思い、いつものように私は神の手に命を預けました。神はどんなことがあっても私をお見捨てにはならない。少女たちは私の支えとなってくれ、日本人の女性監視員に妊娠を告げるよう私にアドバイスしてくれました。ひょっとしたら、捕虜収容所に戻されるかもしれない。

その女性に話したら、問題解決の答に錠剤一瓶を取り出してきました。一握りつかんでそれを飲むよう私に渡しました。どんな種類の薬なのか分かりませんでしたが、流産を促進させるものに違いありません。私は飲むのを拒否しました。たとえこんな子でも胎児を殺すことはできません。そんなことをすれば大罪になります。飲まないと拒否し続けましたが、最終的には無理やり喉の奥に入れられました。その後すぐ流産です。また一つの後遺症を抱えることになりました。

どれだけセマランの売春宿にいたか思い出せませんが、少なくとも三か月はいました。突然、ここを出るからすぐに荷物を整理よという命令が来ました。理由は何も伝えられませんでした。どこに行くのかも言われませんでした。これよりもまだひどい所に行くのだろうか？一体私たちをどうするつもりなのだろうか？心配が募りました。

再び恐怖に怯えた若い娘たちはトラックで連れ去られました。今回は二日間の汽車の長旅です。セマランを出た時から汽車の窓にはブラインドが降ろされ、外の景色が見えないようにしてありました。汽車の移動は緩れるものです。最終的には西ジャワのボゴール収容所に連れて行かれました。

私たちはこれまであった事を誰にも話してはいけないと釘をさされました。ボゴールは

一時的な収容所にされていました。オランダ人が所有していたいくつもの家から成り、完全に柵で包囲され捕虜収容所に変えられていました。ここで、私たちのように収容所から連れ出され、別の場所で同じ運命を辿った女性たちと再会しました。

また家族とも再会しました。母と二人の妹に再び会えた至福の瞬間です。長い間抱き締めあいました。ボゴール収容所の第一日目の夜、暗闇の中一列に並んで一緒に横になりました。母にはまだ何が起きたのか話すことはできません。母はすでに知っているかのように、何も聞こうとしませんでした。暗闇の中、母のやさしくて愛情のこもった手が私の丸刈りの頭をなでてくれました。何もかも分かっていると言っているようでした。母のなだめるような指の動きは、私が眠りに落ちるまで続きました。

ボゴール収容所にいたのは短期間で、すぐ次の収容所に移動させられました。バタビア（ジャカルタ）のクラマト収容所と呼ばれる大きな女性戦争捕虜収容所でした。着いてみれば、私たちの住む場所は収容所の他の部分からまったく孤立し切り離されているのです。事実それは収容所の中の収容所でした。日本人将校たちは、私たちに対して行ったことが噂となったり、事実として明らかになるのを恐れていたのです。隔離することで、恐ろしい事実が漏れるのを防ごうとしました。私たちの受難はまだ終わりそうにありませんでした。クラマト収容所の他の区域にいる女性たちは、私たちと接触しないように命令されていました。しかし、なぜ私たちが隔離されているのかを取り沙汰する噂が広がり、私たちの所を『売春婦の収容所』と人々は呼ぶようになりました。事実、他の人々は私たちが自発的に日本人のために売春宿で働いたと思っていました。また、そのために特別扱いを受け、食事也十分与えられていると信じていました。実際はどれも本当ではなく、私たちもクラマトにいる他の女性や子どもたちと同じように、飢えに襲われていました。今度の収容所の状態は今までよりひどく、じめじめした壁、おずみ、空襲、ジャップが娘にやった事を知って泣き狂う母親たちの姿がありました。その時初めてたいへんな数のオランダ人女性たちがこんな風に虐待されたと分かりました。クラマト収容所の第一日目の点呼は、一生私の記憶に残るものとなりました。

全員一列に並んで参拝の儀式をさせられている時、収容所の司令官が私の所に近づいてきました。そして私を列から引きづり出し、乱暴に頭に巻いたスカーフを引ったくりました。日本人の看護や女性捕虜たち全員の視線が丸坊主の私に集まります。あざ笑いの的、私が受けた虐待の証拠。少女の一人が髪をすっかり切ったという噂が本当かどうか確かめたくて、ジャップが丸坊主の頭を見るためにスカーフを取ったその瞬間を忘れることはない、妹たちは今でも言います。

この時母の状態はとても悪くなっていました。がりがりに痩せてしまい、子どものように抱きかかえることができた位です。じけじけした部屋で湿ったマットの上に寝ていたので肺炎にかかっていた。壁からは雨の滴がしたたり落ちています。収容所の地面には、下水が溢れ出ていました。母は臨時の重病患者の病院に移されました。意識が朦朧とし私以外の誰も分かりませんでした。私と与える食事しか受けつけませんでした。妹と私は自

分たちの割当てられた食料を母に回しました。でも母は死なないと私は確信していました。友達みんなが母のために祈ってくれました。収容所の他の部分にいる修道女たちにも、母のために祈るよう約束してもらいました。私は決して望みを捨てませんでした。私たちは九日間の祈りをしました、ロザリオの祈りも連祷もしました。そして母は生きながらえました。

一九四五年八月六日広島に原爆が投下されました。ジャワの私たちにとって、戦争は八月十五日に終わりました。聖母マリア被昇天の大祝日の日です。その日、飛行機が収容所の上空に飛んできました。日本の戦闘機ではないと瞬間思いました。連合軍の飛行機だと知った時、どんなに興奮したことでしょう。飛行機から食料や薬、当時発見されたばかりのペニシリンなどがばらまかれました。ペニシリンが母の命を救ってくれたのです。母は生きたのです。

神様は私たちについてくださいました。日本軍にスマトラの収容所にいられていた父も無事で、私たちは全員戦争を切り抜けました。ヨーロッパでドイツ軍の捕虜となっていた兄も無事で、一九四六年、私たち家族はオランダで再出発しました。

戦争が終わったことを知った時、誰かがどこかからオランダの国旗を出してきました。一体どこにあったのか誰も分かりませんでしたが、占領から三年半後、赤と白と青の旗が風に翻るのを見て、私たちは感動に震え渡しました。

終戦と同時に、収容所は大混乱しました。誰もが家族が無事かどうか探したそうと懸命でした。行く場所もありません。事実、私たちは同じ収容所でそれからまだ五か月間過ごさなければならませんでした。母を含め重病人はみんな外の病院に移されました。病院に連れてゆかれる時の母は、青白くやせてこわれそうでした。再び私たちは離ればなれになり私が妹たちの面影をみることになりました。

次第に外の世界からニュースが入ってきました。有名なピアニストのリリー・クラウスがクラマト収容所に入れられていたそうです。彼女のためにピアノが収容所にもちこまれ、続く数か月間ショパンとリストのこれまでにない美しい調べが流れました。リリーの終わりのない旋律は、私たちの耳に音楽として残りました。

カトリックの神父が収容所に到着し、初めて私たちはミサをあげることができました。その頃私はカトリックの神父様と何とか話しをしたいと思っていたので、すぐに段取りをしました。見知らぬ神父でしたが、この人がディゲリッチ神父だったらと思ったものです。日本人に与えられた試練を告げましたが、苦痛と困難を伴い、何度も遠切れ、涙でむせました。微動だにせず話を聞く神父に、まだ修道女になる夢は捨てていないので指導と助言を下さるよう最後にお願ひしました。やっと出た彼の返事は私を落胆させるもので、そんな事情ならば修道女にはならない方がよいというものでした。

今思えば、彼の助言はまったく誤っていたし無慈悲でした。彼の言ったことに私はうちひしがれ失望しました。非常な劣等感を持ちました。信仰の生活に入るにはもう相応しくなくなったのでしょうか？私は突然変わったの？私は汚らわしいの？理解と支えを求めてきたのに、拒否され、求められもせず愛されもしていないことに大きく当惑して立ち去りました。常に神父の言葉や意見は絶対的なものとしてとらえてきたので、彼の意見も疑いませんでした。

修道院は私の場所ではないという事実には甘んじなくてはなりませんでした。キリストもまた軽蔑され、拒否され、誤解されていました。それでも私の信仰は弱まりません。母は病院にいるため、十四才と十一才になった妹たちの生活は私の肩にかかっています。父はまだ生きているのだろうか、必死に探しました。戦争は終わったけれど、バタビアのクラマト収容所にいる私たちの今後はまだ混沌としています。インドネシアの人々はオランダ統治への復帰を望んでいませんし、日本の反オランダ・プロバガンダに刺激され、私たちに暴力をもって対抗するようになりました。

収容所にいる私たちは、インドネシアのテロリストの攻撃のかっこうの餌食です。夜が一番危なく、ナイフと手りゅう弾を振り回したインドネシア人たちが柵を越えて敷地内にしょっちゅう飛び込んできました。三年半に渡る日本軍の抑留を生きのびて来た女性や子どもたちが、残酷にも殺されるのは見るに耐えられません。私の側で床にうずくまって身を隠していた親友は、その場で刺し殺されました。

この頃、収容所を出るのは最も危険でした。しかし私は病院の母に会いに行くのを止めませんでした。病院まで二十分かかりますが、毎回狙撃兵に殺される危険を覚悟しました。実際何度も殺されそうになりましたが、私にとってもはや問題ではありませんでした。ある日歩いていたら、インドネシア人の男が木の上でナイフを持って身をひそめているのを目撃しました。私は気がついていないふりをして歩き続けましたが、心臓がドキドキと音をたてていました。病院に行けば、いつも心の痛むことばかりで、たくさんの負傷したオランダ人が次々と運びこまれてきました。インドネシア人にナイフで刺されたり、切られたり撃たれた人々のむごい姿です。

とても危険な状況になったため、イギリス軍第二十三インド部隊がオランダ領東インドに送られてきました。シンガポールに配属されていたこの兵士たちは、ビルマ作戦を終えイギリスに戻る途中でしたが、その代わりに私たちを守るためジャワに送られました。イギリス人だけではなくインド人も含んだこのイギリス軍兵士が到着した時の歓迎ぶりは大変なものでした。マシン・ガンが収容所の各コーナーに配備され、継続的な監視が行われました。ほぼ四年の間で、私たちが安全だと感じたのはこの時が初めてでした。

イギリス軍の到着は私たちの収容所に歓びをもたらしました。食料が配給され、ダンスやパーティが行われ、子どもの笑い声が戻ってきました。軍にエスコートされ収容所から安全に外に出られるようになりました。病院の母を訪ねる私に、ハンサムな若い兵士が護

衛してくれました。銃弾が飛びかう中、彼ともう一人の兵士が運転するトラックの荷台に、身を伏せて乗ったものでした。

こうして戦争中のロマンスが芽生え、トムと私は頻繁に会うようになりました。日本人との体験を告白しても、彼の愛情は少しも変わりありませんでした。私の状況にまったく過った判定を下したカトリック神父とは違い、トムは愛と理解をもって答えてくれ、私は自尊心と自信を取り戻すことができました。

知り合ってわずか数か月で、私たちは婚約しました。それは一九四五年のクリスマスの日のパーティでした。バンドが『アイル・ビ・ラヴィング・ユー・オールウェイズ』（ずっとあなたを愛します）を演奏する中、トムはひすいの指輪を取り出し、私の指にはめてくれました。この優しくて温和な男性と共に、私は戦争中の思い出を捨て、イギリスで新しい生活を始めることになったのです。

証言者の紹介

万愛花さん（64才 山西省太原市在住）

私の原籍は内蒙古省でしたが、家が貧しく、4才の時に山西省靈泉縣農村の李五學家に賣渡^(注1)として売られました。當時李五學家には父親と妹の三人がいました。私は15才の時から抗日活動に参加し、日本人を死ぬほど恨んでいました。

19才になった6月のある日、一団の人々が我が家にやって来て、うむもいわまず私を運喜原^(注2)（読み取れず）という日本人が住む所に連行して行きました。そしてある部屋に私を監禁したのです。日本兵がひっきりなしに部屋に出入りし、私は彼らに気のむくままの罵詈雑言を受けました。昼夜を問わず、赤ら顔の隊長と齒の欠けた隊長が順番にやって来て、歡歌をとげて行きました。

量問は、その場にたとえ何人いようともお構いなしに日本兵がやって来て監禁して行きます。そのやり方もまた惨忍で、口で言いあらわせるものではありません。しかしこれはまだましな方でした。彼らは私を数々もてあそんだ後、私に共產黨（員）の名簿を供出するよう迫ります。名簿が手に入らないので、いっそうひどく殴られます。ある時、ビンタを受けましたが、私の右側の耳輪（イアリング）が鬼子^(注2)に撞かれていたので、一部の肉が耳輪もろとも引きちぎられました。今も右の耳の一部が欠損したままになっています。

食事は言うに及びません。食事が与えられたとしても、ふた口ばかり口にできるだけで、彼らの機嫌が悪い時などは食事も与えられず、本当に耐えがたい状態でした。彼らが会議を開いている間に、私は窓から逃げ出しました。逃げて30日間もしないうちに再び日本兵に捕らえられ、彼らの拠点に連れて行かれました。その後は一層ひどい虐待が待ち受けていました。

その後も、日本軍が靈泉村に掃討に出かけた際に私は再び逃走しましたが、またもや鬼兵に捕まってしまい、連れ戻されました。そして今度はまたさらにひどい仕打ちを受けることになったのです。

一ヶ月あまりの間に、毎日数多くの人々によって輪姦をくりかえされました。ある時、一人が淫行を続けている最中に、もう一人が私の両手を頭の上の方で押さえつけました。そして側にいる男が私のわき毛と腋毛をすべて抜き取ったのです。私は何度も気を失いました。彼らは思いを盡した後、今度は私を数々に殴ったり、罵ったりしました。私の股間やあばらの何カ所かが骨折するまでそれは続き、私は身体の変形で変形してしまいました。もとの大柄で丈夫な体は、すっかり萎えてしまいました。胸は生涯障害を残したままです。

私の身体からもはや一滴の油さえしぼり取れず、また私にもう生きる気力さえないことを確かめた後、彼らは私を村の近くの川に投げ込みました。岸にもある老人が私を助けてくれました。その後、九三年、私は働くこともできず、ずっと床に伏たままの状態でした。

そしてその後はもう生育（殖）能力を失ってしまいました。

日本政府に対し、私たちに公開謝罪することと、私の家庭がこうむった精神的・肉体的・経済的損失に対し、賠償を行なうよう要求します。

（証言）口述：万愛花

整理：王洪

注1）一種の奴隸賣。封建時代、特に農村で幼少の女児を労働力として、また将来の妻として売り買いました。

注2）日本侵略者に対する怒りを込めた蔑称。日本鬼子（リーベンクイズ）東洋鬼（トンヤンギ）ともいう

Testimony by Wan Ai-hua, 64 years old, Shanxi province.

I am originally from the inner Mongolia province. However, because my family was poor, I was sold to the Lee Wu Hsie family in the Shanxi province when I was four. The family was headed by a father with two sisters. I truly hated Japan, and joined in the resistance movement against Imperial Japan at the age of fifteen.

One June day, when I was nineteen, a group of people came to my place and forcibly took me to a place called "the Underground Tunnel," where Japanese lived. Then they confined me to a single room. Japanese soldiers continuously came in and out and they violated me at their pleasure. Whether in the daytime or in the evening, officers came to me to satisfy their sexual desire.

During the daytime, Japanese soldiers came to violate me, without regard to the number of other persons in the room at the time. The way they violated me was so brutal that I cannot describe it. Nevertheless, what happened after they abused me was even worse. Because after they satisfied their desire, they demanded that I give them a list of the members of the communist party. As they found that they could not obtain the list from me, they got angry and beat me. One time while they were beating me, one soldier was holding the earring in my right ear. The earring came off along with a part of my ear. Needless to say, my ear is still disfigured.

There was no food to speak of. When the food was luckily provided I was able to have a couple of bites. But when the soldiers were in a bad mood, I got nothing at all. The conditions were just unbearable.

Once, while the soldiers were having a meeting, I escaped through a window. However within about twenty days, I was caught by the army and taken to their camp. More cruelty awaited me there.

On another occasion when the soldiers were out, I again escaped. And again, I was caught and treated in a still more cruel manner.

I was raped over and over by many people everyday for more than a month. One time, while one man was raping me, another held my arms, and a third pulled out all my armpit and my pubic hair. I lost consciousness many times while this was happening. When they finished, then they hit me and abused me. It continued until my pubic bone and several ribs were broken. As a result, my body is disfigured. I

completely lost my once-big-and-strong body. My arms are disabled forever.

After ensuring that I no longer had either strength or the will to survive, they threw me into a river near the village. Fortunately, an old man rescued me from the river. For the following three years, I had to stay in bed, unable to move. After that, I became sterile.

I demand an official apology and compensation from the Japanese government for the spiritual, physical and economic loss that my family has suffered.

About Taiwan's Sex Slaves
in Japanese Camps
During World War II

C. F. Wang

December 9, 1992

Throughout Chinese history or in all Chinese dictionaries, I have just failed to find out such a term as "sex slaves," better known as "Comfort Women." It for the first time appeared before me on United Daily News of December, 1991. Not until I further probed into it did I realize that it refers to Japanese soldiers during the Second World War. To me, an attorney-at-law who has been making efforts to protect women and children from sex abuse, the finding of this miserable history critically tingles me, especially after I have personally interviewed those grandma victims. If I had been such a victimized woman, I'd have committed suicide long ago.

To deeply probe into the truth of those "Comfort Women" during World War II, I took a fact-finding trip to Korea and Japan in March, 1992 and have later on contributed a few reports on the issue to China Times Express. Since I myself am in charge of the investigation of the "Comfort Women," I must personally interview those cases and keep records on them. But all the time, I really have not enough courage to read what I have written or to recall their past suffering. This is the reason why I have been hesitant to write and present a report on this issue. This time, at the strong invitation, I have finally plucked up all my courage to work out this report, but not until the last minute of the deadline.

The United Daily News carried the stories about Korean women forced to serve sex in the Japanese military camps some four or five decades ago. As I had read only an article or two of the long reports in series, I could tell definitely sure that this same disaster must have been shared on this Japanese colonial island -- Taiwan. A Japanese congresswoman by the name of Hideko Itoh found three secret cables from the Diet Library which proved that Taiwan was also victimized. Taipei Women Rescue Foundation began accepting complaints from the victimized women on February 20, 1992. The government authorities also provided telephone lines to hear complaints and organized "Taiwan Comfort Women Project Task Force" on March 12, 1992 with full strength to look into the truth.

To an Oriental society, virginity is an unreasonable but lingering bondage for women. This term "virginity" might not be judged today as seriously as before. To women some half a century ago, however, it was as crucial as life or more than life. A woman losing her virginity by being raped might commit suicide. Under the Criminal Code of the Republic of China, a criminal raping a woman and leading to her suicide is subject to a jail term of seven years minimum (or five years minimum if she does not commit suicide). Even worse, a raped woman, even living in humiliation, fears all the time of being known of the disaster. As a result, such grievance becomes her lifelong mental nightmares which must untowardly damage her intent to

eateries, nurses, nursing maids, laundry maids, cooks and, certainly in some cases, as "Comfort Women" but the victims got no chance to say no.

Before they served abroad as a "Comfort Woman," they had served in bars, eateries, hotels, teahouse, actress houses, or served such jobs in cleaning, cooking, handicrafts or tea farms, or nurses, or helped rescue the injured in the "Youth Service Group." It is absolutely irresponsible and a terrible insult to the poor victims to say that those women had been prostitutes, criminals, or that they had voluntarily signed the Comfort Woman contracts themselves. A great majority of them had come from decent origin. Some of them might have signed contracts on hand before they got aboard ships but not in any terms to serve as a "Comfort Woman."

Such sorts of victims were present extensively in Taiwan, suggesting the facts that drafting or swindling "Comfort Women" were an overall campaign that time. So far we have not got any information that those interviewed include any women from aboriginal tribes. Japanese congresswoman Hideko Itoh, however, got secret cable on hand dated March 12, 1942 indicating that the Army Commander in Taiwan demanded approval of fifty native people and three procurers to serve in Sarawak of Borneo. On June 13 of the same year, he demanded 20 additional women. The term "native people" in the secret cables seems to refer to the aboriginal women in Taiwan. If this is the case, the Japanese move to call women to serve as sex slaves covered women of both Han and aboriginal origins.

Those drafted women were aged from 15 to more than 30. According to Professor Yoshiaki Yosini of Chuo University, Japan, some "Comfort Women" drafted in Taiwan were even aged as young as 14. Those victims were kept in the sex slavery for periods ranging from two months to six years in the spots including Haikou, Wenchang, Yulin of Hainan Island; Samarinda, Kendali, Timor of Indonesia; Manila, Cebu, Iloilo of the Philippines; Rangoon of Burma; Singapore; Yaeyama Gunto near Okinawa; and Canton and Shantou in Kwangtung Province of China. Some served in many different countries along with the military relocation. In addition to the aforementioned areas, according to the literatures available on hand, some "Comfort Women" of Taiwan origin had been dispatched to Sarawak (70 in number), Rabaul of New Guinea (253), and Chinchou of Kwangtung Province near the Vietnamese borders (6). All these women have not been included in our current files. We just can hardly imagine the exact figures of the victimized women falling under Japanese capture.

To the poor women, those areas were entirely strange lands where they had language barriers. They were suffering, homesick, lonely and desperately struggling survival by fleeing, but just miserably failed. A 75-year-old woman recalled that she received the first sex only because she was forced to with a stab pointing to her throat. This

make boyfriends or to marry. Therefore, it is a renewed cruel torture for a grandma woman to come forward and tell such miserable disasters taking place some half a century ago though it could possibly provide a vent to let out their grievance.

Taipei Women Rescue Foundation is in charge of the investigation into those ill-fated "Comfort Women" of Taiwan origin. I am the ~~president~~ ^{chairman} and an investigation member of the Foundation. We set the deadline of complaint on November 2, 1992. As of the deadline, this Foundation and the government authorities had received a total of 66 cases of complaints, mostly from the victims' friends or adopted children instead of the victims themselves. In response to our interviews of the 66 cases, two were unavailable, one declined interview, two showed unknown addresses, two denied their status as a "Comfort Woman" and two gave up complaints out of their fear of being known of such humiliating history. Three victims were drafted from Chinese mainland but are currently in Taiwan, one victim from Chinese mainland currently abroad, one Korean but currently in Taiwan, two confirmed to be not sex slaves (one as a nursing maid and one as a cook). In summing up, the "Comfort Women" of Taiwan origin number 50 and those still living and receiving our interview number 35.

But we can tell for sure that these figures do not represent the actual numbers of those ill-fated sex slaves. A good number of those sex slaves are believed to have been killed in the battlefields. Some might have narrowly survived the disastrous fate. With the passage of some four or five decades, those survivors might have hesitated to report their suffering out of their fear of being known of such forced disgrace. In fact, all those having declared their "Comfort Women" status and been interviewed are leading a hard life. Then there might come a question: Would some fake "Comfort Women" possibly declare such status only in an attempt to get "Comfort Women" compensation to improve their hard life? In fact, we share this same question ourselves as well and thus watch their statements extremely carefully before we confirm their "Comfort Women" status. Now, based on our in-depth investigation, we can tell definitely for sure that none of them are fake "Comfort Women" falsely declaring their status in an attempt to improve their lives.

We must acknowledge the fact that some of them had been aware of "Comfort Woman" career beforehand and willing to go to the battlefields themselves. A great majority of them (say, 75%), had been swindled or forcibly drafted to the career, only three (5%) volunteers. We have failed to get right information regarding others. Those victims were swindled by procurers, drafted by local governments, forcibly captured by armed forces (in the battlefields in the Chinese mainland) or ordered by hospitals to serve as nurses abroad. They were swindled or drafted in the guise of "working for government", serving as waitresses in restaurants or military

was her lifelong unforgettable suffering. Cheng-tze, 17, used to serve as a hospital nurse. Tao-tze, 18, used to sell noodle with her mother. They were both swindled to South Ocean area (Today's Southeast Asia) along with some dozen other women only in an attempt to make more money by serving as nurses there. They were sent to Timor Island -- there was the base used by Japanese troops for offensive toward Australia. After a week stay there, they were examined one by one to confirm their virginity and then were raped by a stout commander.

Those poor victims include blood sisters, or even mother and daughter. Mother were forced to witness her daughter being raped and vice versa. In the winter of 1943, a Japanese came to recruit women to cook and be waitresses in the Japanese commissaries in "South Ocean area" with the claimed incentives of "making three times pays" and even eligibility for immigration for family in Taiwan. Ai-Tze, mother, and Chu-Tze, daughter, responded to the call along with three other women, boarding in Kachaiung where they saw some dozen women from Okinawa on board. The boat was sailing and docking, passing Saigon, Singapore, Djakarta, Magasar and finally into a jungle where two air force troops were stationed, one of which was coded 753. They could not recall the name of the other.

Upon disembarkation, they were sent into a huge coconut leaf roofed house, with one room for each. Not until then did they realize having been swindled. Having received 400 yen for their father before departure, they got not chance to object. Others said that doing this career was a devotion to the country. Besides, some Korean and Japanese women had already been in the sex trade there. That was a place named Kendali, with an airport. As she couldn't withstand that sort of life, daughter Chu-tze committed suicide twice by swallowing burning oil but just failed in the both attempts. There were some thirty or forty slavery women serving in the comfort house, including women from Japan, Korea, Okinawa and Taiwan.

After about a year, a ship was coming in. Chu-tze asked her mother to return first and she stayed there to reimburse the liabilities. Her mother, after returning to Taiwan, wrote to ask her to return as early as possible. Out of his anger over such a desperate fate to his daughter, his father was frequently torturing his mother all the time. Chu-tze had undergone desperate adversities, including bombardments, critical burns at her hair and hands, falling into the seas for three hours before being rescued, hospitality for three months, before she returned to Taiwan. As she was waiting for boat in Surabaya, she came across more than forty Taiwan women sharing the same destiny.

Some might claim that their fate only resulted from the procurers and had nothing to do with the Japanese troops. According to their testimonies, however, we can tell for sure that when travelling abroad, they boarded military boats, including Kamakura and Asanamalu by name. Their entries into the battlefield areas were subject to military approval and dispatch. They relocated along with the

military troops. The sex slavery careers were located inside military camps or in the neighborhood of military camps. They were required to comfort only Japanese servicemen or Taiwan origin soldiers drafted by Japanese. Their health examinations were conducted only by military doctors. It was Japanese military authorities who counted the numbers of their sex services and provided condoms. One can even easily tell for sure that the comfort stations were virtually a part of Japanese military camps and "Comfort Women" were virtually indispensable accessories to Japanese troops.

Their days when serving abroad have virtually changed their lifetime fate. The intensive and prolonged sex services critically tortured them physically, with critical diseases, including venereal diseases, Malaria, and otherwise. Mentally, they have been abused and unable to rid themselves of the nightmares. A 77-year-old woman had been a nurse before being forced to serve in the comfort house. While on board, she and some fifty other women were tattooed "Taipei" on their arms for easy recognition when they escaped. With such a tattoo, she has dared not wear any sleeveless dresses throughout her life. The poor money they had made with their dignity, youths and lives became worthless along with depreciation after the wartime. A victim has kept on hand all the original certificates, passbooks but just refused to withdraw any penny from the account.

With the miserable past, and out of fear of being known of their disasters, those victims have dared not make any boyfriend or marry. Some have been married but unable to bear a child. Some have had their past unfortunately known to their husbands and, in turn, been deserted and abandoned. These disastrous pictures well illustrate their lifetime destinies. They were raped not only physically, but mentally as well as lifetime happiness. Those victimized "Comfort Women," all feeble seniors, are in woeful health and life. "Apology" doesn't mean anything significant to them. Money is indispensable to them but doesn't work in regaining their youths or removing their "stains" or changing their fate. Today money, neither "indemnity" nor "compensation", in fact is only a tool for the culprits to buy "peace" for their crimes.

As the timeworn Chinese proverb goes, a man is to overcome heaven-imposed fate. As a cruel fact, however, humans very often fail to overcome the disasters incurred by human selfishness. We sincerely pray that through the powers of human conscience, the miserable history won't repeat itself.

