

Basic Research on Chinese Comfort Women : A Critique of *Chinese Comfort Women*

Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women

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General Statement/Overview of the Chinese Comfort Women Issue: Four Serious Flaws in Chinese Claims

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Introduction

On December 31, 2015, CNN quoted Chinese Professor Su Zhiliang in reporting that the actual total number of comfort women was 400,000, of which 200,000 were Chinese women forced into unpaid prostitution. This was reported immediately after the announcement that an agreement had been reached between Japan and South Korea on the comfort women issue. While the unfounded and slanderous accusation that there were 200,000 sex slaves has spread worldwide, some Chinese professors are now claiming that there were in fact double that number. Su Zhiliang—who is the head of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University and co-authored in 2014 the English-language book entitled *Chinese Comfort Women*—is disseminating the accusation that the Japanese military had a total of 400,000 comfort women, out of which 200,000 were Chinese, and that many of these women were murdered.

He played a key role in the submission of an application for documents related to Chinese comfort women to be registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in June 2014. However, the registration was withdrawn because of advice that the application should be filed jointly with other relevant countries. Thus, nine nations and 15 organizations jointly refiled the

application at the end of May 2016, and Shanghai Normal University's Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" was one of these 15 organizations.

As the dispute in Japan over the comfort women issue has been mainly over Korean comfort women, we were late in noticing the dangers posed by the claims made by Professor Su and others regarding Chinese comfort women. During the last few years, Professor Shiro Takahashi and others have pointed out various flaws in the claims made by Su, but their work is far from sufficient. Hardly any fact-based, systematic counterarguments have been made. To do this, we must first study the claims that Su and his colleagues are making, as well as the realities of the organizations supporting them. Otherwise, it will be difficult for us to work appropriately with UNESCO and provide counterarguments to the accusations.

However, Su has been making his claims mainly through publications in Chinese and English, and none of these publications have been translated into Japanese. Our research revealed that Su's claims are quite disorganized and unconvincing from the perspective of Japanese academic standards. However, since he has not published any of his work in Japanese, his haphazard approach has not been revealed and his papers have acquired a certain level of influence in the English-speaking world. Therefore, we established the Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women to examine Su's claims in English and Chinese. This group comprises experts on U.S. studies and Chinese history, in addition to specialists who have studied the comfort women issue. I would also like to add that this research was conducted with the full support of the Japan Policy Institute.

We compiled the results of this research in June 2016. The table of contents is as follows.

General Statement

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Tsutomu Nishioka (Professor, Tokyo Christian University)

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Shiro Takahashi (Professor, Meisei University)

We present the following four statements, which we believe are factually correct.

1 Research and movements related to the Chinese comfort women issue began after the Asahi Shimbun newspaper published in 1992 a series of misleading reports on the alleged forced recruitment of comfort women.

2 Claims that Chinese comfort women were forcibly recruited have not been proven.

3 The majority of Chinese who have come forward as former comfort women were actually victims of wartime sexual violence.

4 The allegation that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women is based on flawed calculations.

We will examine these four statements one by one.

1 Research and movements related to the Chinese comfort women issue began with a series of misleading Asahi Shimbun articles published in 1992 on the alleged forced recruitment of comfort women.

Su Zhiliang began his research on comfort women as a result of misleading reports in Japan about comfort women. Su, who studies early modern Chinese history, resided in Japan in 1992 as a visiting researcher at Tokyo University. He has mentioned that his research on comfort women was triggered by a Japanese scholar who stated that the "comfort women system of the Japanese military originated in Shanghai."

Su has explained how he came to learn about the comfort women issue as follows.

It was March 1992, on a weekend when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom. There was an academic meeting held at the International House of Japan in Roppongi 5-chome, Tokyo. After the meeting, scholars from the various countries enjoyed coffee while debating a hot topic at that time: comfort women. . . .

When he learned that I was from Shanghai, a Japanese professor asked me, "Isn't it believed that the first comfort station during the war was established in Shanghai?"

"Is that so?" I responded in surprise.

"Isn't Shanghai believed to be where the Japanese military's comfort women system originated?"

I was even more surprised and replied: "Is that the case?"

This exchange has remained in my mind ever since. When did the comfort women system begin? Did it really begin in Shanghai? How many Chinese women were forced to become comfort women?

Since then, I began gathering resources and focusing on developing research on this issue. . . .

After returning to Shanghai in June 1993, I immediately began my field work.

Extract from Su Zhiliang's "Emergency Survey on 'Comfort Women'" (*The Report on Japan's War Responsibility* No. 27, Spring 2000)

In other words, Su, who was a member of the faculty at a university in Shanghai and who was researching history, had no knowledge or interest in Chinese comfort women until then. He published his research results in Chinese in *Studies on Comfort Women* (Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 1999). However, as revealed in the report by Minoru Kitamura, most of his work simply presented previous Japanese research.

In the book's postscript entitled "Friends from abroad who offered tremendous support in terms of materials," many Japanese are listed, including university professors. Additionally, in the "List of reference materials," numerous Japanese research materials are included. While many of the Japanese research materials were published prior to 1992 when Su Zhiliang began his comfort women studies, the Chinese research materials in the "List of reference materials" were mostly published in 1995 or later. This implies that the Chinese began their research on comfort women in response to encouragement or suggestions from Japan.

On the other hand, apart from the efforts by Su, Ms. Wan Aihua who was the first Chinese woman to testify that she had been forced to serve as a comfort woman, visited Japan in December 1992 to testify at an event called the International Hearing on Japanese Postwar Compensation. The event, which was held in Tokyo, was organized after calls by the attorney Kenichi Takagi and others who were working on the Korean comfort women lawsuit. In addition to Wan Aihua, former comfort women from South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, the Netherlands, and the Philippines participated in the event. However, Wan Aihua is not a "comfort woman," but a victim of wartime sexual violence, and she has consistently asserted that "I am not a comfort woman." It was a local elementary school teacher who had read a newspaper article in China stating that victims can demand compensation for damages from Japan who introduced Wan Aihua to attorneys in Japan.

According to Noriko Omori and Yoko Adachi's "Looking Back on a Decade of Chinese 'Comfort Women' Lawsuits" (*The Report on Japan's War Responsibility* No. 47, Spring 2005), the person who discovered Wan Aihua and sent her to Japan was a local elementary school teacher named Zhang Shuangbing.

Around June 1992, Mr. Zhang found an article in a newspaper by a scholar from Beijing whose name was Tong Zeng, and was shocked when he read it. . . . It mentioned that the victims can demand compensation from Japan for damages. Mr. Zhang rushed to Hou Dongge and persuaded her to speak in detail about her experience, explaining that he will demand

compensation for damages on her behalf. . . . Mr. Zhang sent the results of this research to the author of the article, Tong Zeng in Beijing. In August 1992, Tong Zeng compiled the results in a request to the Japanese government and delivered it personally to staff at the Japanese embassy in Beijing. He demanded that the request be communicated to the Japanese government and that they respond. However, there has been no response to this day. . . .

Hou Donge and Wan Aihua were contacted about an international hearing being held in Tokyo in December 1992, which was inviting victims from various countries to attend. Mr. Zhang prepared to send them to Tokyo. . . . The question of how these victims were able to come forward from Yu County, Shanxi Province, with China being such a large country, was answered on learning about these actions taken by Mr. Zhang. . . . Without his devoted efforts, it would have been absolutely impossible for victims to come forward in Chinese society.

In other words, the trigger for the Chinese victims to begin making their testimonies was the postwar compensation lawsuit movement initiated in Japan by former Korean comfort women.

We learned that the postwar compensation lawsuit for Chinese comfort women was initiated by developments in Japan, where Japanese attorneys were searching for plaintiffs. According to Noriko Omori and Yoko Adachi's "Looking Back on a Decade of Chinese 'Comfort Women' Lawsuits" (*The Report on Japan's War Responsibility* No. 47, Spring 2005), around 10 attorneys visited Beijing in October 1994 as part of an investigation team to interview comfort women victims, coercive recruitment victims, families of the victims of Unit 731 (a Japanese military formation that conducted chemical warfare research), and victims of the Nanjing Incident about their pain and suffering. "These attorneys played a central role in filing lawsuits against the Japanese government for individual damages, starting in August 1995," according to Omori and Adachi.

According to the report by Kanji Katsuoka, three lawsuits involving a total of 24 plaintiffs (16 from Yu County, Shanxi Province, and 8 from Hainan Island) have been filed since then in relation to Chinese comfort women.

- I Chinese "comfort women" damages lawsuit (First Phase): August 1995 to April 2007 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 4 from Shanxi Province

 Chinese "comfort women" damages lawsuit (Second Phase): February 1996 to April 2007 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 2 from Shanxi Province
- II Damages lawsuit for sexual violence victims in Shanxi Province: October 1998 to November 2005 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 10 from Shanxi Province
- III Damages lawsuit for wartime sexual violence victims on Hainan Island: July 2001 to March 2010 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 8 from Hainan Island

All of the lawsuits were dismissed, but since the government did not contest the validity of the testimonies, the district and high court rulings left the root of the problem unaddressed by "recognizing facts" with regard to the harm suffered by the plaintiffs.

2 Claims that Chinese comfort women were forcibly recruited have not been proven.

Su Zhiliang has repeatedly claimed that the majority of the 200,000 Chinese comfort women were coercively recruited by the Japanese military. However, his claims have not been proven academically. Even left-wing scholars and activists in Japan do not support such claims.

The main basis for Su's claims is the testimonies of former comfort women. In *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves* (Oxford Oral History Series), which he co-authored, and which was published by Oxford University Press in 2014, he notes that 87 out of the 102 individuals that he personally interviewed "were kidnapped directly by Japanese troops" and 10 were "were abducted by local Chinese collaborators."

However, this claim fails from two perspectives. First, testimonies from former comfort women alone cannot provide adequate proof for the claim to be accepted as a historical fact. Other evidence, including testimonies from the perpetrators and official documents from that time, must also be examined, but Su and his colleagues mostly neglected to do this..

Second, *Chinese Comfort Women* was published as a volume in the Oxford Oral History Series. It was not a research document presenting historical facts, but rather a collection of interview documents. Strictly speaking, Oxford University is said to have not supported Su's claims academically, but this has been cleverly hidden. Yoichi Shimada's report points out the following:

■ Original title:

Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves (Oxford Oral History Series), Oxford University Press (June 2, 2014)

This publication takes the form of a volume in the Oxford Oral History Series, and it is based on numerous testimonies gathered from former comfort women.

It took advantage of the prestige of the Oxford name to defend itself against criticism that it cannot be called research because of insufficient work to back up the testimonies and deficiencies in the evaluation of historical materials.

The book was written by the **following three authors.**

Peipei Qiu, Professor of Chinese and Japanese and Director of the Asian Studies Program at Vassar College

Su Zhiliang, Professor of History and Director of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University

Chen Lifei, Professor of Journalism and Deputy Director of the Center for Women's Studies at Shanghai Normal University

Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, university professors from China, collected the testimonies and wrote the document. **Peipei Qiu**, a professor at Vassar College in New York State, was in charge of the English translation and external dissemination.

The fact that **Peipei Qiu**, a U.S. university professor, was among the co-authors cannot be ignored from the perspective of the ability to get the book's message across to the English-speaking world. On June 26, 2014, immediately after the work was published, the Wall Street Journal published an interview with Qiu entitled "Writing China: Peipei Qiu, 'Chinese Comfort Women'." Qiu also participated multiple times as a panelist in the comfort women symposiums hosted by the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS (Washington, D.C.) at Johns Hopkins University.

Su wrote that he personally interviewed 102 former Chinese comfort women, but published only 12 testimonies in the book. Su lists *Studies on Comfort Women* (Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe), which he published in Chinese, in the notes of the English publication. The majority of the readers who only understand English could mistakenly believe that the remaining testimonies of 90 individuals were recorded in the book published in Chinese. However, only eight testimonies of Chinese comfort women are recorded in the Chinese book, and all of them are citations from other Chinese and Japanese books, not from women directly interviewed by Su. Minoru Kitamura's report points this out as follows.

"Studies on Comfort Women" includes a total of 13 testimonies from comfort women—eight Chinese women (including one from Taiwan), four Korean women, and one Japanese woman—as actual examples of testimonies. However, these testimonies were not the results of interviews by Su Zhiliang, but quotes from works such as the following: "侵瓊日軍慰安婦実録 (*Invasion of Hainan Island—True Record of Japanese Military's Comfort Women*)" (edited by 符和積 (Fu Heji), 1996); "昭示：中国慰安婦 (*Public Announcement: Chinese Comfort Women*)" (Jiang Hao, 1993); "尋訪中国慰安婦 (Visiting the Chinese Comfort Women)" (Guo Si, published in "焦点 (*Focus*)," September 15, 1995); "血思—追訪戰災幸存者 (*Hardships—Following the Footsteps of War Damage Survivors*)" (Chen Zong Shun, published by 解放軍文藝出版社 (Liberation Army Literature Publishing Company), 1995); *Research on the Comfort Women Issue* (Reiko Yano, Chinese edition, 1997); *Military Comfort Woman Keiko* (Kako Senda, 1981); and *Comfort Women and Post-war Compensation* (Kenichi Takagi, 1992). With regard to the woman from Taiwan, the notes refer to "materials from the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation."

In other words, while Su wrote in *Chinese Comfort Women* that 97 out of the 102 former comfort women were abducted by the Japanese army or by people collaborating with the Japanese army, he published the testimonies of only 12 of the women, leaving the testimonies of the majority of those abducted unpublished. Su was duplicitous in that his description led readers to mistakenly believe that the remaining testimonies were recorded in the Chinese-language *Studies on Comfort Women*. However, *Studies on Comfort Women* did not include any of the testimonies from the interviews conducted personally by Professor Su. All of the passages were quotes from research done by others.

3 The majority of Chinese women who have come forward claiming to be former comfort women were actually victims of wartime sexual violence.

Comfort women are women who took part in prostitution managed by the military under the public prostitution system, which was legal at that time. On the other hand, sexual violence in wartime is a criminal act that the military authorities cracked down on. Su confuses the two concepts and claims that the Japanese army took the women by force.

Kanji Katsuoka organized a total of 77 testimonies, including interviews with trial plaintiffs and Japanese individuals other than those made public by Su.

The breakdown of the individuals who testified, as confirmed by Katsuoka, is as described below. (For details, refer to the "List of Testimonies by Chinese Comfort Women and Sexual Violence Victims" created by Katsuoka and published online.)

- Chinese plaintiffs in the comfort women trial (lawsuits filed between 1995 and 2001): 24
(First lawsuit: 4; Second lawsuit: 2; Sexual violence lawsuit: 10; Hainan Island lawsuit: 8)
- Those who provided testimony for Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women* (1999): 3
- Testifiers in the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery (2000): 2
- Those who provided testimony for *Sexual Violence in the Villages of the Yellow Earth* (2004), edited by Yoneko Ishida and Tomoyuki Uchida: 10
- Those who provided testimony for the exhibition brochure "One Day, the Japanese Army Came" (2008): 18
- Those who provided testimony for *"Comfort Women" Taken by Force* (2008) by Taichiro Kajimura, Takamitsu Muraoka and Koichiro Kasuya: 1
- Those who provided testimony for *Chinese Comfort Women* by Su Zhiliang, Chen Lifei and Peipei Qiu (2014): 12
- Those who provided testimony for the movie "Give Me the Sun" (2015), directed by Ban Zhongyi: 7

Putting aside the duplications, the number of people who came forward with testimony was 34, out of which 30 (88%) were not comfort women, but rather victims of sexual violence. Additionally, 26 of them (76%) are concentrated in two areas: 18 (53%) in Yu County, Shanxi Province; and 8 (24%) on Hainan Island. This means that most of the victims are from only two regions within the vast expanses of China. All of the 26 women from Yu County (Shanxi Province) and Hainan Island testified as having been victims of sexual violence. There were also some who gave multiple conflicting testimonies.

What needs to be emphasized here is that the incidents of sexual violence that these women testified about are not supported by other evidence, such as the testimonies of the perpetrators or documentation. Additionally, these incidents were not brought up in the war crime trials conducted

by the Republic of China and People's Republic of China. Thus, these are different in nature from incidents that have been confirmed as acts of wartime sexual violence, such as those in Indonesia where Dutch prisoners were forced to become comfort women.

Katsuoka analyzed why those who provided testimony on sexual violence were concentrated in these two regions, based on the situation that prevailed at that time. Yu County (Shanxi Province) and Hainan Island were both directly or indirectly confronting the Communist Eighth Route Army, and public security had not been sufficiently secured by the military police. Japanese military documents confirm that sex crimes occurred frequently in these regions. The purpose of establishing comfort stations was to prevent such sex crimes. Therefore, even if wartime sexual violence was a fact in Yu County (Shanxi Province) and on Hainan Island, this does not prove that the Japanese military took Chinese women by force to become comfort women.

What is clear at this point is that a total of 30 people who provided testimony, mainly from Yu County (Shanxi Province) and Hainan Island, have stated that they were victims of sexual violence by the Japanese military. Additionally, four more people claim to have been comfort women, according to the original meaning of the word. The testimonies of the first group do not prove that there was organized crime by the military as claimed by Su, but rather that soldiers in the field committed deviant acts. The testimonies of the latter group mean that, among the comfort women, there were Chinese women who were registered public prostitutes in the warzone, which is a fact already acknowledged in the Japanese academic world. Therefore, the latter also do not prove that the military took the women by force.

Su uses the testimony provided by Seiji Yoshida about Koreans who were taken by force to become comfort women as the grounds for his claims in *Chinese Comfort Women* (p. 217). However, as of June 2014, Japanese academia had concluded that Yoshida's testimony is not credible. In August of the same year, the Asahi Shimbun acknowledged that the reporting on Yoshida's testimony was false and apologized, but as of today, Su has still not corrected the claims in his book. This is a clear sign of academic dishonesty.

4 The allegation that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women is based on flawed calculations.

Finally, the claims made by Su Zhiliang in his "400,000 women theory" concerning the total number of comfort women and his "200,000 women theory" on the number of Chinese comfort women are the results of absurd calculations and are not credible.

Su first published these numbers in 1999 in the Chinese-language book *Studies on Comfort Women*. On the back cover of the book, the following absurd claim is printed in bold.

Under the comfort women system, the Japanese government coerced women from various countries into becoming sex slaves for the Japanese military during the war. Those who were treated as slaves under this system include approximately 400,000 women from China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Western countries. There are too many crimes to list in the space

provided here. Among them, the pain suffered by the Chinese women was the most severe, with basic calculations indicating that approximately 200,000 women were forced to become comfort women. A relationship such as the one between comfort women and the Japanese military is unheard of in our thousands of years of human civilization, with men abusing women as a group of slaves. It fully exposes the barbarism, brutality, and tyranny of Japanese militarism. The comfort women system was a criminal act by a government that violated the norms of humanity, violated sexual ethics, and institutionalized violations of the rules of war by the Japanese military. It is the most miserable event to be ever recorded in the history of women around the world.

(Translated from a Japanese translation of the original Chinese by Minoru Kitamura)

Su made a similar claim in his English-language book *Chinese Comfort Women* in 2014. We discussed at the beginning of this paper how the introduction of his views through the main media outlets of the English-speaking world damaged Japan's reputation considerably.

The absurdity of these calculations is discussed here. Su's calculation method is as follows. He assumes that the number of Japanese soldiers was 3 million and divides this by 29 as the appropriate ratio between comfort women and soldiers, thereby arriving at 103,448 women. He then multiplies this number by the turnover, which is the degree of replacement of comfort women due to illness, death, or retirement. Su calculates that there was a turnover of 3.5 to 4 women, which produces a number between 360,000 and 410,000 women. He then insists that there were 142,000 Korean comfort women, and that the remaining 200,000 were Chinese comfort women.

These calculations are not credible from three perspectives. First, 1-to-29 is too high to be an appropriate ratio. For a comfort woman to have had 10 partners per day, all of the soldiers would have had to have used the comfort stations more than once every 3 days. If the ratio was 1 woman for 29 soldiers and each of the woman had 10 partners per day, the tenth partner on the third day would have been visiting for a second time. Su claims that his use of the number 29 is based on the views of Yoshiaki Yoshimi. It is true that Yoshimi wrote in the comments of *Collection of Materials on Comfort Women* (Otsuki Shoten, 1992) that "the use of the phrase 'niku-ichi' (two-nine-one) was quite widespread" (p. 83). However, he does not present any grounds for this. In terms of historical documentation, a ratio is indicated in a report submitted in April 1939 by the chief of the Military Medicine Department of the 21st Army in Shanghai (Setsuzo Kinbara, "Summary of Operation Journal for the Department of Army"), stating the following: "Brought in a group of comfort women—1 woman for every 100 soldiers." Furthermore, Yoshimi himself performed his calculations using this more appropriate ratio of 1-to-100. (*Comfort Women*, Iwanami Shinsho, 1995). Ikuhiko Hata used the number 150 in his calculations (*Comfort Women and Sex on the Battlefield*, Shinchosha, 1999). However, Su has ignored all of these discussions and continued to make his claims based on the extremely biased figures from the theory put forward by Yoshimi in 1992.

