Chinese Comfort Women

Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves

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Foreword

Liu Mianhuan's parents had several children before she was born but none of them survived, so little Mianhuan, as the only child, was the very life of the family. However, before turning sixteen, Liu Mianhuan was abducted, before her mother's eyes, into the Imperial Japanese Army's stronghold, where she was kept captive and became one of the soldiers' "comfort women." More than half a century later, the traumatic experience was still too painful to speak about. When recounting that horror Liu Mianhuan cried.

I grew up in Yangquan Village, Yu County of the Shanxi Province. My family was not very rich, but we didn't have any financial worries either. We lived a comfortable life before the war started.

In the year I was to turn sixteen, a unit of Japanese troops came and surrounded our village. It was springtime when the tender leaves of willows and elm trees were delicious. The weather was good, so my father went to the fields for farm work after breakfast. My mother and I were sitting at home when we heard a man shout: "Go to a meeting! Go to a meeting!" Later I learned that this man was the Japanese troops' interpreter. The soldiers drove all the villagers to the meeting place where there were haystacks and, after forcing everyone to squat down, they began to pick girls out of the crowd. A Japanese military man who was about thirty years old stopped in front of me and stared at my face. I heard the local collaborators call him "Duizhang" [commanding officer]. The Duizhang said something to the interpreter, who then turned to me, saying: "You look very pretty." They then pulled me out. The soldiers trussed me up tightly and forced me and two other girls to go with them. My mother cried her heart out and tried to stop them, but she was pushed aside. I refused to go and struggled. The soldiers beat me fiercely. Their heavy beating severely injured my left shoulder, and even to this day I still have trouble moving it.

We walked for about three or four hours under the soldiers' guard to the Japanese military stronghold in Jingui Village, where we were confined in cave dwellings. Several military men raped me that day. They hurt me so

much, and I was so scared that I wished I could find a hole in the ground to hide myself. From that day on, the Japanese troops raped me every day. Each day at least five or six men would come, and the Duizhang usually came at night. At that time I was not sixteen yet and hadn't had menstruation. The torture made my private parts infected and my entire body swollen. The pain in my lower body was excruciating to the point that I could neither sit nor stand. Since I could not walk, when I needed to go to the latrine I had to crawl on the ground. What a living hell!

The Japanese troops had local people send me a bowl of corn porridge twice a day. They also had the local collaborators guard the door of the cave dwelling where I was detained so that I could not escape. But given my health at the time I wouldn't have been able to run away even if there was no guard. I wanted to die but that would have saddened my parents, so I told myself not to die but to endure.

A person who was my relative lived in Jingui Village. Upon hearing about my detention, he rushed to Yangquan Village to tell my parents. In order to raise money to ransom me my father sold the entire flock of our sheep, which had been my family's source of livelihood, for one hundred silver dollars. He brought the money to the Japanese troops in Jingui Village. My father later told me that he knelt down to kowtow, begging the Japanese officers to let his daughter go home, but the officers wouldn't pay attention to him. Then he begged the interpreter to explain that as soon as my illness was cured he would send me back. By that time I had been confined in the military stronghold for over forty days and became very sick. Perhaps the Japanese troops concluded that I was too weak to service the soldiers, they eventually took the money and released me.

I could not stop wailing when I saw my father. I could not move, so my father placed me on the back of a donkey and carried me home. Although I returned home the fear of the Japanese soldiers' assault haunted us every day, so my father made a cellar and hid me in it. Sure enough, the Japanese soldiers came again a few months later. I barely escaped the second abduction by hiding in the cellar.

Liu Mianhuan's hometown in Yu County was occupied by the Imperial Japanese Army from 1938 to 1945. Located at the border region between the Japanese occupied area and the bases of the Chinese resistance forces, Yu County was devastated by the occupation army's frequent mop-up operations during the war, and a large number of local women became the victims of the troops' sexual violence. Liu Mianhuan's constant fear of military assault was finally lifted when the war ended, but the trauma and poverty resulting

from it continued, causing her pain for the rest of her life. Liu Mianhuan died on 12 April 2012.