私は一人っ子でした。両親にとっても大事に育てられました。六年制の小学校にも行かせてもらいました。卒業後、看護婦として四年間病院で働きました。十七才の時（一九四三年）、ある日本人（一般人）が東南アジアで働く看護婦を募集しているということを、友人から聞きました。その病院で働いていても将来があるわけではなかったのです。私はそれに応募してグループに入りました。その時、まだ本当の事を知らない私はたいへん喜んでいました。

グループには十人以上の娘がいました。皆、看護婦になると信じていました。戦艦のアサママル（浅江丸）に乗って一か月かかりチモールに着きました。オーストラリアを攻撃する日本軍の基地がそこにありました。私たちは人も住まない山の中に連れて行かれ、ココナッツの殻でできた家に入れられました。最初は、家には何も掲示がかかっていなかったのですが、すぐ後に“慰安所”と書かれた板が張られました。

一週間目に、娘たちが処女かどうか調べるために軍医が来ました。私たち全員です。その後、とても太った四十才くらいの司令官が私たち一人一人を強姦しました。そして、毎日午後一時から五時まで、七人から最高十人までの『客』に『つく』よう言われました。どの部隊が何人そこに行ってもいいか、軍が順を決めていました。兵士たちには出かける前に番号付きの切符が配られました。トラックに乗って慰安所に来て、番号に該当する女性を見つけるのです。夕方になれば、いつも皆で泣きながら夕食を食べ、涙が手の中の食べ物にこぼれ落ちたものです。夕食後、上官たちが来て一夜を過ごして帰りました。

道の向こうには朝鮮人女性の慰安所があり、十人から二十人の女性たちがいました。彼女たちは陸軍に、私たちは海軍に属していました。戦争が終わる数か月前は、毎晩空襲がありました。三人の娘が死にました。私たちの生命は軍の手中にありました。私たちは動物のように見られていました。殺そうと虐待しようと彼らの意のままです。恩愛はまったくありませんでした。

一九四五年に戦争が終わったら私たちはスラバジャに送られ、そこで台湾行きの船を待つことになりました。陸軍が私たちに『配給所』で働くよう手配をしてくれました。

ここで働いたお金を残し、日本の銀行に一万円以上貯金しました。一九四五年私は台湾に送り返されました。後に結婚しましたがいつも貧乏でした。食堂や蕎麦のスタンドで、ウ

エイトレスや皿洗いの仕事をしました。息子が一人います。夫は何年も前に亡くなりました。今私は一人暮らしです。過去のことがあるので、家族や親戚とはつきあいたくないし、外の世界とも関係を持ちたくありません。

一緒にチモール島へ行った女性たちを除き、私の惨めな体験を知っている人はほぼ誰もいません。今、積極的に証言をする気になりました、なぜなら正しくないことだったからです。私たちは無理強いされました。私はちゃんと教育を受けました、でもこの体験は私の人生を完全に狂わせてしまいました。屈辱、恥、辛苦、そして忘れられない体験は、一生私につきまといてきました。社会の人々に受け入れられてきませんでした。受け取ったのは、退職手当の三百円だけでした。戦争が終わったら、私の銀行預金はわずかな額に減っていました。引き出していないのに。強姦と、無茶苦茶にされた青春と、不幸な一生を代償にして得たお金が、突然なくなったことに私は耐えられませんでした。それは私が預金通帳をなくしたからです。しかし、一緒にチモールへ行った友達はまだそれを持っています。私とよく似た体験をしたすべての女性たちのために、そして私自身のために、この残忍な犯罪に対して、日本政府に対して抗議します。日本政府に要請します、人間としての尊厳を私たちに戻してください、謝罪してください、そして犯した犯罪に対し私たちに補償してください。

The Testimony of a Former Taiwanese "Comfort Woman"

I was the only child of my parents. They loved me very much. They supported me to study in a six-year elementary school. After I was graduated, I worked in a hospital as a nurse for four years. When I was seventeen (1943), I heard from some of my friends that there was a Japanese (an ordinary person) who was recruiting nurses to Southeast Asia. I thought that working in the hospital would not have a good future, so I joined the group. At that time, I was happy because I did not know the truth.

There were more than ten girls in our group. All of us thought we were going to be nurses. We took A-SA-XA-NA-LU (護江丸), a warship, for a month until we arrived in Timor Island. There was a Japanese military base for attacking Australia. We were taken to the desolate mountain area, then taken into a house made of cocoon leaves. At first, there was no sign on the house. Later, a board with the words "慰安所" (Comfort House) was put on.

In the first week, a military surgeon came to examine whether the girls were virgin. All of us were. Then the Commander, a very fat man about forty years old, raped us one by one. Then I was asked to "serve" about seven or up to ten "guests" each afternoon from one o'clock to five o'clock. The army controlled which and how many troops could go out by turns. Tickets with numbers were distributed to soldiers before they went out. They took trucks to the Comfort House to find the girls with the same numbers they had drawn. In the evening, we usually ate our dinner together with tears dropping in the food in our hands. After dinner, officers came to stay for the whole night.

Across the street, there was a Korean Comfort House with from ten to twenty Korean girls. They belonged to the army, while we belonged to the navy. In the last few months of the war, there was an air-raid every night. Three of the girls died. Life was not in our own hands. We were like locked animals. They could kill us or mistreat us as they wished. There was no humanity.

When the war ended in 1945, we were sent to Surabaya to wait for the boats back to Taiwan. The army arranged us to work in the grocery store (配給所). I saved what I earned and deposited more

than 10,000 Japanese dollars in the bank. In 1945, I was sent back to Taiwan. I was married later but I was always poor. I worked for the restaurants and the noodle stands as a waitress and washed dishes. I have a son. My husband died many years ago. Now I live alone. I don't want to be close to my family or to be concerned with the business in the world, because of my past.

Almost no one knows my miserable experience except those who went to Timor Island with me. Today I am willing to testify because it was unjust. We were persecuted. I had good education, but this experience totally changed my life. The humiliation, the shame, the bitterness and the unforgettable experience have followed me all my life. I have not been accepted by other people in the society. All I got was 300 Japanese dollars as a severance pay. After the war, my deposit in the bank became very little. I did not withdraw it, because I could not stand the fact the money which I got for the rapes I suffered, for my abused youth and for my miserable life suddenly became nothing. I lost my bankbooks, but my friend who went to Timor Island with me still keeps hers. For all other women with similar experience and for myself, I protest against this brutal crime and against the Japanese government. I request that the Japanese government should return us our dignity as human beings as well as apologize to and compensate us for the crime they committed.

はじめに

昨年まで、日本政府は従軍慰安婦問題に関する政府の関与と責任を否定していました。今年の一月に、従軍慰安婦の徴集、軍慰安所の設置・監督・統制に関する政府・軍の深い関与を示す諸資料を私が発見したことから、政府はその事実を否定できなくなりました。韓国を訪問した宮沢喜一首相は、日韓首脳会談で、政府・軍の関与の事実を認め、公式に謝罪しました。

その後、政府は資料調査を進め、その結果を七月に公表しました。この間、民間の調査が進み、私自身も調査を行いました。私は、これらの調査諸結果をまとめて、最近『従軍慰安婦資料集』として刊行しました¹。

以下、そこで明らかになった事実の要点をのべたいと思います。

1. 軍慰安所の開設と展開

まず、軍慰安所の開設と展開について。一九三一年、日本は満州事変とよばれる、中国東北（満州）に対する侵略戦争をおこしますが、翌年、上海に戦線が拡大しました。この時、上海に派遣された日本陸海軍は、一九三二年に軍慰安所を設置します²。これが確実な資料によって確認される最初の事例です。

一九三七年、日本は中国に対する全面的な戦争を開始します。またたく間に八〇万もの兵力が中国大陸に派遣されますが、これに応じて、一九三七年末から中国の占領地に、日本軍は軍慰安所を設置します。

一九四一年、日本はアメリカ・イギリス・オランダに対して戦争をおこし、東南アジア・太平洋の広大な地域を占領します。一九四二年春以降、これらの地域に軍慰安所が設置されます。

現在、日本・アメリカ・オランダの公文書によって、軍慰安所の存在が確認されている地域は、中国、香港、フランス領インドシナ、フィリピン、マレー、シンガポール、英領ボルネオ、オランダ領東インドのジャワ島・スンバワ島・スラウェシ島・スマトラ島、ビルマ、太平洋地域のニューブリテン島・トロブリアン島、日本の沖縄諸島・小笠原諸島です。しかし、戦争のために大量の日本軍が派遣された所には、どこでも軍慰安所が設置されたと推定されます。

従軍慰安婦として徴集された女性たちは、日本人・韓国朝鮮人・台湾人・中国人・フィ

リピン人・インドネシア人・オランダ人が、公文書によって確認されており、オーストラリア人看護婦が慰安婦となるよう強要されたこともあきらかになっています。これ以外に、日本軍が占領した各地域で、地元の女性たちが従軍慰安婦にされたと思われます。従軍慰安婦の大多数を占めるのは、日本人ではなく、韓国朝鮮人・台湾人や占領各地の女性たちでした。

2. 植民地・占領地の女性が慰安婦にされた理由

それでは、なぜ朝鮮・台湾の女性や占領地の女性が多く従軍慰安婦にされたか、という理由をのべます。

日本とその植民地であった朝鮮・台湾に対し、中国に派遣された日本軍は、民間業者を選んで送り、彼ら業者は一九三七年末から、慰安婦の徴集を開始しました。ところが、日本は一九〇四年・一九一〇年・一九二一年に締結された「婦人・児童の売買禁止に関する国際条約」に加入していました。

売春を目的とする婦人・児童の売買を禁止するこの条約があるため、警察の総元締めである内務省警保局長は一九三八年二月、通牒を各府県知事に出しました⁴。それは、日本内地からの慰安婦の渡航に際しては、二一歳以上の女性で、かつ「売春婦」に限って各警察署は身分証明書を発給する、というものです（資料①参照）。ということは、売春を目的とする満二一歳未満の女性に対しては、各警察署は身分証明書を発給してはならない、ということになります。

こうして、日本本土からの慰安婦徴集は、極めて限定されました。しかし、この国際条約には、宣言をすればこの条約を植民地に適用しなくてもよいとの規定がありました。日本政府はこの規定を採用して、この条約を朝鮮・台湾には適用しないと宣言したので、朝鮮・台湾での女性の徴集には制限がありませんでした。占領地も同様でした。こうして、売春経験のない女性や未成年の女性が、日本内地以外から多数徴集されたのです。日本軍にとって、性病の蔓延を防ぐためには、その方が好都合であったことも事実です。

現在、日本で裁判を起こしている九名の韓国人元慰安婦の方々は、その訴状によれば、全員が徴集当時二一歳未満の未成年でした。日本陸軍の公文書によれば、台湾から一四歳の少女が中国大陸南部に連行されています⁵。フィリピンのパナイ島イロイロ市にあった軍慰安所には一五歳の慰安婦がいたことが確認されています⁶。また、同市にあった軍慰安所のフィリピン人慰安婦一三名のうち一〇名が二一歳未満で、最低年齢は一六歳でした⁷。

3. 慰安所のタイプと国家の責任

次に、慰安所のタイプと国家の責任についてのべます。日本軍人が利用した慰安所には四つのタイプがありました。第一は軍直営の慰安所です。第二は、形式上民間業者が経営するが、軍が管理・統制する軍人・軍属専用の慰安所です。第三は、一般人も利用するが軍が指定した軍利用の慰安所で、軍が特別の便宜を求める慰安所です。第四は純粹に民間の売春宿です。このうち、第一・第二の軍直営・軍専用の慰安所の慰安婦に関しては、日本国家に責任があり、第三の軍利用の慰安所に関しては利用の程度に応じて責任があり、第四に関しては、日本軍兵士が利用したとしても日本国家に責任はないことになります。軍慰安所でもっとも多かったのは、第一のタイプではなく、第二のタイプでした。

第二のタイプの軍慰安所については、国家（軍・警察・領事館）が深く関与していることは公文書から明白に確認されます。まず、軍慰安所の設置は、陸軍の場合、占領地の最高指導部（参謀部）が指示し⁸、海軍の場合、海軍中央が慰安婦の配置を指示しています⁹。慰安婦の徴集は、日本・台湾・朝鮮の場合、派遣軍が選定した周旋業者が、軍あるいは領事館の証明書をもって渡航し、軍と警察の援助を受けて慰安婦を徴集しています¹⁰。占領地の女性を徴集する場合、現地の憲兵や軍属が徴集にあたる例が確認されています¹¹。

日本軍は、民営の形式をとった軍慰安所の経営を厳しく統制・監督しています。慰安所の建物は軍が提供し、慰安所の細かい規則、利用料金・利用時間、各部隊の利用日の指定、衛生管理の内容は軍が決定しました。また、軍は誰が慰安所を利用したかという利用者に関する詳細な報告を業者に提出させました。慰安婦は、軍の指示によって移動し、慰安婦の定期的な性病検査は軍医が行っています。その具体的内容の一端については、マニラの慰安所規則（資料②）を参照してください。

慰安婦は、契約期間中は身柄を厳しく拘束され、多くの場合、いやおうなしに契約は継続されました。たとえば、フィリピンのバナイ島イロイロ市にあった二軒の軍慰安所の例ですが、慰安婦の外出は午前八時から一〇時までに限定され、その区域は一ブロック区画の公園内に限定されていました¹²（資料③参照）。

4. 日本軍が慰安所を必要とした理由

日本軍が慰安所を必要とした理由は三つあります。第一は、日本軍人による強姦事件が多発したことです。広範囲に慰安所を設置するきっかけとなったのは、一九三七年一二月の南京大虐殺と関係があります。中支那方面軍は、この前後に慰安施設をつくるよう指示しています¹³。これは、上海戦後から南京戦にかけて大量の強姦事件が起きたため、中国人や欧米諸国の非難を恐れたからだと推定されます。

一九三八年六月、数十万の兵員をもつ北支那方面軍の参謀長は、指揮下の各部隊に対する通牒で、北部中国で日本軍人が頻繁に強姦事件をおこすので、占領地の中国民衆が日本軍から離反しているとのべ、強姦事件を防止するために、なるべく速やかに性的慰安施設をつくれと指示しています¹⁴。

本来、強姦事件防止には、軍区内の人権の確立と兵士の待遇改善、および犯罪への厳重処罰で対処すべきですが、日本軍はこのような処置を取るのではなく、軍慰安所をつくるというおそれるべき方法で対処し、別の人権侵害を起こしたのです。

第二の理由は、将兵への「慰安」の提供です。日本が開始した戦争は、大義名分のない侵略戦争であり、また、勝利の見通しのない無謀な戦争でした。このような戦争に、休暇制度もないまま、長期間戦場に将兵を釘づけしておくために、性的な慰安が必要だと、日本軍は考えたのです¹⁵。

第三の理由は、性病問題でした。民間の売春宿を利用すれば性病が蔓延し、将兵の治療に時間がかかり、大幅に戦力が落ちること¹⁶。また、将兵の帰還の際、性病が日本国内に流入すれば、日本民族の将来に係わることから、軍管理の慰安所をつくる必要があったのです。軍は民間の売春宿の利用を禁止し、軍医は定期的に慰安婦の性病検査を行い、兵士にはコンドームの使用などの予防策を講じさせました。

5. 従軍慰安婦問題と国際法

次に、従軍慰安婦と国際法との関係についてのべます。「婦人・児童の売買禁止に関する国際条約」では、日本は、植民地であった朝鮮・台湾に対して、明らかに差別的取扱いをしていました。このため、「売春婦」ではない女性や未成年の女性が朝鮮・台湾から多数徴集されたことは、すでにのべました。

しかし、問題はそれだけではなく、条約にいう「誘致により、または暴行、脅迫、権力乱用その他一切の強制手段をもって……勧誘し、誘引しまたは拐去（かどわかし）の意」された女性が少なくなかった、ということです。

中でも、だまされて連行され、現地で売春を強制された女性がとても多かったことに注目すべきでしょう。現在、東京で提訴している九名の元慰安婦のうち、五名がだまされて連行され、性的慰安を強制されたと主張しています。アメリカ軍が一九四四年ビルマで保護した二〇名の朝鮮人慰安婦に対する尋問報告では、これらの女性たちは、病院での看護の仕事だという業者の言葉を信じて、海外勤務に応じたと記録されています¹⁸。周旋業者の背後には日本軍がいたことを明確に記されています。

これらの強制が事実だとすれば、「戦争の法規および慣例」に違反する戦争犯罪である「強姦」、あるいは「強制的売淫のための婦女子の誘拐」に該当すると思われます。

また、日本は、一九三〇年にILO総会で採択された「強制労働に関する条約」を、一九三二年に批准しています。この条約は、第二条で「ある者が処罰の脅威の下に強要せられ、かつ右の者が自ら任意に申し出てたるにあらざる一切の労務」('all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily')を「強制労働」('forced or compulsory labour')と定義し、第一条で女性に強制労働を行わせてはならない旨規定していますが、従軍慰安婦に対する性的慰安労働の強制は、明らかにこれに違反しています。

6. なぜこれまで問題にならなかったか

それでは、これほど重大な戦争犯罪・人権侵害がなぜこれまで放置されていたか、について調べます。極東国際軍事裁判(東京裁判)では、主に欧米諸国の市民が被害を受けた戦争犯罪が追及され、アジアの声は殆ど無視されました。BC級戦犯裁判では、オランダが開いたバタビア裁判で、オランダ人慰安婦強制連行事件が裁かれましたが、インドネシア人慰安婦の問題は裁判になりませんでした。

その後の賠償交渉でも、従軍慰安婦問題はとり上げられませんでした。また、一九六五年の日韓協定は、明日のシンポジウムの大きなテーマになると思いますが、従軍慰安婦の問題は全く認識されていませんでした。

日本では、敗戦直後、従軍慰安婦の問題は、興味本意の物語としては密かに話題となっていました。それが人道に反する問題として取り上げられることはありませんでした。その後、日本人は、従軍慰安婦問題という重大な人権侵害事件を、意識の外に追いやっていたのです。その後、一九七〇年代に千田夏光氏が著した『従軍慰安婦』という本は、隠れたベスト・セラーになりましたが、反響は殆どなかったといえます。

日本でも、韓国でも、台湾でも、中国でも東南アジア諸国でも、元慰安婦の方々が被害を訴えるために、名乗り出ることすら出来ない状態が続いていたのです。

一九八〇年代末から、韓国の女性運動がこの問題を取り上げ、一九九一年に韓国で元慰安婦の方が最初に被害を訴えたことから、この問題がはじめて浮上したのです。しかし、在日韓国朝鮮人の元慰安婦は、現在まで一人も、原状回復redressのために名乗り出ていませんし、日本人元慰安婦の場合も同様です。名乗り出ることが大変困難な状況は、なお続

いています。

7. 日本政府の態度

それでは、日本政府はどこまで認め、宮沢首相はなにを謝罪したのでしょうか。政府は、慰安婦の募集、慰安所の設置や経営などで、政府や軍の関与を認めました。しかし、それらの行為の主体が政府・軍であり、民間の募集業者や慰安所経営者が従であるという重要なポイントは、必ずしも認めていません。また、慰安婦の強制的な連行については、だまして連行した場合を含めて、認めていません。

慰安婦関係の資料については、防衛庁・外務省資料は一定公表しましたが、もっとも重要な警察の資料は一切非公開です。労働省・法務省の資料も非公開であり、厚生省資料は四点のみ公表しただけで、他の資料は非公開です。三〇年経過した資料は公開するという原則を持っているのは外務省のみであり、その外務省も最近重要資料を殆ど非公開にしています。情報の自由化法は日本にはないので、非公開資料にアクセスする方法はありません。強制連行については、本来資料として残る可能性は少ないため、その事実あったかどうかを調査するためには、関係者からのヒアリングが不可欠ですが、政府はこれを拒否しています。

宮沢首相の訪韓時の謝罪は、どのような事実を認めて謝罪したのか、大変あいまいです。裁判では、政府は争う姿勢を示し、補償については決着済みとし、個人に対する補償は認めようとしていません。補償ではない一定の金銭の支払での決着を検討していると伝えられています。今必要なのは、事実関係の解明をあいまいにしたままの決着ではなく、まず事実の全面的な解明を行うことであり、そのことなくしては真の解決はありえないと私は確信しています。

Notes

1. よしみ・よしあき編『従軍慰安婦資料集』大月書店、東京、1992 (Hereinafter Yoshimi)
2. おかべ・なおさぶろう『おかべ・なおさぶろう大將の日記』7379頁、1997、1992、p. 23. 在上海日本総領事館「1936年中における在留邦人の特殊婦女の状況およびその取り纏まり」、Yoshimi, pp. 91-92.
3. これら資料については、オーストラリア人看護婦のケースを含めて、Yoshimi 参照。

4. 内務省警保局長「支那強制婦女の取締りに関する件」Feb. 23, 1938, *Yoshimi*, pp.102-103.
5. あだち・もいち欽州Qinchow憲兵分遣隊長「呼び寄せ証明書」June 28, 1940, *Yoshimi*, pp.135-137.
6. Hello District Line of Communication Squad勤務室「性病検査成績の件」June 9, 1942, *Yoshimi*, p. 304.
7. Ibid. *Yoshimi*, pp.302.
8. おかべ・なおさぶろう北支那方面軍参謀長「軍人軍隊の対住民行為に関する注意の件通牒」June 27, 1938, *Yoshimi*, pp.209-210.
9. 海軍省軍務局長・兵備局長「第二次特要員進出に関する件開会」May 30, 1942, 97 13・14「特要員という名の部隊」『特集文芸春秋』December, 1955, p. 224-225.
10. 陸軍省副官通牒「軍慰安所従業員等募集に関する件」March 4, 1938, *Yoshimi*, pp.105-106.
11. 第10軍参謀777・774少佐の日記, December 18, 1937, 『南京戦史資料集』1479, ト977, 1949, p. 411. 海軍セレベス民政部第二課員班長「南部セレベス慰安所調査」May 30, 1946, *Yoshimi*, P. 367.
12. フィリピン軍政監部ビサヤ支部イロイロ出張所「慰安所規定」November 22, 1942, *Yoshimi*, pp. 324-326.
13. イ77・774上海派遣軍参謀長の日記, December 11, 1937, 『南京戦史資料集』p.211.
14. おかべ・なおさぶろう北支那方面軍参謀長「軍人軍隊の対住民行為に関する注意の件通牒」June 27, 1938, *Yoshimi*, pp.209-210.
15. 774・774軍医中尉「戦場における特殊現象とその対処」June, 1938, *Yoshimi*, p. 232.
16. 北支那方面軍軍医部「幹部に対する衛生教育順序」Feb., 1940, *Yoshimi*, p.37.
17. 陸軍省副官通牒「大東亞戦争関係科兵の性病処置に関する件」June 18, 1942, *Yoshimi*, pp. 171-172.
18. United States office of War Information, Psychological Warfare Team Attached to U. S. Army Forces India-Burma Theater, Japanese Prisoner of War Information Report, No. 49, Oct. 1, 1944.

①

内務省警務第五号

附

昭和十三年二月二十三日

各府府警察官廳

(陸軍省府知事)

内務省警務局長

支那露航婦女ノ取扱ニ関スル件

記

一、航業ヲ目的トスル婦女ノ渡航ハ現在内地ニ於テ嚴禁其ノ他事實上航業ヲ営ミ得ニ得以上凡そ
傳病其ノ他伝染性疾患ナキ者ニシテ北支、中支方面ニ向テ航業ニ従フ者ハ身分証明書ヲ提出スルコトトシ
昭和十二年八月米三機連合第三七六号外務省官通第二號ハ身分証明書ヲ提出スルコト

二、前項ノ身分証明書ヲ提出スルトキハ陸軍ノ保衛約ノ期間満了シ又ハ其ノ必要ナキニ至リタル限ハ
該二機國スル様子ヲ調査スルコト

三、航業ヲ目的トシテ渡航セントスル婦女ハ必ズ本人自ラ警察署ニ出頭シ身分証明書ノ提出ヲ申請ス
ルコト

四、航業ヲ目的トスル婦女ノ渡航ニ關シ身分証明書ノ提出ヲ申請スルトキハ必ズ同一戸籍内ニ在ル最
近親族親、尊属親ナキトキハ戸主ノ承認ヲ得セシムルコトトシ若シ承認ヲ与フベキ者ナキトキハ其
ノ事實ヲ明ナラシムルコト

五、航業ヲ目的トスル婦女ノ渡航ニ關シ身分証明書ヲ提出スルトキハ陸軍保衛約其ノ他各般ノ事項ヲ調

ALLIED TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETION SECTION

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

2 RESEARCH REPORT #4120

SUBJECT: AMENITIES IN THE JAPANESE ARMED FORCES

11/15/1945

a. BROTHELS

a. Regulations

1. MANILA

"a. Revised printed booklet," entitled "Rules for Authorized Restaurants and Houses of Prostitution in MANILA," issued February 24d by Lieutenant Colonel CORNEL MANILA, Theater Line of Communications Officer.

Part One—General Regulations

"1. In these regulations, authorized restaurants will be taken to mean those places designated by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. (The old Japanese name for these establishments, *kyōka*, is being given to soldiers and army civilian employees. Houses of relaxation should be taken to mean those places designated by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties, with the sanction of the army commanding general, which maintain business, *kyōka*, or *kyōka*, for the entertainment of soldiers and army civilian employees.

"2. Managers may close down or suspend the operation of their establishments only with the permission of the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties.

"3. If and when the various managers meet with difficulties, the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties may either close the business or temporarily suspend it. In such cases, the managers will present a request for resumption for any house or for

"4. The issuance of a police report being subject of inspection of brothels consisting of a group of four sheets which accompanied this document, although not usually part of the original, is referred to the annex and has been reproduced as Appendix B.

any other establishments.

"5. Authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will be used only by soldiers and army civilian employees.

Part Two—Business Operations

"1. Persons planning to operate authorized restaurants or houses of relaxation must submit the following documents to the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Managers must be Japanese who have had some business experience.

"2. Application for permission to open business: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 1).

"3. Statement of business plan: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 2).

"4. Address: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 3).

"5. Personal history: three copies.

"6. Persons seeking permission to open business will themselves determine the number of personnel desired, and will submit three copies of their business plan to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties, one copy of the personal histories of employees and three copies of requests for entertainment of the business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*. (Appendix A, Form No. 1). When the documents are complete, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties will be informed, and business may commence after the inspection of the establishments and the physical examination of the employees.

"7. Managers intending to change the personnel of their establishments must submit the permission of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, while in the establishments must submit a request (Appendix A, Form No. 4). When the business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, and other employees are to be replaced, a request for permission to do so must be submitted (Appendix A, Form No. 5).

"8. Managers intending to increase the number of business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, and other places will so inform the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. The date and time for the physical examinations by the medical authorities will be arranged for each occasion. On completion of the physical examinations, the examination charts together with copies of personal histories or identification papers will be submitted to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Permission is necessary before anyone joins the establishment.

"9. The location of and the buildings used in authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation must have the approval of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. In the future, managers who cannot maintain discipline may be removed. The Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties will be informed of any request contemplated for any establishment.

"10. Business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, may, as a general rule, be subject to the inspection of their own of concern. (This does not apply to persons who have not been arrested at least a year). Those wishing to continue their employment will so notify the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties for his approval. When the medical authorities consider it suitable to discontinue the service

of anyone for reasons of health, they will so inform the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. The latter will facilitate the return home of such persons.

"11. Managers of houses of relaxation will make arrangements for the following:

"a. Bedding in all bedrooms.

"b. Cleanliness in all bedrooms and waiting rooms.

"c. Sanitation and medicine in lavatories and other designated places.

"d. Regulations and price charts in the waiting rooms.

"e. Business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, name certificates in waiting rooms and individual rooms. (Those of deceased business will be marked in red.) Apart from the above, the establishment of entertainment and rest facilities for guests and the inauguration of other means of relaxation will be encouraged.

Part Three—Management

"12. Managers will refuse admission to all persons who are not soldiers or army civilian employees. Authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will have separate facilities for officers and high ranking officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials and others. However, the facilities for noncommissioned officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials (except for special individuals) will be taken over by officers and high ranking civilian officials after 1000 hours.

"13. Managers will present guests of the houses of relaxation with a "relaxation ticket" in exchange for an army ticket, and will record all receipts of these "relaxation tickets" by the business.

"14. Hours of operation for authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation are as follows:

"a. Restaurants.

"b. Noncommissioned officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials—open 1000 hours to 1000 hours.

"c. Officers and high ranking civilian officials—open 1000 hours to 1000 hours; either 1000 or 1000 hours.

"d. House of relaxation, up to 1000 hours.

"15. Prices at authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will be determined by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties with the approval of the army. Prices are shown in Appendix A, Form No. 6. Managers and employees will demand no other prices than these.

"16. Half of the income of the business will be shared by the managers.

"17. Managers of houses of relaxation will be responsible for all income in accordance with the daily total earnings, shown Appendix A, Form No. 7, and will record the apportionment of all earnings.

Managers of authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will make the following reports: authorized restaurants—daily report (Appendix A, Form No. 10); houses of relaxation—daily report (Appendix A, Form No. 11).

"18. On the last day of each month, managers will submit a report on business conditions to the Officer in Charge of Manila Sector Line of Communications Duties. The form of this report

is shown in Appendix A, Form No. 12 and 13.

"19. Expenses of food, light, firewood, charcoal and bedding for the business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, are the responsibility of the managers. The business will take care of their own expenses for clothing, housekeeping, recreation and the like. However, medical expenses for illnesses arising from overwork will be met entirely by the managers and their patients by the business. The diagnosis of an army physician will be the basis for determining whether any particular illness is due to overwork.

"20. The names and assigned units of medical guilty of misconduct will be reported by the managers to the MANILA Sector Line of Communications Office.

"21. As far as possible, managers will encourage the business, *kyōka*, and *kyōka*, to save money. The amount should be limited to 10 per cent per month. This amount should not be increased except for persons who can present special reasons.

"22. The object of such special reasons must be presented beforehand to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties for his approval.

"23. These reasons will be recorded under "Notes" in the monthly report.

"24. A statement on income and other written evidence of the reasons for any such increase will be prepared by the managers and submitted to the MANILA Sector Line of Communications with the monthly report for forwarding.

"25. The savings of those who do not draw their pay in advance will be recorded on the monthly report.

"26. Persons contracting communicable diseases through hospitalization will report the type of their illness, the number of days under treatment and the expenses incurred thereon together with a statement of their income.

"27. The diagnosis of an army physician will be the basis for determining whether any particular illness is due to overwork.

"28. One holiday a month may be given to employees. This will be reported in all cases to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties.

Part Four—Hygiene

"29. Business will ordinarily be examined by an army physician once a week at a designated place. Business who are not *kyōka* will be examined twice a month. Other employees will be given a physical examination once a month. Expenses incident to these examinations will be taken care of by the managers. It may also be necessary at times to examine such other employees as needed.

"30. The army physicians will make the necessary reports on health after each examination (Appendix A, Form No. 14), and after their work charts.

"31. Persons failing the physical examinations or requiring unfavorable diagnosis will be forbidden to entertain guests while under treatment.

"32. Apart from the usual examinations, an diagnosis for venereal diseases, syphilis, gonorrhea, and chronic bacterial, syphilis, bacterial

vacuumations shall also be carried out. Special measures, a complete physical examination, especially for tuberculosis, venereal diseases and chlamy, dengue, typhoid fever and the like may be given.

"27. Managers of houses of relaxation will provide provisions for venereal diseases and have the housesmen (grooms and waitresses) and the guests make use of them.