Second, a comfort women replacement rate of 4 is also extremely high. Hata performed his calculations using a rate of 1.5 and Yoshimi using a rate of 2. If the turnover was 4 between 1937 and the end of the war when the Japanese army was fully deployed in mainland China, all of the comfort women must have been replaced every 2 years.

As the basis for this number, Su unilaterally claims that many comfort women were killed. In *Studies on Comfort Women*, Su wrote that "143,000 Korean comfort women were killed during the war" using the remarks made by Seijuro Arafune (*Today's Views* No. 4, 1972) that were reported by Kim Il Myon, a Korean critic living in Japan, as the basis for the claims of the mass-murder of comfort women. Arafune, a lawmaker of the Japanese House of Representatives, spoke in his constituency on November 20, 1965. In this speech, he stated, "142,000 Korean comfort women were killed. Japanese soldiers killed them." However, these comments by Arafune were reckless, without any basis in fact.

The Asian Women's Fund, which took the lead in issuing an apology and paying compensation to the comfort women, also points out the error in Arafune's remarks in the "Number of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women" section of their publication "Digital Museum—The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund." The organization criticizes Su, as shown below, for using these remarks unquestioningly.

The statement by Seijuro Arafune . . . that "145,000 Korean sex slaves" died during the Second World War refers to the following remarks he made in a speech (at a reception in Chichibu hosted by a veterans' organization) on November 20, 1965:

During the war, Koreans were told that they were now Japanese. This was to persuade them to place money in deposit accounts. They deposited 110 billion yen, and the money was all lost at the end of the war. Now they are demanding that the money be returned. They say, "Give us back Korea's wealth, the wealth Japanese bureaucrats held on to during 36 years of rule." They say Koreans were drafted by Japan during the war and taken from Korea to work, and those who worked well were used as soldiers, and 576,000 of those soldiers are now dead. There are claims that 142,000 Korean comfort women are dead, killed by the Japanese military's sexual abuses. Now they are demanding pensions for a total of 900,000 victims. At first, 5 billion dollars was claimed as compensation, but the sum has been whittled down and now they say they are willing to settle for 300 million dollars.

During the Korea-Japan Treaty negotiations (up to 1965), representatives of the Republic of Korea stated that 1,032,684 Koreans had been recruited to serve as laborers, soldiers, and personnel attached to the Japanese military, and that 102,603 of these had been injured or had died. At the time, no mention was made of comfort women. None of Arafune's figures have any basis whatsoever. It is most unfortunate that Special Rapporteur McDougall, who held a responsible position working for a United Nations organization, relied on such an untrustworthy source.

Professor Su Zhiliang learned of Arafune's speech from the paper written by Kim Il Myon, accepted it, and used the figure of 142,000 Korean comfort women to estimate that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women, out of the total of 360,000 to 410,000 he estimated to have existed. Regrettably, this mistaken conjecture, too, is simply based on Arafune's inflammatory remarks. <http://www.awf.or.jp/e1/facts-07.html>

Third, the calculation resulting in 200,000 as the number of Chinese comfort women based on there being a total of 360,000 (replacement rate: 3.5) or 410,000 (replacement rate: 4) comfort women is also a haphazard one. Su relied on the theory that there were 142,000 Korean comfort women, and simply subtracted this from the total number of comfort women. Since 142,000 is based on the uncritical use of the reckless remarks made by Arafune, this calculation has absolutely no basis in fact.

Furthermore, Su ignores entirely the fact that there were many Japanese comfort women and excludes them from the calculations. It is commonly accepted among experts that there were a considerable number of Japanese comfort women, so Su's calculations, which ignore this, are academically unacceptable.

Ikuhiko Hata believes that the majority of comfort women were Japanese, followed by Chinese and then Korean, Taiwanese, and Dutch women (Ikuhiko Hata, *Comfort Women and Sex on the Battlefield*, Shinchosha, June 1999).

The Asian Women's Fund also states on the above-mentioned website that "many of the women were indeed from Korea, but probably not the overwhelming majority. After all, many of the women were Japanese." They state that the ethnic breakdown of the approximately 2,000 military comfort station personnel who went to China through the provinces of Taiwan from November 1938 to December 1939 was 50% Japanese, 30% Korean, and 20% Taiwanese.

Conclusion

As discussed above, the Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women has revealed that misleading reports claiming that "the Japanese military had a total of 400,000 comfort women, out of which 200,000 were Chinese, and that many of these women were murdered" promote an unfounded accusation that is now being spread to the global community by Su Zhiliang and his colleagues. However, at the end of May 2016, 9 nations and 15 organizations, including the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" in Shanghai Normal University in China, which is headed by Su, applied for comfort women-related documents to be registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.

Takahashi's report analyzed the application from the previous year in detail to point out its haphazard approach.

For example, a photo is described as the "ship for transporting the comfort women" based on the character "慰" (comfort) printed on the body of the ship. However, this "慰" stands for "慰問団" (entertainment group), a group of singers and comedians who performed in various locations. The photo described as the "comfort station in Heilongjiang Province" shows a stage set up in the middle with something like a movie being shown at the back one level higher. This is more likely a photo of the auditorium where the entertainers performed, rather than a comfort station.

There are no descriptions demonstrating that comfort women were taken by force and forced to work as sex slaves in any of the relevant materials, including the "Monthly Report of Japanese Military Crimes" issued by the military police, the "Postal Censorship Monthly Report" prepared by the Japanese army's Beian Area Censorship Division, the testimonies of Lieutenant General Shinnosuke Sasa and Lieutenant Colonel Saburo Hirose, or the "Survey Report on the Status of Public Order Restoration in the Nanjing Military Police Jurisdiction" written by the military police. In other words, materials proving that comfort women were taken by force or treated as sex slaves as the Chinese claim do not exist. (Professor Takahashi analyzes the 2016 joint application documents in detail in the August 2016 issue of *Monthly Seiron*. These are research findings made after the compilation of this report.)

Takahashi's report says that "Comfort women were not taken by force, but conducted a sex service business protected by law. During the war, many warring countries had similar facilities, and there is no evidence that the Japanese comfort women system was unique." This is the common understanding held by the Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women. We emphasize that based on this understanding, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs should present a counterargument to Su's claims by actively uncovering the facts.

Research and Movements Related to the Chinese Comfort Women Issue

Kanji Katsuoka (designated author)

Introduction

Until recently, comfort women for the Japanese military often seemed to be discussed entirely in the context of Korean comfort women, and it was relatively rare for Chinese comfort women to be mentioned.

From around June 2014, when China announced that it would be applying for historical documents related to comfort women and the Nanjing Incident to be registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, the existence of Chinese comfort women started to garner attention. However, the existence of Chinese comfort women remains relatively unknown even today, and the general public is unaware of the issue.

Here, after surveying the history of research into the issue and the history of movements on comfort women—in both Japan and China—we examine the testimonies of the 34 Chinese comfort women—to the extent that they can be documented—in order to verify the extent to which progress has been made in shedding light on the Chinese comfort women issue.

Origins of research on Chinese comfort women

First, we would like to comment on trends in Chinese comfort women research (including wartime sexual violence against Chinese women) from a viewpoint on the history of research on the issue and the history of movements on comfort women. Attached at the end of this report is the "List of Japanese Documents Regarding Chinese Comfort Women and Wartime Sexual Violence" (Appendix Table (1)). The document numbers used in this report are based on the documents listed in this "List of Japanese Documents." (For example, "(1) No. 1" refers to Yoshiaki Yoshimi's "Collection of Materials on Comfort Women," but "(1)" may be omitted if its use would be confusing.)

Research on this issue began in Japan in 1992 (all of the documents from No. 1 onwards are from 1992 or later). On the other hand, the Chinese comfort women issue gained attention "as the comfort women issue was reported on and introduced in Japan and South Korea," and reports on the subject date back to 1992. (No. 31). Su Zhiliang, a leading comfort women researcher in China, also began his comfort women research in 1992 when a Japanese professor stated that the "comfort women system of the Japanese military originated in Shanghai" (No. 14).

The year 1992 was when the Asahi Shimbun published misleading reports alleging the coercive recruitment of comfort women (see the February 2015 report released by an independent committee to examine the Asahi Shimbun's comfort women reporting for further details). Research on, and movements on the Chinese comfort women issue were triggered by the reporting. It was in December 1992 that Wan Aihua—who was the first former Chinese "comfort woman" (sexual violence victim) to come forward—came to Japan (No. 70).

Overview of the Chinese comfort women lawsuits

However, since Chinese victims other than Wan Aihua were slow to come forward, Japanese attorneys and activist groups took the lead in the search for victims.

In October 1994, around 10 attorneys visited Beijing to interview comfort women victims, coercive recruitment victims, families of the victims of Unit 731 (a Japanese military formation that conducted chemical warfare research), and victims of the Nanjing Incident about their pain and suffering. "These attorneys played a central role in filing lawsuits against the Japanese government for individual damages, starting in August 1995." (No. 57)

Since then, three lawsuits involving Chinese comfort women have been filed (Lawsuit I was broken down into a first and second phase), and rulings were handed down for all of them. (The plaintiff numbers correspond to the numbers in Appendix Table (2) "List of Testimonies by Chinese Comfort Women and Sexual Violence Victims" at the end of this report.)

- I Chinese "comfort women" damages lawsuit (First Phase): August 1995 to April 2007 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 4 from Shanxi Province ((2) No. 7 to 10)

 Chinese "comfort women" damages lawsuit (Second Phase): February 1996 to April 2007 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 2 from Shanxi Province ((2) No. 11, 12)
- II Damages lawsuit for sexual violence victims in Shanxi Province: October 1998 to November 2005 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 10 from Shanxi Province ((2) No. 13, 16 to 24)
- III Damages lawsuit for wartime sexual violence victims on Hainan Island: July 2001 to March 2010 (appeal dismissed)

 Plaintiffs: 8 from Hainan Island ((2) No. 25 to 32)

The Supreme Court of Japan dismissed appeals from the plaintiffs for all of the cases, and the plaintiffs lost due to the absence of state liability. On the other hand, it is also true that "facts were recognized" in rulings handed down by district courts and high courts with regard to the harm suffered by the plaintiffs ((1) No. 69).

Comfort women must be clearly distinguished from wartime sexual violence (rape) victims

There has been some confusion in terms of the concepts involved even in the lawsuits mentioned above. For example, the term "comfort women" was used in Lawsuit I, while the term "sexual violence (victims)" was used in Lawsuit II and Lawsuit III. Given this, we will first clarify the definition of comfort women. The term "comfort women" refers to women who engaged in prostitution at comfort stations established in war zones as an extension of the public prostitution

system in Japan. They were considered legal at the time, and as rape occurred frequently during the Second Sino-Japanese War, comfort women were recruited and comfort stations were established to in an effort to prevent this.

On the other hand, wartime sexual violence (rape) was considered to be a major crime even at that time, and people in wartime could be charged for rape under general criminal law. However, the army revised the criminal law in February 1942 to establish the crime of warzone rape, and added a new clause that stated that "a person who rapes a woman on a battlefield or in a territory occupied by the Imperial Army will be sentenced to life or one year or more in prison" (Article 88-2 of the code).

The perpetrators of such war crimes during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Greater East Asia War (World War II) were put on trial in the war crimes tribunals convened by the Allies (Tokyo Trials and Class B and C War Crimes Trials), which ended with Japan accepting the rulings. For example, the 11 Japanese military personnel and civilian workers who masterminded the forced confinement and rape of Dutch women in Indonesia under the Japanese military occupation (the Semarang Comfort Station Incident) were tried after the war as Class B and C war criminals.

However, it is also important to note that these war crime cases were not acts that the Japanese military was systematically involved in, but rather illegal acts conducted by individual military personnel. In that sense, these wartime sexual violence victims need to be clearly distinguished from comfort women.

The "sex slave" concept, which has been frequently used recently to refer to comfort women, is also an emotional term with an extremely vague definition. Since the publication of the United Nations Coomaraswamy Report in 1996, the misconception has spread in the international community that comfort women were sex slaves. However, comfort women clearly fall under a different category from "slaves," as comfort women received monetary rewards as compensation for their labor, and in principle, they were freed if they repaid their debts. Comfort women should not be grouped together with sex slaves using vague definitions.

Testimonies of Chinese comfort women that lack supporting research cannot be considered factual evidence

In *Chinese Comfort Women* (Oxford University Press, 2014), which Su Zhiliang co-authored with Chen Lifei and Peipei Qiu, Su wrote that he recorded the testimonies of 102 Chinese comfort women, out of which 87 were directly abducted by the Japanese military. The book is based on the testimonies of the 12 Chinese comfort women whom Su and Chen interviewed, but the testimonies of the victims alone cannot be recognized as facts.

Needless to say, the testimonies of the comfort women are merely their memories from over 70 years ago. For the testimonies to be verified as facts, it is essential that they first be corroborated by the testimony of the corresponding perpetrators. Additionally, as supporting evidence, physical evidence proving the testimony of individuals, as well as supporting testimonies from close

relatives, friends, and acquaintances, are also required. One-sided testimonies from individuals without detailed supporting research are insufficient as evidence.

Verifying the testimonies of the 34 Chinese comfort women

Taking the above as the basic premise, let's consider how the testimonies of the Chinese comfort women can be verified.

The present author has managed to confirm the following breakdown of the individuals who provided testimony.

- Chinese plaintiffs in the comfort women trials (lawsuits filed between 1995 and 2001): 24
(First Phase : 4; Second Phase: 2; sexual violence: 10; Hainan Island: 8)
- People who provided testimony for Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women* (1999): 3
- Witnesses in the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery (2000): 2
- People who provided testimony for *Sexual Violence in the Villages of the Yellow Earth* (2004), edited by Yoneko Ishida and Tomoyuki Uchida: 10
- People who provided testimony for the exhibition brochure "One Day, the Japanese Army Came" (2008): 18
- People who provided testimony for '*Comfort Women*' Taken by Force (2008) by Taichiro Kajimura, Takamitsu Muraoka and Koichiro Kasuya: 1
- People who provided testimony for *Chinese Comfort Women* by Su Zhiliang, Chen Lifei and Peipei Qiu (2014): 12
- People who provided testimony for the movie "Give Me the Sun" (2015), directed by Ban Zhongyi: 7

According to the above information, the total number of women who testified is 77. However, there is quite a lot of overlap among those who provided testimony and if this overlap is removed, the number is 34. (For details on the overlap, refer to Appendix Table (2) "List of Testimonies by Chinese Comfort Women and Sexual Violence Victims.")

First, the 34 women are **concentrated in a very narrow range of areas, in terms of where they were allegedly victimized**. Of the 34 women, 18 (53%; (2) No. 7 to 24) were victims of sexual violence in Yu County (Shanxi Province), while 8 (24%; No. 25 to 32) were attacked on Hainan Island (see "Location" in Appendix Table (2)). In other words, most of the Chinese comfort women and sexual violence victims who have come forward until the present time (26 out of 34 [76%]) are concentrated in only two locations in the vast expanses of China. This concentration is very unnatural and deserves to be questioned. A discussion of this matter is provided in the next section.

Second, judging from the content of the testimonies, some of the 34 women who testified were comfort women while others were sexual violence victims (see the "Comfort woman" column in Appendix Table (2)). Of the 12 people who provided testimony that Su Zhiliang discusses in *Chinese Comfort Women*, 4 were comfort women (No. 1, 2, 4, and 5) and 8 were sexual violence victims (No. 3, 6, 13, 16, 26, 27, 29, and 33), but Su does not make any distinction between these two groups and talks about them equally as "Chinese comfort women." However, as mentioned earlier, **comfort women and sexual violence victims are completely different in nature so they must be considered separately.** In fact, Wan Aihua (No. 16), who Su Zhiliang describes as a "Chinese comfort woman," testified in his book that "I am not a comfort woman. No matter what people say, I am not a comfort woman. I was taken by force because I was a communist" ((1) No. 98). However, the book treats sexual violence victims like her as if they were the same as comfort women. Probably because many sexual violence victims, including Wan Aihua, disliked the term "comfort woman," they filed a suit as "sexual violence victim" plaintiffs in the comfort women trials mentioned above (II and III) separately from the Chinese "comfort women" trial (I). This also indicates that the two groups should be distinguished, but Su puts them in the same group or seems to be intentionally confusing them.

Additionally, if we examine the 34 who gave testimony as a whole, very few—only 4 of the 34 (12%; (2) No. 1, 2, 4, and 5)—can be considered comfort women, and **the vast majority (30 [88%]; No. 3, 6 to 34) were victims of sexual violence and cannot be considered "Chinese comfort women."** This applies particularly to all of the sexual violence victims (26) from Yu County (Shanxi Province) and Hainan Island (refer to the "Location" column and "Comfort woman" column in Appendix Table (2)).

Third, we should note that **some of the women gave multiple testimonies that were conflicting.** For example, Zhou Fenying ((2) No. 2) is the only comfort woman who voluntarily testified that she received money (her testimony can be translated as follows: "There was also an old Chinese woman who supervised the women and collected fees [from Japanese soldiers]. The woman gave us a yuan or so every month to buy daily necessities, but the money was far from enough"; *Chinese Comfort Women*, p. 91). However, the same individual gave totally conflicting testimony in a different setting, stating, "I did not receive money even once" ((1) No. 39, p. 13).

It is because of such conflicting statements by comfort women that we stated that the testimonies alone are insufficient as evidence. In the case of Zhou, is it possible that, despite specifically testifying to Su that she received money, she testified in a different setting that she did not receive money even once because she intentionally pretended she did not receive money to exaggerate her pain and suffering? In that sense, the testimonies of comfort women or sexual violence victims cannot be recognized as facts on their own without corroborating evidence.

Below, we examine the backgrounds to the sexual violence in both Yu County (Shanxi Province) and on Hainan Island in order to investigate the cause of the geographic concentration that we pointed out above.

Background to the sexual violence in Yu County (Shanxi Province)

The testimonies of the 18 sexual violence victims ((2) No. 7 to 24) from Yu County (Shanxi Province) were all tragic, with all of them being abducted and taken by force by the Japanese army and then tortured and/or raped while being confined for a long period of time. The number one reason why they were victimized was that this region was close to the communist guerrilla base and they were suspected of having relationships with the Chinese Communists' Eighth Route Army (7 of them (No. 9 to 12, 15, 16, and 21) testified to this). The most notable example of this was Wan Aihua (No. 16), who testified that "I was taken by force because I was a communist" ((1) No. 99).

It was in January 1938 that the Japanese army occupied the Yu County castle. Until just before that, in October 1937, the Eighth Route Army had their headquarters in Mount Wutai, located just north of Yu County, which served as a communist guerrilla base. In August and September of 1940, the Japanese army in the area suffered major losses from a surprise attack by the communist guerrillas (an operation known as the Hundred Regiments Offensive), and the Japanese army launched a retaliatory operation in Jinzhong to "completely destroy the communist army."

However, the number of soldiers that the Japanese army could deploy in the vast expanses of China was limited and they had no choice but to deploy small detachments over a wide range of areas. As these small forces were distributed in various locations, there were areas where supervision by the military police or by senior officers was insufficient, and military discipline—particularly among experienced non-commissioned officers—became relaxed. This resulted in the creation of hotbeds for war crimes. The Japanese military headquarters in the northern regions of China also recognized this and made the following statement in a document called "Measures for Increasing Military Discipline" (December 1942).

We deeply regret that heinous crimes that run contrary to the spirit of a healthy army and that undermine military discipline ... such as rape, looting and other offenses that need to be avoided, are still occurring frequently.

The addition of the crime of warzone rape following the above-mentioned revision of the army criminal law (February 1942) was likely an immediate response to such conditions on the front line.

Many of the victims of sexual violence from Yu County (Shanxi Province) testified that they were abducted and taken by force by Japanese soldiers to gun batteries at the mountain top or cave residences called yaodong, where they were repeatedly raped and tortured on a daily basis, and that they were finally released after paying ransom money. Detailed interviews were conducted by Yoneko Ishida and Tomoyuki Uchida about these incidents, and the testimonies of the victims were carefully recorded and backgrounds investigated ((1) No. 82).

On the other hand, although extremely few perpetrators (former Japanese soldiers) testified, Mr. Masayoshi Matsumoto, who was a military medic for the troops stationed on guard in Yu County, testified as follows.

One day, we went out for a sweep as usual. Normally, when we raided villages there were only chickens and pigs, but somehow on that day, there were villagers who had not managed

to escape. So we captured 7 or 8 women, took them back to our base, and confined them in the barracks. . . .

The commander was a sergeant major promoted from the ranks whom I looked up to. However, despite the character of the commander, he could not stop the actions of his troops.

Among the troops, there were some hardcore cases who were seen as permanent privates first class, never to be promoted. . . .

Military discipline did exist, but on the front line, it was as if it did not exist. . . .