Liu Mianhuan was one of many Chinese women forced to become sex slaves for the Imperial Japanese Army during Japan's invasion of China, but for decades the socio-political environment kept them silent, and their sufferings were excluded from the heroic postwar narratives of their nation-state. Only in the past two decades, inspired by the "comfort women" redress movements in South Korea and Japan and supported by Chinese citizens, researchers, and legal specialists, have these Chinese survivors begun to tell their stories. Being nationals of Imperial Japan's major enemy, Chinese "comfort women" were ruthlessly brutalized in the military "comfort facilities," and their stories reveal the most appalling aspects of Imperial Japan's system of military sexual slavery. Yet, until recently, their stories, told only in Chinese, have been largely unknown to the rest of the world.

Since former "comfort women" from different countries broke their silence to tell their stories in the early 1990s, attempts to erase these stories from public memory have never ceased. Recently, two delegations of Japanese officials attempted to remove a small "comfort women" monument from the United States – an incident that drew international attention. The monument, a brass plaque on a block of stone, was dedicated in 2010 at Palisades Park, New Jersey. The dedication reads:

> In memory of the more than 200,000 women and girls who were abducted by the armed forces of the government of imperial Japan, 1930's-1945.
>
> Known as "comfort women," they endured human rights violations that no peoples should leave unrecognized. Let us never forget the horrors of crimes against humanity.

According to its designer, Steven Cavallo, he began his work on "comfort women" in 2008 when he held a solo exhibit that displayed scenes depicting the Holocaust, Japanese internment camps, homeless Vietnam veterans, and "comfort women." People of diverse cultural backgrounds contributed to the erection of the monument, including a Japanese artist. On 6 May 2012, four Japanese Diet members visited Palisades Park and asked the local administration to remove the monument, asserting: "There is no truth (to the claim that) the army organized the abduction."[1] The request was firmly rejected by Mayor James Rotundo and Deputy Mayor Jason Kim, but soon after that a petition was created on the White House's official website, launching a campaign for signatures to ask the Obama administration to "remove the monument and not to support any international harassment related to this issue

against the people of Japan."[2] The campaign resulted in over twenty-eight thousand signatures within a month. Reportedly, the massive number of signatures came mostly from Japan, and the petition was advertised in Japan on the websites of Japanese activists and lawmakers, including two Diet members who were part of the delegation that visited New Jersey.[3]

This international controversy concerning the commemoration of "comfort women" underscores the power of memory and the importance of having their stories told. Seventy years after the event, people in Japan and the world are still struggling with what happened to "comfort women" during the Asian War. For many of us who were born after the war, the sufferings of "comfort women" are remote and hard to believe; it often seems to be easier to set them aside or, at the very least, to assign them to the past. However, suffering of such magnitude should not, and cannot, be dismissed. What we choose to recognize and to remember from the past not only affects our present but also shapes our future.

The point of telling the stories of "comfort women" is not to disgrace the people of Japan, any more than the point of commemorating the victims of the Holocaust and the atomic bomb is to disgrace the people of Germany and the United States. Rather, it is to facilitate mutual understanding between Japanese people and their Asian neighbours. Dismissing the sufferings of individual lives in the name of national honour is not only wrong but also dangerous: it is a ploy that nation-states have used, and continue to use, to drag people into war, to deprive them of their basic rights, and to abuse them. To those who genuinely hope to resolve the problems associated with Imperial Japan's wartime "comfort women" and to come to terms with the trauma of the past, it is essential to transcend the posturing of the nation-state and to recognize that the suffering wrought by war is a violation of human life. Only by recognizing the sufferings of "comfort women" can we begin to understand the reality of the wartime "comfort stations" and the nature of the military "comfort women" system. As Diana Lary, Stephen MacKinnon, Timothy Brook, and others show in their studies of the history of China's Resistance War, in order to truly understand what happened in the past, it is necessary to recognize the fact that suffering is history's main subject, not just its byproduct.[4]

It is in the hope of facilitating a fuller understanding of the sufferings of the hundreds of thousands of women whose lives were ravaged by military sexual violence that this book records the stories of Chinese "comfort women" and tells how their agony is remembered by people in Mainland China, one of the major theatres of the Second World War.