"28. Managers of houses of relaxation will be responsible for providing the following measures of venereal disease prevention:

"a. Disinfectant (200 strength potassium permanganate solution or 0.500 formal soap solution) will be put in containers and left in the lavatories and other specified places.

"b. The houses will be kept particularly clean within and without and commodious will be provided.

"c. The housesmen will wash and disinfect the necessary portions of the houses weekly.

"d. Association with the housesmen will be forbidden to those who suffer in venereal diseases.

"e. Housesmen are forbidden to have intercourse during menstrual periods.

"f. Baths will be taken daily.

"g. Ventilation will be provided in the housesmen's rooms.

"h. Only clean bedding will be used, and it will be changed frequently. Extra bedding will be provided. White spreads and pillow covers will be used and will be kept clean. Any other hygienic measures is also recommended.

"i. Particular attention will be paid to light and fresh air in the rooms.

Part Five-Discipline

"29. For the purpose of maintaining good order, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Senior Line of Communications Detachments will have officers (senior physicians) carry out inspections of the establishments from time to time. When necessary, the assistance of the military police will be called.

"30. Housesmen (grooms and waitresses) may not leave the designated areas without permission from the line of communications officers. They are also forbidden to have intercourse beyond the premises of the houses of relaxation. They must have the permission of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Senior Line of Communications Detachments to attend dinner parties for soldiers or senior civilian employees.

"31. Managers of houses of relaxation will not supply food or liquor to guests except for specially designated individuals.

"32. Persons about to use the facilities of the houses of relaxation will not be allowed to bring in any liquor.

"33. No selling of food or drink will be permitted within the houses of relaxation except in specially designated cases.

"34. Requests to or permission to use the facilities of the houses of relaxation may be refused the following persons:

"a. Intoxicated persons.

"b. Persons carrying liquor.

"c. Other persons who may cause bad influence.

"35. Persons frequenting the restaurants must observe the following regulations:

"a. Only two bottles (beer glasses) per person will be allowed.

"b. Effective measures will be used to prevent the spread of any disease threatening a soldier will be recommended.

"c. All furnishings will be handled with care.

"d. There will be no discussion of military matters.

"e. Bills will be paid with army tickets.

"36. Persons frequenting the houses of relaxation must observe the following regulations:

"a. Payments will be made in advance with army tickets.

"b. Soliloquy or that singing or any other action embarrassing a soldier or an army civilian employee is forbidden.

"c. Conditions or other provisions may be used for improvements. To prevent disease further care must be taken to insure proper handling.

"d. The housesmen will not be allowed.

"e. Military courtesy measures must be observed.

"37. Enforcement of these rules will result withdrawal of permission to continue business.

Part Six-Regulations for Special Clubs

"1. These regulations refer to special clubs within the MANILA Senior Line.

"2. Special clubs will be taken to mean restaurants, restaurants and houses of relaxation established to serve officers and high-ranking civilian officials, under the supervision of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Senior Line of Communications Detachments with the approval of army headquarters.

"3. Special clubs are divided into three categories:

"a. Those that provide both restaurant and room facilities.

"b. Those that provide restaurant and "relaxation" facilities.

"c. Those that provide only restaurant facilities.

"4. Only officers and high-ranking civilian officials (and those regarded as high-ranking civilian officials) may use the facilities of these special clubs. Clubs in (a) category above are for the use of naval officers of field grade and up, and clubs of (b) category above are for the use of naval officers and high-ranking civilian officials of the navy.

"5. Special clubs will not serve persons other than those mentioned above.

"6. Persons intending to use these special clubs must themselves be prepared to identify themselves as officers or high-ranking civilian officials or the equivalent of the latter.

"7. Managers will refuse the facilities of the clubs to those not prepared to so identify themselves.

"8. In order to preclude the use of the clubs by the local population, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Senior Line of Communications Detachments may have his designated officers enter the assistance of military police for purposes of identifying customers. Prospective customers will be prepared to identify themselves on demand.

"9. Persons wishing to hold dinner parties at the special clubs will announce in advance the names of the representatives of the house to which they are assigned, and prepare a statement as to the date and time contemplated.

"10. In cases in which the dinner party fails,

A. Form No. 8.

Price List for Authorized Houses of Relaxation			
	Persons	Time	Price
	Private	at request	1.50
Houses of relaxation employing Filipino women	Noncommissioned officers	at request	1.50
	Others	1 hour	4.00
		Overnight	8.00
Houses of relaxation employing Japanese women	Private	at request	1.00
	Noncommissioned officers	at request	1.00
	Others	1 hour	5.00
		Overnight	10.00

Notes: 1. Others in the Persons column includes soldiers and army civilian employees other than noncommissioned officers.
 2. Overnight engagements will begin from 1200 hours.
 3. Prices are maximum prices. Managers may make reductions when the situation so warrants.

慰安所（慰安委員会）規定送付ノ件
第一慰安所

昭和十七年十一月二十二日

軍政監部ビサヤ支隊イロイロ出張所

イロイロ監兵分隊御中

首題ノ件別紙ノ如ク送付ス

以上

慰安所規定（第一慰安所）
（慰安委員会）

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二、慰安所ノ監督指導ハ軍政監部之ヲ管掌ス

三、警備隊医官ハ衛生ニ関スル監督指導ヲ担任スルモノトス接客婦ノ検査ハ毎週火曜日拾五時ヨリ行フ

四、本慰安所ヲ利用シ得ベキモノハ制服着用ノ軍人軍属ニ限ル

五、慰安所経営者ハ左記事項ヲ厳守スベシ

1. 家庭器具ノ清潔並日光消毒
 2. 洗滌消毒施設ノ完備
 3. 「サツク」使用セサル者ノ遊興拒止
 4. 娯遊接客拒止
 5. 慰安婦外出ヲ厳重取締
 6. 毎日入浴ノ実施
 7. 規定以外ノ遊興拒止
 8. 営業者ハ毎日営業状態ヲ軍政監部ニ報告ノ事
- 六、慰安所ヲ利用セントスル者ハ左記事項ヲ厳守スベシ
1. 防護ノ絶対厳守
 2. 慰安婦及宿主ニ対シ暴行脅迫行為ナキ事
 3. 料金ハ軍票トシテ前払トス

四、「サツク」ヲ使用シ且洗滌ヲ確實ニ実行シ性病予防ニ万全ヲ期スコト

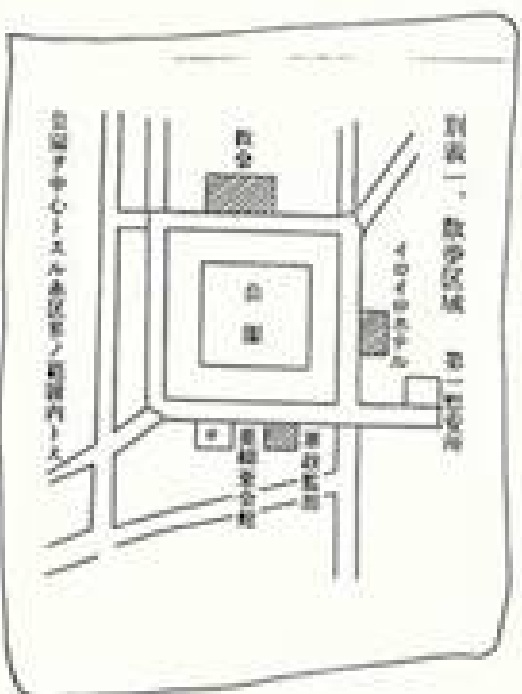
五、比島軍政監部ビサヤ支隊イロイロ出張所員ノ許可ナクシテ慰安婦ノ進出シハ嚴ク禁ズ

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八、慰安所使用ハ外出許可証（亦ハ之ニ代ベキ証明書）携帯者ニ限ル

九、営業時間及料金ハ別紙一二依ル

別表一、散歩区域 第一慰安所



Historical Facts About the Issue of Military Comfort Women

By Yoshiaki Yoshimi, Professor of History, Chuo University

PREFACE

Until last year, the Japanese government had been denying its responsibility and involvement in the issue of military comfort women who were forced to offer sexual services for the Japanese military during World War II. In January this year, however, the government could no longer continue to deny the fact, as I discovered various documents showing the serious involvement of the Japanese government and the military in recruiting comfort women and establishing, supervising and controlling comfort houses. During his visit to South Korea, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa acknowledged the involvement by the government and the military, and publicly apologized.

Then the government began an investigation to gather documents related to the issue, and announced the results in July this year. During that time, citizens groups also conducted investigation, and I myself participated. In an effort to wrap up the outcome of the investigation and research, I published a book, "References for Military Comfort Women."

Next I would like to talk about the key points of the evidence that has been discovered.

1. Establishing and Developing Military Comfort Houses

First of all, I would like to talk about establishment and development of military comfort houses. In 1931, Japan instigated the Manchurian Incident, the war against Manchuria, in northeastern China, which was followed by the battle in Shanghai a year later. The Japanese army and navy dispatched to Shanghai set up comfort houses in 1932. This was the first evidence of comfort houses confirmed in reliable documents. In 1937, Japan launched a full-scale war against China. As many as 800,000 soldiers were quickly sent to mainland China, and starting from late 1937, Japan opened more military comfort houses at Chinese cities it occupied.

In 1941, Japan declared war against the United States, Britain and the Netherlands, and occupied vast areas of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. After the spring of 1942, Japan set up military comfort houses in these areas as well.

So far, documents unearthed in the United States, Japan and the Netherlands have confirmed that comfort houses existed in China, Hong Kong, French-occupied Indochina, the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, British-occupied Borneo, Dutch-occupied islands of Java, Sumbawa and Surawesi, Burma, and the Pacific islands of New Britain and Trobriand, as well as Okinawa and Ogasawara islands in Japan. I suspect comfort houses were established anywhere Japan sent a large number of military during the war.

Official documents have discovered that those recruited as comfort women included Japanese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Indonesian, and Dutch. It also has become clear that Japan attempted to force Australian nurses to serve as comfort women. In addition, in each area that the Japanese military occupied, local women were believed to have been forced to serve as military comfort women. The majority of such military comfort women were non-Japanese. They were mainly Koreans, Taiwanese and people from other countries occupied by Japan.

2. Why Women From Japan's Colonies and Occupied Territories Were Forced to Become Comfort Women

Now, I would like to explain the reasons why many women from Korea, Taiwan and other occupied territories were forced to serve as comfort women.

In China - unlike Japan and its colonies, Korea and Taiwan - the Japanese military selected private organizations there, which began to recruit comfort women in late 1937.

However, Japan had signed "The International Arrangement and Conventions for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children" concluded in 1904, 1910 and 1921.

Because of this convention, which prohibits trading women and minors for prostitution, the chief of the National Security Bureau of the Ministry of Interior, which served as the governing body for police, issued a notice to the governor of each prefecture. Under this notice, those who were sent overseas from mainland Japan to serve as comfort women had to be over 21 years of age, and police were authorized to issue identification cards for "prostitutes." (see reference 1.)

In other words, the notice prohibited police from issuing identification cards for women under 21 who intended to work as prostitutes.

Recruiting comfort women from mainland Japan was thus extremely restricted. However, the international convention contained a special clause that allowed a member nation to exclude its colonies from application of the convention on the condition that the member declared so in advance. In accordance with the clause, Japan announced that it would exempt Korea and Taiwan from the convention, and it suffered no restrictions in recruiting women there, as well as in other areas it occupied. Many women who were not prostitutes, as well as minors, were thus recruited outside Japan. It was also true that it was seen as a wise tactic for the Japanese military to prevent sexually transmitted diseases from spreading.

According to their testimony, all nine former South Korean comfort women who are currently suing the Japanese government in Tokyo were under 21 when they were recruited. Official documents of the Japanese army show that

a 14-year-old girl from Taiwan was forcibly taken to southern China. A 15-year-old comfort woman was confined at a comfort house in the city of Iloilo, on the island of Panay in the Philippines.

Also, 10 out of 13 Filipino comfort women at the comfort house in Iloilo were under 21, including a 16-year-old, who was the youngest.

3. Types of Comfort Houses and the Government Responsibility

Now I would like to discuss about the types of comfort houses and the government's responsibility. There were four types of comfort houses that were used by the Japanese military. Type one was military-run comfort houses. Type two was privately-run comfort houses, which in reality were operated and controlled by the military for use by officers, soldiers and civilians. Type-three comfort houses were open to ordinary citizens but priority was given to the military. Type four were simply privately-run brothels.

The Japanese government bore responsibility for types one and two, military-run comfort houses for military personnel. The government also bore responsibility for type three comfort houses depending on the use, while it bore no responsibility for type four even though Japanese soldiers visited them. The most common type of comfort houses was type two, instead of type number one.

Serious involvement of government organs such as the military, police and consulates in type two comfort houses is clear in the official documents. First of all, the establishment of comfort houses for the army was ordered by the executive headquarters in the Japanese colonies, while the navy headquarters ordered the deployment of comfort women for the navy.

As for recruitment in Japan, Taiwan and Korea, private operators selected by the dispatched troops went overseas with permits issued by the military or the consulate, and recruited comfort women with the help of the military and police.

Documents have confirmed that military police and military employees often recruited comfort women in the occupied territories.

The Japanese military strictly regulated and supervised the management of privately-run military comfort houses. The military provided buildings for use as comfort houses, and it also set detailed rules, rates, service hours, schedules for each regiment and regulations for hygiene controls. Also, the military had private operators submit records showing who visited comfort houses.

Comfort women were transferred by military order, while military doctors conducted regular examinations for sexually transmitted diseases. I would like you to refer to the regulations at comfort houses in Manila

(reference 2).

Comfort women were physically restricted during the period of their contracts, and in most cases, their contracts were forcibly extended. For instance, at two comfort houses in Iloilo, on the Philippine island of Panay, comfort women could leave their comfort house complex only between 8 a.m. and 10 a.m., and even then they were restricted to a park that within one block. (see reference 3)

4. Why the Japanese Military Needed Comfort Houses

There are three reasons why the Japanese military needed comfort houses. First, Japanese soldiers frequently raped local women. The start of the systematic operation of comfort houses was closely related to the Nanking massacre in December, 1937. The Japanese military in central China issued an order to set up comfort houses during this period of time. I believe this was because Japan was afraid of criticism from the Chinese, the United States and European nations following cases of massive rapes between battles in Shanghai and Nanking.

In June, 1938, the chief of staff of the Japanese regiment stationed in northern China, which consisted of several tens of thousands of soldiers, said Chinese in the occupied areas were resisting the Japanese military because of frequent rapes by Japanese soldiers. He then ordered the establishment of facilities to satisfy Japanese soldiers' sexual needs as soon as possible in an effort to prevent them from continuing to rape.

In principle, what's needed to prevent rapes is to establish human rights within the military, to improve the working conditions of soldiers, and to establish severe punishment for crimes. However, the Japanese military took none of these measures and made the horrifying decision to set up military comfort houses, causing a different kind of human rights violations.

Second, comfort houses were set up to provide "comfort" for officers and soldiers. Japan started the war of aggression with no legitimate basis, and it was a reckless war with no hope for victory. The Japanese military thought that sexual comfort was needed in order to keep soldiers at the battle front for a long period of time without providing any vacation rules.

Number three, it was because of concerns about sexually transmitted diseases. It was believed necessary for the government to set up military-controlled comfort houses because use of privately-run brothels would prompt spreading of sexually transmitted diseases, which would cause decline of fighting power as long-term treatment was required for soldiers who acquired the diseases. The military was also concerned that the sexually transmitted diseases might endanger the future of Japan if homecoming soldiers brought

them into the country.

The military prohibited the use of privately-run brothels. Military doctors regularly examined comfort women to detect sexually transmitted diseases, while they ordered soldiers to take precautions, such as use of condoms.

6. Military Comfort Women and International Laws

Now, I would like to discuss the relation between military comfort women and international laws. Under "The International Conventions for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children," "Japan clearly discriminated against Korea and Taiwan, which were its colonies. As I have already mentioned, many women who were not prostitutes, as well as minors, were thus forcibly recruited from Korea and Taiwan.

However, that was not the only problem. The number of women who were "persuaded, invited, or kidnapped by the use of measures such as deception, violence, threat, abuse of authority and other forcible measures" prohibited by the accord, was not small.

Particularly, we should focus on the fact that there were a substantial number of women who were lied to and forced into prostitution at local comfort houses.

Five of the nine former comfort women filing lawsuits in Tokyo say that they were deceived and forced to provide sexual services. According to a report that contains testimony by 20 Korean comfort women whom the United States rescued in Burma in 1944, these women agreed to serve their overseas because brothel operators who had told them that they were to work as nurses at a hospital.

The existence of the Japanese military behind such recruiters has been clear from what's stated in the documents.

If such forcible recruitment was actually conducted, I think this should be treated as "rape," a war crime, which is the violation of "the war regulation and precedents," or "the kidnap of women for forced prostitution."

Also, Japan in 1932 ratified "the treaty for forced labor" which was adopted at the International Labor Organization meeting in 1930. Chapter 2 of the treaty defines "all work or services which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the person has not offered himself voluntarily" as "forced or compulsory labor." Chapter 11 prohibited forced labor of women. Forcing comfort women to provide sexual comfort is apparently a violation to this chapter.

6. Why No Question was Raised Until Today

I would like to discuss why such war crimes and gross violations of human rights were left untouched until now.

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, the so-called Tokyo Tribunal, mainly focused on the investigation of war crimes against civilians of the United States and European countries, while voices from Asia were almost completely ignored. In trials for Class B and C war criminals, the Batavia Trial ruled on the forced recruitment of Dutch comfort women, but there was no discussion about Indonesian comfort women.

The issue of military comfort women has been always left out of reparation negotiations subsequently conducted. In the basic treaty between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1965, which I think will be the major topic at the symposium tomorrow, the issue of military comfort women was never acknowledged.

In Japan, talk about the issue of military comfort women was secretly circulated as a juicy story for a while after the war, but the issue never was taken up as a problem of human rights violations.

The Japanese then pushed the military comfort women issue, which is such a serious violation of human rights, out of their memory. A book, entitled "Military comfort women," written by Mr. Kakoh Senda in 1970, was a hidden best-seller, but I hear there was little reaction to it.

In Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, China and Southeast Asian countries, there was a period of time when no former comfort woman was able to even identify herself in order to bring the problem before the public.

From the late 1980's, some groups in the Korean women's movement took up this issue. Finally, the problem surfaced for the first time in 1991, when a former Korean comfort woman came out to appeal her suffering. However, not even a single former Korean comfort woman living in Japan has identified herself for redress, nor has any former Japanese comfort woman. The situation still remains too difficult for them to come out and make an appeal.

7. Attitude of the Japanese Government

Now, the question is, to what extent the Japanese government acknowledged its role and what exactly did Prime Minister Miyazawa apologized for? The government has acknowledged the involvement of the war-time government and the military in recruiting comfort women and founding and managing of comfort houses. However, it has not necessarily admitted the crucial point that the government and the military were the instigators of such conduct and that private recruiters and comfort house operators were playing only subordinate roles. Also, the government has never acknowledged

forcible recruitment of comfort women, including recruitment by deception.

The Defense Agency and the Foreign Ministry have released documents about comfort women, but police documents, which are the most important, have remained secret. Documents kept at the Labor Ministry and the Justice Ministry also have been withheld, while the Health and Welfare Ministry has refused to disclose all but the four items that have been made public. It is only the Foreign Ministry that has a basic policy of disclosing documents 30 years after their issuance, but even the Foreign Ministry lately tends to withhold the majority of its documents.

We have no access to information that is closed to the public, as Japan has no law that guarantees the public's right to have access to information. Holding public hearings with testimony by those involved in the forced recruitment is crucial for investigation of the existence of the practice, as documents relating to such practice are highly unlikely to be found. However, the Japanese government has rejected requests to hold such hearings.

It is quite unclear what evidence Prime Minister Miyazawa acknowledged and apologized for during his visit to Korea. The government is showing signs of fighting in the current trial, as it has maintained that the reparation issue has been already settled, while it refuses to extend reparations to individuals. The government reportedly has been considering measures to settle the dispute by paying a certain amount of money which they would not call reparations. What the government should do now is not settle the problem by leaving the historical facts unclear, but conduct a full-scale investigation. I strongly believe that there will be no real settlement without a complete investigation.

REFERENCES

I. Excerpts from a note issued by the Ministry of Interior

1. Feb. 23, 1938

Chief of the National Security Bureau, the Ministry of Interior

To: Prefectural governors

RE: Handling of women sent to China

1) As for the traveling of women who intend to work, those over 21 years of age who work as prostitutes as a profession can be allowed for a while on the condition that they have no sexually transmitted diseases and intend to go to northern and central China, and are issued identification cards under vice-foreign ministerial notice No. 3776, issued in August, 1937.

III. Excerpts from a note stating rules at two comfort houses in Iloilo

RE: sending regulations for comfort houses (Asia Hall, No. 1 Comfort House)

Nov. 22, 1942

Iloilo Station, Visaya Branch, The Military Control Office

Comfort House Rules (No. 1 Comfort House, Asia Hall)

5. Comfort house operators must keep the following rules:

3) to refuse those who do not use "Sac." or condoms

5) to strictly regulate comfort women in leaving the comfort house complex

8) to file the military control office an operation record every day

VII. Comfort women are allowed to take a walk only between 8 and 10 a.m. every day. Those who need to leave the complex during the non-specified hours must obtain permission from the chief of the Iloilo Station, Visaya Branch of the military control office in the Philippines. Also, the area of walk is specified in the attached table.

VIII. Only those carrying leave permits, or similar documents, are allowed to use the comfort houses.

Table 1. District For Walk

No. 1 Comfort House

Iloilo Hotel

Church

Park

Military Control Office

Asia Hall

Activities permitted only within the red-light district centered around the park.

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RESEARCH REPORT No. 124

SUBJECT: AMENITIES IN THE JAPANESE ARMED FORCES



11/15/1945

1. BROTHELS

a. Regulations

1. MANILA

"A. Board printed booklet" titled "Rules for Authorized Restaurants and Houses of Prostitution in MANILA", issued February 1943 by Lieutenant Colonel OWEN L. MANILA, District Line of Communications Officer.

Part One—General Regulations

"1. In these regulations, authorized restaurants will be taken to mean those places designated by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties, with the exception of (a) Army Commanding General's dining place for soldiers and army civilian employees. Houses of relaxation should be taken to mean those places designated by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties, with the exception of the army commanding general, which maintains houses, grills or waterways for the entertainment of soldiers and army civilian employees.

"2. Managers may close down or suspend the operation of their establishments only with the permission of the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties.

"3. If and when the various managers' rules with differences, the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties may order close the business or temporarily suspend it. In such case, the managers will present a statement for recognition for any losses or for any other inconveniences.

"4. Authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will be used only by soldiers and army civilian employees.

Part Two—Business Operation

"5. Persons planning to operate authorized restaurants or houses of relaxation must submit the following documents to the officer in charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Managers must be Japanese who have had some business experience.

"a. Application for permission to open business: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 1).

"b. Statement of business plan: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 2).

"c. Affidavit: three copies (Appendix A, Form No. 3).

"d. Personal history: three copies.

"5. Persons receiving permission to open business will themselves determine the number of personnel needed, and will submit three copies of their business personal list (Appendix A, Form No. 4), one copy of the personal histories of employees and three copies of requests for authorization of the business, grills and waterways (Appendix A, Form No. 5). When preparations are complete, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties will be informed, and business may commence after the inspection of the establishment and the physical examination of the employees.

"2. Managers intending to change the personnel of their establishments must submit the permission of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Business grills and waterways, wishing to leave the establishments must submit a request (Appendix A, Form No. 6). When the business grills and waterways and other employees are to be replaced, a request for permission to do so must be submitted (Appendix A, Form No. 7).

"8. Managers intending to increase the number of business grills and waterways, meals and others will be informed the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. The date and time for the physical examination by the medical authorities will be announced for each occasion. On completion of the physical examinations, the examination sheets together with copies of personal histories or identification papers will be submitted to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. Permission is necessary before anyone joins the establishment.

"9. The location of and the buildings used as authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation must have the approval of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. In the future, managers who spend excessive discipline may be removed. The Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties will be informed of any request contemplated for any controlled house.

"10. Business grills, waterways, meals may, as a general rule, be subject to the expiration of their term of contract. (This does not apply to persons who have not been overseas at least a year.) Those wishing to continue their employment will be notify the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties for his approval. When the medical authorities consider it suitable to discontinue the services

of persons for reasons of health, they will be informed the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. The latter will facilitate the return home of such persons.

"11. Managers of houses of relaxation will make arrangements for the following:

"a. Bedding in all bedrooms.

"b. Cleanliness in all bedrooms and waiting rooms.

"c. Sanitarians and medicines in lavatories and other designated places.

"d. Regulations and price charts in the waiting rooms.

"e. Business grills and waterways' name-cards in waiting rooms and individual rooms. (These of business grills will be marked in red.) Apart from the above, the establishment of entertainment and rest facilities for guests and the inauguration of other means of relaxation will be encouraged.

Part Three—Management

"12. Managers will refuse admission to all persons who are not soldiers or army civilian employees. Authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will have separate facilities for officers and high ranking officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials and others. However, the facilities for noncommissioned officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials (except for special individuals) will be taken over by officers and high ranking civilian officials after 1200 hours.

"13. Managers will present guests of the houses of relaxation with a 'relaxation-tickets' in exchange for an army ticket, and will record all receipts of these 'relaxation-tickets' by the business.

"14. Hours of operation for authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation are as follows:

"a. Restaurants.

"Noncommissioned officers, privates, junior and other civilian officials—from 1200 hours to 1200 hours.

"Officers and high ranking civilian officials—from 1200 hours to 1200 hours; either 1200 or 1400 hours.

"b. Houses of relaxation—up to 1400 hours.

"15. Prices at authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will be determined by the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties with the approval of the army. Prices are shown on Appendix A, Form No. 8. Managers and employees will demand no other prices than these.

"16. Half of the income of the business will be turned to the managers.

"17. Managers of houses of relaxation will be responsible for all income in accordance with the daily total earnings chart (Appendix A, Form No. 9), and will record the apportionment of all earnings.

Managers of authorized restaurants and houses of relaxation will make the following reports: authorized restaurants—daily report (Appendix A, Form No. 10); houses of relaxation—daily report (Appendix A, Form No. 11).

"18. On the last day of each month, managers will submit a report on business conditions to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties. The form of this report

is shown on Appendix A, Form No. 12 and 13.

"19. Expenses of food, light, firewood, charcoal and bedding for the business (grills and waterways) are the responsibility of the managers. The business will take care of their own expenses for clothing, hairdressing, cosmetics and the like. However, medical expenses for those arising from overwork will be met in part by the managers and thirty percent by the business. The diagnosis of an army physician will be the basis for determining whether or not particular illness is due to overwork.

"20. The names and assigned units of medical officers of misconduct will be reported by the managers to the MANILA Sector Line of Communications Office.

"21. As far as possible, managers will encourage the business grills and waterways to save money. The amount should be limited to 30 yen per month. This amount should not be increased except for persons who can present special reason.

"a. The object of such special reasons may be presented beforehand to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties for his approval.

"b. These reasons will be recorded with 'Notes' in the monthly report.

"c. A statement on income and other items will be prepared by the managers as submitted to the MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties with the monthly report for acknowledgment.

"d. The earnings of those who do not use their pay in advance will be recorded on a monthly report.

"e. Persons contracting considerable medical expenses through hospitalization will report if type of their illness the number of days and treatment and the expense incident thereon together with a statement of their income.

"f. The diagnosis of an army physician will be the basis for determining whether any particular illness is due to overwork.

"12. One holiday a month may be given employees. This will be reported in all cases to the Officer in Charge of MANILA Sector Line of Communications Duties.

Part Four—Hygiene

"13. Managers will regularly be examined by an army physician once a week at a designated place. Managers who are not grills will be examined twice a month. Other employees will be given a physical examination once a month. Expenses incident to these examinations will be taken care of by the managers. It may also be necessary at times to examine such other as players or maids.

"14. The army physicians will make if necessary reports on health after each examination (Appendix A, Form No. 14), and will take care of them.

"15. Persons failing the physical examination or receiving unfavorable diagnosis will be forbidden to entertain guests while under treatment.

"16. Apart from the usual examinations to diagnose for venereal disease, syphilis, gonorrhea, soft chancre, gonorrhea, syphilis, leprosy

examinations will be carried out, physical, medical, a combined physical examination, especially for tuberculosis, contagious diseases, venereal, contagious skin diseases and the like may be given.

"17. Managers of houses of relaxation will provide preventive for venereal disease and have the houses (public and wireless) and the guests make use of them.

"18. Managers of houses of relaxation will be responsible for providing the following measures of venereal disease prevention:

"a. Disinfectant (200 strength potassium permanganate solution or 5000 caustic soap solution) will be put in containers and left in the bathroom and other specified places.

"b. The houses will be kept particularly clean within and without and commodities will be provided.

"c. The houses will wash and disinfect the necessary portions of the houses weekly.

"d. Association with the houses will be forbidden to those who object to sex contacts.

"e. Managers are forbidden to have intercourse during menstrual periods.

"f. Baths will be taken daily.

"g. Vaccines will be provided in the houses' rooms.

"h. Only clean bedding will be used, and it will be changed frequently. Extra bedding will be provided. White towels and pillow covers will be used, and will be kept clean. Any other hygienic measures in this recommended.

"i. Particular attention will be paid to light and fresh air in the rooms.

Part Five - Discipline

"19. For the purpose of maintaining good order, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Jervis Line of Communications Detach will have officers (senior physical) carry out inspection of the establishments from time to time. When necessary, the assistants of the military police will be ordered.