The commander must do a good job handling such hardcore cases, as they are the ones that achieve so-called "military results." They capture the Chinese, kill the ones they capture, or rape them if they are women, and find pleasure in such actions like hunters do when they bring down their prey. In such a state, there is nothing you can do.

I was given the task of testing these women for sexually transmitted diseases. I would caution the soldiers while handing out the mountains of condoms that we kept in the medical office. Looking back, I should have refused, but I couldn't, or rather I didn't. Prevention of sexually transmitted diseases was the job of a military medic. . . .

After about a week, the commander gathered the soldiers and said: "That is enough. Let's return them." We released the women, and in return, ordered the village chief to bring to the barracks two women who were selling sex for a living. Testing those women for sexually-transmitted diseases was also my job. This is what we, in fact I, actually did in the detachment in Shangshezhen. (No. 95)

Questions remain about whether the forced confinement and rape described above are real events that Mr. Matsumoto actually witnessed (in other testimony, Mr. Matsumoto responded that it was not a fact that he witnessed war crimes such as rape; No. 98). What is noteworthy in this testimony is that the commander released the confined and raped women after a week, and placed comfort women in the barracks instead. It is because the commander was aware that confinement and rape were crimes that he released them and replaced them with legal comfort women.

However, the detachments who directly confronted the communist guerrillas normally did not have comfort women. In the memoirs of Shunjiro Aoe, who served as a pacification officer responsible for coordinating work with civilians in Shanxi Province, we found the following quote.

Japanese prostitutes were rarely "supplied" in the field. Dust-covered Korean women were brought by truck every few months to stay only four or five days. They were literally like "angels."

(Shunjiro Aoe "Pacification Officer of the Japanese Army")

So, what happened when they could not "source" comfort women? Yoneko Ishida, mentioned above, interviewed the residents of Shangshezhen (Shanxi Province) and concluded the following about the "pain and suffering inflicted on women" in the region.

When the Japanese military came here, they brought about a dozen Korean "comfort women" to central Zhen and built a "comfort station" (prior to the Hundred Regiments Offensive). The women left together with the Japanese army following the Hundred Regiments Offensive, and such a facility was not built after that. Prior to the Hundred Regiments Offensive, Japanese soldiers were relatively disciplined and did not commit many horrific acts. But they became savage after the reoccupation. They began taking women by force to the gun batteries around that time. (No. 84)

What we can understand from the above is the following: The existence of comfort stations and comfort women were in fact effective in deterring rape and maintaining military discipline, but military discipline declined when the comfort women were gone, and it became normal to abduct and take women by force.

However, if we look into whether such confinement and rape was normal practice for all of the detachments that had been left without comfort women, it looks like this was not the case. Mr. Hajime Kondo, who served in the detachments in Liao County (Shanxi Province) at that time, testified that he personally took part in gang rape just once (No. 84, 87) during Operation Hebei (believed to be springtime operations in the Taihang mountains) in 1943. However, he has no recollection about the confinement of women. Shigeru Aoki, who compiled the interview with Kondo in a book, wrote the following.

There were many detachments in the unit that Kondo belonged to, but he believes none of the units detained women as "comfort women." It appears to be that treating women as "comfort women," rape, and gang rape were carried out in entirely different ways depending on the unit, the commander, the region, and the period. (No. 87)

Kondo points out the following in this regard.

The military can be completely different depending on the location, the unit, or even the year or period in which you joined.

The nature of the subordinate soldiers will differ under different company commanders. (No. 84)

The fact that the carrying out of cruel acts such as rape and torture depended on whether the company commander took the lead in such acts can be seen in the testimony of Setsuro Kuwajima, who was a military medic in Shandong Province.

On June 4 (1944), a unit engaged in a sweep captured five young women in Donggongliumi Village (東公留蜜村), east of Hanli (寒里). They were all around 20 years old, with bobbed hair, which was rare deep in the mountains. They seemed educated and at first it appeared that they were female agents from the Eighth Route Army. Company commander Kashiwazaki would immediately strip and torture such women without question, but company commander Ogawa did not engage in such violent acts, and he only tied them up and brought them with the company.

If the company commander did not engage in cruel acts, neither would his subordinates. The First Company became a very quiet company after Ogawa became its company commander [after company commander Kashiwazaki was transferred]. The so-called Three Alls Strategy ("kill all, burn all, loot all") or the killing of residents probably didn't happen if the company commander on the front line didn't take the lead in carrying out such acts. (Setsuro Kuwajima, *Record of War in North China*)

The maintenance of military discipline on the front line depended largely on the person at the top. Mr. Kondo, mentioned above, also stated the following.

To begin with, in our company the non-commissioned officers were more arrogant than the commissioned officers. The commissioned officers for the troops in the Fourth Independent Mixed Brigade were mostly former officer candidates and were looked down on, with the troops thinking: "You intellectuals can be pretentious in the outside world, but in the military, what counts is the number of meals that you have eaten here rather than the number of stars on your epaulettes."

Among the detachments, there were normally commissioned officer detachments led by a second lieutenant and non-commissioned officer detachments led by a non-commissioned officer. The commissioned officer detachments were generally orderly, but in the non-commissioned officer detachments the non-commissioned officers and old-timers did as they pleased. (No. 87)

"Hardcore soldiers doing as they pleased" were likely to have been found in detachments led by non-commissioned officers.

As such, rape and confinement did not occur just anywhere in the vast expanses of China.

First, such acts were isolated incidents that could only occur on the frontlines where the Eighth Route Army and the Japanese army fought one another (in other words, where supervision by the military police was insufficient). Second, even on the frontlines, if the company commander was of solid character, military discipline was strictly maintained and illegal acts such as rape and confinement did not occur. Third, in cases when the "non-commissioned officers were more arrogant than the commissioned officers" and "no matter what the character of the commander, he could not stop the actions of his troops," there were times when senior officers could not stop the cruel acts of their subordinates, so rape and confinement went unchecked. However, these are all clear war crimes that fit in the category of warzone rape.

Ishida and Uchida, mentioned above, stated, without grounds, that "The case in Yu County is not an isolated incident, but a typical example of a phenomenon that occurred widely" (No. 82). How could they make such an assertion? The acts of sexual violence that occurred in Yu County (Shanxi Province) were isolated incidents that are believed to have occurred as a result of multiple coinciding factors, as mentioned above. Such isolated incidents should not be generalized as "occurring widely" without a rational reason. There is no evidence anywhere that similar acts were occurring all over the vast territory of China.

Background to the sexual violence on Hainan Island

Next, we will examine the background to the sexual violence in Hainan Island.

The Japanese military occupied Hainan Island in February 1939, but the area was originally full of strong anti-Japanese forces, and the Japanese constantly suffered in conflicts with the communist guerrillas that fought in flying columns. The navy, which had occupied Hainan Island, carried out military operations called Operation Y nine times during the occupation, but despite these repeated operations, the enemy forces showed no signs of weakening. According to the "Hainan Guard Office Wartime Journal," the enemy forces were said to number around 10,000 as of June 1942, but gradually increased in strength. By March 1944, the situation was that "the Communist Party is expanding its organization island-wide," according to the Journal, with enemy forces exceeding 15,000.

Under these conditions, the Japanese military stated that for Operation Y6 in June 1942 "we will try to avoid the burning of homes, etc., unless it interferes with the execution of the operations." However, for Operation Y7 in November of the same year, their position shifted to "we will clean out communist villages" and "anyone connected to enemy bandits will be severely punished." The following is a typical testimony by a villager.

Communist flying columns were active in this village . . . and the Japanese military captured young men on the assumption that they belonged to the flying columns. The Japanese military forced them into labor, such as drawing water to build a watchtower. The flying column once attacked the watchtower and killed 13 Japanese soldiers.

After the attack on the watchtower, the Japanese military raided Baisha village in retaliation and burned down all of the homes. (No. 109)

This is similar to the operation in Jinzhong after the Hundred Regiments Offensive, and the situation on Hainan Island must have been very similar to Yu County (Shanxi Province). Under these circumstances, wartime sexual violence may have been an everyday affair as a result of waning discipline among soldiers on the front line, where military police supervision was insufficient.

Looking at the testimonies of the eight victims of sexual violence ((2) No. 25 to 32) from Hainan Island, the majority of them were abducted and confined by the Japanese military and raped for a long period of time. However, apart from such cases, one villager testified about a Japanese soldier who committed rape and was later executed.

A woman who died last year was assaulted by a Japanese soldier back then. She smeared dye on the clothing of the Japanese soldier. The Japanese soldier was later executed by a superior officer as punishment. He was probably executed for staining his military uniform with dye, rather than for committing rape. ((1) No. 109)

Since it is unlikely that the soldier was executed just for staining his military uniform, it makes more sense to believe that he was questioned about the stain on his military uniform and was executed due to the discovery of the rape, rather than being "executed for staining his military uniform with dye."

Additionally, Ban Zhongyi, who interviewed four victims on Hainan Island, made the following interesting point.

The four are different in terms of the location where they were victimized and the ranks of their perpetrators, but they had several things in common, such as having certain individuals whom they "served," that they were not compensated, and that they were allowed to take a break for two or three days only when "comfort women" arrived from the "authorities" (headquarters). (No. 103)

This clearly shows that the women were not comfort women authorized by the military, but were victims of sexual violence. They were allowed to take a break only when the troupes of comfort women authorized by the military arrived. In other words, the women were victims of war crimes (rightfully subject to punishment, if revealed), and the crimes were secretly carried out unnoticed by senior levels of the military, with the knowledge among the perpetrators that their acts were against military discipline.

On Hainan Island, there were many cases where several Japanese soldiers formed groups and had one soldier stand guard while they carried out rape or gang rape. For example, Huang Youliang ((2) No. 26) stated that "There were always soldiers guarding the gate and they would not let us go anywhere" ("Chinese Comfort Women," p. 128), and Lin Yajin (No. 29) testified that "The door was double-locked and there were always Japanese soldiers standing outside guarding the house." "Normally, three or four Japanese soldiers would come into my room together. One of them would guard the door" (ibid., p. 137). There is no doubt that the Japanese soldiers themselves were aware that they were committing crimes.

For Hainan Island, there are no testimonies from former Japanese soldiers, only from the victims, but we must see these cases as exceptional war crimes—similar to those committed in Yu County (Shanxi Province)—that occurred outside the supervision of senior officers and the military police. The findings of the second hearing (2009) for the damages lawsuit on wartime sexual violence on Hainan Island stated that "There is no choice but to say that there is no accurate evidence to confirm that these acts were carried out under a formal order, operational activity, or occupational policy of the Japanese military. It is presumed that the Japanese soldiers involved carried out the acts to satisfy their sexual desires, away or apart from operational activities, not based on any authority or formal orders." This is a valid judgment.

The issue with the number of Chinese comfort women

Lastly, we would like to point out some errors in the view that there was a total of 400,000 comfort women, of which 200,000 were Chinese comfort women, as claimed by Su Zhiliang.

Su first published such views in his *Studies on Comfort Women* (Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 1999), but the basis for his calculations is very weak. The view that there was a total of 400,000 comfort women should actually be 360,000 to 410,000 to be precise, and this figure is based on the following calculation.

First, the total number of Japanese soldiers is presumed to be 3 million and this is divided by 29. This figure of 29 means there was 1 comfort woman for every 29 soldiers. This appears to be based on the views of Yoshiaki Yoshimi ((1) No. 1 comments), who stated that "The use of the phrase "niku-ichi" ("two-nine-one") was quite widespread," but there is no evidence that this was true. In fact, Yoshimi himself made calculations using a ratio of 1-to-100 (No. 4), while some researchers (Ikuhiko Hata 1993) performed their calculations using 1-to-50 as the ratio and still others did their calculations with a ratio of 1-to-150 (Yoshiaki Itakura and Ikuhiko Hata 1999).

Next, the value produced by dividing the total number of Japanese soldiers by the ratio between comfort women and soldiers is multiplied by the replacement rate (turnover rate) of the comfort women, which was 3.5 to 4. The replacement rate is the rate at which comfort women were replaced due to illness, death, or retirement. This also varies according to the researcher, with some performing their calculations using a 1.5 replacement rate (Ikuhiko Hata and Yoshiaki Yoshimi) and others using 2 (Yoshiaki Yoshimi). A replacement rate of 3.5 to 4, which is an extremely high number, is used only by Su Zhiliang.

Using a replacement rate of 3.5 to 4, the total number of comfort women is between 360,000 (with a replacement rate of 3.5) and 410,000 (with a replacement rate of 4). In coming up with the figure of 200,000 Chinese comfort women, Su relied on the view that there were 142,000 Korean comfort women, and seems to have simply subtracted this from the total number of comfort women. There were numerous Japanese among the comfort women and, according to Ikuhiko Hata, there were more Japanese women than not only Chinese women but also Korean women (No. 9). However, Su completely forgot to include the Japanese comfort women, who were the largest in number, in his calculations. Therefore, his calculations are simply absurd.

Furthermore, the view relied on by Su that there were 142,000 Korean comfort women is the result of a figure produced without any basis whatsoever by Seijuro Arafune, a lawmaker in the Japanese House of Representatives. Su's view that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women is also criticized by the Asian Women's Fund as follows.

Professor Su Zhiliang learned of Arafune's speech from the paper written by Kim Il Myon, accepted it, and used the figure of 142,000 Korean comfort women to estimate that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women, out of the 360,000 to 410,000 he estimated to have existed. Regrettably, this mistaken conjecture, too, is simply based on Arafune's inflammatory remarks. (Extract from "Number of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women," Digital Museum "The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund")

No Japanese researcher indicates as large a number of comfort women as that claimed by Su Zhiliang. Yoshiaki Yoshimi indicates the total number of comfort woman as follows: "Excluding cases of confinement for a fixed period or rape, there were at least approximately 50,000. If we include those cases, it far exceeds 50,000" (No. 40). However, he does not indicate the number of Chinese comfort women. Ikuhiko Hata estimates the total number of comfort women to be "approximately 20,000, at most" and states that "locals," including Chinese women, constituted around 30% (6,000) of them (No. 9). This is very different from the claim made by Su Zhiliang that there were 200,000 Chinese comfort women.

Conclusion

What we can see from the above is that research on Chinese comfort women has been done only in an extremely distorted way.

As typified by Su Zhiliang's research, much of the work by Chinese investigators has equated or intentionally confused comfort women with wartime sexual violence victims, and the vast majority of the testimonies given by "Chinese comfort women" are simply cases of victims of wartime sexual violence, which was a war crime even at that time.

Some researchers in Japan clearly distinguish between the two. For example, Ishida and Uchida point out that in Shanxi Province, "Wartime sexual violence in frontline rural areas was a type of violence that fell between the "comfort station" type of sexual violence and the Nanjing type of sexual violence [gang rape during invasion]" and "the actual conditions of the sexual violence in Yu County cannot be fully ascertained through only 'comfort stations' and 'comfort women'" ((1) No. 82).

Nevertheless, their research is basically based solely on the testimonies of victims of wartime sexual violence, and despite efforts to gather evidence for these testimonies by conducting multiple field surveys, no verification has been carried out to determine whether the acts were organized crimes by the Japanese army or deviant acts by some soldiers, or whether the acts were similar to other acts occurring throughout China or were exceptional phenomena. Moreover, researchers have basically given up on conducting research on Chinese comfort women other than through the lens of sexual violence. Regarding this point, Ishida and Uchida admit that "We need to be aware of the fact we do not have a full picture of the situation." (No. 82).

That said, why are the victims of wartime sexual violence concentrated in Yu County (Shanxi Province) and on Hainan Island? The investigation of this question was clearly neglected in previous research. As mentioned earlier, both were special regions where the Japanese army had to directly confront communist guerrillas. Were there any other similar regions?

The Japanese army divided Hebei and Shanxi Provinces into the following three types of districts: "hostile districts (with anti-Japan bases)," "semi-peaceful and orderly districts (with anti-Japan flying columns)," and "peaceful and orderly districts (occupied zones)." It appears that there was a significant difference in the incidence of sex crimes between the "semi-peaceful and orderly districts" and the "peaceful and orderly districts."

The Chinese women in the "semi-peaceful and orderly districts" suffered, with rape and gang rape being common. Since the victims could appeal to the Japanese military police in this district, there were many cases of murder after a rape or gang rape to hide the evidence, literally on the basis that "dead women tell no tales." In the "peaceful and orderly districts," assaults against women were strictly prohibited by the Japanese military and Japanese soldiers were aware that rape was not tolerated within such districts. Therefore . . . hardly any organized sex crimes occurred in cities in the "peaceful and orderly districts" in Hebei Province. (No. 7)

In other words, we can see from the above that the sex crimes committed by the Japanese military were frequent only in areas where efforts to maintain peace and order by the military police fell short, and where the Japanese military was directly or indirectly confronting the Eighth Route Army (in "semi-peaceful and orderly districts" with anti-Japan flying columns). This is probably not unrelated to the fact that the Chinese sexual violence victims who came forward are concentrated in Yu County (Shanxi Province) and on Hainan Island.

Triggered by the Korean comfort women lawsuit (filed in 1991) and the Asahi Shimbun's misleading reports alleging the coercive recruitment of comfort women (1992), many Japanese rushed to both of these regions from 1994 to search for plaintiffs, resulting in the discovery of sexual violence victims. However, this also shows how even though searches for comfort women have been conducted all over China, women who could become plaintiffs were only found in Shanxi Province and on Hainan Island. On top of that, only wartime sexual violence victims, not comfort women, were found.

Thus, the sexual violence committed by former Japanese soldiers towards Chinese women has gained a lot of attention to date, but many researchers do not view such wartime sexual violence as "deviant acts by some soldiers." They now conclude that these acts were "organized acts, in accordance with military operations" (No. 74) and were "undoubtedly caused by Japanese military operations . . . and were definitely not accidental incidents committed by individual bad soldiers in a private capacity." (No. 82). However, are these views fair?

Some Japanese researchers blindly believe in the "Three Alls Strategy," which is just political publicity by the Chinese, and proclaim that the above-mentioned operation in Jinzhong, which aimed to "completely destroy and wipe out" the Eighth Route Army in Shanxi Province, was organized "genocide" (No. 26). However, they intentionally ignore and do not report warnings issued against such acts, such as the one below from the Japanese army's "Detailed Battle Report on the Operation in Jinzhong."

We should avoid causing suffering to innocent residents, but villages that are clearly of the enemy and serve as enemy bases can be burned down if needed.

However, even in such cases, actions similar to massacres and looting need to be strictly prohibited. ("Precautions for units engaged in sweeps")

Needless to say, these "actions similar to massacres and looting" include wartime sexual violence (rape). Additionally, barely any reports mention that the Japanese army referred to "looting, rape, arson, and abduction" as "the four evils" and often ordered their eradication.

Looting, rape, arson, and abduction are referred to as the four evils and are the actions most despised by the Chinese people. They will have a major ill effect on the friendship between Japan and China. (First Army "Crime Report File," 1942)

Additionally, according to the notes by the chief of staff for the North China army (dated June 27, 1938), the army for this area took a tough stance on rape from the very beginning, as indicated below. Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that this policy was subsequently changed and that

rape became something that the soldiers could do as they pleased, or that there was a change toward a "genocide" policy.

Rape occurring frequently in various locations is not only a criminal offense, but also a major act of treason that harms peace and order, obstructs the operational actions of the entire army, and brings disaster to the nation. Anyone responsible for commanding their subordinates must value discipline and admonish others for the national army and for the nation, and prevent such acts from occurring ever again. If there is a commander who does not question such acts, that commander shall be considered disloyal. (No. 1)

The sex crimes committed by Japanese soldiers in Yu County (Shanxi Province) and on Hainan Island were war crimes occurring in areas outside of military control, despite all of the efforts to maintain discipline, and they are simply exceptional cases.

Evaluating Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women*

Minoru Kitamura (Professor Emeritus, Ritsumeikan University)

Introduction

Professor Su Zhiliang of Shanghai Normal University was the person who first sought to publicize the Chinese comfort women issue. In this report, we clarify the background to the publication of Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women* (Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 1999) and then introduce and critically examine its content.

Prostitution—which is what comfort women carried out—is humorously referred to as the world's oldest profession in the English-speaking world, and it exists in various forms throughout the world. In Japan, a unique red-light district culture was formed long ago, and the same can be said of China.

If you type the Chinese word for prostitute (妓女; pronounced *jinu*) into the scholarly and academic information navigator CiNii, countless Chinese (including Taiwanese) papers will appear in the search results (in this report, except for in citations, we refer to individuals who engage in prostitution as an occupation as *jinu*). The actual conditions of *jinu* have been discussed in detail from sociological and cultural perspectives, but little effort has been made within this research to debate their existence from a humanitarian standpoint and to condemn their existence.

Given this, the present author is convinced that the Chinese comfort women issue is part of a scheme being advanced by the Chinese government using Chinese researchers. In effect, they are bringing the relationship between invading and being invaded during a war between nation-states into the issue of prostitution, which is a phenomenon that is common worldwide, and then criticizing it from a new humanitarian perspective. In other words, they are depicting the comfort women system, which was a form of prostitution carried out under the administration of the Japanese military, in a distorted way without verifying the conditions under which it existed, and turning it into a historical issue by denouncing it as the ultimate form of persecution (discrimination) against women.

