



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

Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women

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(Listed according to the order in which their contributions appear in this report)

June 17, 2016



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

Tsutomu Nishioka, Representative, Group for Research on Chinese Comfort Women (Professor, Tokyo Christian University)

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 However, the registration was withdrawn because of advice that the application should be filed jointly with other relevant countries.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

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

Tsutomu Nishioka (Professor, Tokyo Christian University)

Specific Issues

Research and Movements Related to the Chinese Comfort Women Issue

Kanji Katsuoka (Meisei University)

Evaluating Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women*

Minoru Kitamura (Professor Emeritus, Ritsumeikan University)

Analysis of the Book *Chinese Comfort Women*

Yoichi Shimada (Fukui Prefectural University)

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)

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.

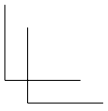
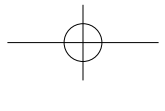
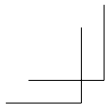
It was March 1992, on a weekend when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom. There was an academic meeting held at the International House of Japan in Roppongi 5-chome, Tokyo. After the meeting, scholars from the various countries enjoyed coffee while debating a hot topic at that time: comfort women.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

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?

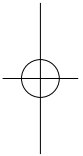
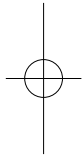
Since then, I began gathering resources and focusing on developing research on this issue. . . .

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 Donge 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.

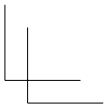
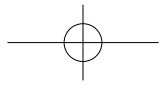
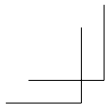
Su uses the testimony provided by Seiji Yoshida about Koreans who were taken by force to become comfort women as the grounds for his claims in *Chinese Comfort Women* (p. 217). However, as of June 2014, Japanese academia had concluded that Yoshida's testimony is not credible. In August of the same year, 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.

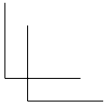
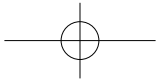
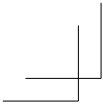
(Translated from a Japanese translation of the original Chinese by Minoru Kitamura)

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.

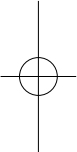
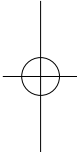
Second, a comfort women replacement rate of 4 is also extremely high. Hata performed his calculations using a rate of 1.5 and Yoshimi using a rate of 2. If the turnover was 4 between 1937 and the end of the war when the Japanese army was fully deployed in mainland China, all of the comfort women must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

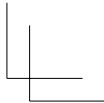
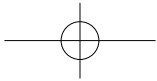
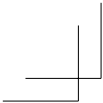
The Asian Women's Fund also states on the above-mentioned website that "many of the women were indeed from Korea, but probably not the overwhelming majority. After all, many of the women were Japanese." They state that the ethnic breakdown of the approximately 2,000 military comfort station personnel 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.