"20. Neatness (appearance and well-being) may not leave the designated areas without permission from the line of communications officer. They are also forbidden to have intercourse beyond the premises of the houses of relaxation. They must have the permission of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Jervis Line of Communications Detach to attend dinner parties for soldiers or army civilian employees.

"21. Managers of houses of relaxation will not supply food or liquor to guests except for specially designated individuals.

"22. Persons about to use the facilities of the houses of relaxation will not be allowed to bring in any liquor.

"23. No selling of food or drink will be permitted within the houses of relaxation, except in specially designated areas.

"24. Entrance to or permission to use the facilities of the houses of relaxation may be refused the following persons:

"a. Intoxicated persons.
"b. Persons carrying liquor.
"c. Other persons who may even had influence.

"25. Persons frequenting the restaurants must observe the following regulations:

"a. Only two hours free glasses per person will be allowed.

"b. Effective measures will be used to protect the peace, and no person threatening a soldier will be recommended.

"c. All furnishings will be handled with care.

"d. There will be no discussion of military matters.

"e. Bills will be paid with army tickets.

"26. Persons frequenting the houses of relaxation must observe the following regulations:

"a. Payment will be made in advance with army tickets.

"b. Relaxation or food sleeping or any such other action threatening a soldier or an army civilian employee is forbidden.

"c. Condoms or other preventives must be used for intercourse. To prevent disease, further care must be taken to insure proper handling.

"d. The houses will not be closed.

"e. Military security measures must be observed.

"27. Infraction of these rules will result withdrawal of permission to continue business.

Part Six - Regulations for Special Clubs

"1. These regulations refer to special clubs within the MANILA Sector.

"2. Special clubs will be taken to mean restaurants, restaurants and houses of relaxation established in some officers and high-ranking civilian officials, under the supervision of the Officer in Charge of MANILA Jervis Line of Communications Detach with the approval of army headquarters.

"3. Special clubs are divided into three categories:

"a. Those that provide both restaurant and room facilities.

"b. Those that provide restaurant and "relaxation" facilities.

"c. Those that provide only restaurant facilities.

"4. Only officers and high-ranking civilian officials (and those regarded as high-ranking civilian officials) may use the facilities of these special clubs. Clubs in (a) category above are for the use of naval officers of field grade and up, and clubs of (b) category above are for the use of naval officers and high-ranking civilian officials of the navy.

"5. Special clubs will not serve persons other than those mentioned above.

"6. Persons intending to use these special clubs must therefore be prepared to identify themselves as officers or high-ranking civilian officials or the equivalent of the latter.

"7. Managers will refuse the facilities of the clubs to those not prepared to so identify themselves.

"8. In order to preclude the use of the clubs by the local population, the Officer in Charge of MANILA Jervis Line of Communications Detach may have his designated officers enter the restaurants of military police for purposes of identifying customers. Prospective customers will be prepared to identify themselves on demand.

"9. Persons wishing to hold dinner parties at the special clubs will announce in advance the names of the representatives of the forces to which they are assigned, and prepare a statement as to the date and time contemplated.

"10. In cases in which the dinner party fails,

3. Form No. 3.

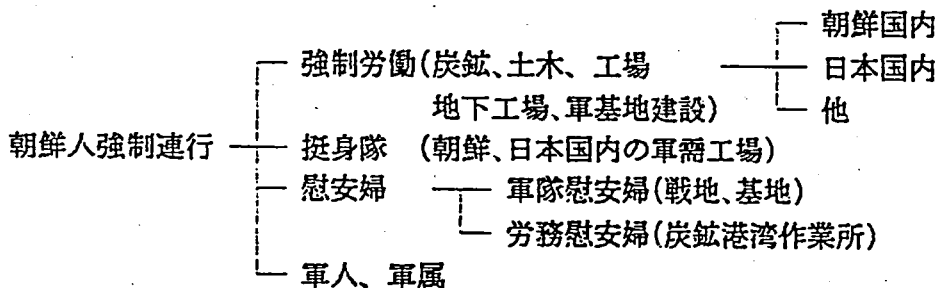
Price List for Authorized Houses of Relaxation			
Houses of relaxation employing Filipino women	Private	45 minutes	1.00
	Noncommissioned officers	45 minutes	1.50
	Others	1 hour	4.00
Houses of relaxation employing Japanese women	Private	45 minutes	1.00
	Noncommissioned officers	45 minutes	1.50
	Others	1 hour	5.00
Notes: 1. Others in the Private column includes soldiers and army civilian employees other than noncommissioned officers. 2. Overnight engagements will begin from 1200 hours. 3. Prices are maximum prices. Managers may make reductions when the situation so warrants.			

朝鮮人強制連行・強制労働

洪祥進（朝鮮人強制連行真相調査団）

朝鮮人強制連行真相調査団は1972年に在日朝鮮人と日本の法律家、学者、文化人による朝・日合同調査団として結成。以来、日本植民地時における朝鮮人強制連行、強制労働の実態解明を行ってきた。

1、朝鮮人強制連行とは



朝鮮人強制連行とは、日本が侵略戦争を敢行するために国家総動員法に基づき1939年から実施された労務動員計画と国民動員計画により朝鮮本土からの連行、次いで国民徴用令により日本国内からの労務動員、さらには軍人・軍属・女子挺身隊・慰安婦としての戦時動員、これら全てを包括するものである。

（強制連行地）

これまで私たちが調べた結果、日本国内で強制労働が行われた作業所は1、141カ所にもおよび（表1参照）現在それについての調査がなされている。しかし2、3の地方自治体を除いてはそのほとんどが民間人によって調査が行われており、実証的な調査は10%前後である。

2、労務動員

強制労働による作業場は炭坑、鉱山、軍需工場、土木作業、日本軍基地建設、地下工場建設等である。強制連行初期に日本国内に連行された朝鮮人は約60%が鉱山関係であったとされている。これは国家総動員法の企画段階（1939年度）から明確に示されており政策的なものであった。

（労務管理）

朝鮮人に対する労務管理は戦争遂行のための殺人的「生産拡充」方針によって行われたが、官憲との密接な連絡の下に対策が取られた。「半島人（朝鮮人）の大量使用に際して請願巡査の配置」（1941年、日本鉱業株式会社『所長会議資料』）に見られるように朝鮮人強制連行者の増加と共に担当警察署員が大幅に増強されている。

（労働時間・期間）

表1. 都道府県別強制連行場（日本国内を中心に）

	1939-1943.3	1944-1945		合 計
	1) 炭鉱 土木、工場	2) 航空機 地下工場	3) 陸海軍 基地建設	
北海道	104		16	120
青森	38			38
岩手	8		6	14
宮城	10		1	11
秋田	4		4	8
山形	6	1		7
福島	4		2	6
茨城	8	3	2	13
栃木	6		26	32
群馬	9	2	2	13
長野	2	4	3	9
新潟	3	2	1	6
東京		1	11	12
神奈川	16	4	7	27
新潟	17	14	78	109
富山	12			12
石川	2	1	1	4
福井	1	3	1	5
山梨	7	3	1	11
長野	1		1	2
岐阜	9	2		11
愛知	3	5	7	15
三重	13	4	8	25
滋賀	3	2	13	18
京都	5	3	11	19
大阪	3		2	5
奈良	1	2	44	47
和歌山	12	1	10	23
鳥取	18	4	8	30
徳島	1		1	2
高松	2		12	14
香川	13		1	14
岡山	3		1	4
広島	4	2	2	8
山口	5	4	48	57
徳島	16	1	14	31
高松	14		9	23
香川	1		3	4
愛媛	10		5	15
高松	3		17	20
福岡	70	4	10	84
佐賀	13		4	17
長崎	25	2	53	80
熊本	9	9	7	25
大分	7		20	27
宮崎	8		11	19
鹿児島	1		50	51
計	524	63	534	1,141

1) 内務省警保局「協和事業関係」(1944年)、1943年3月末現在の統計、日本国立国会図書館憲政資料室所蔵、朝鮮人強制連行真相調査団「資料集1」(1992.1)参照

2) 米国戦略爆撃調査団編「米国戦略爆撃調査団報告書第15巻」には100程度の地下工場建設予定地が示されており「この労働力の主体は朝鮮人と捕虜の中国人であった」と指摘している。表の83ヶ所は兵庫朝鮮関係研究会が確認した地下工場である。同研究会編「地下工場と朝鮮人強制連行」(1990.7.明石書店)参照

3) 戦後、陸軍兵器行政本部及び第2動員解除部がGHQ/SCAPに提出した報告書、日本兵器工業会資料「旧陸海軍施設関係資料」所収、防衛庁防衛研究所所蔵。2)と重複する部分は削除した。1992年2月の資料発見以降、新たな調査対象地となった。これらの基地建設に朝鮮人が動員されていたと考えられる。朝鮮人強制連行真相調査団編「朝鮮人強制連行調査の記録-四国編-」(1992.5.柏書房)

*1)は1943年3月現在であり以降が欠落している。3)の報告書には「残っているもの相当にあるものと予想される」と明記されている。よって現在、文献から確認される連行地は合計1,141ヶ所であるが欠落がかなりあると考えられる。

労働時間は10時間－12時間がほとんどであり、契約期間は2－3年であったが、期間終了後もほとんどが強制的に再契約させられた。

(未払い賃金・供託)

1945年8月15日、祖国の解放を迎えた朝鮮人労働者は企業に対し強制貯金、未払い賃金の支払いを求め各地で抗議運動を繰り広げた。これに対し日本に駐留していた連合国総司令部は、日本政府に覚書を送り「差別待遇を行わず又はこれを許さないことを保証しなければならない」(SCAPIN360, NOV. 28, 1945)とした。しかし日本政府は、これらの未払金と名簿を企業、法務省供託局に提出させた。補償以前の問題であるが現在、日本政府は名簿の公開すら拒否している。

(女子挺身隊)

戦争遂行のため1943年から朝鮮国内および日本国内の軍需産業に勤労挺身隊として幼い12歳の朝鮮人少女も動員された。

1992年1月ソウルの芳山国民学校で確認された学籍簿によると、12才－14才の生徒が1944年7月、日本富山県富山市の不二越に連行された。証言によると労働時間は14時間以上であり食事すら満足に与えられなかったとしている。(『東亜日報』1992年1月16日)

(労務動員による死傷者)

このような労務動員による強制労働の結果危険のともなう作業場で多くの犠牲者が出た。1943年の労働科学研究所の調査によれば朝鮮人の死傷率は日本人労働者の3・5倍から6倍という高率である。

昨年、調査団が北海道三笠美唄炭坑の死亡者名簿を入手分析したが、1944年5月のガス爆発で死亡した109人中、朝鮮人は82人であった。目撃者は「現在でも当時の労働者の白骨が残っている」と語っている。いまだ日本全国の連行現場跡には多くの朝鮮人の遺骨が追悼碑はもちろん墓標もなく放置されている。

当時、朝鮮人が命がけで反抗、逃走して失敗すると警察と企業の労務担当者により追害、虐殺行為まで加えられた。

以上のような過酷な強制労働や虐待による死傷者の正確な統計数字はないが、日本国内だけでも推計30万人とも言われている。そして未だ遺族への連絡さえ行われていない。

＊20世紀には数々の残虐行為があるがその主体は軍隊であった。民間人までが官民一体となり600万人もの他民族に奴隷労働を強要しリンチ・虐殺したにもかかわらず、戦後いまにいたるも謝罪すら行なわれていない。

3. 軍隊系労働力動員

(慰安婦)

慰安婦とは、日本軍の管理下で戦場に連れて行かれ日本軍兵士を相手に強制売

春をさせられた女性のことである。1932年の日本の中国侵略戦争前後から1945年まで行われた。そのほとんどは朝鮮人未婚女性であり当然、本人の承諾もなしに連行された。連行数は10万人から20万人とされている。

(軍人・軍属)

日本の侵略戦争がアジアから太平洋へと拡大するにつれて、軍人、軍要員として徴用され日本軍の基地建設、捕虜の監視等に動員された。地域は日本国内から中国、東南アジアまで広範囲におよび、連行数は36万4千人となり1953年5月現在の死亡者、行方不明者は14万人におよんでいる。(公安調査庁『在日朝鮮人の概況』1953年)

しかし、こうして徴用された朝鮮人に対し現在、外国籍という理由であらゆる保護法の適用から除外している。

4. 朝鮮人強制連行は国際法に違反する

①朝鮮人強制連行は人道に対する国際法とその慣習を踏みにじる違法行為である。
極東国際軍事裁判所条例及びニュルンベルク国際軍事裁判では民間人に対する虐殺、奴隷化等の非人道的行為は加害国の国内法に関わらず戦争犯罪であることが明記されている。

②朝鮮人強制連行・強制労働はILO「強制労働ニ関スル条約」(第29号)に違反する不法行為である。同条約では女性労働の禁止をはじめ地下労働、差別賃金禁止、労働期間は2カ月以内とされている。(1932年11月、日本批准)

5. 日本政府の対応

(強制連行について)

1965年『韓・日条約』締結時の国会答弁で権名外務大臣は強制労働に対する質問に対し、「これを裏づけるよすがもない」(参議院日韓条約等特別委員会、1965年12月3日)とした。1990年8月労働省の書庫から6万5千人の名簿発見。

(慰安婦問題について)

1992年7月、日本政府は127点の資料を発見したと調査結果を発表したが、日本国立国会図書館、公文書館に資料の存在が確認されているにも関わらずその部分については意図的に除外した。

私たちは日本政府の調査発表以降も調査を重ね、今回、国立公文書館から48点もの資料を新たに発見した。この資料には朝鮮人慰安婦は1933年にすでに動員されており従来1937年ごろからの動員説がさらにさかのぼる事になった。日本政府の真相究明に対する対応姿勢がいかに不誠実であったかを示すものである。

6. 原因

根本原因は日本政府が朝鮮植民地支配を有効かつ合法であったと固執するところに起因する。

現在、朝・日両国間で政府間交渉が行われているが朝鮮側がかつての朝鮮植民地政策による人的・物的被害の補償を求めたのに対し日本側は、朝鮮の「併合」は「合法」的になされ「有効」であり、したがって強制連行や女子挺身隊などもすべて「適法」になされた。したがって補償問題は生じないという立場に日本が固執していることにある。

根本問題である日本の植民地支配にいたる条約の再検討が必要である。

また問題が「従軍慰安婦」だけにあるかのように装い、これに対する形だけの「補償」で内外世論を欺まんするようなことで問題の解決は、はかれない。

日本の植民地支配、侵略戦争による被害の歴史を見つめ新たな関係を築こうとするならば当然、全ての問題の全容解明と誠実な補償が望まれる。

7. 解決への政策提言

私たちは日本政府に対し問題解決にむけて次のように提言したい。

- ①慰安婦問題を含む朝鮮人強制連行・労働の真相の徹底的な究明および事実の検証結果と全ての資料公開をすること。
- ②原因および責任を公開で認め、正式な謝罪を行うこと。
- ③真相の究明と謝罪、補償を慰安婦問題に限定する事なく、日本の植民地支配下での犠牲者すべてに全面的な補償を行うこと。すなわち朝鮮の独立闘争に参加し犠牲となった人々、朝鮮人慰安婦および強制連行者(強制労働、挺身隊、軍人・軍属)に対する誠実な補償。
- ④強制連行・労働等の歴史的事実の記録、追悼碑、記念館等による永久的な保存をはかること。

(資料) 『衛生業務報告』について

現成第14旅団(編成地、札幌)の衛生業務関係の報告(1932年9月24日から1933年12月20日)を中心とした48編1,006ページの資料編。(原文、国立公文書館所蔵)

(全体の構成)

衛生業務旬報 34

司令部指示 2

防疫機関実施要領 3

(衛生業務旬報の構成)

1. 部隊行動の概要

2. 衛生機関業務の概要

3. 患者輸送/状況

講演要旨	2	4. 衛生材料補給/状況
検査成績概況報告	1	5. 1 般衛生状況
要報、会報	6	6. 防疫及衛生施設
計	43	7. 其/他必要認識事項

（慰安所の設置）

・1932年10月、中国侵略初期から性病に予防策を講じていた。

「花柳街地域への立ち入りは禁止」(2)衛生業務旬報 昭和7年 10月11日・20日)
ところが花柳病患者が発生する。そこで支那遊廓を閉鎖し軍隊慰安所の開設となり朝鮮人慰安婦の導入。

「平泉に内地人娼婦38名入り来り開業するに付き16日之れが検應を実施」(衛生業務旬報 昭和8年4月11日・20日)

現時点で見えられた資料ではこれが最初の軍隊慰安所と考えられる。

（健康診断要領）

慰安婦のために行うのではなく「軍隊防疫上の必要により実施」とその目的が明確に記されていた。

実施は「應兵または警察官と協同し」一般検査月1回、局部検査毎週1回以上とし疾病に堪えるものまたは伝染病を発見したときは「應兵または警察官に通報するものとす」と官憲の関与を明確にしている。

（花柳病発生数）

14旅団	0.0553(実数47人)	・1,000人に対する1日の数
関東軍	0.077	・14旅団は1932年10月・193
上海派遣軍	0.08	3年5月まで

（簡単なまとめ）

朝鮮人慰安婦の導入が1937年前後との従来の説に対し軍隊慰安所は1933年4月には開設され開設当初から朝鮮人慰安婦が動員されていたことが明確に示された。

当初からこのような関係にあったことが明らかになったがこのことからすると日本の侵略拡大と共に慰安婦の募集が以後大々的に行われる事になるが当然、強制的な連行、管理が行われたと推定できるであろう。

原文には軍隊慰安所との用語は使われていないが当時の状況と資料内容からすると、おそらく軍隊慰安所と考えられる。すなわち軍隊慰安所設置経緯から検診結果、「慰安婦診断実施要領」そして軍隊内での性病感染比率(関東軍、上海派遣軍含む)まで体系的及び総合的にまとめられた初の資料である。

日本政府が7月6日、調査結果を発表したが足元の国立公文書館、国立国会図書館の資料すら調査しておらず責任回避の不誠実な調査と言わざるを得ない。

Drafting of Korean Laborers (Forced Labor)

The Fact-Finding Team on the Truth about Forced Korean Laborers

Hong Sang Jin

The Fact-Finding Team on the Truth about Forced Korean Laborers, which was formed in 1972 jointly by Korean residents in Japan and Japanese lawyers, scholars and intellectuals, has since been conducting research work to disclose the truth about the drafting of Koreans for forced labor by collecting data in Japan and sending members to the United States to obtain related materials there, and also by visiting places where they were made to work and interviewing witnesses. Here is a testimony by a forced Korean laborer.

So Jong U, who is 63 years old now, was told to "go to Japan to work there" by two Japanese and a Korean interpreter who came to him suddenly while he was working on the farm in his home village in South Kyongsang Province on April 21, 1943, when he was 14 years old. When he refused, they persuaded his family to let him go to Japan. Then, he was forcibly boarded on a truck and was taken to a coal mine of Mitsubishi Coal Mining Co., Ltd, on a small island, called "Gunkan (Warship) Island", in Nagasaki Prefecture. There were about 1,000 Koreans working there. Without sufficient food given them, they were forced to dig coal in the pit where temperature rose to 40C°. His health deteriorated because of harsh working conditions and poor food, but when he stopped working in the pit, a Japanese overseer told him to continue to work and beat him all over his body with an iron stick. In those days, So thought everyday he might die at any moment.

After working there for about three months, he was transferred to the Nagasaki Shipyard of Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Co., Ltd., and was made to do welding work, living in a prison-like dormitory which was surrounded by high fences. He was atom-bombed in Nagasaki on Aug. 9 while he was working. At that time, he was seriously injured as a piece of steel plate fell on his feet, and became a crippled person.

When the war ended soon, no Korean laborers at the shipyard were given labor certificate nor were they paid their wages in arrears of payment. In order to destroy evidence showing their work there, the company destroyed the lists of Korean workers who had been working there. Therefore, without a means of identification, they found it very difficult to obtain atom-bombed person's cards which were necessary to get medical treatment. At present, he

cannot work well because of the delayed effect of radiation and his crippled feet, so that he is meeting with great living difficulties.

1. Drafting of Koreans for Forced Labor

The Japanese government proclaimed the national general mobilization law in order to carry on the aggressive war, and under the labor mobilization plan and the national mobilization plan, which were based on this law, Koreans were mobilized in Korea and sent to Japan, and then under the national requisition ordinance, Koreans in Japan were also mobilized as forced laborers, and also as soldiers, civilians in the military service, female volunteers and "comfort" girls. The mobilization of all these Koreans is generally called the forcible drafting of Koreans.

No. of Drafted Persons, Their Destinations

In terms of administrative procedures, the forcible drafting of Koreans was classified into the following three categories, namely "recruitment" (March 1939 - January 1942), "government sponsored recruitment" (February 1942 - August 1944) and "manpower requisition" (February 1944 - August 1945).

According to explanations made by the Government-General of Korea at the 85th and 86th National Diet, "Monthly Special Police Reports" by the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Justice of the Japanese Government and other materials, about 1.5 million Koreans were taken to Japan, 4.5 million were forcibly recruited in Korea and worked there, and 330,000 were sent to Southeast Asian countries, and some numbers of them were sent to Taiwan, Sakhalin, and the Northeast of China.

Places of Forced Labor

Our group sorted out the 1,141 places of forced labour in Japan on the basis of our investigation.

Forced labor was employed in many parts of Japan. However, our research work was done mainly by private persons (except for a couple of local autonomies). About 10% of the total number of forced labor sites have been verified so far.

Let's examine it in terms of the categories of forcible drafting of Koreans - 1) Koreans who were mobilized for labour (forced labourers and female volunteer corps) and 2) Koreans who

were mobilized for military service (comfort girls, soldiers and civilians in the military service).

2. Forced Labor of Forcibly Recruited Koreans

Forced Korean workers were made to work in mines, in munition factories, on construction sites, on construction sites of military bases, for the construction of underground factories, etc. About 60 percent of those who were drafted and sent to work in Japan were forced to work in mines, and this was decided even when the formulation of the national mobilization law was planned (in fiscal 1939).

A classified report of the Welfare Ministry (dated Sept. 26, 1941) states that "up to 80-90 percent of the pit workers are Peninsular people (read "Koreans"). As this shows, Koreans were forced to do the hardest pit work in mines. In other workplaces, Koreans were made to work in the most dangerous places, so that the number of Korean victims was comparatively larger.

Management of Korean Laborers

Management of Korean laborers was done in close cooperation with the police authorities, as is clear from a "petition for posting policemen in connection with mass employment of Peninsular people (Koreans)" (a material submitted to a conference of the managers of mines of Nippon Mining Co., Ltd., in 1941). And as the number of Korean laborers increased, one policeman was posted per 550 Korean laborers (Cabinet approval, dated Sept. 26, 1941). This shows how the state authorities and enterprises cooperated closely to prevent the escape and resistance of Korean laborers.

Working Hours, Contract Term

Korean laborers were forced to work 10-12 hours a day. The contract term was 2-3 years, but the contracts were forcibly renewed when the term expired.

Wages

They were discriminated against in wages. For instance, according to a "report on the working conditions of Peninsular workers" released in 1943 by the Labor Science Research

Institute, the monthly wages of 75 percent of Korean workers were less than 50 against 18% for Japanese workers.

Japan Iron and Steel Works, (presently Nippon Steel Corporation), a leading steel company of the world, employed more than 10,000 forced Korean workers. According to a history of the company, the average monthly income of Japanese workers was ¥144, while that of Korean workers was ¥80. Travelling expenses to Japan, meal expenses, work shoes expenses, etc. were deducted from this low income, and the balance was forced to be deposited in order to prevent their escape. This fact is clear from the lists of Koreans whose wages remained unpaid and were deposited, which the company was made to submit the government after the war by order of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Japan.

According to a report made by Japan Iron and Steel Works which was discovered by our investigation team in January 1992 at Komazawa University, deposited unpaid wages of 5,500 Korean workers at six of its factories amounted to about ¥664,000. It is estimated that the total amount of deposited unpaid wages of Koreans exceeded more than ¥50 millions if we apply the case to the unpaid wages of 300,000 Koreans, the most conservative estimate of the number of forced Korean laborers as of Aug. 15, 1945, given in a government report. The amount can be converted to the present value of about ¥290 billions.

Deposit of Unpaid Wages

Then, why has this question been left unsettled for 47 years since their termination of the war? When they were liberated on Aug. 15, 1945, Korean workers there demanded that the deposits of their wages forced by the company be refunded and wages in arrears of payment be paid fully. The General Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Japan which occupied Japan in those days, sent a memorandum to the Japanese government stating that "discriminative treatment should not be made and that an end to such discriminative treatment should be guaranteed" (SCAPIN 360, Nov. 28, 1945). The Japanese government made the company submit a list of Korean workers and their wages in arrears of payment to the Deposit Bureau of the Ministry of Justice. When the list was submitted to the ministry, the company was obligated to inform the persons concerned that their wages in arrears of payment had been deposited. However, the Japanese government told the company that there was no need to make this notice on grounds of political unrest on the Korean Peninsula. As a result, the deposits are still kept in the vaults of the Bank of Japan. Forcibly recruited Koreans last year filed a suit, demanding that his wage in arrears of payment be paid fully. The government has so far refused to make public names of the Koreans on the plea of "protection of

privacy." It also claims that such a claim is barred by "prescription" since more than 10 years have passed since the case transpired.

* Therefore, hardly any of the large Japanese enterprises that had amassed fabulous profits by employing forced Korean laborers (presently, Sumitomo, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Kajima Corporation, Obayashi-Gumi, Ltd., Kumagai Gumi Co., Ltd. and other construction companies, Toyota, Nissan, Mazda and other auto companies) have yet made any payment of deposits or unpaid wages. Still less, they have made any apologies or compensations. This in spite of the fact that as private enterprises they employed forced labor in contravention of international law.

Female Volunteers

Twelve years old Korean girls were drafted as labor volunteers to work in munitions factories from 1943. According to a list of students recently discovered in Seoul, Korean girls of 12-14 years old were taken to Toyama Prefecture in July 1944 to work for "Fujikoshi." Some of these girls testify that they were not given sufficient food and that they were forced to work more than 14 hours a day. (The Dong-A Ilbo, dated Jan. 16, 1992)

Casualties among Forcibly Recruited Koreans

As a result of hard work in the most dangerous parts in pits, many forcibly recruited Koreans were injured or killed. The rate of casualties of Koreans were 3.5 to 6 times higher than that among Japanese workers, according to a research by the Labour Science Research Institute in 1943.

Our investigation group obtained lists of victims of accidents in the Mitsubishi Miike Mine in Hokkaido. They showed that 82 out of the 109 workers who were killed by a gas explosion on May 1944, were Koreans. A witness said to a member of our group, "The ashes of workers killed at that time must still remain." Remains of many Koreans were left as they were without grave markers in the places of forced labor throughout Japan.

Tens of remains were discovered in August this year at a construction site for a golf course in Fukuoka Prefecture. But bulldozers crushed them into pieces, making them impossible to be identified.

Those forced Korean laborers who made protests or attempted escape were lynched and sometimes massacred by Japanese superintendents or police.

No accurate number of casualties among forced laborers is available. But, it is said it is about 300,000 in Japan alone.

There were mass massacres recorded in the history of the 20th century. They were mainly conducted by soldiers. However, we can not find it in any example which the government and people jointly imposed slave labor on 6 millions of other nations, and lynched and massacred them, and made no apologies or compensations after the war.

3. Drafting of Koreans for Military Service

"Comfort Girls"

"Comfort girls" were those women who were forcibly taken to the battle front and were forced to prostitute for Japanese soldiers under the control of the Japanese Army. This began around the start of Japan's aggressive war against China in 1937. They were mostly unmarried Korean women. They were forced to become prostitutes against their will. The number is said to have been about 100,000-200,000.

Our investigation group flew to Okinawa in 1972 to investigate former "comfort women" there.

Kanejima Kiku, who did cooking for "comfort girls" testified as follows, "All of those girls were in their 20s (except one girl who was 19-year old). They came here in September 1944 with the Koga unit. These women did chores, carried food and did potato-digging and wood-cutting work with soldiers in the morning. They were forced to serve soldiers in the daytime and officers at night. I saw soldiers holding number cards in their hands, forming a queue. These women often said, 'I don't know when I will die,' 'I want to go back,' 'I want to see my mother,' and 'I want to see my brother.' Their sadness and sorrows mounted especially on a moonlight night. They would sing songs of their homeland sadly on such nights.

Pae Pong Gi, who was forced to offer herself as a prostitute in Okinawa and died there last year without setting foot on her home country again, had been taken to Okinawa in the spring of 1944, deceived by a recruiter in Pusan, Korea, who told her that she would be able to earn a lot of money if she went to Singapore. When she learned that she had to become a prostitute, she said, she felt her blood was flowing backward throughout her body. "My heart broke and I could not stop trembling with fear. I shouted aloud that this could not happen," she said, giving vent to her chagrin and regret. Speaking of the harsh life she had led, she continued, "My life has been filled with pains, and I have not spent even a day with a peace of

mind."

Forced Labor as Army Civilian Employees

As the Japanese aggressive war expanded, large numbers of Koreans were drafted for the construction of military bases and also as guards for prisoners of war. About 364,000 Koreans were drafted as soldiers and army civilian employees and were deployed in Japan, China and South East Asia, of whom 14,000 died or were missing as of May 1953. ("An Outlook on Korean Residents in Japan," published by the Public Security Investigation Agency). The Japanese relief law is not applied to these Koreans on the ground that they are not Japanese nationals.

4. Forced Recruitment of Koreans Constitutes a Violation of International Law

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East and the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg note that any inhumane conducts like massacre and enslavement of civilians are war crimes regardless of the domestic laws of an assaulting country.

(1) The forced recruitment of Koreans and forced labor imposed on them are also violations of Convention No. 29 on forced labor of the International Labor Organization. Japan ratified it on Nov. 21, 1932 and registered itself as a signatory to it. At present, this convention is ratified by about 120 countries, including Mauritius, which ratified it in 1970. The following are the articles of the convention which are applicable to this issue.