Based on the Chinese Wikipedia entry for Su Zhiliang (<https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/%E8%8B%8F%E6%99%BA%E8%89%AF> [accessed April 15, 2016]), his personal history can be summarized as follows. Born in 1956 in Shanghai, he graduated from the Department of History at East China Normal University in 1978 and studied early modern and modern Chinese history at graduate school until 1985. He was then appointed as a professor at Shanghai Normal University and later visited Tokyo University in the 1990s to continue his studies. The first paper that he published (1988) was about Du Yuesheng, who was the leader of a secret society in Shanghai called the Green Gang. His second work (1991) was a research paper on the organization of secret societies in Shanghai, which was also published in Taiwan. The Chinese comfort women issue was initially outside of Su Zhiliang's specialization.

What changed this situation completely was his participation in an international workshop held in Japan in 1992. Su Zhiliang was asked by a Japanese professor whether it was true that the Japanese military established its first comfort station in Shanghai, to which he could not give an immediate

response. He was quite ashamed of himself for this and began to research Chinese comfort women (according to *Shanghai Weekly*, No. 350, July 2007). In 1998, he was invited to Japan by a private Japanese organization, and he spoke at various forums about the Chinese comfort women issue. He self-published his *Studies on Comfort Women* the following year in 1999.

(1) The existence of countless *jinu* who supported the comfort women system

Another individual who, like Su Zhiliang, researches the history of Shanghai is Shao Yong, a professor at Shanghai Normal University. The present author read through Shao Yong's *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* (Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2005) and verified the fact that although the Japanese military was involved in conducting health checks on the *jinu*, the Chinese comfort women system was a form of prostitution that was carried out based on the prostitution system that existed in China. The book also describes the relationship between the Chinese *jinu* and U.S. soldiers in Kunming, Yunnan Province, after the start of the Pacific War (the Greater East Asia War) as well as a facility reserved for U.S. forces named the "Allied Forces Guest House" in post-war Chengdu, Sichuan Province (pp. 369–370; the guest house had facilities catering for both officers and enlisted men). Although they were on a different scale, I was left wondering what the difference was between this facility and the Japanese military's comfort women system.

Led by Chiang Kai-shek, Nationalist China often issued laws prohibiting licensed prostitution, but this led to an increase in unlicensed prostitution and the conditions surrounding prostitution did not change. According to research from those days, the nationwide situation in 1934 was as follows.

We cannot hide the fact that there are many *jinu* in our nation's cities. Unlicensed prostitutes are particularly numerous in places where licensed prostitution is prohibited, and there are large numbers of both licensed and unlicensed prostitutes in places where public prostitution is permitted. . . . According to the latest statistics, there are between 60,000 and 100,000 licensed and unlicensed prostitutes in Shanghai alone. In Nanjing, there are approximately 3,000 unlicensed prostitutes. There are approximately 2,000 licensed prostitutes in Beiping (Note: modern-day Beijing) and 1,735 in Hankou, and the number of unlicensed prostitutes in these two cities is several times that of licensed prostitutes. In each of all the other large or small cities, there are approximately 1,000 unlicensed and licensed prostitutes.

Additionally, based on the fact that there were between 60,000 and 100,000 *jinu* in Shanghai, one study calculated that 1 out of every 9 to 15 women in Shanghai in 1934 was a *jinu* (*Chinese Modern History of "Jinu,"* pp. 255–256).

One of the characteristics of China in those days was the existence of local rebels (bandits). Even if you wanted to become a farmer, there was no land. Just as many men had to become local rebels, soldiers in military cliques, or even communist guerrillas because they could not own land, many women had no choice but to become *jinu* (prostitutes) in order to survive. Due to this social mechanism, there were many *jinu* in every city throughout China, and the Chinese comfort women system of the Japanese military developed based on this reality.

Next, we will examine the information provided in *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* about the conditions of the comfort women system in Shijiazhuang, Tianjin, and Beiping (Beijing), which were key cities in northern China occupied by the Japanese army. In northern China during the Japanese occupation, the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established with Beijing as its capital (December 1937) and Hebei Province, Shandong Province, Henan Province, and Shanxi Province as its administrative districts. In southern China, the Reformed Government of the Republic of China was established with Nanjing as its capital (March 1938) and Jiangsu Province, Zhejiang Province, and Anhui Province as its administrative districts. These pro-Japanese puppet governments were called *weizhengfu* (偽政權). The Chinese character "偽" (*wei*) is used to indicate that something is not legitimate. Later, when the Reorganized National Government of the Republic of China was established in Nanjing in 1940, the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was renamed the North China Political Affairs Commission.

The situation in Shijiazhuang was as described below, which confirms that the pro-Japanese puppet governments were gathering Chinese *jinu* and providing them to the Japanese military as comfort women (p. 323).

In Shijiazhuang prior to the Japanese occupation, there were only a small number of *jinu* in Shengpingkai and Tongyikai. In 1942, the *weizhengfu* gathered the existing *jinu* for further expanding the system. They spent 700,000 yuan to construct 56 brothels and built inspection offices as well. With a total of 1,250 rooms and a total area of 22,000 square meters, these brothels had over 3,000 *jinu*. The Japanese military called it the Xinshi district or the red-light district. The completion ceremony was attended by the heads of the Japanese secret service, the military police, and the military, as well as the consul general and various little-known and well-known Chinese traitors [literally, "traitors of the people"], including fake mayors. After the ceremony, the Japanese officers were provided with *jinu* at a dinner party, and subsequently they became regular customers in the red-light district.

In Tianjin, prostitution peaked during the Japanese occupation (pp. 324–327). After the Japanese occupation began, the Municipality of Tianjin issued a law in 1938 to put *jinu* and their managers under its control. Following this, 650 brothels and 3,080 *jinu* were registered and the women were given health checks. High-end prostitutes enjoyed affluent, materialistic lives, had female attendants who served them, and were called *guniang* (ladies). Between 1940 and 1945, over 3,000 brothels in Tianjin were managed and registered by the Chinese, which was in addition to the brothels managed by Japanese and Koreans. Given the example of Shijiazhuang, we can say these brothels became comfort stations that provided Chinese comfort women to Japanese soldiers. Although prostitution itself is obviously a tragic occupation, the materialistic lives of the *jinu* in Tianjin described in *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* do not appear to have been that tragic.

However, the empirical descriptions in *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* change completely when discussing the relationship between the *jinu* and the comfort women system.

The directors of a (*jinu*) guild in Tianjin—Li Wanyou and others—sent groups of *jinu* one after another to the Japanese military camps as comfort women under the orders of the

Japanese invaders. Many of them suffered mental and physical injuries and died unnatural deaths.

The managers of the brothels collaborating with the Japanese military were members of secret societies, such as the Green Gang.

The Japanese army's establishment of comfort stations outside of camps (i.e., the buildings where troops were stationed) to collectively deal with the issue of sex for soldiers has been demonstrated based on numerous materials in *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu."* It is clear that if groups of *jinu* had been sent continuously into the Japanese camps and many died, rumors would have spread quickly, and the next group would not have gone. The descriptions here have no footnotes for reference materials consulted, so they stand out in marked contrast with the empirical and detailed descriptions provided up to that point.

A passage on U.S. soldiers in Chengdu, Sichuan Province mentions that *jinu* were placed in similarly harsh conditions, resulting in a number of deaths. In the case of U.S. troops, some reference notes are provided, including for the oral records of the *jinu*.

The situation in Beiping (Beijing) was much the same as that in Tianjin (p. 329). After the Japanese occupation began, the police department in Beijing issued a law in 1938 regarding the management of *jinu*, including the provision of health checks. This measure was intended to deal with the large number of Japanese soldiers. According to a study conducted in 1941 by a Chinese professor from Yenching University (a U.S.-funded private university in Beijing), 1 out of every 250 women in Beijing was a *jinu*. This ratio was second only to that of Shanghai, which had more *jinu* than any other city in the world at that time. The Chinese comfort women system expanded under such conditions, and *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* criticizes the constant flow of Japanese soldiers arriving at the brothels in their dozens on large trucks, opportunistically conducting their sexual activities. However, unlike in Tianjin, there is no mention of any *jinu* deaths in Beijing.

(3) Reading Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women*

The Chinese comfort women system was operated in connection with China's traditional prostitution system and was implemented in cooperation with the Japanese military, the Chinese authorities, and Chinese agents. The present author believes it is safe to say that the Japanese and Chinese were like birds of a feather. Given this, why did Su Zhiliang come to depict the comfort women system as an inhuman system exclusively managed by the Japanese and thereby turn it into a historical issue?

In the summary printed in bold on the back cover of *Studies on Comfort Women*, the fact that the Chinese comfort women system was implemented in connection with the Chinese prostitution system is completely concealed. With this omission, Su Zhiliang tries to initiate a discussion on Chinese comfort women and accuses the Japanese military of being responsible for the entirety of the comfort women system in the Asian regions that it invaded. The full text of the summary is as follows.

Under the comfort women system, the Japanese government coerced women from various countries into becoming sex slaves for the Japanese military during the war. Those who were treated as slaves under this system include approximately 400,000 women from China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Western countries. There are too many crimes to list in the space provided here. Among them, the pain suffered by the Chinese women was the most severe, with basic calculations indicating that approximately 200,000 women were forced to become comfort women. A relationship such as the one between comfort women and the Japanese military is unheard of in our thousands of years of human civilization, with men abusing women as a group of slaves. It fully exposes the barbarism, brutality, and tyranny of Japanese militarism. The comfort women system was a criminal act by a government that violated the norms of humanity, violated sexual ethics, and institutionalized violations of the rules of war by the Japanese military. It is the most miserable event to be ever recorded in the history of women around the world.

For someone such as the present author who is familiar with the spread of prostitution in Chinese society during the Second Sino-Japanese war, these are astonishing and frankly unbelievable comments that makes one think, "Are you serious?"

Su Zhiliang claims in his book that there were "approximately 400,000 comfort women from China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Western countries" and that "200,000 comfort women were Chinese," and the grounds for these calculations—which were based mainly on previous research conducted by the Japanese—are presented in detail later in chapter 8 of the book. According to these calculations, there were 3 million Japanese soldiers at that time, a comfort woman would see 29 soldiers per day, and the turnover rate for comfort women due to disease and death was between 3.5 and 4. As a result, the total number of comfort women was calculated as follows: $3 \text{ million} / 29 \times 3.5$ (or 4) = approximately 360,000 to 410,000 women. Subtracting the between 140,000 and 160,000 Korean comfort women from this figure and the 20,000 Japanese comfort women and comfort women of other nationalities produces a total of 200,000 Chinese comfort women. Su Zhiliang does not explain the grounds for his calculation of between 140,000 and 160,000 Korean comfort women. However, in the pages preceding and following this section, he wrote the following: "the number of Korean comfort women who died during the war reached 143,000," which is a claim based on Kim Il Myon's reporting of remarks by Arafune (*Today's Views* 1972, No. 4); and "during the 40 years that Imperial Japan occupied Korea, more than 200,000 Korean women were forced into becoming comfort women," which is a claim based on an article in the North Korean newspaper *Minju Choson* (published August 15, 1996). He is believed to have arrived at the figure of between 140,000 and 160,000 based on these two claims. The remarks reported by Kim Il Myon were made by Seijuro Arafune, a lawmaker in the Japanese House of Representatives, at a meeting in his election district on November 20, 1965, where he stated that "142,000 Korean comfort women died."

Given that *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* describes the prevalence of prostitution as being such that "In each of all the other large or small cities, there are approximately 1,000 unlicensed and licensed prostitutes," the present author believes that more than several million Chinese *jину* must have become comfort women.

In the foreword that follows, Su Zhiliang sets forth an explanation made by the Japanese as follows.

The comfort women system was a fact, but those recruited were geisha and licensed prostitutes. The method involved recruitment from the beginning to the end, and it was never done by means of an order or abduction. Recruitment was also not done directly by the military, but by geisha or licensed prostitute agents.

This explanation reflects the situation as described in Shao Yong's *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu,"* but Su Zhiliang responds with a defiant counterargument: "Is this the truth? If you feel that way, please read this book." At the beginning of the foreword, the encounter with a Japanese professor that led to Su Zhiliang's decision to study comfort women is introduced as well.

After the proud declarations in the summary on the back cover and in the foreword, he writes an introduction entitled "The Comfort Women Issue That Shocked the World," in which he states the following.

Among the many disasters inflicted on the human race by World War II, the greatest crimes are the Holocaust committed by German fascists and the comfort women system introduced by Japanese fascists. The former is well known—revealed to all as a result of public opinion and by research in various countries—but the latter has been covered up and intentionally falsified by the Japanese government so that, shamefully, it remains unknown even to this day.

Studies on Comfort Women has narratives based on a variety of perspectives, such as criticisms of militarism, ethics for the sexes based on gender theory, humanitarianism, and anti-fascism. The U.S. and the U.K., which fought against Japan, Germany, and Italy as part of the Allied forces during World War II, were cited as examples of anti-fascist nations. In Japan, the United Nations is considered to be an extension of the Allied forces from World War II, and the attempt in 2015 by the Chinese government to register the comfort women issue as part of the Memory of the World Register of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was part and parcel of the publication of *Studies on Comfort Women*. The Chinese have lived up to their reputation for scheming.

In the book's postscript entitled "Friends from abroad who offered tremendous support in terms of materials," many Japanese are listed, including university professors. Additionally, in the "List of reference materials," numerous Japanese research materials are listed. While many of the Japanese research materials were published prior to 1992 when Su Zhiliang began his comfort women studies, the Chinese research materials in the "List of reference materials" were mostly published in 1995 or later. This implies that the Chinese began their research on comfort women in response to encouragement or suggestions from Japan. Su Zhiliang builds his research based on numerous comfort women studies in Japan, includes various perspectives, and does not depend on the research of a particular Japanese researcher.

The Chinese-language *Studies on Comfort Women* is 210 mm x 140 mm in size and approximately 400 pages long. A full translation into Japanese would exceed 1,000 pages. The book's table of contents is shown below.

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As can be seen in the above table of contents, Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women* is carefully structured, showing that the author's capabilities as a historian are exceptional. However, there are zero references to the historical fact that an enormous number of Chinese *jinu* existed, making for an extremely biased discourse. Chinese scholars often try to gain attention for their work by connecting their research to politics.

Due to space limitations, we examine only the parts of the book that are related to Chinese comfort women—particularly the case studies in Shanghai, where Su Zhiliang is based—as well as those in Tianjin and Beijing, which were described in *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu."*

Naturally, a more detailed description is provided for Shanghai than for other areas. Su Zhiliang personally visited the historical sites of the comfort stations there and presented the testimonies of Chinese men who performed various jobs at the comfort stations and former neighboring residents. He also included their photos, past and present photos of the comfort stations, as well as the structure of the comfort stations through sketches of the buildings. It is only in this section on Shanghai that interviews carried out by Su Zhiliang are provided in the book, and the people that he interviewed were not former comfort women. All other quotations are from previously published research papers.

In Shanghai at that time, various red-light facilities were converted into a total of at least 77 comfort stations. According to the materials cited in the reference notes, these stations were managed equally by Koreans and Japanese, but no indication is given about what happened to the nearly 100,000 Chinese *jinu* in the city who are likely to have been a major source of comfort women. Additionally, there is the classic description of Japanese soldiers abusing Chinese women and forcing them to become comfort women, but given the large number of Chinese *jinu* who were ideal candidates to become comfort women, I would like to ask: "Why would the soldiers have abducted ordinary women, when this would have caused resentment among the Chinese?"

In Tianjin, prostitution peaked during the Japanese occupation, but Su Zhiliang does not mention this fact at all. Furthermore, he states that the Japanese military's recruitment of Chinese *jinu* as comfort women continued for a long time, which can be confirmed in *Chinese Modern History of*

“*Jinu*.” Su Zhiliang states that the Japanese army sent the *jinu* who passed their health checks to the front line as comfort women, and turned them into sex slaves. Leaving aside whether they could be considered sex slaves, it is most likely true that the Japanese army sent them to the front line. However, the citation provided in the reference notes is for an unpublished Chinese document (Lin Boyao, “Analysis of Case Studies Involving the Japanese Army Forcing Chinese Women to Become Sex Slaves in Occupied Territories”), which is weak as evidence.

Additionally, Su Zhiliang also states the following: “An armed detachment led by the notorious Wang Shihai regularly kidnapped young women and provided them to the Japanese military headquarters in Tianjin as comfort women.” The reference notes also state the following.

Wang Shihai was originally the boss of a transportation business who was appointed to the post of army major general by the Japanese military. In 1952, he was executed by firing squad on the orders of the government.

In China at that time, there were many military forces (偽軍; pronounced *weijun*) collaborating with the Japanese, but the Japanese military feared their betrayal so it offered them support while constantly monitoring them. If the kidnapping of women were a fact, the Japanese military naturally would have known about it, and if the Japanese military had ignored this situation, Su Zhiliang would have emphasized this in his book. However, Su Zhiliang simply describes the abductions as Chinese kidnapping other Chinese and sending them to the Japanese as comfort women, and the Japanese response is not made clear at all. If all this were true, those responsible among the Japanese would have been severely punished in the postwar war crime trials, but no examples of punishment are given.

The situation in Beijing was similar to that in Tianjin, but references to *jinu*, comfort women, Chinese women, and Japanese women are intermixed and there is confusion in the overall context of some of the descriptions. For example, the book includes the following quote with a reference note that appears to be from an anti-Japan propaganda magazine for the Nationalist party (Hua Tang, “魔手下的北平 (Beiping Controlled by the Devil),” “半月文摘 (*Semimonthly Research Paper Digest*),” February 1939): “The Japanese military opened many brothels in Beijing, but many of the *jinu* were wives of [Japanese] soldiers who died in battle in China” (note that comfort stations and comfort women are not mentioned!). After this quote, Su Zhiliang states, “In other words, these Japanese women themselves were victims of the comfort women system.” He simply accepts the absurd anti-Japanese propaganda of 1939 as is, which described the widows of the Japanese soldiers who died in battle as *jinu* (not comfort women!). He follows this by stating, “Naturally, there were more comfort women in Beiping who were abducted Chinese women.” However, if such conditions truly existed, they would most likely have been documented in the abovementioned research by the professor at Yenching University in 1941. However, this point is not mentioned at all in *Chinese Modern History of “Jinu.”*

Lastly, I would like to consider Chapter 9, “Living Conditions of the Comfort Women.” This chapter includes a total of 13 testimonies from comfort women—eight Chinese women (including one from Taiwan), four Korean women, and one Japanese woman—as actual examples. However, these testimonies were not the results of interviews by Su Zhiliang, but quotes from works such as the following: “侵瓊日軍慰安婦実録 (*Invasion of Hainan Island—True Record of Japanese*

Military's Comfort Women)" (edited by 符和積 (Fu Heji), 1996); "昭示：中国慰安婦 (*Public Announcement: Chinese Comfort Women*)" (Jiang Hao, 1993); "尋訪中国慰安婦 (Visiting the Chinese Comfort Women)" (Guo Si, published in "焦点 (*Focus*)," September 15, 1995); "血思—追訪戰災幸存者 (*Hardships—Following the Footsteps of War Damage Survivors*)" (Chen Zong Shun, published by 解放軍文藝出版社 (Liberation Army Literature Publishing Company), 1995); *Research on the Comfort Women Issue* (Reiko Yano, Chinese edition, 1997); *Military Comfort Woman Keiko* (Kako Senda, 1981); and *Comfort Women and Post-war Compensation* (Kenichi Takagi, 1992). With regard to the woman from Taiwan, the notes refer to "materials from the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation."

This chapter provides the testimonies of Chinese, Korean and Japanese comfort women. The testimonies of the Chinese comfort women describe brutal and unimaginably heinous acts by the Japanese soldiers. In the case of the Korean comfort women, the testimonies describe harsh conditions, but they give us a glimpse of the conditions at the comfort stations. The testimony of the Japanese comfort woman seems to depict the conditions objectively, such as the provision of health checks for comfort women and monetary compensation.

In the testimonies of the Chinese comfort women, the present author can see a shadow of the false accusations that firmly persist in Chinese society. The present author has deep sympathy for the circumstances of these women becoming comfort women, but he believes that the circumstances they describe are far from the truth. As space is limited, please read the author's paper "Nanjing: China's Pathology as Seen in the Heritage Registration—The Spread of False Accusations" (*Bessatsu Seiron*, March 2016) for further details regarding this issue.

The summary translations of the testimonies given by Chinese comfort women and the present author's comments are provided below. A mostly word-by word translation was used only for the testimony given by the individual from Taiwan. This is because the content seemed reasonable and was a valuable testimony showing the conditions of the comfort women system.

Testimonies of the eight Chinese comfort women

Example 1: Testimony of Huang Youliang from Lingshui County, Hainan Province (Hainan Island) (Quote provided by 符和積 (Fu Heji))

符和積 (Fu Heji) was a private historian who interviewed multiple former comfort women on Hainan Island.

