

Evaluating Su Zhiliang's *Studies on Comfort Women*

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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 *jīnù*) 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 *jīnù*). The actual conditions of *jīnù* 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

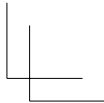
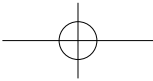
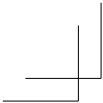
Another individual who, like Su Zhiliang, researches the history of Shanghai is Shao Yong, a professor at Shanghai Normal University. The present author read through Shao Yong's *Chinese Modern History of "Jinu"* (Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2005) and verified the fact that although the Japanese 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.

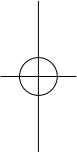
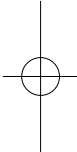
Additionally, based on the fact that there were between 60,000 and 100,000 *jinu* in Shanghai, one study calculated that 1 out of every 9 to 15 women in Shanghai in 1934 was a *jinu* (*Chinese Modern History of "Jinu,"* pp. 255–256).

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 Beijing (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 Beijing (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.

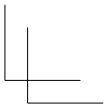
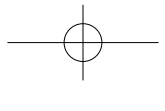
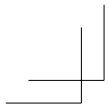
Under the comfort women system, the Japanese government coerced women from various countries into becoming sex slaves for the Japanese military during the war. Those who were treated as slaves under this system include approximately 400,000 women from China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Western 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 *jinu* must have become comfort women.

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

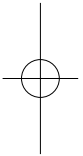
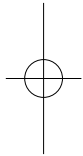


The comfort women system was a fact, but those recruited were geisha and licensed prostitutes. The method involved recruitment from the beginning to the end, and it was never done by means of an order or abduction. Recruitment was also not done directly by the military, but by geisha or licensed prostitute 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: “侵瓊日軍慰安婦實錄 (*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

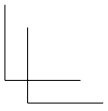
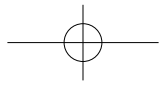
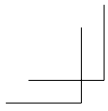
time in the village where her older sister lived. Her husband was discharged after the war, but she left the village after the people began gossiping.

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 Dongge. 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

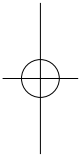
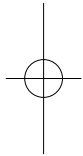


about my past, and since I could not have children, we decided to adopt. My younger sister worked with me at the comfort station and fell ill after returning to Taiwan. She used to be a waitress at a restaurant and never got married. She now lives with me.

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 Beiping (Beijing) are prime examples of this. Eventually, "the biter gets bit."