Article 11

Only adult able-bodied males who are of an apparent age of not less than 18 and not more than 45 years may be called upon for forced or compulsory labour.

Article 12

The maximum period for which any person may be taken for forced or compulsory labour of all kinds in any one period of twelve months shall not exceed sixty days, including the time spent in going to and from the place of work.

Every person from whom forced or compulsory labour is exacted shall be furnished with a certificate indicating the periods of such labour which he has completed.

Article 13

...and the hours worked in excess of the normal working hours shall be remunerated at the rates prevailing in the case of overtime for voluntary labour.

Article 14

With the exception of the forced or compulsory labour provided for in Article 10 of this Convention, forced or compulsory labour of all kinds shall be remunerated in cash at rates not less than those prevailing for similar kinds of work either in the district in which the labour is employed or in the district from which the labour is recruited, whichever may be the higher.

For the purpose of payment of wages the days spent in travelling to and from the place of work shall be counted as working days.

Article 21

Forced or compulsory labour shall not be used for work underground in mines.

The forced recruitment of Koreans and forced labor imposed on them are acts in contravention of almost all the other articles and paragraphs of the convention.

5. Response of the Japanese Government

The Japanese government has never made a serious study of this problem in the past.

On Forced Laborers

Foreign Minister Shiina said on Dec. 3 in 1965 in his reply to a question put in at the National Diet, "there is no way of confirming them (forced laborers)". Despite these words of his, it was known in August, 1990, that lists of about 67,000 forced laborers were preserved at the library of the Labor Ministry. However, they are not made public even today despite repeated petitions by the victims and our investigation group. And we, members of the investigation group, made lists of 145,000 forced Korean laborers and made public their names. The Japanese government has so far collected the names of only 90,000 such Koreans, and has not yet made public their names. Meanwhile, it was confirmed that the Welfare Ministry holds lists of 240,000 Koreans who were forcibly mobilized as soldiers and civilians in the military services.

On "Comfort Girls"

The Japanese government claimed that "comfort girls" were recruited by civilians and made no apology about this issue. As a document which proves the war-time government's role in recruiting these girls, was discovered in January 1992, the government made an apology for the first time.

The government on July 6, 1992 announced that it conducted a survey of war-time archives for six months and culled out a total of 127 documents, held by six governmental agencies. However, materials preserved in the National Diet Library and other public libraries were not included in them. We found 48 more items of material in the National Diet Library after the government's survey.

One of the 48 materials shows that Korean women had already been recruited as "comfort girls" as early as 1933 despite the Japanese government's claim that their first recruitment took place around 1937.

The government claimed after this insufficient survey that it did not find materials which prove these Korean had been forcibly recruited, adding that it had no plan to interview victims in future.

This is an attempt to conceal the truth and seek a political solution.

Cause

Then, why has the Japanese government desperately tried to cover up conducts which the war-time Japanese government, army and enterprises had committed in the past, and minimize the damage done?

It is due to Japan's claim that its past colonial domination of Korea was legitimate and valid.

The Tokyo government persists in its stand that "the Annexation Treaty and other treaties and agreements with Korea were legally concluded and implemented," that the forcible recruiting of Koreans including women as prostitutes for the army "was conducted in compliance with the then law and that, therefore, they are not entitled to any compensation." These remarks were made by a Japanese delegate at the first round of DPRK-Japan talks for the normalization of bilateral relations.

The Japanese government concluded the Treaty on Basic Relations between the ROK and

Japan and other agreements with south Korea in 1965, which justify the 1910-1945 colonial rule of Korea by Japan without its making any apology for it.

An accepted opinion in Japan is that the hosts of treaties and agreements leading to the 1910 treaty were forced on Korea at gun-point.

On the strength of these treaties and agreements, Japan argued that the 1910 Annexation Treaty was legally concluded so that it was unnecessary for Japan to make any compensation.

A reexamination of the treaty which was the fundamental cause of the question is required.

Here we would like to demonstrate that the treaty which gave rise to this fundamental issue, namely, the colonial rule of Korea, was forced on Korea, backed by military forces and that it is null and void.

The Korean Code of 1899 and the Imperial Ordinance of November 1984, which were then Korea's legal institutions, stipulated that all treaties or agreements with a foreign country should become effective only when they had the prior approval, signature and seal of the King. However, Japanese imperialism failed to force the King to affix his signature and seal to the treaty, whatever the pressure and blackmail it resorted to. The standard and principles for concluding a treaty were provided for in the then Japanese Constitution. International law stated that a treaty should be implemented only with the approval of the King and that it is a mere scrap of paper unless ratified by the state.

The Japanese government should admit the fact that Japan fabricated the treaty unjustly and colonized Korea, and make clear the truth about its direct involvement in forcibly drafting Koreans including "comfort women" on the basis of its deep self-examination.

The Japanese government will never lead itself anywhere so long as it continues to ignore the fact of forcible drafting by limiting compensation to former "comfort women."

If it hopes to build new relations through a critical review of its history of colonizing and victimizing other countries, the Japanese government should naturally make a full account of the issues concerned and make sincere reparations.

6. Future Task for Solution

We would like to make the following proposals for solution of the issue to the Japanese government.

(1) For the Japanese government to thoroughly investigate the truth about forced Korean laborers including "comfort girls," make public the results of its research and permit access to all the materials related to it.

(2) To investigate the cause of forcible recruitment of Koreans, admit its social, legal and

historical responsibility and make an official apology.

(3) To make full compensation to all the victims of the colonial rule of Japan, not limiting it to former "comfort girls." The victims should include martyrs who lost their lives for the independence of Korea, Korean "comfort girls" and forced laborers (forced laborers, volunteer corps and forcibly drafted soldiers and civilians in the military service.)

(4) To record all the historical facts of forced labor, erect a monument, build a memorial museum and adopt measures to preserve them permanently.

3月28日(水)は信州日T 77th30^{sec} 栗汁子!大支格明細かきかへ

4月2日(木) 12時30分、日中、約11時30分、空襲、報知、
7月2日、戦時、空襲、12時、空襲、何れ、空襲、
又、大空襲、空襲、空襲、其、空襲、空襲、空襲、
7月3日(金) 今日、空襲、空襲、空襲、空襲、
空襲、空襲、空襲、空襲、空襲、空襲、

此川につき 造船所内は鐵板でつゞいて 全身は河川の水に浮かせ
 へて舟にしよう。分派の木下相一之が 船客の木下二人と共に
 造った。船は又、南条虫と戦争が起ると平山源次郎の南条虫
 は 舟中にも 南条虫と戦争が起ると 舟中に 起ると 舟中が起ると
 起ると 舟中が起ると 舟中が起ると 舟中が起ると

7月に入、新石炭の爆炭は日増にはけく一日に数回もあり
御月工達の進之もふへて来る。現産額も遂に去年の倍に上った。

7月8日 同窓の金山雄達と金山隆烈二人が遊そびたので
西泊の朝鮮飲場まで石川家に行くとお世辞うけ帰った
本日は微雨に束76ヶ月に逢ふ日である

7月16日(日、雨) 11時40分頃作業中感電(丸一乙)で死
致同一事故、大

5月1日(水) 今の爆発は 特にはげにかつた 逆転所と
食堂が被爆され、鉄筋コンクリート造の2階建が直撃を受け
壁は崩壊、床は女房室 50名程が爆死された。この時
船倉岸壁にぶつた 同型式クレーンに 投げ込まれた爆弾で
そこに居る 50名程が 爆死した。地上には大きな池が
急造された。私は炭体の塊り出し作業に参加された
た。

8月9日(木) 朝工場に出る時に 暴風警報になった
晴れた、真夏の16時で暑かった。船から大田尻行きの鉄材
を国争航に積み、ラマの漁いで 本村桑倉堂裏の岸壁に
到着の時は11時着のこと、思います。突然北の空からB29
の爆音が聞こえて、空を見れば、雲のすき間から敵機が見えた。
B29機の後方に白く気球が昇った。今更に見たことのない
物であった。B29はその気球を築いて急旋回しながら
逃げようとした。その時刻まで、我々は何事か想像も
出来なかった。その時刻は司馬遼太郎の「海軍」を読んだ
本筋から飛降り、石垣の岸壁を叩きの力と、この頃になると
同時に食糧の下駄箱に入りこんだ瞬間に、ひさびさ
太陽が燃えつきると、焼裸のスパークの様な閃光が
私の頭に落ちたかと思う肉毛をくドローと稲妻い
爆音や腹が切れ胃袋(腸)からは出るような油の
地獄と同時に食糧の屑桶から強烈な熱が下りて来た
理屈が氣絶してはいらぬ。しばらくして気がつき、物の隙間
から空を見れば、気球が浮いていた。瞬時に真っ白い大きな
爆雷がどんどんと大きくおろしつづけるのを見ながら
その白かつた雲がまじぎ、黒赤な火玉のおりになっていく
を見ては又と氣絶した。ようやく靴を取りとし、下駄箱
から這い出て、100m(直線)を方向指示板を向かって一目散
に走り入ったら、暗トニクルの中は阿鼻叫喚の大騒動であ
った。能作作業が重負だった。微細工場の金身虫だらけにな
って、はいたり、おぼったりしてトニクルに入ってくる員働者
にはケートンやハンカチや風呂敷の手巻をしてやり、
同組の運送係用二に船に行くと、二丁船も取っているように
知らねえ、これから行くことを知らせることに決めた。

の会長と一審に控訴したたが 朝鮮人徴用工等の名簿
 にあると云い、明らかにあつても見せるとは出来ないと
 云はうことゝなつた。理由は、私が徴用工であつたか
 らのを証明すべきものとして、その時、私が徴用
 期間中に秘密に書いた日記帳を、同課長に見せて本人
 で間違ひないことを確認させた。私の日記帳を見て
 からは、徴用工運の名簿及び関係書類等は、会社が被爆
 の時に焼失、又は逸失されたと確定した。それでは
 焼失の日は何日かと、及問うたが、45年の8月1日だとい
 うので、8月1日の日記に、被爆があつたか？如何を確
 認した。私の日記を見れば、その日、11時頃、空爆、15時
 解放軍、と被爆があつたと明記してあり、
 この日の日記帳を、同課長も確認した。
 8月12日、帰国の日、9時30分、長崎市銭形工記者会見と同時
 に、原爆手帳も交付された。去年10月18日、健康診
 査のため、長崎弘い血病院に入院、検査を経て
 10月30日に帰国した。私が昨年8月を最後に社に
 責任ある戦後の補償を求め、行動を開始した。
 まず1審に参ります。たが、この間、1961年、社に對し
 て、義は、未払賃金の存在や、強制貯蓄の未払を認めながら
 も「未払賃金は、貯蓄と一緒に、昭和23年に供託
 済み」徴用は、国が行つたこととして、義には責任が
 ないとして、私の要求を、全的に拒否して、ます
 にも供託したとは、意味つても、証明する資料は
 紛失したと云ふ、何一つ示してないばかりで、抄罪
 の甚業さ、拒否して、ます、一方供託を致したは、

長崎法務局の長。そして 長崎基準のことも 後証を証明
した資料は 何一つ 出さなかった。長崎法務局の 議は
「おれこれ以上 中絶する数が多い」と 固く 意を固くする

私は 今年7月31日 長崎地方裁判所に 同二名を相手に
米松貸金請求訴訟を提起した。そして 8月9日 原爆平和
祈念式に 長崎科松貸金請求訴訟の爆死の被害者 韓国、遺族と 孝帝
と 8月10日 帰国した。

去る10月10日 長崎地方裁判所に 第1次 米松貸金請求訴訟
法に 同二名を相手に 認定審問をした。次の裁判は 1993
年2月20日と決まっていた。私の裁判を支援する会も 組織
された。支援会の 皆様に 深くご厚意に 感謝
申し上げます。三義は 戦争中に すべて 軍事面を作り その
武器により 数多くの 人々が 死んで 生かされた。
三義は それらの 武器を 国に 納め 莫大の 金を 儲け した。
国は 戦争で 敗れた。三義は 今 世界の 有名な 大企業
幹部に なっている。8月10日の 被害と 9日の 長崎に 原爆 爆死の
被害に 数千人の 日本人 韓国朝鮮人 聯合軍の 掃討に 爆死
し 今も 尚 数千人 生存被害者の 後遺症で 老後の 身に
苦しみながら 毎日も 数千人が 死んでいます。戦後 47年が
たった。今でも 韓国に 被害者は 国家被害的に 数千人の
神傷も 受けて 悲嘆を 活きながら 自らの 不甞を 怨
みつつ 死の 日 を 求めています。三義は 韓国人 徴用工に 原
爆 爆死後 案にて 食事を 供し 徴用 解除後 貸金と 精算
し 集団で 帰国したと 言っている。一次 帰国者は 20余人に
達したが これも 帰国の 途に 台風を 受けて 不甞の 死に いた
りした。原爆で 爆死 台風で 吹死した これらの 怨魂
を 今に 求めて 慰めて くれるか？ 私は 長崎に 行くために

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朝鮮原爆被爆者追悼碑に像をたて友人の冥福を祈り
まず像造りとして、所日1991年8月46週年平和新憲式
原爆の際、韓国から持ってきた電報に敬意を込めて
私は被爆者追悼会の中128人として偉大な方々の中に
私の証言するのがあります。日本国と大韓民国は戦争の罪悪は
何一つ、及ぶもなく日本国民と大韓民国との親善友好に影
響がある云々、新お、私の請求に対し、最善の誠意
を盡してほしい。私は裁判を通じて、被爆者の苦行を糾弾
する決意を固めたい。私は法廷の場を通じて、強制連
行の实態を、大韓民国の憲法を犯して、私自身の怒りを憤
激を赤福々に暴発する決意です。勿論私の裁判は
私個人の問題に止まらず、と朝鮮半島の抹殺をしようとしている
歴史の一幕に光を当て、今もなお、戦争の思いを抱き
続けている元徴用工、全員の思いを今年暮る間に、たと
えなくても、同時に全にわたる日本人、一人ひとりの戦後責
任を問う問ひであり、さらに、現在の課題と確信
は、被爆者追悼会に於ける私の裁判は絶対に夏4月には
間にあります。皆様の力が、必要です。皆様の力を
かいて下さい。私の勝利は皆様の勝利です。よって日本国民
と大韓民国の勝利であります。これを持って私の証言を終ります。

感謝状

1992年12月9日

大韓民国

金順吉

帰国後は何時も病弱で胃腸も悪く今は胃腸がとて弱く
 1980年頃は結核で入院し通間治療をした

1987年8月31日～8月13日(11日間)入院胆石症で胆管
 を除去手術をした

1991年5月27日～6月19日(24日間)結核性肋膜炎で
 入院手術をした 診療関係書類は持っています

今も毎朝薬を飲んでいきます

1992年12月3日

大韓民国 釜山

金 順 光 殿

Kim Sun-Gil

It is truly a pleasure to have the opportunity to meet with you today. My name is Kim; I am from Pusan, South Korea. I am very honored to have this opportunity today to present my testimony at this international public hearing. Although it would have been natural for me to make my presentation in Korean, I will speak in Japanese, for the sake of time, since most of you would not understand Korean. Please forgive me if my Japanese is awkward.

Today marks the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Pacific War, December 8, 1941, which began with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. It was January 9, 1945, when I was drafted and forcibly taken to the Mitsubishi shipyard in Nagasaki. In Korea, I used to work as a secretary of the industrial organization of herbal medicine companies. At the end of December, 1944, I was drafted as a forced laborer. In order to escape from the draft, I hid at my mother's parents' house. Because I did not show up on the day of induction, the police threatened my family everyday and suspended their food rations. The police arrested my mother and they came to my mother's parents' house. I was caught, and, on the evening of January 8, 1945, I was confined in a lodge near Pusan. My head was shaved and I was taken onto a ship the next morning before dawn.

After I was forcibly drafted, my wife went back to her family; my field workers were also taken as forced laborers; the farming land was totally abandoned and my family led a miserable life.

When I arrived in the Mitsubishi shipyard, I was placed in one of three wooden shacks. There were a total of 350 forced laborers from Korea in those three shacks. There was always someone who, unable to bear the hunger, was trying to escape; some were injured and some died from accidents. Many of us suffered from malnutrition. For breakfast and dinner, we received a bowl of soybean meal with a little bit of brown rice, three slices of pickled radish, and a bowl of soybean soup which was nothing more than salty soup with seaweed. For lunch, we received only one riceball. Everyday, we were so hungry that we bought riceballs, roasted beans or dried squid with our own money. A pack of cigarettes cost ¥1.6, and a fifth of a liter of sake cost half a yen at a company store. They extracted the charge for these things from our

monthly salary. The only thing we got free was a couple of mandarine oranges. I was in charge of delivering shipbuilding parts and supplies to the dry-docks. Usually, as soon as I got up at 6 in the morning, I ate breakfast and went to work. I worked until 3 or 6 and sometimes worked overtime, usually until 9:30pm. Other forced laborers had to work throughout the night.

I got my first monthly salary on February 28:

[Salary] January -- ¥ 29.41
February- ¥ 87.27
 Total -- ¥116.68
 (including total of ¥29.05 family allowance, attendance incentive award, etc.)

[Deduction from monthly salary]

Advance	-- ¥ 1.00
Rent	----- ¥ 8.80
National polity fee	-- ¥ 0.68
National savings account	¥ 71.28
Health insurance	----- ¥ 1.05
Retirement account	---- ¥ 3.87
Total deduction	----- ¥ 86.68

Net cash received ----- ¥ 30.00

(§ The deduction for the national savings account was made unilaterally by my employer without any consultation with me. We were not even allowed to see our savings account passbooks. The salary was handed to us by a Japanese squad leader.)

March 28. Payday. I received ¥77.30, but no payslip.

April 26. The weather was nice. At 11:30 the air raid siren went off; three Grumans dove and dropped several 500-kg-bombs onto the shipyard. They also bombed the docks and the neighboring area. We had air raids almost everyday, all day and all night. We received little food and we had to work 12-hour shifts. The summer sun was beating on the shipyard; we felt like we were in a foundry and were covered in

sweat and exhausted.

July 3. Three people escaped. We could not sleep at night because roaches were everywhere. Beginning in July, bombing of the docks intensified; sometimes, they were bombed several times on the same day. Escapes among the forced laborers increased. Even some of the Japanese squad leaders ran away.

July 8. Today marks the end of the 6th month of my forced labor. Two of fellow laborers escaped today. I went to look for them at a Korean restaurant, but had no luck.

July 16. Today, at 11:40, I almost died from electric shock while I was working.

August 1. The bombing was particularly intense today. The shipyard and a cafeteria were bombed, and some 50 Japanese female student workers were killed. One bomb fell on a crane. Five or six people near the crane were killed, and the area where the crane had been was now a small pond. I was told to help retrieve the bodies.

August 9th. When I was about to leave for work, the air raid alarm went off. It was a shiny hot day. After delivering steel to a ship, I ate lunch, and the ship went to a cliff behind the cafeteria before eleven. Suddenly I heard the sound of a B-29 from the north. I looked up and saw a B-29 among the clouds. I saw a white balloon at the end of the place. I had never seen such a thing before. The B-29 released the balloon, made a sharp turn, and headed away from the city. At that time, the air raid siren did not go off at all. It was low tide. I jumped off the ship and climbed up the cliff with all my strength. As soon as I reached the latrine behind the cafeteria, I saw a bright flash like the sun, as intense as an electrical spark, and then heard a huge explosion. The earth shook so violently that it felt as if my stomach was lodged in my throat. The roof of the cafeteria fell onto my lower body, and I lost consciousness. When I woke up, I saw a white cloud in the sky growing steadily larger and turning bright red like a big fireball. Then I lost consciousness again.

Finally, I managed to extract myself from the latrine, and run into a tunnel, which was 100m from the cafeteria. Inside the tunnel I found utter chaos. The forced laborers who had been sleeping in the tunnel were attending the victims who came running in, many of them covered in blood or vomiting. I told one of the forced laborers to go to get

riceballs from a ship, but he said that he was too scared to go. I virtually forced him to go, and ate some of the riceballs he brought back. Then, I climbed up a mountain and looked down at the docks. They were completely destroyed. I went back to the shack and found several survivors there. That night I walked back through the mountains and spent the night on the beach. The next morning, I went back to my shack, retrieved my suitcase and backpack from where they were hidden in an air raid shelter, and my diary from where it was hidden under a ricestraw mat, stole a can of emergency rations, and hid in another air raid shelter until August 12th. Around 8 o'clock on the evening of the 12th I left the shelter in a truck driven by another Korean laborer.

On the 15th, we first heard that the news that there would be an important statement from the emperor, and then heard the wonderful news of Japan's unconditional surrender. The city of Shinonoseki was in an uproar. The Korean community was overjoyed; the Japanese were deeply distressed. Because of my strong desire to go back to my home country, at around 9 p.m. on the 17th, I arranged (for a fare of ¥70) to board a wooden ship carrying lime to Korea. Some 50 returnees were on board. At around 2 in the morning on the 19th, I reached Pusan.

I consider myself lucky to have this opportunity to speak to you today about what happened in Nagasaki 47 years ago. I attended the commemoration of the 46th anniversary of the bombing on August 9th, 1991, in Nagasaki.

When I returned to my hotel at around 7:00 p.m., I received a phone call from the Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Corporation. Later that day, a section chief of the company brought me documentary proof that I had been employed by them. Because of the opportunity which this presented, I applied for certification as an atomic bomb victim.

Prior to that, on the 7th of August, I went to Mitsubishi along with a labor union president and a representative of an organization of second generation atomic bomb victims in order to see their roster of Korean forced laborers. Mitsubishi told us that there was no such list, and that even if there were, they could not show it to us. They told us that this was because I could not prove that I had been a forced laborer. At that point, I produced the diary which I had kept while I was working as a forced laborer, showed it to the section chief, and proved to him that I had indeed been a forced laborer.

After seeing my diary, he told me that the roster of forced laborers and related documents were destroyed or lost as a result of the repeated bombing. I asked him when the bombing that had destroyed the documents occurred; he replied that they had been destroyed on August 1, 1945. I checked my diary, and confirmed that there had indeed been a bombing at around 11 a.m. on August 1.

August 12, 1991. On the morning of the day I returned to Korea, I held a press conference at Nagasaki City Hall, and was at that time certified by the city government as an atomic bomb victim.

October 12, 1991. I entered a hospital in Nagasaki, had a thorough physical, and returned to Korea on the 30th.

I started demanding fair compensation from Mitsubishi last May. Mitsubishi has been reluctant throughout this period. They have admitted that part of my wages had originally gone unpaid, and that I had been forced to make deposits into compulsory national savings, but according to them, "unpaid wages and the national savings were put in trust in Showa 23." They plainly rejected my demand for compensation, insisting that "it is the state which holds responsibility for the forced labor, not Mitsubishi." Although they said that they put the money they owed me in trust, they would not show me anything to prove it, saying that they had lost all such documents. They are even refusing to apologize. As for the proof that my wages were put into trust, I could not find any from the Nagasaki justice bureau, the

prefectural government or the Labour Standards Bureau. The director of the Nagasaki justice bureau even said, "I do not have any intention to search for it any more."

On July 31, I filed suit in the Nagasaki district court to demand the payment of the unpaid wages from the state and Mitsubishi. On August 9, I attended the commemoration ceremony for the atomic bomb victims, and then returned to Korea on August 10.

On October 6, cross-examination for my initial lawsuit to demand the payment of the unpaid wages was held in the Nagasaki district court. A group has been organized to support my case. I would like to thank the people of the supporting group.

Mitsubishi produced all the munitions during the War, and countless people's life were lost because of the weapons Mitsubishi produced. Mitsubishi made an enormous amount of profit by selling their weapons to the state. Although the state lost the War, Mitsubishi has become a big corporation well known throughout the world. The atomic bombs dropped in Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9) killed hundreds of thousands of Japanese and Koreans, as well as Allied prisoners of war; even today, the atomic bomb survivors suffer from the after-effects, and thousands die a year. For 47 years after the War, the Korean survivors have never received any compensation from the state whatsoever; we are just awaiting death, bitter about our bad fortune. Mitsubishi insists that, after the atomic bomb, they provided food to the survivors among the forced laborers; when the draft was dismissed, they cleared the unpaid wages and sent them back to Korea by sea. Nevertheless, only some 20 Koreans were in the first group going back to Korea. To make it worse, the ship sank because of a typhoon. They never reached their home country. What can console these deep sorrows and sufferings? Whenever I visit Nagasaki, I go to the memorial monument for the Korean atomic bomb victims and pray for the souls of my brothers and sisters. I brought an incense burner, stones and sand from Korea, when I attended the 46th memorial ceremony last year, and put them around the monument.

I am here to testify today because I survived the bombing and the confusion afterwards. Neither Japan nor Mitsubishi show the slightest regrets for the crimes they committed during the War. I want Mitsubishi and Japan to treat my claim with sincerity, instead of claiming that to do so would jeopardize the friendly relationship between the peoples of

Korea and Japan. I have strengthened my resolve to pursue my claim through the courts, this being the last avenue available to me to condemn the barbaric acts of Japan and Mitsubishi. Through litigation, it is my intention to completely reveal the facts of our forced labor and of Mitsubishi's barbarism, as well as my own anger. Needless to say, this case is not only my personal struggle; it is also the struggle of my fellow surviving forced laborers, who to this day still suffer, and it is also a means of illuminating a part of history which might otherwise be concealed. At the same time, it is the struggle to question responsibility of individual Japanese for the War. I am, therefore, strongly convinced that the struggle is relevant to today. I must not lose. I need your support. My victory is your victory—a victory for all Japanese. I conclude my statement with these words.

Thank you very much.