Huang Youliang was born in 1927. When she was 15 years old, she was attacked by a group of Japanese soldiers while working on a farm. She was saved by a Japanese commissioned officer at that time, but eventually she was physically abused by the officer and forced into becoming a comfort woman. In June 1944, she returned to her village using her father's illness as an excuse, and fled with her family to a different location.

Example 2: Recollections of a Chinese comfort woman [Real name not given] (Quote provided by Jiang Hao)

Jiang Hao is a writer and a renowned film screenwriter. The quoted material is from a well-known work of literature called "Long reportage."

There is probably a considerable amount of dramatization. As for the circumstances that led to her becoming a comfort woman, she makes accusations of a somewhat hard-to-believe situation involving slaughter by Japanese soldiers, but there are no descriptions of specific locations or times, making for very weak evidence. Later, she was sent to Shanxi Province and worked as a comfort woman until Japan's defeat in the war.

Example 3: [Real name not given] (Quote provided by Jian Hao)

At age 14, she was attacked by a Japanese army sergeant major in Nanjing immediately after its occupation. (The situation is similar to that described in example 2 and is horrific. She was studying theater). She was then sent to Manchuria on a freight car for transporting animals and was forced to work as a comfort woman. In the confusion that followed Japan's defeat in the war, she fled and hid in the hills. She lived for half a century with a man who had earned a living digging up ginseng, but this man is already deceased.

Example 4: Li Jinyin from Baotou, Inner Mongolia [The only survivor among five comfort women who were buried alive by Japanese soldiers in Wu yuan, Shanxi Province] (Quote provided by Jian Hao)

There are no descriptions of the timing of these events, etc. Li Jinyin was brought to Inner Mongolia from Shanxi with 40 to 50 others. She describes unbelievable conditions, such as Japanese soldiers having 20 male shepherd dogs rape to death women who could not perform well as comfort women, and then having one after another of the remaining 53 women lick the blood pouring out from between the legs of the murdered bodies and the semen from the dogs, and even having them swallow the fluids.

Example 5: Former comfort women from Yu County, Shanxi Province (Quotes provided by Guo Si and Chen Zong Shun)

As far as I know, Guo Si's paper and the magazine that published it cannot be found on the Internet. Chen Zong Shun's work can be found only in the Aichi University library, but both of their personal histories are unclear.

Chen Lintao: At age 20, she was detained by Chinese collaborating with Japan because her husband had joined the Eighth Route Army, and was forced to become a comfort woman for the Japanese army. She was with another woman named 冬娥子 (Donggezi). She fled by taking advantage of gaps in the surveillance of the collaborators and stayed hidden for a long

time in the village where her older sister lived. Her husband was discharged after the war, but she left the village after the people began gossiping.

Hou Qiaoliang [Former comfort woman from Yu County, Shanxi Province] (Quotes provided by Guo Si and Chen Zong Shun): She was 14 when she was captured by the Japanese. Her father was captured with her, but they were confined in different locations. She was forced to become a comfort woman together with four or five other women and treated horribly. Later, she asked an acquaintance collaborating with Japan to deliver a letter to her family. The family sold their belongings to raise 500 yuan and bought her back. She was bedridden for years after returning home. Hou Qiaoliang later became mentally ill, and when her symptoms flared up, she would run up the hill screaming, "The Japanese soldiers are here! Hurry, run!"

Donggezi [Former comfort woman from Yu County, Shanxi Province] (Quotes provided by Guo Si and Chen Zong Shun): Her real name was Hou Donge. Known for her beauty, she was married and had children. Her husband was a member of the Nationalist Party's army. Fearing that his own daughter would be taken by the Japanese soldiers, the Chinese head of the village told them that Donggezi was a beauty. She was eventually found by Japanese soldiers and forced to become a comfort woman. She was later bought back due to the efforts of her husband's parents (particularly her father-in-law). When the war was over, her husband returned with a young woman and son, and she ended up remarrying twice. In 1992, she tried to visit Tokyo to participate in hearings related to post-war compensation, but was unable to do so due to her car breaking down in Taiyuan, Shanxi. She died in 1994.

Example 6: Testimony of a surviving Taiwanese comfort woman

When I was 20 and helping my family with household chores, I was notified by a village office worker that the Japanese military was recruiting waitresses to work at a restaurant that would be opening on Hainan Island. I took a boat from Gaoxiong with 30 to 40 other women who came from all over the country to work there for a year, and arrived on Hainan Island in about a week. On arrival, we were taken to a comfort station. The managers of the comfort station were a Taiwanese couple, and there were Taiwanese, Japanese, and Korean comfort women there. Only soldiers—Taiwanese, Japanese, and Korean—came to the comfort station. We worked from 4 or 5 p.m. to past midnight. Some servicemen stayed the night. The servicemen who came to the comfort station bought a card and received a condom. These cards cost 2 yuan each. We served about a dozen people per night for about 30 minutes each. We earned over 200 yuan a month when business was good, but only several dozen yuan when business was bad. The owner of the comfort station took a cut of our earnings. We had meals together at 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. We had to have a health check at least once a month and could take breaks during menstruation. I never became pregnant, but I had to serve the customers and the managers sometimes cursed at us. Although we were initially not allowed to return to Taiwan, I finally managed to return when my replacement arrived after a year of waiting. Staying at a comfort station was not a positive experience. I stayed there for a total of four years and saw some women die due to illness. I returned to Taiwan for an appendicitis operation and found that my mother was doing well. I did not speak to my current husband

about my past, and since I could not have children, we decided to adopt. My younger sister worked with me at the comfort station and fell ill after returning to Taiwan. She used to be a waitress at a restaurant and never got married. She now lives with me.

My sister constantly complains of the following. We were deceived when we went there, as we were not employed as waitresses at a restaurant. Our bodies were tarnished and our souls were not fulfilled. It would have been fun to get married. Why were we trampled upon? The servicemen had good manners when they were in a good mood, but when they were not, they would get drunk and hit us to vent their frustrations. We persevered, hoping to return home as soon as possible, but we were extremely upset about being tricked into going to such a place.

I live with my sister, but we rent our house. We need money for rent, water, and electricity, and life is not easy. We want an apology and compensation from the Japanese government.

Now let's move on to the conclusion.

Chapter 9 lists 13 examples that meticulously and critically depict the circumstances in which Japanese soldiers engaged in sexual activities as a group, and the suffering that the comfort women experienced. Aside from the testimonies recorded as examples above, this section is also based on the recollections of Korean comfort women and former Japanese soldiers as recorded in the following materials: *The Emperor's Forces and the Korean Comfort Women* (Kim Il Myon, 1976); *Research on the Comfort Women Issue* (Reiko Yano, Chinese edition [mentioned earlier]); and "一個侵華日本兵の自述 (Autobiography of a Japanese Soldier Who Invaded China)" (Kazuo Sone, Chinese edition, published in "悲憤・南京大屠殺親歷記 (*Resentment—Experiences from the Nanjing Massacre*)," 1988). However, immediately after this, a statement without any reference notes suddenly appears, stating the following (p. 317):

In reality, in addition to treating comfort women as sex slaves, Japanese commissioned officers and soldiers constantly struck and insulted them. Many comfort women were burned with lit cigarettes pressed against them, cut with sharp objects, and suffered sprains and broken bones. However, comfort station managers often turned a blind eye and did not warn the abusers or provide treatment to the women.

However, if abuse at comfort stations had been widespread, comfort stations would have been difficult to manage and many Japanese soldiers would have found themselves in trouble. Therefore, this statement is clearly a case of Su Zhiliang lying as if he had seen the actual situation. This single example demonstrates that the entire book is a mixture of true and false statements.

The basic approach taken by Su Zhiliang throughout his book *Studies on Comfort Women* is to confuse brothels with comfort stations and *jinu* with comfort women. Additionally, he transforms all *jinu* into sex slaves who were forced into tragic circumstances by the Japanese military, much like the traditional Chinese "訴師 (*sushi*)" (a professional who creates fabricated complaints and makes false accusations). However, playing with the truth in this way results in too much confusion in the descriptions. The confusing descriptions of the situation experienced by comfort women in Beijing (Beijing) are prime examples of this. Eventually, "the biter gets bit."

Analysis of the Book *Chinese Comfort Women*

Yoichi Shimada (Professor, Fukui Prefectural University)

The highlights of *Chinese Comfort Women* are listed below together with the author's comments.

Original title

Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves (Oxford Oral History Series), Oxford University Press (June 2, 2014)

This publication takes the form of a volume in the Oxford Oral History Series, and it is based on numerous testimonies gathered from former comfort women.

The book took advantage of the prestige of the Oxford name to defend itself against criticism that it cannot be called research because of insufficient work to back up the testimonies and deficiencies in the evaluation of historical materials.

Authors

Peipei Qiu, Professor of Chinese and Japanese and Director of the Asian Studies Program at Vassar College

Su Zhiliang, Professor of History and Director of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University

Chen Lifei, Professor of Journalism and Deputy Director of the Center for Women's Studies at Shanghai Normal University

Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, university professors from China, collected the testimonies and did the writing. Peipei Qiu, a professor at Vassar College in New York State, was in charge of the English translation and publicity work.

Peipei Qiu also participated multiple times as a panelist in the comfort women symposiums hosted by the U.S.-Korea Institute at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C. (invitations to two of the symposiums are reprinted at the end of this chapter in the Reference section).

SAIS is a prestigious research center that is well known for, among other things, its 38 North Group program, which analyzes satellite images of North Korea.

Dennis Halpin, who is a visiting scholar for the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS and a former staff member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, is close to Mindy Kotler (an avid anti-Japanese activist on the comfort women issue and other issues).

Halpin, Kotler, and Peipei Qiu are likely to continue to play central roles in disseminating propaganda about "Chinese comfort women" in the U.S. capital.

Claims made in the book are as follows. (Page numbers in parentheses; **bold text** following an asterisk indicates comments made by the author)

- On May 6, 2012, four Japanese Diet members visited Palisades Park, New Jersey and asked the local administration to remove the comfort women monument. (p. xix)

- The question of whether the Japanese military took comfort women by force is an important issue.

The discovery made by Professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi in 1992 was a landmark moment. (p. 3)

Cf. Asahi's publication of misleading reports on the coercive recruitment of comfort women in January 1992. (p. 160) Testimony by Seiji Yoshida (p. 217).

- Sarah Soh made an important contribution to comfort women research, but her three-step theory is problematic. (p. 4, p. 9) Her theory recognizes the existence of:

(1) "Concessionary" comfort stations; (2) "paramilitary" comfort stations; and (3) "criminal" comfort stations (since the Pacific War)

Focusing on Korean and Japanese comfort women, Soh claims that referring to comfort stations as rape centers amounts to "partisan prejudice." However, she does not take into consideration the experiences of comfort women who were forcibly drafted from occupied countries, especially China. Recent research in China suggests that about half of the estimated total of 400,000 comfort women were Chinese. (p. 4)

- The majority of the Chinese comfort women were abducted and detained by Japanese troops. (p. 4)

Since they were enemy nationals, Chinese comfort women received worse treatment than comfort women from Japan's colonies did. After the war, for example, they were persecuted during the notorious "Cultural Revolution" as women who had collaborated with the enemy. (p. 5)

- Detailed quotes from the testimony given by Reverend John Magee, who interviewed a girl in Nanjing (whose family had been killed by the Japanese army and who had been repeatedly raped herself). (pp. 7–8)

- Quote from the recollections of Corporal Kenji Tomishima about a unit treating Chinese women as playthings. (p. 8)

- Japanese comfort stations were built in China from as early as 1932, and their number increased rapidly after the Nanjing Massacre. There were also many improvised comfort facilities at the unit level. Many women were also confined to their homes and forced to become comfort women. If they tried to escape, the women were tortured or beheaded together with their families. No compensation was paid; in fact, some had to pay ransom money to the Japanese army as a condition for their release. (pp. 10–11)

*** The point that no monetary payments were made and that it was simply rape is repeatedly emphasized.**

- The way that enemy women were treated was clearly a war crime. (p. 12) There were mass abductions of women in the occupied areas. (p. 13)

*** The differences with Korean and Japanese comfort women are emphasized by Su. Research into the conditions has revealed that Korean and Japanese comfort women were not systematically taken by force by the military.**

- Su Zhiliang's formula for calculating the number of comfort women:

The period covered was from 1937 to 1945. The total number of Japanese soldiers was 3 million. One comfort woman was assigned for every 29 soldiers and the replacement rate for comfort women was set at 3.5 to 4.0. (p. 38)

The number of comfort women according to Su Zhiliang was thus calculated as follows:
 $3,000,000/29 \times 4 = 413,793$.

The authors criticize the estimate produced by Ikuhiko Hata. Hata assumes that the replacement rate was 1.5. With regard to the attrition rate (death rate), it was "presumed that 90% or more of the comfort women returned home alive" in light of the 4.2% figure for the Japan Red Cross military nurses.

*** As for why he set the replacement rate higher (approximately 2.5 times higher) than the rate set by Hata, Su Zhiliang points out that it was not because the women had the freedom to retire, but because the Japanese soldiers preferred virgins and new women and killed those who had become physically weak.**

As evidence, he lists many testimonies, such as one detailing the gang rape of two young girls aged 9 and 13 and their disposal as if they were mere consumables. There are numerous cases of brutal and cruel sex crimes. (pp. 39–40 and pp. 67–68; the same applies to the testimonies of the 12 former Chinese comfort women [75–148] in Section 2)

Sample description: More than 200 Chinese women were abducted by the Japanese army in Yu County, Shanxi Province. This information was acquired from an interview conducted by the journalist Li Xiuping in the early 1990s. The source for this claim is a Chinese-language work by Li. (pp. 38–39)

The Japanese army abducted tens of thousands of women during the Nanjing Massacre. The source for this claim is a Chinese-language work by Su Zhiliang. (p. 39)

The youngest girl to be abducted was 9 years old. The source for this claim is a Chinese-language work by Wen Yan. (p. 39)

In October 1939, the Japanese 11th Army established military comfort stations in Yueyang County, Hunan Province, but even after that Japanese troops continued raping and assaulting local women. Cases involving the mass killing of women, gang rape, and forced sexual intercourse between Chinese parents and children as entertainment occurred between September and October 1941 in Xinxiang Township and in Jingzhou County. The sources for this claim are Chinese-language works by Tang Huayuan and Zhang Huaqing. (pp. 67–68)

- Approximately 400,000 women were detained for a long period of time as sex slaves, and it is emphasized that the number of Chinese women who suffered sexual violence by the Japanese military far exceeded this. (p. 38)

*** Vicious, long-term, organizational group rapes—rather than one-off rapes—are associated with the term comfort women by Su Zhiliang. In this book, the term comfort women is rarely used in its usual sense of women who provided sexual services in comfort stations.**

Authenticity aside, a more appropriate title for this book may have been *A Collection of Testimonies on Sexual Violence by the Japanese Military in China*. However, such a title would not have been compatible with the comfort women "boom," nor would it have achieved the political objective of magnifying the comfort women issue. The title "Chinese Comfort Women" was no doubt chosen for these reasons.

- Chinese collaborators were commonly used to round up women. (p. 42)

*** This means that a vast number of Chinese took part in sex crimes and war crimes.**

- Parallel to the enslavement of local Chinese women, the Japanese military intensified the trafficking of Korean, Japanese, and Taiwanese women to the Chinese mainland, starting in early 1938. Research suggests that Japan's increased mobilization of women in its colonies and homeland was partly due to security concerns: military leaders worried not only that the abduction of local women might spur more rebellions in the occupied regions but also that Chinese comfort women might pass military information to Chinese forces. (p. 31)

*** If this were the case, the number of Chinese comfort women should have decreased after 1937, but this number is calculated based on the assumption that they continued to increase at the same rate as before. This is contradictory.**

- Why did the Chinese comfort women issue not surface until recently? In Chinese society, where a patriarchal ideology prevails, a woman's purity is valued more than her life. This patriarchal ideology and political bias combined to the point where surviving comfort women were seen as unpatriotic and immoral.

When women were revealed to have been comfort women, they were humiliated and persecuted. In some cases, they were sent north to engage in forced labor for the crime of "sleeping" with Japanese soldiers. They were also labeled as being "counterrevolutionary." Some committed suicide due to the post-war persecution that they suffered under Chinese Communist Party rule. This explains why the movement was slow to develop in China, the country that made the most sacrifices..

***Chinese society and the Chinese Communist Party should take the bulk of the responsibility for having unreasonably persecuted these unfortunate women. From the author's point of view, it is unacceptable that the Chinese Communist Party should disregard its own past and devote itself to criticizing Japan.**

References

(1) Invitation to the symposium "Unfinished Apologies: Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves in Wartime Asia," which was held on March 1, 2016 (hosted by the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS)

The U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS and Asia Policy Point invite you to

Unfinished Apologies:

Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves of Wartime Asia

Tuesday, March 1, 2016

9:00 a.m.–3:00 p.m.

Kenney Auditorium

Johns Hopkins SAIS

1740 Massachusetts Ave, NW

Washington, DC 20036

The U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS and Asia Policy Point invite you to attend a discussion on the unexamined and unresolved history of Imperial Japan's system of sex slavery in wartime Asia. The panels will provide an overview of how the system came to be and how it was managed, discuss new research on the non-Korean Comfort Women, and bring the legacy of the Comfort Women system into contemporary understandings of conflict resolution and violence against women in warfare settings.

Panel 1: Framing the Comfort Women History - Japanese Comfort Women and their Antecedents

- **Carolina Norma**, Lecturer in the Master of Translating and Interpreting degree in RMIT's School of Global, Urban and Social Studies, Melbourne, Australia
- *Discussant*: **Katharine H.S. Moon**, SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies and senior fellow at the Brookings Center for East Asia Policy Studies

Panel 2: The Comfort Women of Japan's Occupied Asia

- **Griselda Molemans**, Dutch researcher and investigative journalist, founder of the Task Force for Dutch Indies War Reparations (Dutch acronym: TFIR; Task Force Indisch Rechtsherstel)
- **Hilde Janssen**, Dutch Journalist and author of *Schaamte en Onschuld* [Shame and Innocent] and *Troostmeisjes/Comfort Women*
- **Peipei Qiu**, Professor of Chinese and Japanese on the Louise Boyd Dale and Alfred Lichtenstein Chair, Vassar College

- **Evelina Galang**, Professor of English, University of Miami
- **Caroline Norma**, RMIT, Melbourne, Australia
- *Moderator: Yukiko Hanawa*, Department of East Asian Studies, New York University

Keynote: Women in warfare, how far have we come?

- **Taina Bien-Aimé**, Executive Director, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women

Book signings with authors to follow:

Caroline Norma, *The Japanese Comfort Women and Sexual Slavery during the China and Pacific Wars*

Peipei Qiu, *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves*

M. Evelina Galang, *Angel de la Luna and the 5th Glorious Mystery*

Hilde Janssen, *Troostmeisjes/Comfort Women*

Margaret Stetz, *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*

(2) Invitation to the symposium "The Untold Stories of Chinese Comfort Women," which was held on October 21, 2014 (hosted by the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS)

The Untold Stories of Chinese Comfort Women

October 21, 2014

12:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m.

The US-Korea Institute at SAIS and Asia Policy Point present:

THE UNTOLD STORIES OF CHINESE COMFORT WOMEN

Featuring:

Dr. Peipei Qiu

Louise Boyd Dale and Alfred Lichtenstein Professor of Chinese and Japanese and Director, Asian Studies Program, Vassar College

With welcoming remarks by

Dr. Jae H. Ku

Director, US-Korea Institute at SAIS

And introduction by

Dennis Halpin

Visiting Scholar, US-Korea Institute at SAIS and former House Foreign Affairs Committee staff

Dr. Peipei Qiu will discuss her new book, [*Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves*](#) (Oxford Oral History Series), followed by a panel discussion on the legacy of Comfort Women with **Dr. Peipei Qiu**, **Dennis Halpin**, and **Mindy Kotler**, Asia Policy Point, and moderated by **Jenny Town**, Assistant Director, US-Korea Institute at SAIS.

A light lunch will be provided. This event is open to the public and press. Lunch will start at 12:00 p.m.; program will start at 12:30 p.m. Please RSVP below.

Dr. Peipei Qiu is Louise Boyd Dale and Alfred Lichtenstein Professor of Chinese and Japanese and Director of Asian Studies Program at Vassar College. She has received degrees from Peking University (B.A. in Japanese and M.A. in Japanese Studies) and Columbia University (Ph.D. in Japanese Literature) and has focused her research on comparative studies of Japanese and Chinese literature, women in East Asian literature and societies, and Taoist influence in Japanese and Chinese literature and cultures. She is the recipient of a number of grants and awards, including the Japan Foundation Fellowship for Professional Researchers, Japan Foundation Dissertation Research Fellowship, Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences Fellowship, and the National Endowment for Humanities Fellowship (US). Professor Qiu is the author of [*Bashô and the Dao: The Zhuangzi and the Transformation of Haikai*](#), and [*Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves*](#). Her scholarly articles and translations have been published in English, Chinese, and Japanese.