Introduction

This is the first English-language monograph to record the memories of Chinese women who were detained by the Japanese military at "comfort stations" during Japan's invasion of China.[1] Across Asia, from the early 1930s to 1945, Japanese imperial forces coerced hundreds of thousands of women, to whom they referred as "comfort women," into military "comfort stations" and subjected them to repeated rapes. The term "comfort women" is an English translation of the Japanese euphemism *ianfu.* Given the striking contrast between the dictionary meaning of the word "comfort" and the horrific torture to which these women were subjected in the Japanese military "comfort women" system, "comfort women" and "comfort station" are clearly inappropriate terms. Yet, since the 1990s, these terms, on which decades of international debate, historical research, and legal discourses are mounded, have become widely recognized as referring specifically to the victims and institutions of the Japanese military's system of sexual slavery. For this reason, we use these terms, hereafter, in the interest of readability, omitting the quotation marks.

Information about comfort women appeared sporadically in memoirs, novels, artwork, magazine articles, film, and a few monographs after Japan's defeat,[2] but only with the rise of the comfort women's redress movement in the early 1990s did the issue receive worldwide attention and become a highly politicized international debate.[3] This movement, initiated by South Korean and Japanese scholars and women's groups engaging in feminist and gender issues and internationalized by the support and participation of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs), researchers, legal specialists, and an upsurge of media attention, created a public sphere in which comfort station survivors were able to come forward and share their wartime memories.

English Publications of the Survivors' Narratives

In 1991, seventy-four-year-old South Korean survivor Kim Hak-sun (1924-97) stepped forward to testify as a former comfort woman. Since then, an

increasing number of comfort station survivors have come forward to speak about their wartime experiences. The survivors' narratives provide first-hand accounts of the reality of the Japanese military comfort stations and are essential to our understanding of the comfort women issue. Over the past two decades researchers in different countries have made tremendous efforts to record and to publish the survivors' personal narratives and to make them available in English for an international community. Among the comfort women's personal stories published in English, two autobiographical books by former comfort women have been widely read: *50 Years of Silence* (1994) by Jan Ruff-O'Herne, a Dutch descendant born in the former Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), and *Comfort Woman: Slave of Destiny* (1996) by Maria Rosa Henson, a Filipina. Both reveal in compelling detail the anguish of being detained as the sex slaves of Japanese troops during the Asia-Pacific War. Around the same period the accounts of Korean and Filipina victims were published in the mission report of the International Commission of Jurists in *Comfort Women: An Unfinished Ordeal* (1994),[4] just before three influential UN investigative reports characterized the comfort women system as military sexual slavery.[5] The intolerable abuse of comfort women revealed by these investigative reports made a huge impact on the world. In 1995, a collection of nineteen personal stories from former South Korean comfort women, originally published in Korean by the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, was translated into English and published in Keith Howard's edited volume, *True Stories of Korean Comfort Women.* The first collection of its kind to be translated into English, this volume offers the collective voices of a group of Korean comfort women who powerfully challenge the official war stories of the nation-states. Since the mid-1990s, more books written in English have offered testimonial accounts by former comfort women, notably Chungmoo Choi's edited volume, *The Comfort Women: Colonialism, War, and Sex* (*positions: east asia cultures critique* 5/1 [special issue]); Dae-sil Kim-Gibson's *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women,* a volume accompanying her award-winning documentary film, which includes thirty-six minutes of testimonies from former Korean comfort women; *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military,* a collection of translated interviews conducted by the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues and edited by Sangmie Choi Schellstede; and *War Crimes on Asian Women: Military Sexual Slavery by Japan during World War II – The Case of the Filipino Comfort Women,* edited by Nelia Sancho and published by Asian Women Human Rights Council.[6] At the same time, excerpts of the survivors' accounts have been

included in scholarly monographs and trade books.[7] The comfort women's personal narratives and the scholarly effort to integrate them into international discourse played a vital role in exposing the true nature of the Japanese military comfort women system and the transnational struggle for "memory change."[8] They not only fundamentally subverted the existing social, political, and patriarchal narratives justifying the objectification of women and the link between war and sexual violence but also moved people of the world to care about the comfort women issue and the principle of humanity it involves.