9 December 1992, Republic of Korea, Kim Sun-Gil

1992年12月4日

サハリン州韓人老人協会 会長 朴 寅 東

私の名前は朴寅東と言います。1923年4月18日生まれです。故郷は今の韓国、慶尚南道蔚山郡です。

私が故郷の地から樺太、現在のロシア連邦サハリンへ連行されてから、ちょうど50年がたちました。かつて、ともに樺太に連行された3万人の者はほぼ皆亡くなり、今ではわずか1000人しか残っておりません。

しかし、我々はサハリンに生き残って生活しています。我々は、日本の植民地時代の抑圧、徴用、強制労働、そして抑留の生き証人です。我々がどれくらいやるせない辛い抑留生活と家族との悲しい生き別れを味わってきたか、その事実をそのまま日本人の皆さんにお伝えしたいと思います。

私が樺太に連行されたのは、1943年のことです。この年の元旦の朝、突然、私の家に、私の兄を指名した令状を持った者たちが乗り込んできました。当時、私の家では17歳という若い身で南洋群島報国隊へ連行された末弟がマラリアにかかり故郷へ戻ってきた件で、父が当局から厳しい追及を受けたため病床についており、兄がその父の看病をしていたのです。

私たちがその事情を訴えると、令状を持ってきた者たちは、兄が行けないのなら弟のおまえが行け、もし私がそれを拒むのであれば、我が家の父母兄弟から食糧配給券を取り上げ、また田畑に植えてある穀物も全部没収すると言うのでした。私には反対できませんでした。そのとき、私は20歳でした。

同じ日に蔚山郡で徴用に集められた者は42名。釜山から連絡船に乗せられ下関に到着、下関からは徴用者を輸送するための汽車が特別に仕立てられました。ここから青森まで汽車で7日間かかり、途中一度も土を踏むことも許されず、木の座席に座ったまま寝起きしました。これは実に辛かった。各車両の両方の昇降口では監視員が厳重な警備をしており、どこかの都市を列車が通り過ぎる際には、外が見えないように窓がカーテンでふさがれていました。

4日ほどたつと、監視員たちも疲れてきたらしく、夜明けに居眠りをするようになったため、そのすきをうかがい、私は、同じ部落から一緒に来た青年と逃亡を図りました。しかし、不幸なことに、警備員たちに悟られて失敗。その後は、車中で手錠をはめられたまま、警備員たちに足蹴にされたり、殴られたりしながら過ごし

ました。

樟太に渡った後、我々が連れていかれたのは、樟太豊栄郡落合町カラフト ホウエイダシ オチアイチュウ)の樟太人造石油会社の内瀬(ナイブチ)炭鉱でした。到着翌日の明け方5時頃、私は事務所に呼び出され、途中逃亡を計画した罪を問われ、暴行を受けて謝罪させられました。

それから最初の2日間は、身体検査と宿舎の規則を教えられて過ごし、その後仕事が始まりました。ここでも逃亡計画の一件がたり、私にあてがわれたのは炭鉱内最奥の坑夫の仕事でした。水が落ち、ガスのひどい危険な採炭現場は、必ず強制徴用された朝鮮人坑夫が担当させられていました。その水の落ちる坑内で、作業服をびしょぬれにし、ガスを吸いながら働いたため、それが原因で今も喘息に苦しんでいます。

炭鉱の近くは人造石油の工場があり、それは石炭から油を搾り取る工場だと聞いたことがありました。そこの仕事は幹部である日本人だけができる特権でした。

我々、坑夫の宿舎には「親和寮」第三棟と看板に書かれていました。内部は広く、石炭ストーブはひとつだけ、床に毛布1枚で寝かされるのです。そこで一部屋に12～14名ずつ寝起きすることになったのです。

寮での食事は、寮長、事務員、炊事夫及びその家族が食った残りが我々に与えられ、配給量の半分にも満たない有様でした。豆と蕎麦、蕎麦の飯に、おかずは昆布汁に蕎麦と身欠き鯉。食費として一月18円が賃金から天引きされ、そして賃金の残りは強制的に貯金させられました。通帳は国家銀行のものではなく、会社作りのもの。我々は自分の血と汗の結晶である賃金を自由には使用できず、積立金は絵を書いた紙切れに過ぎなかったのです。

我々は、刑務所に服役した囚人みたいに外出する自由もありませんでした。脱走を企て、それを実行する者があると、数時間もたたず捕まえられ、半殺しの目にあわされて人事不省のまま連れ戻されてくるのです。そんな同僚に同情の言葉ひとつかけられず、抗議もできない惨めな生活でした。

食糧が足りず、身体が極度に弱りましたが、仕事を一日でも休むと寮事務所に呼び出され、いつも用意されていたケーブル線の切れ端で殴られることになりました。若い者が殴られても辛いのに、言葉もわからない老人が殴られて、ただアイゴ、アイゴと唸っているのを聞く度に胸が張り裂ける思いがしました。

ある日のこと、蔚山郡から来た当時19歳の青年が下痢をわずらわって、「晩交代」の仕事を休んだため、事務所に引っ張り出され、5名の幹部たちに取り囲まれ

て、殴る蹴るの制裁を受けている非道な有様を目撃してしまった私は、憤慨の余り、堪忍袋の緒が切れ、彼ら5名を相手に抗議しました。私はその日から15日間、監獄におちこまれ、ひどい懲罰にあいました。そのため、今でも腰が痛みます。

私は掘進作業から始まり、終戦まで採炭現場で働きました。日本人の現場監督、交代監督らの酷烈な指導の下で、1日12～14時間、石炭を掘るのです。それはモグラのような生活でした。炭塵で息が詰まり、いつ、どこで落盤にあって死ぬかわからない。一日中、恐怖心で一杯でした。そのうえ、ひもじきの苦しみです。なんとか生き延びたのは、いつか家族、父母兄弟とまた会えるという希望のおかげでした。

以上、私が自分の経験をお話ししたのは、これが一人、私に特有の話ではないからです。サハリンに残留した韓人一世は、多かれ少なかれ、似たような経験をしています。私のいた内灘炭鉱だけで、朝鮮人炭鉱夫は3500人から4000人いたのです。

サハリン韓人一世の運命は、実に不幸なものであり、悲惨です。我々は、日本帝国主義が挑発した戦争遂行のため、故国から連れ出され、父母妻子とも生き別れた、時ならぬ20世紀の「奴隷」なのです。

我々韓人一世は、1941年から45年にかけて、2年間の期限で、いわゆる「徴用」という呪わしい方法で強制連行されてきました。当時、未知の島「樺太」は想像を超える苛酷さで我々を迎えました。安全規則などあってなきがごとくの危険で加重な労働、軍隊化された厳重な規律、監獄同様の寮生活、空腹と長い冬、これが「徴用」の現実そのものでした。

我々の精神的苦痛は日増しに深くなりました。離別に泣いた家族たちの懐かしい顔、無事に早く帰国できることを祈る幼子たちのかわいい姿は、私たちの脳裏から消えることはありませんでした。それはまるで身を切られるような痛みでした。

さらに悲惨だったのは、約束の「徴用」期間2年が過ぎてもさらに2年の延長を強要され、賃金を手にすることもできずに強制貯金させられたことです。また、鉄道や道路建設、炭鉱など特に重労働で危険を伴う仕事についていた者のなかには、事故で負傷したり、死亡した者も少なくありません。我々のささいな過ちに対して、寮長や隊長はとにかく乱暴で、我々を人間扱いしませんでした。

1945年8月15日、ついに「解放」の日がやってきました。我々、樺太の朝

鮮人にとって、この日の喜びは、大日本帝国の敗戦よりものによりも、これで父母妻子の待つ故国に帰れるという喜びだったのです。その「解放」が、この先50年間もの抑留という犠牲を払わなければならないものになると誰に予想できたでしょうか。

戦後、「赤い」新しい主人を迎えた我々は、ソ連10月革命の産物である「働かざる者食うべからず」という原則のもと、生きるために労働第一主義の体制のなかに投げ込まれたのです。しかし、ここであくせく稼いだお金も、故国に残った父母妻子に送ってやることはできませんでした。すでに外界との接触をすべて禁止したソ連の「鉄のカーテン」が立ち上がりかけていたためです。それゆえ、多くの独り者はやむなく酒と賭博に身をまかせるしかありませんでした。故国の家族たちを思うあまり、精神を病み、自殺するという痛ましい実例も少なくありませんでした。

いつも民族同等を唱えてきたソ連において、我々は直接的、間接的に民族差別を受けてきました。ときには肉体的虐待もありました。事実、理由もなく暴行を受けて障害を負った者、死んだ者もいます。

解放直後から1962年までは、ソ連の大陸本土からサハリンに来たソ連人に対しては地域別割増金が支払われましたが、韓人労働者に支払われることはありませんでした。また、各部門、各職場において韓人同胞の能力、熱意はソ連人たちに比べ比較的高いにもかかわらず、国家勲章やメダル、賞その他表彰に関してはあらゆる差別待遇がありました。そのような民族差別は商店において、あるいは住宅配分にもあり、一々あげるときりがありません。

解放后すぐにソ連本土で特別任務を受けサハリンに派遣されてきたソ連系朝鮮人インテリ、すなわち宣伝者がいました。彼らは韓人同胞が大勢いる地方、企業所、工場、炭鉱などに「副支配人」として迎えられました。我々は密かに彼らを「政治部長」と呼びました。

彼らはいつまでたっても赤化されない我々に共産主義思想を宣伝し、社会主義的優越性と法則、規律、思想を説き、我々の家庭生活や個人生活に至るまであらゆる面に介入し、支配統制しようとしていました。ソ連国籍取得を強要され、「帰国」を口にしようものなら、それこそ嚴重な注意と批判を受けたのです。このような支配と宣伝は、1980年頃まで盛んに行われました。ソ連軍が我々にもたらしてくれた「解放」は、我々を日本帝国主義の鎖から解き放ち完全な自由を与えてくれたものだと言われました。

我々韓人にとって、この「解放」とは、体よくこの島の主人が交替したことにす

ぎず、実際には半世紀にも及ぶ父母兄弟妻子との離散であり、祖国への帰還を放棄し断念する永遠の抑留を意味しました。

我々サハリン韓人は、人間として必要かつ貴重なすべてを失ってしまったのです。万一、日帝により強制連行されることがなかったなら、我々韓人一世は故国で恋しい妻と共にかわいい息子や娘を育て、貧しくとも慎ましく暖かな家庭をもち、希望と夢を語っていたことでしょう。

「解放」は故国への帰還どころか、手紙一通送ることさえ通わない終わりなき悲しみと苦痛をもたらしました。

むろん、かつて日帝が我々を支配した期間は、比較的短いものでした。しかし、その後半世紀もの長期間にわたって我々を放置して祖国と家族から引き離し、今日、我々がこのように年老いて病氣となり死んでいく、その根本的原因は日本にあるのです。

日本は戦後民主化され人権を擁護する国になった、とよく耳にします。しかし、それが事実であるのなら、なぜ我々韓人一世の当然の要求が未だに実現されないのでしょうか。いま私たちが話をしているこの瞬間にも、サハリンでは一世老人が一人二人と亡くなっているのです。この胸の痛む現実を無視することは、20世紀に生きる人間として道徳も常識も欠いた野蛮な行為とはいえないでしょうか。今日の豊かな日本経済にとって、補償することは広大な太平洋の一滴の水のようなものでしょう。

もっとも、その補償がなされたとしても、我々韓人一世がこれまで胸のうちに抑えに抑えてきた怨根を解くことはできません。異国で空しく時を過ごすうちに文化や言葉、風習までも忘れてしまった我々の貴重な青春を取り戻すことは絶対にできないのです。

我々は今、目の前の現実を直視しなければなりません。50年という長い歳月が過ぎてしまった今日、日本、旧ソ連のどちらを恨んでみても、すでにその時期を逃してしまったのです。サハリン韓人一世が祖国と家族を失ったのは誰れのせいかという問いは、今の我々には何の意味もありません。

いまや、問題は現在も生存している数少ない年老いた韓人一世の命にかかわる点です。我々は今でも失った祖国に帰りたい、離れ離れになった家族と一緒に暮らしたいという希望で胸一杯です。わずかな余生を自分の生まれた故郷で送りたい。我々サハリン韓人の目的は、終始一貫して永住帰国であり、この最後の希望を胸に抱いているだけなのです。

ガソリンがなければ車が動かないように、この切なる希望を実現するには、お金なしには一步も進めません。過去、大日本帝国が我々韓人一世の人生をメチャクチャにした以上、現在の民主日本は当然それに対し、速やかに補償する絶対的な責任と義務があります。もちろんその補償がなされる際には、韓国に永住帰国する一世のための受入れ施設がまず準備されなければなりません。

そのとき初めて、長年日本を恨み続けてきたサハリン残留韓人一世の心が、いくらかは晴れるでしょう。それと同時に、日本が人道的義務と使命をひとまずは遂行する者として、多くの人たちの歓迎を受けるものとなるはずです。

1. 日本国政府
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日本国政府

Pak Khe Don, chairman
Sakhalin Province Aged Koreans Association

My name is Pak Khe Don. I was born on April 18, 1923, in Ulsan, Kyongsangnam Do.

Exactly fifty years have passed since I was brought from my hometown to Karafuto, what is now Sakhalin, Russia. Most of the 30,000 people who were brought to Karafuto at that time have now died and there are currently only 1,000 survivors.

But we are still living here in Sakhalin. We are living witnesses of the oppression, "drafting," forced labor, and internment under the Japanese occupation. I would like to share with you, the people of Japan, our helplessness and painful experiences during the internment and lifelong separation from our families, exactly as it happened.

I was taken to Sakhalin in 1943. On New Year's Day, men carrying a warrant on which my elder brother's name was written, suddenly stepped into our house. At that time, my elder brother was taking care of our father who had become ill after having been relentlessly interrogated by the authorities. They had questioned him about our youngest brother who, at the age of 17, was sent to the "patriotic troops" in the South Sea Islands, caught malaria and was sent home.

When we explained our situation, the men who brought the warrant told us that I should go in place of my brother. They said that the food ration coupons given to my parents and brothers, as well as all of the grain being raised in our field would be taken away if we refused to cooperate. I could not say no. I was 20 years old.

A total of 42 people were recruited from Ulsan that day. We were put on a boat from Pusan to Shimonoseki. There, a train especially for draftees stood ready. It took seven days to Aomori during which we were not allowed to leave the train. We slept sitting on wooden seats. It was a truly painful experience. We were under strict guard. There were guards at both ends of each car. Every time the train passed a city somewhere, windows were covered by curtains so that we could not see the outside.

After about four days, the guards apparently became tired and began to take a nap early in the morning. I tried to escape while they were asleep with another young man who had come with me from the same village. But unfortunately, we were caught. From that time on, we were handcuffed at all times, often kicked and beaten by the guards.

After arriving at Karafuto, we were taken to the Naibuchi Mine of "Karafuto Jinzo Sekiyu Kaisha" (the Karafuto synthetic oil company) at Ochiaicho, Moei-gun, Karafuto. At five o'clock in the morning the following day, I was called to the office where I was beaten and forced to apologize for having trying to escape.

For the next two days, we underwent a physical examination and were taught the rules at our lodgings. Then began the labor.

to Sakhalin from the main land were paid a special area bonus. But Korean workers were not entitled to it. Furthermore, although our ability and enthusiasm was relatively high compare to our Soviet counterparts in every department and work place, there were all kinds of discrimination when it came to receiving decorations, medals, and other awards. We were also discriminated against in stores, housing rations; I could go on endlessly.

There were Korean Russians dispatched right after the war to Sakhalin from the main land, charged with a special mission. These intellectuals were propagandists. They came to the areas, companies, factories, and mines where there were many Koreans, as "fukushihainin" (vice-manager). We secretly called them the "head of the political department."

They tried to make us "red," by communist propaganda. They taught socialistic superiority, laws, regulations, and ideology. They tried to control us by intervening in every aspect of our lives, including our family life and privacy. We were forced to accept Soviet citizenship, given a stern warning and exposed to harsh criticism when we mentioned anything to do with "returning home." This kind of control and propaganda continued until around 1980. They told us that "liberation" brought on by the Soviet army had given us complete freedom, unfettering us from the chains of the Great Japanese Imperialism.

For us Koreans, the "liberation" here was merely a superficial change in the master of this island. In fact, it meant half a century of separation from our parents, brothers, sisters, wives and children, and an internment which would last forever, forcing us to abandon the idea of returning to our home.

We Koreans in Sakhalin lost everything that we valued and everything we needed. Had we not been forcibly brought to here by the Great Japanese Empire, we would have raised our lovely sons and daughters with our wives and have had a poor, modest yet warm life together, sharing our hopes and dreams.

The "liberation" brought us endless sorrow and pain; we could not even send a letter, not to mention returning to our home country.

The period in which we were under the rule of the Great Japanese Empire was relatively short. But the cause of us being left behind for half a century, away from our home country and families, lies with Japan.

We often hear that Japan has become a democratic nation which stand by human rights. But if that is true, why have our demands, still not been met? At this very moment, the first generation Koreans in Sakhalin who have become old men, are dying one after another. Isn't closing one's eyes to this painful reality barbarous conduct without a bit of morality and common sense of a person living in the 20th century? For Japan, an economic superpower, compensating us will be like giving a drop of water from the Pacific Ocean.

But even if we are compensated, our pent up anger will not go

away. We have forgotten our culture, language, and customs while we wasted in a foreign country. Our valuable youth will never be retrieved.

Now we must look at the reality that lies before our eyes. Now that 50 years have passed, it is too late to reproach either Japan or the former Soviet Union. The question of who to blame for the loss of our home and families no longer has any meaning for us.

What's important is the fact that the old first generation Koreans still alive in Sakhalin, who have become very few in number, are nearing the end of their lives. It is the matter of life and death for them. We still long to return to our home country and live with our families. We want to spend the rest of our life, though short, in our birthplaces. Our goal as the first generation Koreans in Sakhalin has always been to return permanently to our country. This is our last and only wish.

As a car needs gasoline to move, we cannot take even one step forward to realize our ardent hope without money. The Great Japanese Empire ruined our life completely in the past and the present democratic Japan has the absolute responsibility and obligation to compensate us without delay. Of course, when we receive our compensation, facilities should be ready in Korea for us to live there permanently.

Then, Koreans left in Sakhalin, who have been reproachful of Japan for so long, will finally feel a little better. At the same time Japan will be welcomed by many people in the world as a nation which fulfills its humanitarian duty and mission.

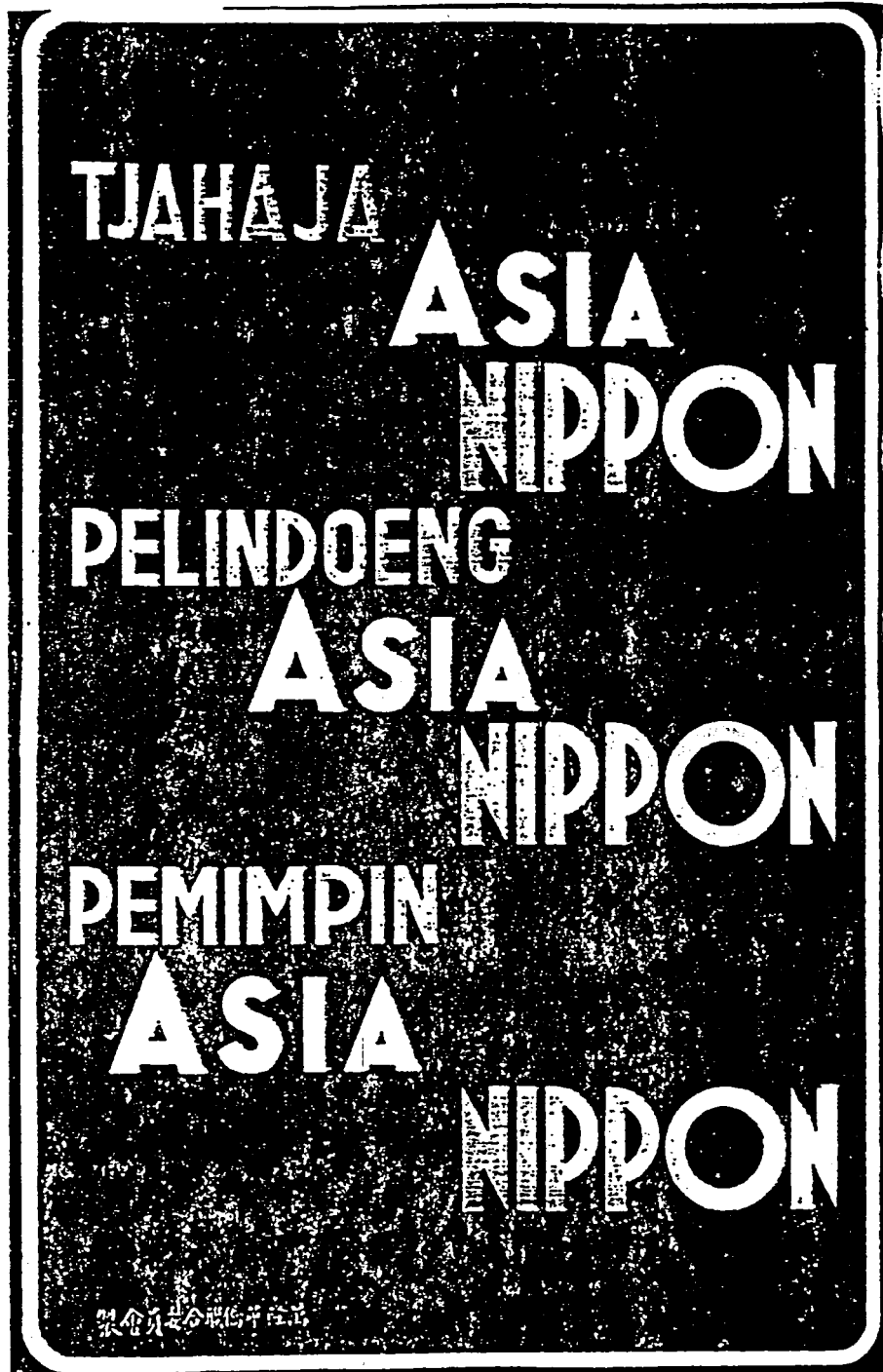
MY PERSONAL STORY ABOUT JAPANESE INTERNMENT CAMPS

The Executive Committee of "International Public Hearing Concerning Post War Compensation of Japan" asked me to tell you about my personal experiences als a victim of grave violations of Human Rights during the Japanese occupation of the former Netherlands East Indies -now the independent republic of Indonesia- during the Pacific war of 1942-1945. I will start my story right from the beginning.

The Royal Netherlands Indies Army gave up the unequal struggle against the 16th Japanese Army under lieutenant-general Hitoshi Imamura and capitulated on March 8th, 1942. General Imamura, with his five divisions and the Sakaguchi-brigade, had by then occupied all of Java and parts of the remainder of the archipelago. One can assume that the Japanese occupation factually started on the 9th of March when the Governor-general was no longer in a position to hold his post. At some scattered places in the archipelago local military commanders were still fighting the Japanese enemy, but not for long.

I was then 15 years of age and living with my parents and brother at Bandoeng, a city in the upland plain of the Preanger, Western Java. My father had a pharmacy. The 14th of March the Japanese Military Administration ordered that normal live should be resumed but other measures of that same Administration prevented this. So, for instance, all the headmasters of European school at Batavia (now Jakarta) were taken into custody and Western schooling was forbidden. This deprived all scholars of their right of education. The consequences of this were that after the war the youth from the former Dutch East Indies was set back for two to five years compared with their age-fellows in the Netherlands, who had been in a position to enjoy schooling during the war.

Of what happened during the early days of the Japanese occupation I will tell you the following. The Netherlands-Indies Radio Broadcasting Company took care of radio broadcasts until the 18th of March. Every evening these transmissions were concluded by playing the national anthem "Wilhelmus". The employees who did this had to pay for it with their lives. They were shot by the Japanese.



Poster of the "Three A" movement.
This was humiliating for the Europeans as well as for the Indonesians.

to the former "lands Opvoedingsgesticht" (reformatory school) at Bandoeng. My mother and I were left behind, uncertain about the future. Initially there was a weekly visiting time, but within a month that was terminated. As a consequence of his internment, my fathers pharmacy was closed. In the meantime the state of public health in general was deteriorating for every body, the Indonesians included. Almost all pharmacies were closed and most of the medical practitioners were interned.

Early september 1942 the Japanese Military Administration at Java ordered that all Allied women and children had to be taken into so called "protected" areas. Those were areas in build-up cities, which were surrounded by a plashed fence of bamboo. This order should at Bandoeng be complied with by the end of November 1942. Where as our house was in one of these "protected" areas, my mother was ordered to take about thirty women and children into the house. This meant that in every room except the kitchen, a broken-up family was living. This lasted for my mother and myself only for a very short time where as -all of a sudden- my father was by the end of December released from his internment. He was ordered to open up again his pharmacy. In order not to be taken into custody again he got a band to wear around his upper arm on which, in Japanese, something was written.

My mother and I managed to escape from the "protected" area and slip into a small house behind my father's pharmacy. Then, for the three of us, a terrified period of time begun. Only my father could show up, my mother and I had to be hidden all the time. Japanese military men as well as Indonesians could walk into the pharmacy and report our presence to the authorities. The native servant who had served my parents for many years, remained loyal to us. Every day she bought vegetables, fruit, bread and other foodstuffs at the market place. She also told us of new measures taken by the Japanese. Of course, there was no school teaching for me at all.

My father had two female assistants in his pharmacy, one being of Indonesian origin, the other being Dutch. She also was wearing a band like my fathers. My mother had a bad health and was treated by an Indonesian surgeon. His prescriptions were, as long as medicines were at present, prepared by my father. This situation lasted for the three of us until Oktober 1943. Then, in an evil hour, my father was taken by

some very little sticky rice with some vegetables. No meat or fish at all. Every day we got some 5 centimeter of sodden bread.

There was some sort of voluntary education. Schoolteachers who were interned, taught scholars, mostly without textbooks. The reformatory school in which we were kept, had a capacity for 200 boys. We were altogether with more than 2500. Sanitary facilities were totally inadequate. There was a very primitive hospitalward with a dental surgery. Because I had rather a toothache in those days I've visited this surgery several times. But the dentist's drill was a selfmade one and not very reliable. Therefore extracting a tooth was normal practice. To keep the routine in this camp there were several fatigue-duties. The only one's coming outside the camp were those burying the dead.

In February 1944 we were ordered to pack our things and get ready for transportation. We didn't get any information about where we would go or why. With trucks we were transported to a former military barracks at Bandoeng. Upon arrival we found that there were other internees already present, coming from other internmentcamps. Life was very bad because almost nothing was organized and the food was as bad as ever. I remember that one night one of the internees tried to escape trough the sewer. He was caught. What ever happened to him I do not know, he didn't come back to us.

It must have been during March 1944 that we were ordered to pack again and get ready for transportation. We had learned in the meantime that such transportations were very harmful. Most of us had, as a handyman, made himself a stool to sit on, so that you need not always sit on the floor. Most of that "furniture" was lost during these transportations. We were again transported by truck, this time to Tjimahi, a garrison-town approx. 20 kilometers west of Bandoeng. There were several barracks, each belonging to a battalion of the Indies Army. We, that is my father, brother and myself, were accomodated in de barracks of the IVth battalion. Before we arrived there had been military people kept in the barracks as we could read from writings on the wall. In a corner, somewhere in the barracks, it was written that there were seven soldiers executed. They had tried to escape but, unfortunately, they were caught and shot.

The barracks of the IVth battalion were integrated with those next of the IIth battalion. Each of these barracks were built to accommodate 1000 man; we totalled 10.000. Such barracks consisted each of a staff-building next to the gate, four accommodations to encamp four companies, two armouries, a big stable, all grouped around the drill-ground. Furthermore there were several small dwellings originally intended for married petty officers. We used all practical premises; each got 70 centimeter, to lay his bed. In the encampments for the companies there were wooden platforms and we made acquaintance with other inhabitants: house-bugs.

The small dwellings were used as hospital. A special section was fitted as quarantine station. There the patients with bacilli dysentery were housed. Many of the internees have suffered this disease, most of which didn't survive this illness. I myself have been hospitalized once. I had dysentery but luckily not the dangerous bacilli form. My father could help with the medicine he had hidden in his mattress. I remember being in the hospital that one day I got a cup of broth. Later I was told that the broth was made from one of the scarce campdogs. Although there was a fully equipped military hospital in Tjinshi, being this a garrison-town, nobody was permitted to go there. As far as I know there never came a Japanese military surgeon to visit us.

After taking use of the barracks, life as internees gradually started up. Contrary to what we were used to in previous camps, here we had to fetch our foodstuff in kind ourselves from a storehouse somewhere in Tjinshi. Therefore a fatigue-duty was organized in which I found a place, together with about twenty other young people. That meant that we had to go to the storehouse three times a week to get rice, sugar, salt and vegetables. A bale of rice weighted 80 kilograms, bales of sugar and salt each 50 kilograms. As you can imagine, carrying these bales was quite a heavy job for our famished bodies. We were also regularly ordered to fetch burning wood for the camp furnace.

We did our job in fatigue-duty under supervision of a Japanese soldier, who was always "armed" with a bamboo-cane. He was always driving us with this cane. When we were too slow in his opinion he hit us. I've been hit

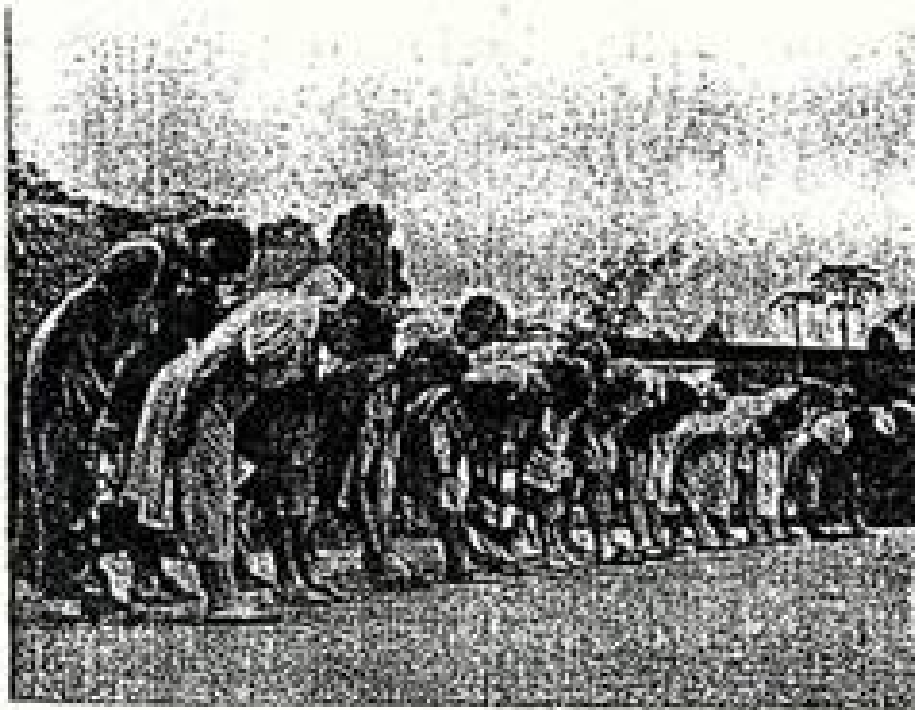
many times, sometimes very severely. It must have been during 1943 that we were sometimes ordered not to fetch our foodstuff. I think that was when the Imperial Japanese forces were beaten by the Allies somewhere in the Pacific. But to us it meant that we would have no food at all for one or two days. Of course, it was unknown to us what happened anywhere else in the world, while there were no papers nor radio.

Other fatigue-duties were to bury the dead, approx. ten a day, and to look after a kitchen-garden in the neighbourhood of the barracks. Needless to say that we never got anything from these kitchen-gardens.

I will tell you more about camp-life. The barracks were surrounded by a plashed fence of bamboo. If you wished, you could make a hole in this fence and try to contact outside standing Indonesians. Occasionally some one managed to buy something, eggs for instance. But the Japanese guards were always around and if you were caught at the fence, you were punished. This punishment mostly consisted of your hands being tied together at your back and then you were hanged on your hands on a lamppost for 24 hours. This always took place in front of the staffbuilding, opposite the main gate of the barracks. I remember once that some one protested against such an ill-treatment at the Japanese guard; he was hanged the same way next to the first one. Other forms of punishment were to let the one to be punished stand on his hands, his feet against a wall, for 12 hours. Also sometimes part of the inhabitants of the camp was ordered to the drill-ground and stand there at attention for many many hours, regardless rain or sun.

The Japanese guards often went into the camp, always "armed" with a bamboo cane. The first one of the internees who saw him had to shout "kiotskê". Then every one stood at attention and, when he passed, had to bow. If you didn't bow deep enough he hit you with his cane. Sometimes, I think when the guard was in a bad temper for unknown reason, he just hit every one he met. Twice a day there was a roll-call. Every one had to stand in front of his place and we were counted. That often got together with beatings.

The food was awfully bad and insufficient. Shortly after arriving the



"KIOTSKA"

The way the internees had to "honour" the Japanese campguards.
This was very humiliating for European people.
(This picture was taken in a women's camp)

rice ration was changed for "oebie", a native sweet potato, normally used for pigfood. These were rather soft tubers. Because they were roughly handled in amounts, some got cracked. These cracked tubers started soon to rot. You can probably imagine what it is if several of these rotten potatoes were cooked with the remainder. That was the main dish we got every day. Unbearable because of the smell but we had nothing else to eat. Our daily ration of bread consisted of a piece of about 5 centimeters. One day the Japanese forbade yeast. Some analytical chemists knew that one could produce some sort of yeast from humane urine. So in the barracks appeared open barrels from metal in which one has to urinate. Not only the hygienics got completely lost, but also the atmosphere was almost unbearable.