Developments in the Joint Application for Inclusion in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register and Overview of China's Comfort Women Application Documents

Shiro Takahashi (Professor, Meisei University)

1. Overview of the comfort women-related documents that China filed for registration as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register

Led by private organizations and researchers, preparations to make a joint application for documents related to comfort women to be registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register are underway. On June 1, 2015, the South Korean newspaper Hankyoreh featured a report with the following headline: "Experts from North Korea, South Korea, and China Jointly Demand an Apology for the Japanese Military Comfort Women System—Critique of 'Sex Slaves' at the International Academic Meeting Held at Yanbian University in China, including Participants from North Korea." There were three participants from South Korea, three from North Korea, and five

from China, including Su Zhiliang, Professor of History and Director of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University.

The South Korean news agency Yonhap News also featured a report on June 2 of the same year with the following headline: "China, South Korea, and North Korea Join Forces on the Comfort Women Issue: Adding More Pressure on Japan!" This article noted that 11 scholars from China, South Korea, and North Korea, as well as an expert who is active in Japan, attended the "International Academic Meeting on the Imperial Japanese Army's Comfort Women System" held in China that day. The sole participant from Japan was Professor Puja Kim from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Furthermore, the "Asian Solidarity Conference on the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan" was held in Seoul from May 18 to May 20, 2016, and it was attended by activists from the Philippines, the Netherlands, Taiwan, China, South Korea, Hong Kong, East Timor, Indonesia, Japan, and the U.S, which are all believed to be involved in preparing the joint application. On May 20, an announcement was expected to be made regarding the joint application for comfort women-related documents to be registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, but no such announcement has been made yet.

The comfort women-related documents that China filed two years ago for registration as part of the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register include the following: "Dictated Records of Comfort Women," from the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University; and "Materials on the Conditions of Comfort Women," from the archives office of Qinhuangdao City, Hebei Province. "Dictated Records of Comfort Women" is a document published by Professor Su Zhiliang's Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University, which is playing a central role in this joint application. It is likely to be one of the core materials for the joint application (please see the report by the present author's co-researcher on the issues surrounding Professor Su Zhiliang's studies on Chinese comfort women based on testimonies).

The comfort women-related documents that China filed two years ago for registration as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register are as follows.

China's "Comfort Women" Application Documents (Excerpt)

1. Central Archives: War crime testimonies
2. Liaoning Province Archive Office: Photos related to comfort stations
3. Jilin Province Archive Office:
 - (1) Telegram from the Central Bank of Manchou, Anshan Branch
 - (2) Survey Report on the Status of Public Order Restoration in the Nanjing Military Police Jurisdiction

- (3) Dongning Military Police Headquarters: "Ideological Offenses Monthly Report" (October 1942; first half of the year)
 - (4) Jining Provisional Military Police: "Ideology Countermeasures Monthly Report"
 - (5) Military Police Survey: Chart of Offenses by Military Personnel (1944)
 - (6) Survey Chart of Crimes by Servicemen and Civilian Employees of the Army (1944)
 - (7) Military police stationed in China: "Communication Censorship Monthly Report" (February 1941)
 - (8) Kwangtung military police: "Postal Censorship Monthly Report"
 - (9) Survey Chart of Crimes by Japanese Servicemen (1944)
 - (10) Beian Area Censorship Division: "Postal Censorship Monthly Report" (1941)
 - (11) Java Military Police Headquarters: "Servicemen Crime Questionnaire" (1943)
 - (12) Java Military Police: "Questionnaire on Crimes by Servicemen and Civilian Employees of the Army" (January)
 - (13) Java Headquarters: "Military Police Monthly Report (January 1944)"
4. Heilongjiang Province Archive Office: Publications on comfort stations and comfort women
5. Shanghai City Archive Office:
- (1) Historical documents on the Daiichi Saloon
 - (2) Materials regarding the taking of comfort women by force and the establishment of comfort stations
 - (3) Publications on comfort women and comfort stations
6. Nanjing City Archive Office: Historical documents regarding the establishment of comfort stations in Nanjing
7. Qinhuangdao City Archive Office: Materials on the Conditions of Comfort Women
8. Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University:
- (1) Dictated Records of Comfort Women
 - (2) 24 photographs taken by Tetsuo Aso, Moriyasu Murase, etc.

2. Problems with the documents that China filed for registration as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register

I have been studying documents, mainly on war propaganda, that are held in the national archives of countries such as the U.S., U.K., and Canada for many years. Based on the information published

on the websites of UNESCO and other organizations, I would like to express my opinion on problems that I have found with the documents regarding the so-called *jugun-ianfu* (comfort women) that China filed two years ago for registration as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.

The Chinese registration application published on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register website states that the materials submitted were evidence of the coercive recruitment of comfort women. However, my examination of the documents has revealed the issues described below.

1. One basic problem is that China claims that the photographs of the "Yangjiazhai comfort station" from Shanghai are "the actual photographs and their copyright belong to China," whereas they were, in fact, taken by Tetsuo Aso while he was serving as an army doctor. The photographic film is now held by his daughter, Kuni Amako, an obstetrician living in Fukuoka City.

In section 2.5.4 of "Memory of the World: General Guidelines to Safeguard Documentary Heritage," UNESCO specifies the following:

The "rule of law" is respected. . . . copyright legislation [and] moral rights . . . are consistently observed and maintained with integrity and transparency.

The unauthorized use of photographs without the owner's permission and the submission of an application falsely claiming that China holds the copyright to the photographs constitute violations of the above guideline.

Additionally, in the guidelines for the selection criteria for the Memory of the World Register, UNESCO asks the following:

Has its [the documentary heritage item's] identity and provenance been reliably established? Copies, replicas, forgeries, bogus documents or hoaxes can . . . be mistaken for the genuine article.

This guideline has also been violated.

2. Although section 4.4.3 of "Memory of the World: General Guidelines to Safeguard Documentary Heritage" specifies that "The IAC [International Advisory Committee] will also require that the documentary heritage be accessible," China is only partially making public the historical documents it has submitted.

There are various schools of thought about historical facts and their evaluation, and objective verification is essential. If registration of the materials as part of the Memory of the World Register is accepted based on China's one-sided claims despite China's refusing to make public materials and have them verified objectively, UNESCO's international trust and authority will be significantly diminished.

3. Some of the documents that China filed for registration were actually extracts of very small portions of documents, which makes it impossible to position or assess them within the overall

context of the relevant document. This in turn makes discussions and decisions on the authenticity of their content impossible.

Next, I would like to point out specific problems in the key historical materials submitted with regard to the so-called *jugun-ianfu*.

1. The only basis for China's explanation of a photo of a "ship for transporting comfort women" is that the character "慰" is printed on the side of the ship. However, during the war, the "慰" character was mostly used not to stand for "慰安婦" (comfort women), but to stand for "慰問団" (entertainment group), who were singers and comedians who performed at various locations.

The person in the center of the nine individuals who are standing with the ship in their background appears to be a performer, and a well-known Japanese singer named Taro Shoji can be seen on the far left in the back row. According to *The Military Singing Entertainment Groups* (Hakusuisha) by Makoto Baba, Taro Shoji was chosen to be the leader of the "Artists Entertainment Group for Imperial Army Soldiers in Manchuria," which was hosted by Tokyo Nichi Shimbun newspaper and backed by the Army Ministry. The Chinese characters "大興" that are printed on the upper side of the ship refer to a place called Daxing in Heilongjiang Province, and this ship is believed to have been travelling along the Amur River. It would arrive at, depart from, or pass by Daxing while transporting the entertainment groups.

2. The photograph that China describes as a "comfort station in Heilongjiang Province" shows a stage set up in the middle where something like a movie is being shown. This is more likely a photo of the auditorium where the entertainment group performed, rather than a comfort station. The person who took the photo, as well as when and where it was taken, remain unclear.

3. The "Telegram from the Central Bank of Manchou, Anshan Branch" dated March 30, 1945 states that the branch manager of the bank reported to the Main Office Treasury Department that the "Communication Department (Unit 7990) in Zhuhai Province, Xuzhou, sent 252,000 yen to the Anshan Accounting Headquarters as funds for hiring "female entertainers." "Female entertainers" were singers and dancers who sang and danced to boost the morale of the troops and were completely different from comfort women. The telegram also states that "the recipient is Tsuru Yonei," which means that this is an exchange of money between a Chinese military clique and a Japanese civilian contractor. This is not evidence for comfort women, coercive recruitment, or sex slaves.

4. The "Monthly Report of Japanese Military Crimes" (1943) prepared by the military police states that a Japanese officer "assaulted comfort women at a comfort station." However, there is "a report of an illegality" in this description, indicating that the officer was subject to punishment. In other words, this document proves that comfort women were legally protected and were not sex slaves.

5. China says that "the Japanese army confessed to their crime of treating women as sex slaves," referring to a Japanese soldier's letter to his family that was included in the "Postal Censorship Monthly Report" prepared by the Japanese army's Beian Area Censorship Division. However, the letter states that "an infinite number of women followed their lovers," indicating that comfort women had freedom of movement, were not subject to coercive recruitment, and were not sex slaves.

6. The testimonies given by Lieutenant General Shinnosuke Sasa and Lieutenant Colonel Saburo Hirose about raping women are introduced as leading examples of testimonies by former Japanese servicemen. However, their testimonies show that the comfort women were at comfort stations for financial reasons and that they were paid. Neither of the testimonies indicate that there was any coercive recruitment of comfort women to force them to become sex slaves. How were the officers interrogated? Did they receive legal protection? If they were put on trial, the minutes should be available, but no such records have been made public.

7. The "Japanese military's records of comfort women" (25 records) from the Jilin Province Archive Office, which China additionally submitted, also do not prove coercive recruitment or that the women were sex slaves.

8. One of the 25 records of comfort women called the "Survey Report on the Status of Public Order Restoration in the Nanjing Military Police Jurisdiction," which was prepared by the military police in 1938, describes the number of Japanese soldiers and comfort women in the Nanjing area. The report also explains how the Japanese military treated the illnesses and injuries of Chinese citizens free of charge. The report says there were 25,000 Japanese soldiers and 141 comfort women. However, the 141 comfort women did not serve all of the Japanese soldiers, and there are no descriptions proving that the comfort women were coercively recruited or that they worked as sex slaves.

9. The report prepared by the Shanghai City police in 1938 states that pro-Japanese Chinese were involved in the coercive recruitment of comfort women, but the document includes no evidence regarding these "pro-Japanese Chinese." In fact, it does not even include the word "Japan." This document only describes Chinese women being forced to become prostitutes by other Chinese.

The additional *jugun-ianfu* documents that China filed included a document called "Testimonies of 1,000 Japanese War Criminal Soldiers Questioned by the Chinese Communist Party," which states the following:

More than 1,000 Japanese war criminals were questioned by the Chinese Communist Party administration between 1952 and 1956. Of these, approximately 8.5% acknowledged "having established comfort stations" and 61% testified to "having had sexual relationships with comfort women."

However, none of the documents provides evidence of the coercive recruitment of comfort women or of them being treated as sex slaves.

At the beginning of the *jugun-ianfu* documents that China additionally filed, the following statement is made.

"Comfort women" were women who were sexually enslaved by the Japanese Imperial Army. Most of them were forced to become sex slaves by the Japanese army.

However, comfort women were not coercively recruited, but rather conducted a sex service business protected by law. During the war, many warring countries had similar facilities and there is no evidence that the Japanese comfort women system was unique.

In conclusion, the problem is that China is patching together fragmentary information in documents that do not prove coercive recruitment or the existence of sex slaves in a farfetched attempt to prove such things. China's application for UNESCO's Memory of the World Register is nothing short of political propaganda. Additionally, the submission of photographs from unknown sources, as described earlier, does not satisfy the selection criteria established in one of the guidelines for UNESCO's Memory of the World Register: "Has its identity and provenance been reliably established?" If these materials are accepted, the original purpose of the Memory of the World Project, which is to protect the world's documentary heritage from conflicts, would be subverted, and this would raise concerns that UNESCO is being used politically. Hence, the application should be dismissed.

Appendix Table (1): List of Japanese Documents Regarding Chinese Comfort Women and Wartime Sexual Violence

1. Collections of materials

No.	編者 Editor	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
1	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	『従軍慰安婦資料集』 <i>Collection of Materials on Comfort Women</i>	大月書店 Otsuki Shoten	1992.11 Nov. 1992
2		『政府調査「従軍慰安婦」関係資料集成』全5巻 <i>Collection of Materials Relating to the “Wartime Comfort Women” Issue: Government of Japan Survey; 5 volumes</i>	龍溪書舎 Ryuukeishosha	1998.7 July 1998

2. General works

No.	著者 Author	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
3	倉橋正直 Masanao Kurahashi	『従軍慰安婦問題の歴史的研究』 <i>Historical Research on the Comfort Women Issue</i>	共栄書房 Kyoeishobo	1994.8 Aug. 1994
4	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	『従軍慰安婦』 <i>Comfort Women</i>	岩波書店 Iwanami Shoten	1995.4 April 1995
5	藤井忠俊 Tadatoshi Fujii	「中国占領地における徴集と慰安所の展開」 (吉見・林編『共同研究日本軍慰安婦』所収) “Enlistment and Comfort Station Development in Occupied Areas of China” (included in <i>The Comfort Women of the Japanese Military: A Joint Study</i> , edited by Yoshimi and Hayashi)	大月書店 Otsuki Shoten	1995.8 Aug. 1995
6	西野瑠美子 Rumiko Nishino	「中国「慰安婦」と日本の責任」(2) “Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ and Japan's Responsibility” (2)	『法と民主主義』312 <i>Law and Democracy</i> No. 312	1996.10 Oct. 1996
7	笠原十九司 Tokushi	「中国戦線における日本軍の性犯罪」 “The Japanese Military's Sex Crimes on	『戦争責任研究』13 <i>The Report on</i>	1996 秋季 Fall 1996

	Kasahara	the Chinese Battlefield”	<i>Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 13	
8	桑山紀彦 Norihiko Kuwayama	「中国人元「慰安婦」の心的外傷とPTSD」 “Emotional Trauma and PTSD among Former Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』19 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 19	1998 春季 Spring 1998
9	秦郁彦 Ikuhiko Hata	『慰安婦と戦場の性』 <i>Comfort Women and Sex on the Battlefield</i>	新潮社 Shinchosha	1999.6 June 1999
10	林伯耀 Lin Boyao	「天津の日本軍『慰安婦』供出システム—偽『天津特別市政府』警察局の公文書資料から」(『女性・戦争・人権』2所収) “The Japanese Military's ‘Comfort Women’ Requisitioning System in Tianjin—Based on Official Documents of the Police Department for the Tianjin Special City Puppet Government” (Included in <i>Journal of The Association for Research on the Impact of War and Military Bases on Women's Human Rights</i> No. 2)	行路社 Kohrosha	1999
11	林博史 Hirofumi Hayashi	「中国での慰安所現地調査について」 “Field Study on Comfort Stations in China”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 27	2000 春季 Spring 2000
12	西野瑠美子 Rumiko Nishino	「上海の慰安所・現地調査報告」 “Field Study on Comfort Stations in Shanghai”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 27	2000 春季 Spring 2000
13	川田文子 Fumiko Kawata	「南京レイプと南京の慰安所」 “The Nanjing Massacre and Nanjing Comfort Stations”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 27	2000 春季 Spring 2000
14	蘇智良 Su Zhiliang	「“慰安婦”の緊急調査」 “Emergency Survey on ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 27	2000 春季 Spring 2000
15	尹明淑 Yin Mingshu	「中国人軍隊慰安婦問題に関する研究ノート」 “Research Notes on the Chinese Military Comfort Women Issue”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 27	2000 春季 Spring 2000
16	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「南京・上海の慰安所と上海派遣軍軍医部」 “Comfort Stations in Nanjing and Shanghai and the Military Medical Department of the Shanghai Expeditionary Army”	『戦争責任研究』27 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No.	2000 春季 Spring 2000

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17	内海愛子 Aiko Utsumi	「戦時性暴力と東京裁判」（日本軍性奴隷制を裁く—2000年女性国際戦犯法廷の記録第1巻『戦犯裁判と性暴力』所収） “Wartime Sexual Violence and the Tokyo Trial” (Trial of the Japanese Military's Sex Slave System; included in Vol. 1 of the records for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery of 2000: <i>War Crime Trials and Sexual Violence</i>)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.5 May 2000
18	本澤二郎 Jiro Honzawa	「中国初の“慰安婦”国際シンポジウム」 “China's First International Symposium on ‘Comfort Women’”	『マスコミ市民』378 <i>Masukomi Shimin</i> No. 378	2000.6 June 2000
19	経盛鴻 Jing Shenghong	「南京の慰安婦と慰安所」 “Comfort Women and Comfort Stations in Nanjing”	『戦争責任研究』28 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 28	2000 夏季 Summer 2000
20	宋連玉 Song Yonok	「上海での中国「慰安婦」問題国際シンポジウムに参加して」 “Attending the International Symposium on Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ in Shanghai”	『戦争責任研究』28 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 28	2000 夏季 Summer 2000
21	松井やより Yayori Matsui	「「女性国際戦犯法廷」をなぜ開くのか」 “Why is the ‘Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery’ Being Held?”	『戦争責任研究』28 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 28	2000 夏季 Summer 2000
22	陳麗菲・蘇智良 Chen Lifei and Su Zhiliang	「中国の慰安所に関する調査報告」（日本軍性奴隷制を裁く—2000年女性国際戦犯法廷の記録第4巻『「慰安婦」・戦時性暴力の実態Ⅱ』所収） “Research Report on Comfort Stations in China” (Trial of the Japanese Military's Sex Slave System; included in Vol. 4 of the records for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery of 2000: <i>Actual Conditions of “Comfort Women” and Wartime Sexual Violence II</i>)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000
23	松岡環 Tamaki Matsuoka	「南京大虐殺下における日本軍の性暴力」（同上） “Sexual Violence by the Japanese Military During the Nanjing Massacre” (ibid.)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000
24	林伯耀・張友棟編・訳 Edited and translated by Lin Boyao	「天津の日本軍「慰安婦」供出システム」（同上） “The Japanese Military's ‘Comfort Women’ Requisitioning System in Tianjin” (ibid.)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000

	and Zhang Youdong			
25	西野瑠美子 Rumiko Nishino	中国における慰安所設置と「慰安婦」徴集 (同上) “The Establishment of Comfort Stations and the Enlistment of 'Comfort Women' in China” (ibid.)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000
26	笠原十九司 Tokushi Kasahara	日本軍による性暴力の構造 (同上) “The System of Sexual Violence Employed by the Japanese Military” (ibid.)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000
27	袁竹林 Yuan Zhulin	「ある慰安婦の証言 (『華月月報』1999年8 月号より)」 “Testimony of a Comfort Woman (<i>Huayue Monthly</i> , August 1999 issue)”	『中国女性史研究』 10 <i>The Journal of Historical Studies on Chinese Women</i> No. 10	2001.1 Jan. 2001
28	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「日本軍性奴隷 (『従軍慰安婦』) 制度研究の 現段階」 “The Current Stage of Research on the Japanese Military Sex Slave (<i>Jugun-ianfu</i>) System”	『戦争責任研究』38 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 38	2002 冬季 Winter 2002
29	西野瑠美子 Rumiko Nishino	「中国に疼く「慰安婦」の歴史」 “The History of the Suffering of 'Comfort Women' in China”	『新日本文学』58-3 <i>Shin Nihon Bungaku</i> No. 58-3	2003.4 April 2003
30	笠原十九司 Tokushi Kasahara	「中国の前線における日本軍兵士の意識」 “The Sense of Duty of Japanese Soldiers on the Chinese Front Line”	『戦争責任研究』43 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 43	2004 春季 Spring 2004
31	高嶋航 Ko Takashima	「中国における「慰安婦」研究の現在」 “Current Research on 'Comfort Women' in China”	『史林』88-1 <i>Shirin</i> No. 88-1	2005.1 Jan. 2005
32	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「南京事件前後における軍慰安所の設置と運 営」(『現代歴史学と南京事件』所収) “The Establishment and Operations of Military Comfort Stations Before and After the Nanjing Incident” (included in <i>Modern History and the Nanjing Incident</i>)	柏書房 Kashiwashobo	2006.3 March 2006
33	川田文子 Fumiko Kawata	「南京レイプと南京の慰安所」(同上) “The Nanjing Massacre and Nanjing Comfort Stations” (ibid.)	柏書房 Kashiwashobo	2006.3 March 2006
34	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「「強制」の史実を否定することは許されな い」 “The Historical Fact of 'Coercion' Cannot Be Denied”	『世界』765 <i>Sekai</i> No. 765	2007.5 May 2007
35	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「米下院「慰安婦」決議案と河野談話」 “The U.S. House of Representatives 'Comfort Women' Resolution and the Kono Statement”	『戦争責任研究』56 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No.	2007 夏季 Summer 2007

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36	川田文子 Fumiko Kawata	東京裁判で証言された南京レイプ “The Nanjing Massacre as Testified to at the Tokyo Trial”	『戦争責任研究』 58 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 58	2007 冬季 Winter 2007
37	糟谷廣一郎 Koichiro Kasuya	「[中国・桂林ルポルタージュ] 私は“日本鬼子”の子」(『「慰安婦」強制連行』所収) “[Reportage on Guilin, China] I am a Child of a ‘Japanese Devil’” (included in <i>'Comfort Women' Taken by Force</i>)	金曜日 <i>Kinyobi</i>	2008.6 June 2008
38		資料紹介「東京裁判と性暴力—中国とフィリピンを例に」 Material introduced: “The Tokyo Trial and Sexual Violence—Examples from China and the Philippines”	『戦争責任研究』 61 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 61	2008 秋季 Fall 2008
39		『ある日、日本軍がやってきた—中国・戦場での強かんと慰安所』 <i>One Day, the Japanese Army Came—Rape and Comfort Stations on the Chinese Battlefield</i>	アクティブ・ミュージアム「わたしの戦争と平和資料館」 Women's Active Museum on War and Peace	2008
40	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「「従軍慰安婦」問題研究の到達点と課題」 “Culmination of and Issues Relating to Research on the Issue of ‘Military Comfort Women’”	『歴史学研究』 849 <i>Rekishigaku Kenkyu</i> No. 849	2009.1 Jan. 2009
41	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「日本軍「慰安婦」問題について」 “The Issue of the Japanese Military's ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』 64 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 64	2009 夏季 Summer 2009
42	倉橋正直 Masanao Kurahashi	「中国戦線に形成された日本人町—従軍慰安婦問題補論」 “Japanese Community Established on the Chinese Battlefield—Addendum to the Comfort Women Issue”	『キリスト教社会問題研究』 58 <i>The Study of Christianity and Social Problems</i> No. 58	2010.1 Jan. 2010
43	天児都・麻生徹男 Kuni Amako and Tetsuo Aso	『慰安婦と医療の係わりについて』 <i>Relationship Between Comfort Women and Healthcare</i>	梓書院 Azusashoin	2010.4 April 2010
44	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「吉見義明教授から橋本徹市長への公開質問状 吉見義明教授インタビュー」 “Open Letter from Professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi to Mayor Toru Hashimoto; Interview with Professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi”	『中帰連』 53 <i>Chukiren</i> No. 53	2013.10 Oct. 2013

45	吉見義明 Yoshiaki Yoshimi	「日本軍「慰安婦」制度の本質は何か」 “The Essence of the Japanese Military's ‘Comfort Women’ System”	『日本の科学者』50-1 <i>Journal of Japanese Scientists</i> No. 50-1	2015.1 Jan. 2015
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2. Documentation related to comfort women trials

No.	著者 Author	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
46	大森典子 Noriko Omori	「中国人「慰安婦」訴訟」 “Lawsuits by Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i>	1996 秋季 Fall 1996
47	安達洋子 Yoko Adachi	「中国人元「慰安婦」を迎えて」 “Welcoming the Former Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『歴史地理教育』557 <i>Rekishi Chiri Kyoiku</i> No. 557	1996.12 Dec. 1996
48	大森典子 Noriko Omori	「元「慰安婦」たちの訴訟 中国」 “Lawsuits by Former ‘Comfort Women’— China”	『法学セミナー』512 <i>HOUGAKU Seminar</i> No. 512	1997.8 Aug. 1997
49		「集会から 中国人慰安婦裁判原告侯巧蓮さん の話を聞く会ほか」 “From the Assembly: Testimony by Hou Qiaolian, a Plaintiff in a Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuit, etc.”	『あごら』242 <i>Agora</i> No. 242	1998.8 Aug. 1998
50	吉池俊子 Toshiko Yoshiike	「『私の頭は壊れてしまった...』中国人「慰 安婦」裁判原告侯巧蓮さん」 “My Mind is Broken..’: Hou Qiaolian, a Plaintiff in a Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuit”	『女たちの21世紀』 17 <i>Women's Asia 21</i> No. 17	1999.1 Jan. 1999
51	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「中国・山西省 10 人の女性の「打官司（提 訴）」とその性暴力の性格」 “Lawsuits by Ten Women from Shanxi Province, China, and the Nature of the Sexual Violence”	『女たちの21世紀』 17 <i>Women's Asia 21</i> No. 17	1999.1 Jan. 1999
52	康健 Kang Jian	「中国戦争被害者 元「従軍慰安婦」及び強 制連行労工の対日賠償請求事件における法的 支援に関わる活動概況について」 “Chinese War Victims: Overview of Activities Associated with Legal Support for Compensation Claims Against Japan by Former <i>Jugun-ianfu</i> and Workers Taken by Force”	『法と民主主義』339 <i>Law and Democracy</i> No. 339	1999.6 June 1999
53	中国人「慰安 婦」訴訟弁護 団等編	『その勇気を無駄にしないで—中国山西省で の性暴力被害者の証言・訴状』 "Do Not Waste Your Courage—	同弁護団 Lawsuit defense team	1999

	Compiled by the Chinese "comfort women" lawsuit defense team, etc.	Testimonies and Petitions of Sexual Violence Victims from Shanxi Province, China"		
54	坂口禎彦 Sadahiko Sakaguchi	「中国人「慰安婦」第1次訴訟東京地裁判決批判」 “Criticizing the Tokyo District Court's Decision on the First Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuit”	『戦争責任研究』33 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 33	2001 秋季 Fall 2001
55	小俣光子 Mitsuko Omata	「黄土高原の小さな村の性暴力—中国山西省性暴力被害者の訴え」1～5 “Sexual Violence in a Small Village on the Huangtu Plateau—Voices of Sexual Violence Victims from Shanxi Province, China” Vols. 1 to 5	『あごら』298,299, 300,302,304 <i>Agora</i> Nos. 298, 299, 300, 302, and 304	2004.10～ 2006.1 Oct. 2004– Jan. 2006
56	川口和子他 Kazuko Kawaguchi et al.	「山西省性暴力被害者裁判と関連する活動」 “Trials for Sexual Violence Victims from Shanxi Province and Related Activities”	『戦争責任研究』47 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 47	2005 春季 Spring 2005
57	大森典子・安達洋子 Noriko Omori and Yoko Adachi	「中国人「慰安婦」訴訟の10年を振り返って」 “Looking Back on a Decade of Chinese 'Comfort Women' Lawsuits”	『戦争責任研究』47 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 47	2005 春季 Spring 2005
58	山手治之 Haruyuki Yamate	「中国人「慰安婦」二次訴訟東京高裁判決について」 “The Tokyo High Court's Decision on the Second Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuit”	『立命館法学』300/301 <i>Ritsumeikan Hogaku</i> No. 300/301	2005
59	金子美晴 Miharu Kaneko	「海南島元「慰安婦」たちの闘い」 “The Struggles of Former ‘Comfort Women’ on Hainan Island”	『中帰連』36 <i>Chukiren</i> No. 36	2006.春 Spring 2006
60	坂口禎彦 Sadahiko Sakaguchi	「中国人慰安婦訴訟・海南島事件」 “Chinese Comfort Women Lawsuits and the Hainan Island Incident”	『軍縮問題資料』313 <i>Disarmament Review</i> No. 313	2006.12 Dec. 2006
61	大森典子 Noriko Omori	「中国人「慰安婦」訴訟と山西省性暴力被害者訴訟」 “Lawsuits by Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ and Lawsuits by Sexual Violence Victims from Shanxi Province”	『軍縮問題資料』314 <i>Disarmament Review</i> No. 314	2007.1 Jan. 2007
62	川上詩朗 Shiro Kawakami	「中国人「慰安婦」第二次訴訟の最高裁判決と今後の闘い」 “The Supreme Court's Decision on the Second Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuit and the Battle Ahead”	『軍縮問題資料』321 <i>Disarmament Review</i> No. 321	2007.8 Aug. 2007
63	坪川宏子 編集・解説	資料紹介「日本の裁判所が認定した日本軍「慰安婦」の被害事実」(上)(下)	『戦争責任研究』56,57	2007 夏季 Summer

	Edited and commented by Hiroko Tsubokawa	Material introduced: “Real Pain and Suffering Caused by the Japanese Military's ‘Comfort Women’ System Recognized by the Japanese Courts” (Vol. 1) (Vol. 2)	<i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> Nos. 56 and 57	2007
64	大森典子 Noriko Omori	『歴史の事実と向き合って—中国人「慰安婦」被害者とともに』 <i>Facing Historical Facts—With Chinese 'Comfort Women' Victims</i>	新日本出版社 Shin Nihon Shuppan Sha	2008.12 Dec. 2008
65	藍谷邦雄 Kunio Aitani	「「慰安婦」裁判の経過と結果およびその後の動向 “The Course and Results of the ‘Comfort Women’ Lawsuits and Subsequent Trends”	『歴史学研究』849 <i>Rekishigaku Kenkyu</i> No. 849	2009.1 Jan. 2009
66	大谷猛夫 Takeo Otani	「中国人戦争被害者が国と企業を訴えた裁判の現状と支援の動き」 “The Current Status of Lawsuits by Chinese War Victims Who Sued the State and Companies and Developments in Support for Victims”	『戦争責任研究』64 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 64	2009 夏季 Summer 2009
67	金子美晴 Miharu Kaneko	「中国海南島における戦時性暴力被害と裁判及びその支援について」 “Wartime Sexual Violence on Hainan Island, China, Lawsuits, and Support for Them”	『戦争責任研究』64 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 64	2009 夏季 Summer 2009
68	坂口禎彦 Sadahiko Sakaguchi	「判決報告「中国・海南島戦時性暴力被害者訴訟」 “Report on the Ruling on ‘Lawsuits by Wartime Sexual Violence Victims from Hainan Island, China’”	『軍縮問題資料』358 <i>Disarmament Review</i> No. 358	2010.10 Oct. 2010
69	坪川宏子・大森典子 Hiroko Tsubokawa and Noriko Omori	『司法が認定した日本軍「慰安婦」』 <i>The Japanese Military's 'Comfort Women' System is Acknowledged by Law</i>	かもがわ出版 Kamogawa Shuppan	2011.12 Dec. 2011

3. Documentation related to sexual violence in Shanxi Province

No.	著者 Author	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
70	万愛花 Wan Aihua	「私は日本軍が死ぬほど憎い」(『世界に問われる日本の戦後処理①「従軍慰安婦」等国際公聴会の記録』所収) “I Hate the Japanese Military to	東方出版 Toho Shuppan	1993.5 May 1993

		Death” (included in <i>Japan's Post-war Actions That Are Being Questioned by the World (1): Records from International Hearings on 'Jugun-ianfu,' etc.</i>)		
71	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	「中国人「元慰安婦」たちが語る真実」 “The Truth Spoken by Former Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『週刊金曜日』4-30 <i>Weekly Kinyobi</i> No. 4-30	1996.8.9 Aug. 9, 1996
72	秦郁彦 Ikuhiko Hata	「慰安婦「身の上話」を徹底検証する」 “Thorough Verification of the ‘Personal Stories’ of Comfort Women”	『諸君！』28-12 <i>Shokun!</i> No. 28-12	1996.12 Dec. 1996
73	林博史 Hirofumi Hayashi	「中国人元「慰安婦」の証言」 “Testimonies of Former Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』15 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 15	1997 春季 Spring 1997
74	笠原十九司 Tokushi Kasahara	「日本軍の残虐行為と性犯罪」 “The Cruel Acts and Sex Crimes of the Japanese Military”	『戦争責任研究』17 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 17	1997 秋季 Fall 1997
75	藤原彰 Akira Fujiwara	「「三光作戦」と北支那方面軍」(1) (2) “The ‘Three Alls Strategy’ and the North China Area Army” (1) (2)	『戦争責任研究』20,21 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> Nos. 20 and 21	1998 夏季 秋季 Summer and fall 1998
76	桑山紀彦 Norihiko Kuwayama	「中国山西省 性暴力被害者における PTSD の検証 第2次報告」 “PTSD Testing for Sexual Violence Victims in Shanxi Province, China—Second Report”	『戦争責任研究』25 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 25	1999 秋季 Fall 1999
77	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「記録されない記憶—山西省における戦争被害調査・記述の中の性暴力」(『芝蘭集—好並隆司先生退官記念論文集』所収) “Unrecorded Memories: Sexual Violence in Research and Descriptions on War Damages in Shanxi Province” (included in <i>Collection of Talent: Thesis Collection to Commemorate the Retirement of Professor Takashi Yoshinami</i>)		1999
78	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「中国華北の戦場における日本軍の性暴力の構造—山西省の現地調査から見えてくるもの」(『女性・戦争・人権』2所収) “The System of the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence on the Battlefield in Huabei, China: Observations from a Field Study in Shanxi Province” (included in <i>Journal of The Association for Research on the</i>	行路社 Kohrosha	1999

		<i>Impact of War and Military Bases on Women's Human Rights No. 2)</i>		
79	石田米子・大森典子 Yoneko Ishida and Noriko Omori	「中国山西省における日本軍性暴力の実態」(日本軍性奴隷制を裁く—2000年女性国際戦犯法廷の記録第4巻『「慰安婦」・戦時性暴力の実態II』) “Actual Conditions of the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence in Shanxi Province, China” (Trial on the Japanese Military's Sex Slave System; included in Vol. 4 of the records for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery of 2000: <i>Actual Conditions of 'Comfort Women' and Wartime Sexual Violence II</i>)	緑風出版 Ryokufu Shuppan	2000.12 Dec. 2000
80	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「講演記録中国山西省における日本軍性暴力に関する調査について」 “Speech Records: Research on the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence in Shanxi Province, China”	『人文研究』144 <i>The Journal of Humanities</i> No. 144	2001
81	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「中国における日本軍性暴力被害の調査・記録に取りくんで」 “Working on the Research and Documentation of the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence in China”	『中国女性史研究』11 <i>The Journal of Historical Studies on Chinese Women</i> No. 11	2002.1 Jan. 2002
82	石田米子・内田知行編 Edited by Yoneko Ishida and Tomoyuki Uchida	『黄土の村の性暴力—大娘たちの戦争は終わらない』 <i>Sexual Violence in the Villages of the Yellow Earth—The War is Not Over for the Women</i>	創土社 Soudosha	2004.4 Apr. 2004
83	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「沈黙を強いる構造と自尊感情を回復する関係」 “The Mechanism for Enforcing Silence and the Relationship for Recovering Self-Esteem”	『岡山部落解放研究所紀要』13 <i>The Bulletin of the Okayama Buraku Liberation Research Institute</i> No. 13	2004
84	内海愛子・石田米子・加藤修弘編 Edited by Aiko Utsumi, Yoneko Ishida, and Nobuhiro Kato	『ある日本兵の二つの戦場—近藤一の終わらない戦争』 <i>The Two Battlefields of a Japanese Soldier—The Endless War of Hajime Kondo</i>	社会評論社 Shakaihyoronsha	2005.1 Jan. 2005
85	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「中国農村における聞き取りから見えた戦時性暴力の構造」 “The System of Wartime Sexual Violence Revealed through Interviews in Chinese Villages”	『鳴門史学』18 <i>Naruto Shigaku</i> No. 18	2005

86	小濱正子 Masako Kohama	「口述史料を利用した中国近現代史研究の可能性—山西省孟縣の日本軍性暴力研究をめぐって」 'The Potential of Modern Chinese History Research Using Oral History—Research on the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence in Yu County, Shanxi Province'	『東洋史研究』64-2 <i>Journal of Oriental Research</i> No. 64-2	2005.9 Sep. 2005
87	青木茂 Shigeru Aoki	『日本軍兵士・近藤一 忘れえぬ戦争を生きる』 <i>Hajime Kondo, a Japanese Soldier: Living Through an Unforgettable War</i>	風媒社 Fubaisha	2006.3 Mar. 2006
88	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	『ガイサンシーとその姉妹たち』 <i>Gai Shanxi and Her Sisters</i>	梨の木舎 Nashinoki-sha	2006.9 Sep. 2006
89	倉橋綾子 Ayako Kurahashi	「私たちをつかんで離さない「過去」」 “The ‘Past’ that Seizes Us and Will Not Let Go”	『世界』765 <i>Sekai</i> No. 765	2007.5 May 2007
90	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	「中国人「慰安婦」の知られざる人生を追って—班忠義監督に聞く」 “Following the Unknown Lives of Chinese ‘Comfort Women’—Interview with Director Ban Zhongyi”	『女性のひろば』345 <i>Josei no Hiroba</i> No. 345	2007.11 Nov. 2007
91	内田知行 Tomoyuki Uchida	「中国における戦時性暴力をめぐる記憶と記録」(『戦争と民衆』所収) “Memories and Records of Wartime Sexual Violence in China” (included in <i>War and the People</i>)	旬報社 Junposha	2008.4 April 2008
92	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「中国における日本軍性暴力被害の調査・記録に取りくんで」(『新編日本のフェミニズム10』所収) “Working on the Research and Documentation of the Japanese Military's Sexual Violence in China” (included in <i>New Edition: Feminism in Japan 10</i>)	岩波書店 Iwanami Shoten	2009.2 Feb. 2009
93	松本栄好 Masayoshi Matsumoto	「証言 私を侵略戦争に突き進ませたものは何か」 “Testimony: What Led Me to a War of Invasion”	『神奈川支部情報』17 <i>Kanagawa Shibu Joho</i> No. 17	2010.6 Jun. 2010
94	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「活動と交流八路軍記念館での性暴力パネル展開催顛末」 “Activities and Exchanges: Details on the Sexual Violence Panel Exhibit at the Eighth Route Army Museum”	『中国女性史研究』20 <i>The Journal of Historical Studies on Chinese Women</i> No. 20	2011.2 Feb. 2011
95	松本栄好 Masayoshi Matsumoto	「私が中国で戦った「聖戦」の実態」(『子どものとき戦争があった』所収) “The Truth About the ‘Holy War’ I Fought in China” (included in <i>There Was a War When I Was a Child</i>)	いのちのことは社 Word of Life Press Ministries	2011.8 Aug. 2011

94	近藤一・宮城道良 Hajime Kondo and Michiyoshi Miyagi	『最前線兵士が見た「中国戦線・沖縄戦の実相」』 “Realities of the Chinese Battlefield and Battle of Okinawa” as Seen by Frontline Soldiers	学習の友社 Gakushunotomosha	2011.9 Sep. 2011
95	江上幸子 Sachiko Egami	『『黄土の村の性暴力—大娘たちの戦争は終わらない』共振する丁玲の小説と』 “Sympathizing with the Novel <i>Sexual Violence in the Villages of the Yellow Earth—The War is Not Over for the Women</i> by Ding Ling”	『戦争責任研究』74 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 74	2011 冬季 Winter 2011
96	田宮昌子 Masako Tamiya	「山西省盂県仙人村調査報告—「個人史から考える日中近現代関係史」の一環として」 “Research Report on Xianren Village, Yu County, Shanxi Province—Part of the ‘Modern History of Japan-China Relations from a Personal History Perspective’”	『宮崎公立大学人文学部紀要』19-1 <i>Bulletin of Miyazaki Municipal University Faculty of Humanities</i> No. 19-1	2011
97	石田米子 Yoneko Ishida	「日本軍性暴力を中国農村の被害女性から考える—「慰安婦」と呼ばれることを拒否し続けた万愛花さん」 “The Japanese Military's Sexual Violence from the Perspective of Female Victims in Chinese Farming Villages—Wan Aihua, a Woman Who Continued to Resist Being Called a ‘Comfort Woman’”	『中帰連』53 <i>Chukiren</i> No. 53	2013.10 Oct. 2013
98	ケネディ日砂恵 Hisae Kennedy	「必ず出てくる「第二の吉田清治」」 “There Will Always Be ‘Another Seiji Yoshida’”	『WiLL』121 <i>WiLL</i> No. 121	2015.1 Jan. 2015
99	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	『声なき人たちに光を—旧軍人と中国人“慰安婦”の20年間の記録』 <i>Shedding Light on Those Without a Voice—Twenty Years of Recordings of Former Soldiers and Chinese ‘Comfort Women’</i>	いのちのこば社 Word of Life Press Ministries	2015.9 Sep. 2015
100	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	「ドキュメンタリー映画『太陽がほしい』中国人被害者の証言の伝達者として」 “The Documentary Movie <i>Give Me the Sun</i> As a Communicator of the Testimonies of the Chinese Victims”	『女性のひろば』440 <i>Josei no Hiroba</i> No. 440	2015.10 Oct. 2015
101	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	『太陽がほしい—「慰安婦」とよばれた中国人女性たちの人生の記録』 <i>Give Me the Sun—Records of the Lives of the Chinese Women Known as “Comfort Women”</i>	合同出版 Godo Shuppan	2016.3 March. 2016