It must have been the 22nd of August 1945, that we were ordered to fall in on one of the drill-grounds. A Japanese non-commissioned officer told us in very bad Malayan tongue that Tenno Heika had come to the conclusion



Poster telling people to destroy the Allied Powers.

that the war should be ended. As you can imagine, our joy was enormous, but this lasted only for a short period of time. First of all, there was no improvement in the food and still every day people died. Also proper medical care was not given to us. Now, you must know that on 31st of August, that is nine days after we heard that the war was over, some one put up at the main gate a Dutch national flag, red-white-blue. I don't know where it came from. But this national symbol wasn't there for long. It had to be taken away and the one who put it there was punished.

Only after the war we learned what had happened to my mother. After my

father and I had left her, she was taken into one of the "protected" areas of Bandoeng, not the one in which our house was situated. She had, as we had before, to leave all her belongings in the house. After some time the internees of that "protected" area were transferred to a place in Mid-Java, Semarang. She was put in a camp, called Lampersari. There she stayed until the war was over. The treatment in that camp was as bad as everywhere else. Sometimes the women and children -up to 16 years of age- had to stand at attention for 12 or more hours, sometimes they were beaten. My mother lost her sense of hearing on her right ear. It was completely beaten out. After the war was over the Allied transferred her to Bandoeng, where finally she was re-united with my father. My mother was then all skin and bone. Had the war lasted one more month, she might have died. In this respect I can recommend you to read the story of Ronny Herman. She wrote a book "In the Shadow of the Sun". It is written in English and covers her personal story -based on the dairy of her mother- about life in a Japanese concentration camp for women.

I made you acquainted with a number of grave violations of Human Rights, committed by the Japanese Imperial Forces. Our freedom was robbed from us, we were bereft of hope and life, we never got any medical treatment when needed, we didn't get any schooling and we lost all our personal belongings and property. We were humiliated almost every day. My father lost his pharmacy and never got any compensation. He had worked all his life to build it up. When the war was over in 1945 he was 62 years of age, too old to start again, and had lost everything.

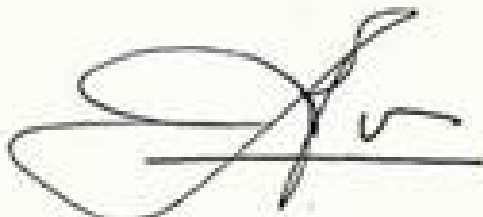
After the war I went to the Netherlands, started up again my education and became a naval officer. After thirty years of military service in the navy I had taken a degree in law and worked for ten years as an attorney-at-law. In the meantime I got married and raised a family. I thought that all the horrors of my youth were gone. But after having told people about my experiences in three different Japanese concentration camps and have written my story down, almost every day of those years came back to my memory. I can imagine that some people have a traumatic remembrance of that period of their life. They must be, like me, in the autumn of their lives. Their youth has been destroyed for ever.

What I have told you is only about my personal experiences, only what has happened to me in three internment camps I've been in. There have been many of such camps during the Japanese occupation period. They were all over the archipelago. I do not know what has happened there. No one knew because it was strictly forbidden to write to other camps. But even if it should have been permitted to write a letter, there were no organized forms of postal services. Japan told the Indonesians they were the leaders of Asia. But in fact, the Imperial forces ruined all areas where they went.

What we learned after the war was that due to the good services of other people, the Swedes and Swiss for instance, many thousands of Red Cross parcels were sent to us. Each containing foodstuff, chocolate, cigarettes, clothing and other useful things. All these parcels, addressed to the internees, were stolen by the Japanese troops. When the war was over there were insufficient parcels left to give every internee just one. I remember we had to share one parcel with thirteen of us.

This is a sad story as there are many of these sad stories. For over fifty years we had to live with our memories, for many of us traumatic memories. Will there ever be an end to these? Will there ever be any any reparation?

Thank you for your attention.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Jungslager', written over a horizontal line.

Dr. G. Jungslager



This poster was issued very late during the war, telling the people that the war was about to be over and won by the Japanese. Luckily, the Allies won the war.

G・エングスラーガー

私は「日本の戦後補償に関する国際公聴会」実行委員会より、重大な人権侵害被害者として、一九四二年から一九四五年まで続いた太平洋戦争中、日本が旧オランダ領東インド（現在のインドネシア共和国）を占領していた時代の個人的体験を語ってほしいと言われました。一番初めからお話しします。

オランダ・インド王室軍は、今村ひとし陸軍中將率いる圧倒的な数の第十六軍との戦いに敗れ、一九四二年三月八日に降参しました。今村中將の五つの師団と坂口旅団は、その頃にはジャワ島全土とあといくつかの諸島をすでに占領していました。日本の占領が実際に始まったのは、オランダ総督がその地位を失った三月九日と言えるでしょう。諸島の中には地域の軍司令官たちが日本軍相手に戦っていた所もありましたが、長続きはしませんでした。

私は当時十五歳で、ジャワ島西部にあるブリアングル高原の町バンドンに、両親と兄と一緒に暮らしていました。私の父は薬局を営んでいました。三月十四日、日本軍政監部は普通の生活に戻るよう命令しましたが、同じ政監部による別の命令により、それは出来ませんでした。例えば、バタビア（今のジャカルタ）にあった全てのヨーロッパ系の学校の校長は拘留され、ヨーロッパ式の学校教育は禁止されました。これにより全ての学生は教育を受ける権利を奪われました。この結果、旧オランダ領東インドの若者は、戦争中も教育を受けることが出来たオランダ在住の若者に比べ、二年から五年遅れをとっていました。

日本の占領が始まって間もない頃に起こったことを次にお話しします。オランダ領インド・ラジオ放送局は三月十八日まで放送していましたが、毎晩放送終了時には必ず国歌の「ウィルヘルムス」を流していました。国歌を流した局員は、命と引き換えにこれを償わなければならませんでした。日本人に撃ち殺されたのです。

（ポスターの説明）

「三A運動のポスター」

これはヨーロッパ人にとってもインドネシア人にとっても屈辱的なものだった。

三月末、日本人はヨーロッパ人の収容を開始しました。総督は四月六日に投獄され、しばらくして満州に送られました。二週間の間にオランダ人公務員や事務員らは理由も告げられないまま逮捕されました。バタビアではヨーロッパ人が襲撃にあいました。「ティガ

せられ、今度はバンドンから西二十キロの駐屯地の町チマヒへと向かいました。オランダ・インド軍大隊の営舎がいくつかある所です。父、兄、私の三人は第四大隊の営舎に収容されました。壁の落書きから察して、私たちが来る前は軍人たちが囚えられていたようでした。営舎の片隅に、ここで七人の兵士が処刑されたと書いてありました。逃亡を試みたのですが、不幸にも捕まって撃たれたのです。

第四大隊の営舎は隣の第九大隊のものと統合されていました。営舎は千人収容できるように建てられていましたが、私たちは全部で一万人居ました。それぞれの営舎には、ゲートの隣に参謀の建物、四個の中隊を収容できる宿泊施設四つ、二つの兵器庫、大きな馬小屋がありました。営舎は全て練兵場の周囲にかたまっていました。さらに、要需者の下士官のために作られた小さな住宅もありました。私たちはあらゆるスペースを利用しました。一人が確保できた寝床は七十センチでした。中隊の野営には木製の通台があり、私たちは別の住人であるごきぶりと知り合うことができました。

小さな住宅は病院として使われ、その一角に隔離所が設けられました。そこには赤病患者が隔離されました。多くの収容者が赤病になり、ほとんどが死亡しました。私も一度赤病になり入院しましたが、幸いにも危険な菌ではありませんでした。父がマットレスの中に隠していた薬で助かったのです。入院していた時、一杯のスープが出てきたことがありました。後で、それは収容所にわずかにいた犬の肉で作られたものだと言われました。駐屯地があるため、チマヒには設備の整った軍の病院がありました。しかし私たちがそこに行くことは許されませんでした。私の知る限り、日本人の軍医は誰一人として私たちの所にはやってきませんでした。

営舎にも慣れると、収容所の本格的な生活が序じょに始まりました。以前の収容所と違い、食べ物はチマヒのどこかの店から自分たちで調達しなくてはなりませんでした。そのため私を含む二十人程の若者が、その労役を担当するようになりました。米、砂糖、塩、野菜を調達するため、週三回店に行かなくてはなりませんでした。米は一袋八十キロ、砂糖と塩は五十キロありました。想像いただけるように、おなかを空かせた私たちにとって、この袋を担ぐのは大変こたえました。収容所のかまどの薪も定期的に調達するよう命令されました。

労役にはいつも竹の棒で「武装」した、日本人兵士の監督がついていました。いつもこの棒を持って私たちに指示していました。作業が遅いと思えば、これで叩きました。私も何度も叩かれました。とてもきつく叩かれたこともありました。たしか一九四五年の頃だったと思いますが、食べ物を調達しに行ってはいけないという指令が何度か出されました。日本軍が太平洋のどこかで連合軍に負けた時だったと思います。しかし私たちにとってそれは九一日か二日、何も食べられないことを意味しました。もちろん、新聞もラジオもなく、世界がどうなっているのか私たちには分かりませんでした。

他の労役として一日十人ほどの死体の埋葬と、営舎近くにある菜園の手入れがありました。

たが、言うまでもなく、菜園のものは私たちの口には入りませんでした。

収容所の生活についてもう少し続けます。営舎は竹で編んだ網に囲まれていました。穴をあけて外のインドネシア人と接触することができました。こっそりと卵などを買ってる人もいました。しかし日本人の看守がいつも見張っていて、捕まれば罰を受けました。手を後ろで縛られ、二四時間電柱につるされる罰がほとんどでした。それはいつも営舎のグートの反対側にある参謀の建物の正前で行われました。一度誰かがこうしたひどい扱いに対し、日本人の看守に抗議したことがありました。しかし彼もまたその場で同じ様につるされました。その他にも、壁に向かって十二時間逆立ちをするという罰もありました。また収容所の何人かが練兵場に連れてゆかれ、雨の中あるいは炎天下、何時間も気をつけの姿勢で立たされたこともありました。

日本人の看守はしょっちゅう収容所の中に入ってきました。彼らはいつも竹の棒で「武装」していました。最初に監視人の姿を見た者は「気をつけ」と叫ばなければなりません。すると全員が気をつけの姿勢をとり、監視人が前を通り過ぎる時におじぎをしなければなりません。頭の下げ方が足りないと、棒で叩かれました。機嫌が悪い時は、会う者をことごとく叩いたりしました。点呼は一日に二回でした。全員所定の場所に立たされ、頭数を数えられました。この時殴られることもよくありました。

食事は最悪で、全然足りませんでした。到着して間もなく、配給の米が現地のさつまいものウビに換えられました。普段は豚の餌に使うものです。柔らかめの根菜で、大量に煮っぱく扱われたため、つぶれることもありました。つぶれたところから腐り始め、腐ったところも一緒に煮るものですから、どんな料理になったかは皆さんも想像できると思います。これが私たちの毎日の主食でした。すごい臭いで耐えられないものでしたが、他に食べるものは何もありませんでした。毎日配給されたパンは五センチ程度のものが一切れでした。ある日、日本人はイースト菌の使用を禁じました。人間の尿からイースト菌のような物が取れることが分析化学者の間で知られていたため、営舎には尿をためる金属の樽が用意されました。不潔きわまりないだけでなく、雰囲気全体が耐え難いものになりました。

（写真の説明）

収容所にいれられた人々は、このようにして日本人の看守に“敬礼”をしなくてはなりませんでした。これはヨーロッパ人にとって非常に屈辱的でした。（この写真は女性専用の収容所で撮られた）

確か一九四五年の八月二十二日でした。私たちは練兵場に下りてくるよう言われました。日本人下士官が下手なマレー語で、天皇陛下が戦争を終わらせる決定を下したと伝えました。当然私たちは大喜びしました。しかしぬか喜びでした。まず第一に、食事はまったく

良くならないし、依然として毎日死者が出ていました。適切な医療も施されませんでした。そして八月三十一日、終戦を聞かされて九日目、誰かが正門に赤と白と青のオランダ国旗を揚げたのです。どこにあったのかは知りません。しかし、国の象徴がたなびいたのはほんのわずかな間でした。旗は降ろすよう言われ、揚げた人は罰を受けました。

(ポスターの説明)

連合軍打倒を呼びかけたポスター

戦争が終わって、やっと私たちは母があの後どうなったのかを知ることができました。私と父が連れて行かれた後、母はバンドンにある「保護」区に連れて行かれました。これは私たちの家があった「保護」区とはまた別のものです。私たちと同じように母も持ち物を全部家に残したままでした。しばらくして、その「保護」区の拘禁者はジャワ島中部のセマランにあるランプリサリという収容所に移されました。母はそこに終戦までいました。この収容所の待遇も他の収容所と同様にひどいものでした。女性や子供（十六才まで）たちは、十二時間以上気をつけの姿勢で立たされたり、殴られたりしました。母もひどく殴られ、右の耳が聞こえなくなりました。終戦後、母は連合軍によってバンドンに送り返され、そこでやっと父に会えました。その時の母は骨と皮に痩せていました。もし戦争が一月長引いていたら、母は死んでいたでしょう。これについては、ロニー・ハーマンの作品『イン・ザ・シャドー・オブ・ザ・サン<太陽（日本のこと?）の陰にて>』を読まれるようお勧めします。この本は英語で書かれています。彼女の母親の日記をもとに、日本軍の女性収容所における個人の体験が綴られています。

私は日本皇軍の犯した重大な人権侵害の例を数多くあげました。私たちは自由を否定され、希望も未来も奪われました。必要な医療や教育はまったく与えられず、所持品や財産はすべて失いました。そして毎日のように屈辱的な扱いを受けたのです。父は薬局を失いましたが、何の補償も手にしませんでした。薬局を開くために一生懸命働いてきたのに。戦争が終わった一九四五年父は六十二才になっていました。やり直すには年をとりすぎていましたし、何もかも失っていました。

戦後私はオランダに戻りました。再び学校に行き、海軍士官になりました。三十年海軍に仕えた後、法律の学位を取り十年間弁護士として働きました。その間、結婚し家族を養ってきました。幼い頃の恐ろしい思い出はすっかり消え去ったと思っていました。しかし、三か所の日本軍収容所で味わった経験を話したり書いたりするようになってからは、当時の日々の生活の記憶が甦ってきました。あの時代の悲痛な思い出を一生抱えてきた人は他にもいると思います。私と同様、その人たちにとってもあれは人生における黄昏に違いありません。彼らの青春は永久に破壊されてしまったのです。

これまで語ったことは、三か所の収容所で私が個人的に体験したこと、遭遇したことだ

けです。日本の占領時代このような収容所がたくさんありました。諸島の至る所にありました。そこで何が行われたのか私には分かりません。他の収容所に手紙を出すことは固く禁じられていたので、誰もよそのことは知りませんでした。しかしたとえ手紙を出すことが許されていたとしても、きちんとした郵便制度はありませんでした。日本はインドネシア人に対し、アジアの指導者という立場をとっていました。だが実際には、皇軍は侵攻した先をことごとく壊滅させたのです。

戦争が終わって、私たちは、スウェーデンやスイスなど世界の人々の善意で、赤十字の救援物資が何千箱も私たちに送られていたことを知りました。食料、チョコレート、タバコ、薬、その他役に立つ物が入っていました。収容所にいる私たちに向けられたこれらの物資を日本軍はすべて横領していました。戦争が終わった時、残っていた箱を分けようとしたら、一人につき一箱も当たりませんでした。一箱を十三人で分けたことを憶えています。

私と同じように悲しい話は他にも数限りなくあります。私たちは五十年に渡り記憶をひきづって生きてきました、多くの人々にとってそれは非常に痛ましい思い出です。いつか終わりが訪れるのでしょうか？補償される日は来るのでしょうか？

（ポスターの説明）

このポスターは、終戦間近に出されました。間もなく戦争が終わり日本が勝利をおさめると書かれています。幸運にも勝利をおさめたのは連合軍でした。

戦争被害者の実態と日本の戦後処理

日本弁護士連合会人権擁護委員会

弁護士 村 山 晃

一 はじめに―何故今戦後処理に取り組むかに就いて

長かった戦争が終わって、やがて半世紀が経とうとしている。日本の引き起こした戦争が、アジアを中心に世界各国の人民に、そして日本の国民に、回復し難い深刻な被害を与えたことは、消し去ることのできない歴史的事実である。こうして被害を受けた人達が、その被害回復の声を上げることが、又自然のことである。しかし、すでに終戦から半世紀近く経過した今日になって、それも月日が経つにつれ、その声が次第に大きくなり、広がってきているのはどうしてなのだろうか。

その要因は幾つも指摘できるが、私たちは、先ず何よりも、この被害の癒えることのない深刻さと大きさを見ないわけにはいかない。

同時に、日本の今日の戦後処理に、あまりにも問題点の多いことが浮き上がり、上がってきているように思われる。それは、単に「補償」のあり方に関する問

題に止まらず、あらゆる側面において日本が戦争責任のある措置を取ろうとしなかったことや、戦後のアジア諸国・諸国民に対する日本の政治的・経済的な対応に重大な問題点があったことを、示している。

それと、それぞれの国の民主化が進み、人権擁護の運動が高揚してきたことをあげることができる。被害者が種々な障害を乗り越え、ようやく自ら声をあげることができるようになってきたのである。

四方面に、人権思想の発展に伴って個人に対する戦後補償を当然のこととする国際的な世論の形成と、ドイツ等で進んだ取り組みがなされてきたことをあげるべきであろう。

そして、日本において、自国が引き起こした戦争について、誠実にその処理をすべきであるとする世論が形成されてきている点をあげなければならない。それは又、日本における民主主義と人権思想の発展のバロメーターとでもいうべきものである。

いずれにしても、私たちは、この事実から目をそらせるわけにはいかない。被害された人達が、回復されないまま放置されているとすれば、例え長期間経

っていようと、いや、長期問題っておれば商更のこと、一日も早い回復措置が講じられるべきである。

日弁連人権擁護委員会は、国際人権問題を中心に扱う部会において、この問題についての調査、研究を進めてきた。国際人権を追求してきたこの部会が、国際的な立場に立って人権問題を考えるについて避けて通ることの出来ない問題として戦後処理の問題に取り組んだのは、極めて当然のことであつたといえる。この日本が中心的に関わったアジア全域に広がる大規模かつ深刻な人権問題の真の解決なくして、日本は「人権」と言う言葉すら、諸外国に向かって言えなくなってしまうという過言ではない。被害者の声は強くなっているといっても、その高齢化は避けがたいものがある。多くが、要求を限りしめたまま亡くなっていく。私たちに与えられている時間は決して多くはない。

日弁連人権擁護委員会は、去る七月一日、「日本の戦後処理を問う、被害の実態と保障のあり方」というシンポジウムを開催し、合わせて、三分冊三二九ページに及ぶ、報告書を発行した。

本日の私の報告は、この報告書とシンポジウムの内容にもとずき、被害の実

態と日本の戦後処理の問題点を概観したものである。限られた時間の関係と項目の多さから、断片的になり平仮な報告に止まらざるを得ないことを予めご了承頂きたい。

二 被害の実態と処理の問題

はじめに

私たちは先ず何よりも、戦争が何故にどんな被害を及ぼしてきたのかの全容を明らかにしなければならない。戦後補償に対する取り組みは、この作業から始まって、この作業で終わるといっても過言ではない。恐らくこの作業そのものに終わりは無いというべきであらう。とりわけ、「補償」という観点から被害の実態に迫っていく場合、その請求権の主体となるのは、一人一人の個人であることから、可能な限り個々の人達を特定しその被害を具体的に究明していくことが求められている。この作業の困難性は、改めていうまでもないが、その作業の困難性を、責任回避の理由にさせることは絶対にあってはならないと考える。困難を乗り越えて何としてもやり遂げなければならぬ課題であることは明らかである。それぞれの国には、被害の実態を明らかにする資料が数多

くあり、それらは、奥深くに隠ったままになっている。連合国軍が各地で行った日本軍のＢＣ級戦犯についての裁判の膨大な記録もある。現時点であれば、未だ当時の関係者の証言も数多く入手ができる。こうしたものを丹念に奥掘し調査していくことはそれ自身重要かつ焦眉の課題である。

ある意味では、この作業をどこまで誠実に遂行することができるのかこそ、戦後処理の最大の課題だと思われる。

そこで先ず、被害の全容を見ることを通して、処理すべき課題を明らかにしたいと思う。

１、戦争被害の地域的な広がり

日本は、台湾を次いで朝鮮半島を植民地化し、そこを足場にして、先ず中国に攻め入り、「満州国」を作り、さらに、南下して、北京・南京等を中心に東シナ海から南シナ海に至る海沿いの地域一体を占領していった。さらに、戦火を東南アジア全域に広げれば全域を占領下におき、さらにはそれより以東の太平洋諸島に占領を広げていった。南は、オーストラリアの北側、東は、ハワイ諸島の西側、北はアリューシャン列島・ベーリング海に至る西太平洋一帯に戦

火を広げ、占領したこれらの地域に軍政をひいた。中国で展開された戦争は足かけ一五年に及び、東南アジアに戦火を広げた以降の戦争は五年に及んだが、中国の侵略に始まり、ボフダム宣言・降伏文書調印で終わるこれら全体の戦争を一般的にその期間を取って、一五年戦争と呼んでいる。後者の戦争は切り離して太平洋戦争と称されることがあるが、私たちが、戦後処理の対象とすべきものは、当然この一五年戦争を指しており、その足場になった植民地化を含めるべきであると考ええる。

２、アジアをはじめ外国の人達に対する被害

(一) 住民等非戦闘員の虐殺

あらゆる戦争において、理由の如何を問わず、絶対に許してはならない戦争犯罪が、一般住民・非戦闘員の虐殺である。今次戦争被害の最大の特徴は、数知れない一般住民・非戦闘員が理由もなく殺害されたことである。しかも、最もその実態の把握されていないのも、この部分である。

なかでも、中国におけるそれは、その規模や数からして、被害の実態の特徴を最も良く伝えている。その規模の大きさは、明らかにされている中国での

軍関係の死傷者が三百万人であるのに対し、一般人の死傷者は、千八百万人を越えるのではないかと言われていることに端的に例える。その方法は、「南京大虐殺」に典型をみる、残虐を極めた手段による、子供・女性・老人を問わない徹底的な集団虐殺として展開され、やがては、「焼き尽くす・殺し尽くす・奪い尽くす」という「三光作戦」にみられるように、明らかに軍が村落全体を殲滅する作戦として展開されている。又、捕虜もその多くが何の理由もなく一方的に虐殺されている。戦争当初より、重る所で強盗・輪姦・強姦殺人等が集団的になされ、これが、従軍慰安婦制度を生む要因になっている。七三一部隊等による「生体実験」も、日本軍関係者の中国人民に対する非人道ぶりを示して余りある出来事である。これらが、軍ぐるみで展開されたことは、当時の状況と資料や証言から疑うべくもなく、中には作戦そのものとして展開されたものも少なくない。問題は、その実態であり、例えば、南京大虐殺では、中国国民政府は、三十数万人という数字を上げているが、日本の論者の中には、数千人を主張する者もいる。このことから、事実に向き合うのが、戦後処理そのものであることがわかる。

中国人についてはマレー半島に移住していた者も、その多くが集団虐殺の対象とされた。このように住民虐殺は、中国人に集中しているが、その他日本が戦争に赴いた全ての戦域で、同様の被害が報告されており、特に、抗日運動の激かったフィリピンでは、その被害の最大のもは、住民虐殺であった。軍人・ゲリラ五万人に対し、民間人百万人以上が死亡したとの報告がなされている。この最大の戦争被害ともいえるべき住民虐殺は、今日まで全く補償の対象とされてこなかった。

連合国との関係では、捕虜となった連合国の軍人に対する虐待の事実を指摘しておかなくてはならない。先に指摘した中国人捕虜の場合より全体的規模は小さく無差別的ではなかったものの、フィリピンの「バターン死の行進」に象徴される数万人規模の捕虜の死者を生んだ事件もあるし、全く一方的な虐殺事件も報告されている。又虐殺もさることながら、捕虜に対する待遇は、人道を無視したものが多く、各地のBC級戦犯裁判で、捕虜収容所関係者の占める割合は全有罪者の二七％にのぼっている。このように、重る所で展開された捕虜に対する虐待の違法性は明白である。

（二）強制連行・徴用

日本は又、戦争遂行にあたって無数の労働力を必要とし、植民地支配をしていた朝鮮、占領下においた中国そして、東南アジアの国々で、住民を「強制的」に連行し労働に駆り立てた。「連行」政策が、国策としてなされたことは明らかとなっており、その動員の方法も、様々な形態をとりながらも広く強制的な形で展開されている。こうして労働に動員された人達の中には、祖国を違われ、朝鮮・中国から日本へ、又、東南アジア各地から、例えば泰緬鉄道の建設のためタイ・マレーへと連行され、そのまま帰国できなかった人達も多い。

現場では苛酷な労働と迫害のなかで、例れ、死去するものが後を絶たなかった状況がある。中国では、各地に数多くの「万人坑」と呼ばれる所が残っている。過酷な労働現場で各所で毎日何人・何十人もの死者がでたが、その死体は、「この一坑」に放り込まれ捨てられた。その数が一つの坑で万人にも達するところから、この名前が付けられているという。日本へ連行されてきた人達も概ね同様の状況におかれ、例えば「花岡事件」では、わずか一年の間に作業現場にいた半数の四一八人の死亡者が発生している。ちなみに日本への強制連行者

は、韓国朝鮮人で百万人を越え、中国人は四万七千人に達するといわれている。

これらの労働者は、低賃金であったうえ、その賃金すら未払いにし、さらには貯金をするとして、そのまま送還しない等の経済的被害を発生させている。

なおこれらの被害には、日本の企業も深く関与していることを指摘しておくなければならない。

この点で差し違った解決を求められている課題は、こうして日本へ連行してきた人達を、戦後放置し続けてきたことである。その一つは、サハリンに連行された人達で、日本人に対しては、帰国政策がとられたのに、韓国・朝鮮の人達四万数千人は、未だ取り残された儘になっている。又、日本国内においても、帰国できないまま終戦後も住み続けた土地に対し、土地所有者から占有権限のないことを根拠に明け渡しを要求されるという問題が起こっている。これらは、日本の戦後処理が、全く原状回復をはかるという観点がなかったことを示しており、誠実に原状回復の観点に立って対応することで、決してその解決は困難ではない。

ここでもう一つ触れておきたいことは、日本国土も戦場となり、多くの被害を生んだこと、後に述べるが、当時日本国内に強制連行等で移住してきた人達も、日本国民と同じように、原爆被害等にあっているが、にも関わらず、例えば、被爆した人達の内、韓国・朝鮮へ帰国した人達には、日本国内にいる人達には適用されている原爆二法すら適用されていないという問題があることを指摘しておきたい。

(三) 従軍慰安婦

日本軍の赴くところに、慰安所が設置され慰安婦が配置された。当初は日本人女性を中心であったが、次第に他民族に比重が移り、特に朝鮮人女性が多く取り出された。このことが、日本軍・日本政府の施策としてなされたことは、日本政府の調査結果からも明らかにされている。「前線における軍占領地域内の日本軍人による強姦事件の発生からくる反日感情を抑え治安回復をはかるため、速やかに性的慰安設備を整える必要がある」という観点から慰安所が設置されてきたというのであり、結局のところ、無秩序な集団強姦や輪姦を軍の下で行うようにしたに通じないことがわかる。同時に、この調査結果からすれば

、要るところで、集団強姦事件が発生していたこと、慰安所は、一で述べた日本の占領地域の全てにまたがっていたことがわかる。しかしにもかかわらず、その全貌を明らかにしようとせず、さらには、連行の方法を巡って、責任の問題がなされている点に重大な問題があるものといわざるを得ない。

連行の方法については、被害者や、軍関係者その他様々な人達から多くの証言が寄せられており、強制的になされたことが明らかにできている。同時に当時の慰安婦の置かれていた状況を見れば、到底自由意思で従事しているとはいえない実態であることは誰の目にも明らかである。こうした事実を無視して、「強制連行されたことを示す資料がなかった」といって決して済む問題ではない。日本政府や軍の作成した文書がなかぎり事実を認めないという対応は、日本政府の戦後処理のあり方を象徴していると同時に、この考え方を転換させることこそ戦後処理の緊急の課題であることを示している。

(四) 軍務につかされた人達の被害

日本は、植民地支配をテコに韓国朝鮮、台湾等の植民地住民に徹底した皇民化教育を押し進め、他方で徴兵制度を導入し、日本の軍人として前線に配置し

ていった。又南方では、兵補という形で現地人を日本の軍務に従事させた。こうして、外国人でありながら日本軍の軍人として、あるいは兵補等として、戦地へ赴き死傷した人達の被害も無視できない。もっとも、直接の加害者が日本軍でない場合も多いが、植民地下、占領下にあったことから、日本の戦争遂行のため、動員されたことから被害にあったもので、その責任は、日本にあるものというべきである。

中には、日中戦犯として、日本の戦争責任を取らされた韓国朝鮮人や台湾人がいることも看過してはならない。

日本人の場合、こうした軍人・軍属については、援護法が適用され、一定の補償がなされているが、彼らについては、戦後日本国籍を一方的に剥奪したうえ、そのことを理由に日本の援護法の適用を一切拒絶するという明白な差別待遇をしており、二重の被害を与えている点は、戦後処理の大きな要みを象徴している。

又、こういう人達の多くは、約束されていたはずの給与が支給されなかったり、強制預金が返還されなかったり、戦後一方的に放置されるなどの経済的被害にあっており、そうした当然の債務の履行を求める声も出されている。