4. Documentation related to sexual violence on Hainan Island

No.	著者 Author	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
102	西野瑠美子 Rumiko Nishino	「私が見た海南島海軍病院の「慰安婦」たち—元海軍従軍看護婦の体験」 “The ‘Comfort Women’ I Looked After at the Hainan Island Naval Hospital—Experiences of a Former Navy Nurse”	『週刊金曜日』 5-19 <i>Weekly Kinyobi</i> No. 5-19	1997.5.23 May 23, 1997
103	班忠義 Ban Zhongyi	「中国・海南島の元「慰安婦」たち」 “Former ‘Comfort Women’ from Hainan Island, China”	『週刊金曜日』 5-24 <i>Weekly Kinyobi</i> No. 5-24	1997.6.27 June 27, 1997
104	藤原彰 Akira Fujiwara	「海南島における日本海軍の「三光作戦」」 “The ‘Three Alls Strategy’ of the Japanese Navy on Hainan Island”	『戦争責任研究』 24 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 24	1999 夏季 Summer 1999
105	紀州鉾山の真実を明らかにする会 Association for Unveiling the Truth about the Kishu Mine	『海南島で日本はなにをしたのか—虐殺・略奪・性奴隷化、抗日反日闘争』 <i>What Did Japan Do on Hainan Island?: Massacres, Looting, Sexual Slavery and Struggles Against Japan</i>	写真の会パトローネ Shashin no Kai Patrone	2005.5 May 2005
106	文公輝 Kong-hwi Moon	「日本による海南島軍事占領について」 “Japan's Military Occupation of Hainan Island”	『大阪人権博物館紀要』 9 <i>Bulletin of Osaka Human Rights Museum</i> No. 9	2006
107	斉藤日出治 Hideharu Saito	「海南島における住民虐殺と統治政策」 “The Massacre of Hainan Island Inhabitants and the Governance Policy for the Island”	『大阪産業大学経済論集』 12-1 <i>Osaka Sangyo University Journal of Economics</i> No. 12-1	2010.9 Sep. 2010
108	斉藤日出治 Hideharu Saito	「日本軍による海南島の侵略犯罪に関する調査報告」 “Research Report on Invasion Crimes Committed by the Japanese Military on Hainan Island”	『大阪産業大学経済論集』 14-1 <i>Osaka Sangyo University Journal of Economics</i> No. 14-1	2013.2 Feb. 2013
109	斉藤日出治 Hideharu Saito	「日本軍統治下の海南島における侵略犯罪の調査報告」 “Research Report on Invasion Crimes Committed on Hainan Island Under Japanese Military Governance”	『大阪産業大学経済論集』 15-1 <i>Osaka Sangyo University Journal of Economics</i> No. 15-1	2014.3 Mar. 2014

5. War crime testimonials and *Chukiren*-related documentation

No.	著者 Author	「論文タイトル」 “Paper title” 『書籍タイトル』 <i>Book title</i>	『雑誌名』 <i>Journal title</i> 巻号 Vol./issue no. 発行所 Publisher	発行年月 Date of publication
110	中国帰還者連絡会会員 Members of the Association of Returnees from China	「座談会「従軍慰安婦」を語る」 “Round-table Discussion on ‘ <i>Jugun-ianfu</i> ’”	『中帰連』5 <i>Chukiren</i> No. 5	1998.6 June 1998
111		「中国の「慰安婦」問題雑感」 “Thoughts on the Chinese ‘Comfort Women’ Issue”	『中帰連』5 <i>Chukiren</i> No. 5	1998.6 June 1998
112	川田文子 Fumiko Kawata	「中国戦犯供述書にみる日本軍の性暴力」 “The Japanese Military's Sexual Violence as Seen in the Chinese War Crime Testimonials”	『戦争責任研究』23 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 23	1999 春季 Spring 1999
113	康健 Kang Jian	「中国人元「慰安婦」被害事実調査」 “Research on the Pain Suffered by Former Chinese ‘Comfort Women’”	『戦争責任研究』71 <i>The Report on Japan's War Responsibility</i> No. 71	2011 春季 Spring 2011

Appendix Table (2): List of Testimonies by Chinese Comfort Women and Sexual Violence Victims

* If the symbol "○" appears in the row for a name more than once, the testimonies are duplicates.

* "First," "Second," "Sexual violence," or "Hainan Island" listed in the "Trial plaintiff" column indicates that the person in question is a plaintiff in the following comfort women trials:

"First" and "Second": the first and second of the Chinese "comfort women" compensation lawsuits; "Sexual violence": the compensation lawsuit for sexual violence victims in Shanxi Province; "Hainan Island": the compensation lawsuit for wartime sexual violence victims on Hainan Island.

1. East coast area (around Nanjing/Shanghai) *The area groupings are based on the sections used in "Chinese Comfort Women" by Peipei Qiu, Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei.

No.	Name (Romanized)	Year of birth & death	Location	Summary of testimony	Comfort woman?	Plaintiff in which lawsuit?	Su's Chinese book (1999)	Women's War Crimes Tribunal (2000)	Ishida's book (2004)	Exhibition brochure (2008)	Su's English book (2014)	Ban's movie (2015)
1	雷桂英 (Lei Guiying)	1929? 2007	Tangshan, Hebei Province	She lived at a military brothel as a babysitter/maid from around the age of ten without knowing that it was a brothel. She became a comfort woman at age 13. The brothel was managed by a Japanese couple. Soldiers used condoms. She was tortured for six months and then fled the comfort station at the end of 1943.	Yes						○ pp. 81– 88	
2	周粉英 (Zhou Fenyong)	1917 2008	Rugao, Jiangsu Province	She was abducted immediately after the Japanese military invaded Rugao (1938). She was not allowed to go out. <u>The comfort station was run by a Chinese woman and she was paid about one yuan a month (this contradicts the testimony given in the exhibition brochure).</u> Soldiers paid using military currency and Japanese doctors conducted regular checkups. The mistress gave her condoms. Three months later, she was redeemed and released by a secretary of the puppet government.	Yes					○ p. 13 <u>Received no money.</u> (contradicts earlier testimony)	○ pp. 89– 93	
3	朱巧妹 (Zhu Qiaomei)	1910 2005	Chongming Island, Shanghai City	She was raped after the Japanese military occupied Chongming Island (1938) and forced to become a sex slave exclusively for commissioned officers. She normally stayed at home, but she was also taken to a room in a military pillbox where she was raped at least 5 times a week. She was released in 1939 when the Japanese military withdrew from the island.	No						○ pp. 94– 97	
4	陸秀珍	1917	Chongming	She was kidnapped in February 1938 after the	Yes						○	

	(Lu Xiuzhen)	2002	Island, Shanghai City	occupation of Chongming Island by the Japanese military and taken to the military comfort station. She was allowed to take walks around the facility. She served the commander exclusively and occasionally received canned foods, but she did not receive any money. A Chinese couple supervised the comfort women and the Japanese soldiers did not use condoms during the rapes. A Chinese doctor occasionally examined them. She fled the comfort station in May.							pp. 98–101	
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2. Battle zones in central/northern China

No.	Name (Romanized)	Year of birth & death	Location	Harm suffered, other details	Comfort woman?	Plaintiff in which lawsuit?	Su's Chinese book (1999)	Women's War Crimes Tribunal (2000)	Ishida's book (2004)	Exhibition brochure (2008)	Su's English book (2014)	Ban's movie (2015)
5	袁竹林 (Yuan Zhulin)	1922–2006	Wuhan, Hubei Province	In July 1940, she was deceived by a Chinese woman (the wife of a comfort station manager) who told her that a hotel was recruiting cleaning ladies. She was confined to the comfort station in Echeng and forced to become a sex slave under the name Masako. The Japanese soldiers apparently bought tickets, but she did not receive a single yuan. <u>The Japanese rules required that soldiers use condoms, but many did not.</u> In April 1941, she failed in an escape attempt, but became a mistress for a commissioned officer named Fujimura, at which point she was freed from the comfort station to work in the dining room. In 1941, she was freed from Fujimura by Nishiyama, a subordinate of Fujimura.	Yes			○ pp. 116–122 <u>Testified that the use of condoms was normal; contradicts testimony in Su's English book</u>		○ p. 16	○ pp. 98–101	○ pp. 47–51 p. 80
6	譚玉華 (Tan Yuhua)	1928	Yiyang, Hunan Province	She was kidnapped by Japanese soldiers in September 1944 and confined to a brothel exclusively for commissioned officers. She was not allowed to go out and armed soldiers were detailed to guard her. In November of that year, she returned home through the efforts of the head of the local Association for Maintaining Order, who had received a request from her parents.	No						○ pp. 108–113	
7	李秀梅	1927	Yu County, Shanxi	In August 1942, she was abducted from her home by Japanese soldiers, taken to the Japanese	No	First (1995)				○ p. 35		

	(Li Xiumei)		Province	military post in the village of Jingui and then confined to a yaodong (cave residence). After being raped for five months, she was sent home due to a serious injury.								
8	劉面換 (Liu Mianhuan)	1927 2012	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In March 1943, she was abducted from her home by Japanese soldiers, taken to the Japanese military post in the village of Jingui and then confined to a yaodong. After being raped for about 40 days, she became ill. She was released after her father sent some silver and sheep.	No	First (1995)				○ p. 35		○ pp. 27– 32 p. 78
9	周喜香 (Zhou Xixiang)	1925	Yu County, Shanxi Province	She joined the Communist Party as chief of the village women's league at the age of 18. In March 1944, she was attacked by Japanese soldiers during a Communist Party assembly, abducted and then taken to the village of Jingui. She was confined and raped in a private home for six days. She was later rescued by the Eighth Route Army.	No	First (1995)				○ p. 34		
10	陳林桃 (Chen Lintao)	1923	Yu County, Shanxi Province	Her husband was a member of the Eighth Route Army. In July 1943, she was abducted by Japanese soldiers and taken to the Japanese military post in Jingui. She was tortured to "extract information on the whereabouts of her husband" and then confined and raped for about 20 days. Her family paid money for her release.	No	First (1995)	○ pp. 330– 331			○ p. 35		
11	侯巧蓮 (Hou Qiaolian)	1929 1999	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In March 1942, she was tortured by the Japanese military and taken to Jingui because her father, the village chief, was cooperating with the Eighth Route Army. She was raped daily in a yaodong before being released about 40 days later after a payment of 700 yuan in silver to the Japanese military.	No	Second (1996)	○ p. 331 Hou Qiaolian?			○ p. 32		
12	郭喜翠 (Guo Xicui)	1927 2013	Yu County, Shanxi Province	The fact that her older sister's husband was cooperating with the Eighth Route Army was leaked, after which she was captured by Japanese soldiers and members of the Seigo-tai (a local puppet organization) and taken to Jingui in July 1942. She was raped and gang raped for half a month and then released when her family paid money to the Seigo-tai. She was subsequently taken to Jingui and raped a total of three times.	No	Second (1996)				○ p. 34		○ pp. 33– 34 p. 78
13	尹玉林 (Yin Yulin)	1922	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In February 1941, she was found by a Japanese soldier who had come to the village and then raped in her home. The rapes continued at her home as well as in the mountains for another year or so. She was released when she remarried and	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 37– 44		○ pp. 114– 118	○ p. 36, p. 79

				moved to another village in September 1942.								
14	尹林香 (Yin Linxiang)	1919 2000	Yu County, Shanxi Province	Older sister of Yin Yulin. She suffered the same treatment as her sister, described above.	No							○ pp. 37– 38, 79
15	侯冬娥 (蓋山西) (Hou Donge, a.k.a. Gaishanxi)	1921 1992	Yu County, Shanxi Province	President of the Anti-Japan Women's National Salvation Association. Gaishanxi means “the most beautiful woman in Shanxi.” She died just before she was supposed to come to Japan in 1992 with Wan Aihua. A symbolic figure among the sexual violence victims from Shanxi Province.	No		○ pp. 331– 332			○ p. 35		
16	万愛花 (Wan Aihua)	1930 2013	Yu County, Shanxi Province	Having joined the Communist Party in 1942, she was an anti-Japanese deputy village mayor. She was captured three times by Japanese soldiers during the period spanning the early summer of 1942 to the following year, and she was taken to the village of Jingui on each occasion. <u>She was not raped the first time (this contradicts her testimony at the trial).</u> but she was severely raped and tortured from the second time. She repeatedly fled each time and nearly died the third time, but she was rescued by a local elder and escaped death after being thrown into the river naked by the Japanese military.	No	Sexual violence (1998) <u>Testified that _____ she was raped starting from _____ her first capture</u>		○ pp. 111– 114	○ pp. 93– 110	○ p. 33	○ pp. 119– 125	○ pp. 23– 25 p. 78
17	南二僕 (Nan Erpu)	1923 1967	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In the spring of 1942, she was raped by a Japanese non-commissioned officer who had broken into her parents' home. She was abducted and confined to a nearby private home, raped for several months by the non-commissioned officer, eventually became pregnant, and gave birth to a boy. She later fled, but she was labeled a “historic counter-revolutionary” during the Cultural Revolution and committed suicide.	No	Sexual violence (1998) Plaintiff was the victim's adopted daughter Yang Xiulian.			△ (Adopted daughter and younger brother) pp. 49– 56 pp. 73– 76	○ p. 28		
18	張先兎 (Zhang Xiantu)	1926 2015	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In January 1941, she was abducted from her home in Xiyanzhen by Japanese soldiers and guards (from an organization of Chinese collaborators with Japan) and confined to a yaodong at the Hedong gun battery. She was raped continuously for about 20 days. She was released when her family borrowed money to pay 400 yuan in silver to the Japanese military.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 83– 86	○ p. 29		
19	趙潤梅 (Zhao Runmei)	1925	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In April 1941, she was gang raped by Japanese soldiers and guards, abducted from her home in Xiyanzhen and then confined to a yaodong at the Hedong gun battery. The gang rapes continued for about 40 days. She was released when her family	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 79– 83	○ p. 29		

				paid the Japanese military 210 yuan in silver, which they obtained by selling land and buildings.								
20	高銀娥 (Gao Yine)	1925	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In April 1941, she was captured by the Japanese military and guards who had forced their way into the village of Nanshe, taken to a yaodong at the Hedong gun battery and raped daily. She was released a week or two later when her husband paid 200 yuan in silver to the Japanese military.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 76– 79	○ p. 29		○ pp. 34– 35 p. 79
21	王改荷 (Wang Gaihe)	1919	Yu County, Shanxi Province	Member of the Communist Party and the head of the anti-Japan Women's National Salvation Association. Her husband worked with the Eighth Route Army as an anti-Japan village mayor. In the spring of 1942, the Japanese army raided an association meeting. After being tortured, she was taken to a yaodong at the Hedong gun battery, where she was raped and tortured daily. She was released after about 20 days when her father paid the Japanese military 120 silver yuan, which he earned from selling his land and household goods.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 114– 117	○ p. 30		
22	趙存妮 (Zhao Cunni)	1918 2004	Yu County, Shanxi Province	In August 1942, she was captured in a raid by the Japanese military, abducted and then taken to a yaodong at the Xiyan gun battery. She was raped daily. She was released about half a month later when her family borrowed and paid 380 yuan in silver to the Japanese military.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 111– 114	○ p. 29		
23	楊時珍 (Yang Shizhen)	1924 2002	Yu County, Shanxi Province	Despite her brother being in charge of accounting for a commercial organization collaborating with the Japanese military, Japanese soldiers broke into her home in 1941 or 1942 and gang raped her. She was subsequently raped in her home and continued to be raped by a non-commissioned officer, but she was eventually released after paying cash to the Japanese soldiers.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 44– 46			
24	楊喜何 (Yang Xihe)	1919 1998	Yu County, Shanxi Province	At the end of 1942, two Japanese soldiers broke into her home and raped her. For about a year, the same two soldiers came to her home and raped her repeatedly.	No	Sexual violence (1998)			○ pp. 46– 49			

3. Southern China front line

No.	Name (Romanized)	Year of birth & death	Location	Harm suffered, other details	Comfort woman?	Plaintiff in which lawsuit?	S u ' s Chinese book (1999)	Women's War Crimes Tribunal (2000)	Ishida's book (2004)	Exhibition brochure (2008)	Su's English book (2014)	Ban's movie (2015)
25	譚玉蓮 (Tan Yulian)	1925	Baoting County, Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. In the spring of 1943, she was drafted into a Battle Field Rear Service Team but was raped by Japanese soldiers and confined to a shabby comfort station for over a year. She fled in mid-1945.	No	Hainan Island (2001)						
26	黃有良 (Huang Youliang)	1927	Lingshui County, Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. In October 1941, she was raped in her home. A few days later, she was confined to a barracks to work during the day and was raped at night. In the spring of 1942, she was taken to a comfort station in Tengqiao and confined there. She stayed at the comfort station for two years, but never had a checkup or saw soldiers using condoms. She also never received any money. <u>A relative deceived the Japanese military, requesting that she be allowed to attend the funeral of her father who had died. They even dug a fake grave for her and pretended that she had committed suicide, thereby allowing her to successfully escape.</u>	No	Hainan Island (2001)	○ pp. 322–325			○ p. 46 <u>It was the mother who had died. The fake grave was for the mother and child. (contradictory testimonies)</u>	○ pp. 126–130	
27	陳亞扁 (Chen Yapien)	1928	Lingshui County, Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. One day in 1942, she was drafted by a local group of vigilantes and forced to work in a Japanese military barracks during the day and was raped at night. Several months later, she was taken to a comfort station in Tengqiao and confined there. She stayed there for a few weeks, but Japanese soldiers did not use condoms and there were no health checkups. She was never allowed to go out, and she had to use a pot in the room as a toilet. She was released after her mother begged the head of the vigilante group to ask the Japanese military to release her.	No	Hainan Island (2001)				○ p. 45	○ pp. 131–134 The photo on the cover of this book is of this woman.	
28	譚垂洞 (Tan Yadong)	1925	Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. Around February 1941, she was drafted into a Battle Field Rear Service Team but was raped in the mountains after being taken to a military post. She was confined to the military post to work during the day and was raped at night. She was subsequently transferred to other comfort stations and fled just before the	No	Hainan Island (2001)						

				Japanese military lost the war.								
29	林亜金 (Lin Yajin)	1924	Baoting County, Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. In the fall of 1943, she was abducted while harvesting rice, after which she taken by Japanese soldiers with three other women and confined to a Japanese military comfort station. The Japanese soldiers did not use condoms, but she was given pills to take. Health checkups were never performed. Five months later, she was released along with the other women due to the pleas of her father and relatives.	No	Hainan Island (2001)					○ pp. 135– 140	
30	陳金玉 (Chen Jinyu)	1926	Hainan Island	Member of the Li ethnic group. She was raped in front of her parents by Japanese soldiers who had broken into their home. She hid in the mountains for about three months, but was taken to a Japanese military post and then confined and raped there for three months.	No	Hainan Island (2001)						
31	鄧玉民 (Deng Yumin)	1925	Hainan Island	Member of the Miao ethnic group. Around 1943, when she was forced to go to work by the military, she was raped by a Japanese commissioned officer while working on a farm near a military base. For two years, she was confined and raped almost daily in a warehouse at the military post. She was released when her health declined.	No	Hainan Island (2001)				○ p. 18		
32	黃玉鳳 (Huang Yufeng)		Hainan Island	Member of the Lizu ethnic group. At the end of 1943, she was threatened by a Japanese military collaborator, handed over to the Japanese military and raped. She was confined to what was called the “Japanese girl's room” in the military base and fled just before the end of the war.	No	Hainan Island (2001)						
33	李連春 (Li Lanchun)	1924 2004	Yunnan Province	In the summer of 1942, she was gang raped by Japanese soldiers at a market and then taken and confined to a comfort station. Japanese soldiers did not give her any money, so she had to work during the day to buy daily necessities. She stayed at the comfort station for about a year before fleeing in 1943.	No		○ p. 157 Photo only?				○ pp. 141– 147	
34	韋紹蘭 (Wei Shaolan)		Guilin, Jiangxi Province	At the end of 1944, she was confronted by a Japanese soldier pointing his sword at her, taken to a military pillbox and then tested for sexually transmitted diseases by an army doctor. Some soldiers used condoms, but others did not. She fled after three months of confinement. After returning home, she gave birth to a son that she conceived as a result of being raped by a Japanese soldier.	No							

* The official names of the sources abbreviated in the columns above are as follows.

"Su's Chinese book": *Studies on Comfort Women*, Su Zhiliang, 1999; "Women's War Crimes Tribunal:" *Complete Record of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery I*, 2000; "Ishida's book": *Sexual Violence in the Villages of the Yellow Earth*, edited by Yoneko Ishida and Tomoyuki Uchida, 2004; "Exhibition brochure": "One Day, the Japanese Army Came," 2008; "Su's English book": *Chinese Comfort Women*, Peipei Qiu, Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, 2014; and "Ban's movie": "Give Me the Sun," directed by Ban Zhongyi, 2015.

* The source for No. 34 is '[Reportage on Guilin, China] I am a Child of a "Japanese Devil"' by Koichiro Kasuya (included in "*Comfort Women*" *Taken by Force*, 2008).