(五) 財産的被害及びその他の被害

日本が戦火を拡大させた大きな要因は、その国の資源にあった。戦争そのものが、多くの家屋・田畑・山林を破壊したことはいうまでもないが、占領後は、日本軍は、それぞれの国の主要な建造物を軍隊に提供させ、重要な資源・物資を供出させ、それぞれの国を経済的に疲弊させた。そのため、犠死者が相次いだ。その数は、例えばベトナムでは、百万人から二百万人にものぼるといわれる。中国で、路頭に放り出された者は一億人に達するという報告もある。

日本軍は、その国の通貨と併せて軍隊の経済活動をするため大量の軍票を発行し、これを使用して、物資を調達し、軍隊への給与にあてた。このため急速にインフレが進行し、その国の経済を悪化させる大きな要因となった。又、戦後兌換をしなかったため、それを持っていた人達は、単なる紙切れにを握らされたこととなった。

占領地域で、日本軍は、神道と日本語を強制し、民族文化を否定した。様々な民族性の破壊は、戦後もそれぞれの国の自主的な発展にとって深刻な影響を

与え続けてきた。

いずれにしても、今回の戦争被害の大きさ・深刻さからは、今なお、今すぐには見えてこない無数の被害のあることを、私たちは、十分ふまえておくことが肝要である。

3. 日本人の被害

戦争は、日本の国民と国土にも深刻な被害を与えた。取り分け、唯一の地上戦となった沖縄では、県民ぐるみ戦争に巻き込まれ、当時の県人口の三分の一に当たる二十数万人もの死者を出し（一般住民が軍人を上回る）、戦後も長年にわたりアメリカの占領が続き、いまだお土地問題等深刻な問題が横たわっている。広島・長崎は、世界で唯一原爆が投下され、都市ごと破壊され、何十万人もの人達が殺され、今なお癒えることのない障害に苦しんでいる人達も多い。東京・大阪・名古屋等の大都市も空襲によって、破壊され、戦争に加わっていない多くの一般市民が殺傷された。数百万人の国民が、紙切れ一枚で、戦争に駆り出され、戦死し負傷したうえ、アジア各地へとり残されたり、シベリアで長期に拘留される等の被害にもあった。戦争に反対したことを理由に投獄さ

れ、拷問・虐殺された者も多い。様々な自由が抑圧され、文化・芸術・学問の発展も抑えられた。

このような被害に対し、戦後の復讐法は、軍人・軍属しか対象にしておらず、戦争で被害を受けた一般市民を全く補償の対象から除外してきた。そのため多くの戦争被害者から、補償を求める声が出されてきた。

沖縄では、自衛隊や米軍が接収した土地の返還にかんする様々な問題が、今も訴訟で争われているし、日本軍が強制移住をさせた先で多くの住民がマラリアに罹患したことに伴う補償要求や、本土移住を求められたことから船舶通關にあったことに伴う補償要求等が出されている。

広島・長崎の被爆者は、被爆者援護法の制定を求めて長年運動を続けており、日弁連も早期実現を求める意見を上げている。

空襲被害者・恩給欠格者・治安維持法犠牲者・シベリア拘留者等からも補償を求めて訴訟や運動が起こされている。

中国残留孤児問題に象徴される、海外に残留させられたことから発生している様々な問題に対し、実態に見合った補償も含めた解決が求められている。

各種の復讐法には、その目的に国家補償的観点がある旨、明文で規定されている。にも関わらず現実の補償の対象は戦争遂行に協力した者だけであり、被害者に対する補償の観点が全くないところに最大の問題点があることがわかる。その転換こそが戦後処理の最大の課題であること、これまでから明らかにしてきたところである。

三 日本戦後処理の問題点

日本の戦後処理は、一方で国内法制において各種の復讐法を制定すること、もう一方で、諸外国との間で、条約や協定等による政治的解決をはかるという形で作られてきた。しかし、それらが、十分な解決になっていないこと、否それのみか逆に二重・三重の差別になり、新たな被害を生んでいること、これまでに、燃れてきたところからも明らかであろう。そして、このことが、今日諸外国の人達の補償の声を高める役割を果たしていること冒頭指摘したところである。そこで、この項では、処理の実態とその問題点を概観し、今後は方向性を探ってみたい。

(一) 日本戦後処理の実態と問題点

日本では、一九五二年に始めて復讐法が制定されるが、その対象が、軍人・軍属に限定されるところに、外国籍の者は除外された。その後幾つかの立法がなされるが、この枠組みは基本的に変わっていない。只、対象を、厳密にそれに限定せず、戦争協力者と認定できるものについては、一定広げていくという作業がなされていたり、原爆被害についての医療補助をする仕組みができたたりして、いくばくかの広がりを見せたが、基本的に一般の戦争被害者が除外されている枠組みに変化はない。又、国賠条項で外国人を除外するシステムも、原爆二法において国内にいる外国人には適用したこと、一九八八年に台湾人元兵士に一時金を支給するという点で、一歩前進はあったが、やはり基本的枠組みは変わっていない。一九五三年に軍人恩給が復活をしてからは、戦度かの改定を経て、それが、給付の中心的なものになっており、日本国籍のある軍人・軍属中心主義は、今の制度の根幹をなしているものといえる。いずれにしても、これらの法制は、その時々、政治的思惑で作られていった要素が強く全く体系的・統一性を欠如させており、その理念の乏しいものにはなっている点にも特徴がある。

(二) 戦争被害国との関係

アジアの諸国との関係では、政府間の条約・協定等ですでに解決しているというのが日本政府の見解であるが（朝鮮は除く）、次にみるような問題点がある。

第一に、被害の実態が十分明らかにされ、それに即したものになっていないことである。被害の実態を明らかにすることこそ、補償問題の第一歩であることとこれまでから強調してきたが、そのことを置き去りにした政治的解決として処理された側面が強いように思われる。例えば韓国との関係でいえば、強制連行については、「事実関係を実証するような材料はみなくなっている」ということが前提とされ、被害が特定できないとして一括して経済援助という形にしたとされている。

それぞれの国別に、交渉の際、どこまで被害が顧みられたか、どこまでそのことがふまえられていたか、を明らかにする作業は、戦後処理のあり方を検討するうえで、今後の重要な作業の一つであろう。

第二に、どの国でも、基本的に被害者への補償は、なされていないという事

実である。数少ない被害者への補償例としては、韓国において、日本への預貯金や国債・年金等の債権の整理のための支払いと軍人・軍属又は労働者として召集・徴用され終戦までに死亡した人達に一人三十万ウオンが支払われたケースと、ミクロネシア地域で、戦病死者に対し五百万ドルから五千万ドルの補償がなされたケースがある程度であり、それらも補償の範囲やその額が、極めて不十分なものであったという他はない。このように補償がなされなかったのは、各国政府の責任といって済ませる問題ではない。先の解決交渉の際、個人的に補償していくということが基本的に念頭におかれていなかったことからくる必然的現象というべきであるからである。

いずれにしても、このように被害実態を把握し、被害者への補償を制度した各国間の条約や協定によって、「解決済」とすることは、到底できないものと思われる。

(三) 求められているもの

こうした戦後処理の問題をふまえて、克服の方向として検討されるべきは、次の課題である。

第一に、戦争により一方的に被害をこうむった人達に対し、その被害の実態に相応しい補償がこうじられるべきであるとする法制度の確立である。すなわち、戦争遂行者補償法から、戦争被害者補償法への法制度の転換である。戦争を遂行したものの、協力したものには補償があり、それにより一方的に被害を受けたものが、放置されるという現状はなんとしても改められなければならない。同時に、ここでのいう被害は、戦争に伴い発生した諸々のものが含まれるものでなくてはならない。

第二に、当然のことながら事実の十分な調査と説明は不可欠であり、最低限の責務である。事実が不明だとして、被害が放置されることはなんとしても避けなければならない。

第三に、これまでの条約・協定等では、諸外国の被害者の人達への補償問題が基本的にできていないという点についての見直し作業の必要性である。とりわけ、個人との関係では、それぞれの人達の請求権は失われていないことを日本政府も認めており、外国の人達からなされてくる様々な請求にたいし、いつまでも「解決済」を繰り返すわけにはいかない。

第四に、現存する賠償法は、第一で述べた観点から根本的な見直しが必要であるが、各種援護法の国際条項の撤廃は緊急の課題である。戦争を引き起こした日本人には補償があるが、それに引き込まれた外国人に補償がないというのは著しく不合理であり、国際人権規約の内外人平等取扱原則に反する明白な差別待遇である。

第五に、今なお現存する被害について、原状回復を基本にした様々な課題での早急な処理についてである。原爆被爆者で苦しむ人達への十分な援護措置、サハリンに残留する韓国朝鮮の人達への原状回復につながる方策の確立、沖縄の土地問題の解決等々、いわゆる補償というレベルでは解決できない諸問題への原状回復を原則にした対応の緊急性についてである。

最後に、あらゆる機会に、あらゆる側面において、「過去に目を閉ざす」ことなく、日本の引き起こした戦争が、深刻な被害を与えてきたことを問い返し、そこから我々が何をなすべきかを考えていくという対応の基軸を確立することである。戦後処理問題で、我が国が最も強く求められていることが、そこにあるように思われる。

THE ACTUAL STATE OF WAR DETRIMENT AND JAPAN'S POSTWAR TREATMENT

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I. Preface: Why Bring Up Postwar Treatment Now?

Nearly half a century has passed since the long years of World War II. The war, provoked by Japan, has caused serious detriment to people around the world, particularly in Asia, and even the Japanese people. This difficult-to-heal damage is an historical fact that cannot be erased. It is only natural that those who suffered are calling out for indemnification. Already nearly 50 years have elapsed since the end of the war, yet these voices continue to grow louder day by day. Why is this?

Several causes can be pinpointed, but the most important thing by far is to face up to the irreparable seriousness and depth of this detriment.

At the same time, we feel Japan's postwar treatment has become too problematic. Not only are there problems concerning the way compensation is being handled, but on various levels Japan has not taken measures to show its responsibility. There are were also some serious problems in its postwar dealings with Asian countries and peoples both politically and economically.

Thirdly, it can be said that democratization has been progressing in each of these countries and human rights movements

have come to the fore. Victims are overcoming various kinds of detriment and have finally become able to raise their own voices.

Along with the increasing awareness of human rights, international public opinion has come to expect postwar compensation for the individual. The progressive measures taken by countries such as Germany should also be cited.

Additionally, we must point to the formation of public opinion among Japan's citizenry that regards restitution in good faith as a must when one's own country has caused a war. Perhaps this is the ultimate "barometer" of progress regarding democracy and human rights in Japan.

In any case, we cannot very well avert our eyes from these truths. The longer infringed-upon human rights are left unredressed, the sooner measures should be taken to right wrongs.

The Human Rights Committee of the Japan Federation of Bar Associations, as the section handling international human rights issues, has investigated and researched this problem. This section, taking an international standpoint in pursuit of human rights on the international level, considers postwar redress an unavoidable issue, an issue that naturally must be pursued. It

is no exaggeration to say that Japan, by not seeking a real solution to the wide-scale and serious human rights violations it has perpetrated throughout Asia, should not even be able to show its face to other countries when it comes to human rights. While the voice of victims is growing stronger, their aging is unavoidable and most take their demands to the grave. We therefore do not have much time.

Our committee held a symposium on July 11, 1992 entitled, "Questioning Japan's Postwar Treatment: the Actual State of Detriment and Ways of Compensation". Published papers from the symposium totalled 329 pages in three volumes.

My report at this time is based on these papers and the symposium. It offers an overview of the actual state of detriment and the problems with Japan's postwar treatment. Because of the limited time available and great number of topics to cover, in offering a comprehensive look, we cannot avoid presenting sometimes monotonous reports. Please be forewarned.

II. A Discussion of the Actual State of Detriment and Treatment

Preface

The first thing that must be done, we feel, is to clarify the entire picture of where and what kind of damage was done during the war. It is no overstatement to say that the issue of postwar compensation begins and ends with this task of clarification. Perhaps it is an endless task. Particularly when the issue of detriment is approached from the standpoint of compensation, the object of claim rights is each individual, and we must to the best of our ability specify each individual and investigate the detriment to him or her. That this task is a difficulty one goes without saying, but such difficulty must absolutely not be used as a reason for shirking responsibility. It is clear that these difficulties must be overcome and efforts carried out at any cost. For each country there is a great volume of material detailing actual loss that has been kept hidden and still remains dormant. There is also an enormous volume of records pertaining to B- and C-class war crimes of the Japanese military from trials that were held in Allied Power countries. At this point, it is still possible to obtain much of the testimony of those who were related to the events of that period. The painstaking task of uncovering and investigating such information is in itself a highly consequential and urgent task.

Carrying out this work while maintaining our integrity, in a way, will be the most important. So first, we would like to present a clear picture of the transgressions made, and by so doing delineate the topics that require recompense.

1. The Regional Expansion of War Detriment

Japan colonized Taiwan and then the Korean Peninsula, and used those lands as takeoff points for invading first China, creating "Manchuria", and southward, taking over the entire

region along the coast of the East China Sea to the South China Sea, including the major cities of Beijing and Nanking. Further, the war spread to Southeast Asia, with the Japanese occupying nearly the entire region. The occupation even extended to the Pacific islands to the east. War spread throughout the Western Pacific, as far south as Northern Australia, as far east as the western part of Hawaiian islands, as far north as the Aleutian Islands and the Bering Sea, and military rule was imposed in all of the occupied regions. The war as it unfolded in China lasted for 15 years, and in the Southeast Asian region to which it spread, five years. Marking the beginning of the war with the invasion of China and the end with the signing of the document of surrender required by the Potsdam Declaration, the entire war is generally considered to have lasted for 15 years, and it is called the "15 Years War." The latter part of the war is sometimes considered separately as the "Pacific War", but we believe that the targeted postwar reparations should naturally cover this 15-year period and include the lands that were colonized.

2. Detriment to Asians and Other Foreign Nationals

(1) The Massacre of Inhabitants and Other Non-Combatants

In any war, the one war crime that is permitted under no circumstances whatsoever is the slaughter of civilians and non-combatants. The most noticeable characteristic of this war is that countless number of civilians and non-combatants were killed and wounded for no reason at all. Moreover, the actual conditions of this matter are the most difficult of all to ascertain.

Still, the massive scale and cruelty tells the most about the actual damage done in China. In contrast to the three million known military casualties in China, the number of civilian casualties, we have been told, is quite likely over 18 million. How this killing could have taken place can be imagined by looking at the example of the "Nanking Massacre" where an indiscriminate mass slaughter of women, children and elderly was carried out with extreme brutality. In the end, as can be seen in the ruthless "Sankō Strategy"--dedicated to burning, killing, and robbing everyone and everything--the military goal was a total annihilation. Many of the prisoners, too, were murdered for no apparent reason. From the beginning of the war to the end, rape, gang rape, and rape-murder was done en masse, and was the reason that the army set up its infamous "comfort women" scheme. The "human experimentation" program perpetrated by the 731st Unit and other units was an inconceivable display of the inhumane treatment of the Chinese people by the Japanese military. The information and evidence available on this period showing that these things were carried out on an army-wide basis are beyond doubt, and prove that many particular actions were carried out according to a strategy. The problem is finding out the specific details. For example, in regard to the Nanking Massacre, the Chinese government gives the figure of 300,000-plus dead, while certain Japanese authorities cite the figure of several thousand. Finding the facts, therefore, will be the key in the issue of the postwar treatment.

A great number of the Chinese who emigrated to the Malay Peninsula were also the target of mass slaughter. This killing of civilians, while focused on the Chinese, was carried out in all regions embroiled in war with Japan as reports of the same type of damage show, particularly in the Philippines where the resistance movement was strong, where the greatest transgression was the killing of civilians. In comparison to the 50,000 military personnel and guerrillas killed, it was reported that over one million of the local populace died. This slaughter of civilians, the greatest war detriment that can be inflicted, has to this day never been addressed for indemnification.

Regarding the Allied Powers, the truth of the maltreatment of Allied prisoners must be pinned down. While the overall scale of this case is much smaller than the case of the Chinese prisoners mentioned above, and that killing was not as indiscriminate, there are the incidents that led to the deaths of tens of thousands of prisoners. These are symbolized by the Philippine "Bataan Death March," as well as reports of incidents of pure massacres. Alongside these massacres, there were many other cases of inhumane treatment of prisoners, and in the trials for B- and C-class war criminals in each country, as many as 27% were convicted for their role in prisoner-of-war camps. These convictions revealed the illegality of the maltreatment of prisoners that took place in so many locations.

(2) Forced Labor and the Drafting of Laborers

In order for Japan to carry out its war efforts, a vast number of workers was needed, and so Japan "forcibly" enlisted civilians to do heavy labor from Korea, which it was controlling as a colony, China, which it was occupying, and from various nations in Southeast Asia. It is well-established that this policy of "hauling" was implemented as a national policy, and the method of mobilization, while it took many forms, was widely carried out by force. Among those mobilized in this manner were people removed from their home countries of Korea and China who were brought to Japan. Also from many parts of Southeast Asia people were forcibly sent, for example, to Thailand and Malaysia to build the Taimen Railroad and many were unable to return to their home countries.

The hard labor and oppression caused people to collapse and die in a continual stream. Throughout China, "Manninko" (pits of 10,000), as they are called, remain to this day. At these indentured labor sites, a handful or sometimes a dozen or more people died each day, and their bodies were thrown into these "pits." The name "Manninko" is said to come from the fact that over ten thousand bodies were thrown into a single pit. The people forcibly brought to Japan were for the most part subject to similar conditions. One case is the "Hanaoka Incident" where half the workers at one labor site--418 people,--died in just one year. Incidentally, the number of those forcibly brought to Japan is cited as over one million from the Korea and 47,000 from China.

These laborers worked for low wages. Furthermore, they were ordered to deposit their money, and it was never returned to

them. These and other forms of economic oppression were employed. I must point out that Japanese companies were deeply involved.

The most pressing point about this forced labor is that since the end of the war Japan has continued to ignore these people who were brought to Japan against their will. One problem is that while a policy of return was procured for Japanese forced to work in Sakhalin, still forty some thousand Koreans also brought there are left without recourse. Also, there is the problem concerning those who could not return to their home countries and stayed on to live in Japan even after the war was over. Those among them are being unjustly forced to move out of their home by the land owners. These things indicate the complete disregard in Japan's postwar policy toward improving the lot of such people, yet all it would take is a little sincerity on the part of the Japanese government in wanting to remedy the situation.

One last point that needs to be touched upon here is the great detriment brought on when the war reached Japanese shores. This will be discussed in more detail later, but it should be noted here that many people who were in Japan at this time due to forced labor or other reasons became victims of the A-bomb as did the Japanese people. The two laws covering those affected - the A-bomb victims medical law, the special measures law for A-bomb victims, who lived in Japan do not, however, apply to those who returned to North or South Korea. This is the problem.

(3) "Comfort Women"

In places where the Japanese army were located they set up "comfort houses" with so-called "comfort women". At the beginning, these women were Japanese, but as time went on, they were replaced by women of other nationalities, particularly Korean women. It has been proven through the investigations of the Japanese government that this use of "comfort women" was a policy of the Japanese army and the Japanese government. The "comfort houses" were set up with the following view:

"In order to quell the anti-Japanese sentiment that has arisen due to incidents of rape by Japanese soldiers within the territories occupied by the military at the front line and in order to restore order, it is essential to set up sexual recreation facilities as soon as possible."

In the end, this amounts to no less than lawless gang rape organized by the army. At the same time, looking at the results of this investigation, gang rape incidents took place everywhere, and these so-called "comfort houses" existed in all the territories occupied by Japan mentioned in 1. above. In spite of this fact, the government did not try to clarify the entire picture. Instead it chose to avoid taking responsibility for these forceful methods, causing what can only be deemed a serious problem.

Regarding forceful methods, a wealth of testimony was given by victims and many army-related people which has led to the

clarification that the women were forced to do what they did. At the same time, if we look carefully at the situation of the comfort women during that period, it is apparent to anyone that they were simply not acting of their own free will. Ignoring this reality, the government states that "there has not been enough evidence to indicate force was used." However this issue will not merely go away. The kind of response that says a certain reality will not be accepted because of the lack of documentation created by the Japanese government and military is typical of the way in which the Japanese government is handling postwar restitution. It also indicates how urgent it is to change this attitude if any progress at all is to be made.

(4) Detriment to People Used for Military Purposes

Japan used its colonial control over Korea and Taiwan as a lever to convert the colonized population into Imperial subjects. It also introduced a military conscription system to put those subjects in the front lines of the Japanese army. To the south, in the form of replacements, local inhabitants were used by Japan for military purposes. In this way, even though they were foreign nationals, these people were military personnel or replacements in the Japanese army. We cannot ignore the detriment on these people who died or injured in battle fields. Though they were not necessarily killed by the Japanese, Japan should be held responsible as their countries were under the colonial rule and had been mobilized by Japan to fight the war.

Also, there were Koreans and Taiwanese who took responsibility for Japan as B- and C-class war criminals. This must not be overlooked.

For Japanese, certain support laws provide compensation to those who were in the military or civilians employed by the military. The above-mentioned conscriptees, however, were deprived of Japanese citizenship in postwar Japan, and these same actions were used against them to exclude them from eligibility under Japanese law. This plainly discriminatory treatment adds a second layer to the suffering of these people and is characteristic of the inadequacy of Japan's postwar restitution to date.

Additionally, many of these people were promised salaries and were not paid, or were forced to deposit their money and never got their money back, even after the war ended. Concerning these economic injustices, voices are being raised demanding that Japan fulfill its obligation and repay these debts.

(5) Asset Dispossession and Other Forms of Detriment

One major reason for Japan's wartime expansion was to obtain the natural resources of other countries. It goes without saying that a great many homes, fields and forests were destroyed as a direct result of the war, but after occupation, the Japanese army took over the major buildings of the occupied country--using them for its troops--and forced the country to supply them with valuable materials and resources, economically exhausting those countries. Because of this, local inhabitants

died of starvation in vast numbers. One example of the figures involved here is Vietnam, where an estimated one to two million people died in this manner. In China, there is a report that 100 million people were left to fend for themselves.

To run the economy, the Japanese army used local currency plus a large volume of army notes which they issued for use in acquiring materials and paying the salaries of its troops. As a result of this policy, inflation rose, contributing in a major way to the deterioration of that country's economy. Also, because they wouldn't exchange money after the war, these notes became worthless slips of paper to the people left holding them.

In occupied territories, the Japanese army compelled people to adopt Shintoism and speak Japanese, negating ethnic cultures. The destruction of ethnicity in its various forms continued to give a serious effect on the development of these countries even after the war.

The tremendous scale and seriousness of the detriment perpetrated in this war are still causing harmful effects today that we may or may not be able to see, yet which we feel is of vital concern to value fully.

3. Detriment to the Japanese People

The war brought grave detriment to the Japanese people and their lands. In particular, the land battle that took place in Okinawa engulfed the islands' people and took the lives of over 200,000--roughly one third of the local population (with more deaths among civilians than among the military). Even after the war, the islands were occupied for many years by the United States, and to this day land disputes and other serious problems remain. Hiroshima and Nagasaki fell victim to the world's only atomic bombing of civilian populations, and were destroyed entirely as cities, killing several hundreds of thousands of people. Still today there remain a great many people who suffer irremediable handicaps because of the A-bomb. Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and other major cities were razed by aerial bombing, killing and injuring a great many civilians who had previously been uninvolved in the war. Several million people were called to war by a single slip of paper, and were killed or injured, left somewhere in Asia, or held prisoner in Siberia for many years. Others were thrown in jail for opposing the war, many of whom were tortured or murdered. Many freedoms were quashed, and great restraints were imposed on culture, the arts and academia.

Postwar support laws covered only those in the military or related to the military, and the general populace, who suffered greatly from the war were completely ineligible to receive compensation. Because of this policy, many victims of the war have started to speak out to demand compensation.

In Okinawa, many issues regarding the return of land requisitioned by the Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. Armed Forces are being fought over in court. Bereaved families of those who were forcibly relocated by the Japanese army and as a result

contracted malaria are seeking compensation, as well as of those who were ordered to move to the mainland and were killed when their boat was sunk.

The A-bomb victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have long continued their movement for the establishment of an A-bomb victims' support law, and the Japan Federation of Bar Associations has supported this effort from early on, demanding the enactment of such a law.

Litigation and movements demanding compensation have arisen from aerial bombing victims, those disqualified from pensions, victims of the Maintenance of the Public Order Act, and ex-detainees in Siberia.

A comprehensive solution to compensation is being sought that considers the realities of problems brought on by people left overseas, as exemplified by the war orphans of Japanese parentage in China.

The objective of the various support laws--a national form of compensation--is stipulated in the laws themselves. Notwithstanding, the compensation is meant only for those who cooperated in the war effort. The biggest problem with the laws is the complete absence of any view to give compensation to victims of the war. This inversion of the law is the biggest point to become clear regarding postwar treatment so far.

III. Problems With Japan's Postwar Treatment

Japan's postwar treatment consists of various support laws which are part of the domestic legal system, and treaties and agreements with many other countries that were intended as political solutions. They are not only insufficient, but also these so-called "solutions" merely heap on double and triple layers of discrimination that only cause more detriment, as we have seen already by experience. Beginning indications show that this discrimination is causing the cry for compensation from various foreign nationals to become more strident. In this next section we would like to survey actual amelioration measures and problems with these measures, as well as look for a direction for the future.

(1) Japan's Restitution and Problematic Points

In Japan, the first support law was passed in 1952, but it covered only military personnel and military-related people, and moreover, excluded all foreign nationals. Since then, several pieces of legislation have been enacted, but the basic structure remains the same. The laws have been extended to cover more people who are recognized as having cooperated in the war effort, and set up a medical compensation framework for A-bomb victims. The laws appear to cover more ground, but the fundamental structure of excluding ordinary victims of war remains unchanged.

A step in the right direction was made with two A-bomb laws

exclusive system that employs a nationality clause. And in 1988 a one-time payment was made to Taiwanese who had served as soldiers in the Imperial Army. Still, the fundamental framework remains unchanged. Since 1953, after the restoration of the military pension, many revisions in the law were made, mainly focusing on benefits. This excessive focus on servicemen and military-related personnel of Japanese nationality is considered the basis for the present system. Factors indicate that these pieces of legislation were created as occasional political favors. They lack any form of unity or a systematic approach and are characteristic for their sparseness of philosophy.

(2) Relations With Nations Victimized by the War

It is the opinion of the Japanese government that terms with Asian countries have already been settled through treaties and agreements made between governments. (excluding North Korea) Next, we would like to take a look at the problems involved here.

Firstly, these measures are not based on the full clarification of actual suffering and detriment caused. Up to this point we have stressed that the first step to be taken in the issue of compensation is the clarification of actual damages, but it seems as though this aspect has been left untouched in the political solutions offered. To take the relationship with South Korea as an example, based on the premise that, as for the forced labor, "all documentation proving actual correlation has been lost, "detriment was considered undeterminable and recompense has taken the form of a packaged deal offering economic assistance.

In negotiations with each country, a very important task for the future, in regard to reviewing the way postwar amelioration is being conducted, is determining to what extent detriment is heeded and to what extent measures are based on that detriment.

Second is the problem that fundamentally no compensation has been given to victims of any country. One of the few cases where compensation has been paid is in the case of South Korea, for claims made on deposited savings, national bonds and annuities, and for people called upon or conscripted as servicemen, military personnel or conscript laborers who died before the end of the war--for each person 300,000 won was paid. Another case of compensation payment is the payment of \$5-50 million for those who died of disease and in fighting in Micronesia. Such cases exist, but even in these cases, the sphere of compensation and the amounts paid are pitifully inadequate. This lack of compensation is not an issue of it being the responsibility of each country and keeping it at that. In the above-mentioned settlement negotiations, it was inevitable that the present phenomenon would arise since compensation for the individual was not taken into consideration as a basic premise.

In the end, with actual detriment ignored and compensation to the victims ignored, we cannot accept the issue as "settled" simply based on treaties and agreements signed between governments.

(3) Our Demands

Based on this issue of postwar restitution, it is necessary to study the following points to work toward restoration.

First, a legal system should be established whereby those who suffered one-sidedly are paid a suitable indemnity for the detriment caused. In other words, there must be a switch from laws that provide for the perpetrators of war to laws that provide for the victims of war. The present situation gives compensation to those who inflicted the war upon others or cooperated with war efforts while neglecting those who did nothing but suffer as a result of the war. This policy must be thoroughly reexamined. Additionally, the detriment referred to here must include all those sufferings brought about by the war.

Second, though it should be understood implicitly, it is essential to fully investigate and clarify matters--this duty is an absolute minimum requirement. There should be no case left unattended just because the facts remain uncertain.

Third, it is necessary to reexamine existing treaties and agreements with regard to their basic inadequacy in giving compensation to the victims of foreign countries. In particular, in relation to the individual, the Japanese government recognizes that people have not lost their rights to make claims. Therefore, it must stop ignoring their claims by continuing to label the issues "settled".

Fourth, existing support laws must be thoroughly reexamined, as explained in the first demand above, but more urgent is the issue of abolishing the nationality clause in all the support laws. The most remarkable irrationality is that indemnities are provided to the Japanese who provoked the war, but are not provided to those foreign nationals who were forcibly drawn into the war. It is also clearly discriminatory treatment that goes against the principles of equal treatment for all peoples as stated in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

Fifth, regarding detriment still existing today, we demand the urgent handling of various issues based on the concept of restoration to original conditions. We demand sufficient support for those who suffer from atomic bomb diseases, the establishment of a policy connected to full restoration for Koreans still remaining in Sakhalin, the resolution of Okinawan land disputes, and an urgent response to many other issues which cannot be solved on the level of so-called compensation, based on the principle of restoration to original conditions.

Lastly, at every opportunity, on every level, without "closing our eyes to the past," we want to open the inquiry on the serious detriment caused by Japan, the country responsible for bringing on the war. From there the necessary criteria for taking proper measures should be established, which seems to be the strongest request Japan is faced with in the issue of postwar treatment.