As more and more comfort station survivors' narratives entered the international discourse, the voices of Chinese victims were noticeably lacking. As seen above, the major oral history projects in English have taken testimonial accounts mostly from comfort women who had been drafted from Japan's colonies and the Pacific Islands. Although some scholarly and journalistic works also include excerpts of survivors' personal accounts, few are from Chinese women. This situation seriously impeded a full understanding of this complicated issue.

Key Debates

One of the key debates about the comfort women phenomenon concerns whether the Japanese military forced women into the comfort stations. When South Korean victims first stepped up to testify, the Japanese government denied any Japanese military involvement in forcing women into comfort stations. It held this position until history professor Yoshimi Yoshiaki unearthed Japan's official war documents in 1992. Since then, progressive scholars and legal experts in Japan have played an important role in supporting the comfort women redress movement. In 2007, based on nearly two decades of research, the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility (JWRC), which is affiliated with most of the Japanese researchers who are working on Japan's war responsibilities, issued the "Appeal on the Issue of Japan's Military Comfort Women." The appeal reiterates, "the former Japanese Army and Navy created the comfort women system to serve their own needs; the military decided when, where, and how 'comfort stations' were to be established and implemented these decisions, providing buildings, setting regulations and fees, and controlling the management of comfort stations; and the military was well aware of the various methods used to bring women to comfort stations and of the circumstances these women were forced to endure." It concludes: "While licensed prostitution in Japan may be called a de facto system of sexual slavery, the Japanese military comfort women system was literal sexual slavery in a far more thorough and overt form."[9]

Outside Japan, scholars, legal specialists, and human rights advocates from different countries have also treated Japan's wartime comfort women system as forced prostitution and military sexual slavery.[10] Until recent years, however, Japanese officials continued to insist that there is no documentary evidence to prove direct government or army involvement in taking females by force to frontline brothels.[11] Outside government circles, conservative writers and neo-nationalist activists argue that comfort women were professional prostitutes working in warzone brothels run by private agencies and that neither the state nor the military forced them to be there.[12]

In discussing sexual violence in armed conflicts, Nicola Henry points out that "the establishment of comfort stations across Asia and the label of 'military prostitutes' had the effect of morally reconstructing the reprehensible act of sexual enslavement into complicit victim participation and collaboration," creating a persistent judicial obstacle to women seeking justice in both domestic and international jurisdictions.[13] Indeed, the diverse ways in which comfort women were recruited, and their varied experiences in the comfort stations, have not only been used by Japanese rightists and conservatives to deny military sexual slavery but have also led some sympathetic scholars to question whether or not the comfort women system can be characterized in this way. In her recent book, C. Sarah Soh, for example, disagrees with the "sweeping characterization offered by progressive Japanese historians, such as 'officially recognized sexual violence' and 'a systematic and comprehensive structure of military sexual slavery.'"[14] Highlighting the diverse ways Korean and Japanese comfort women were recruited and their varied experiences in the comfort stations, she considers it to be "partisan prejudice" to define comfort stations as "rape centers."[15] Soh's book contributes to the ongoing discussion on the subject by locating the comfort women's tragedy not only in the context of Japan's aggressive war but also in the broader social, historical, and cultural contexts that have sustained "gendered structural violence" against women.[16] However, as indicated by its title, it does not discuss the experiences of comfort women drafted from occupied countries,[17] especially China, whereas recent research in China suggests that Chinese women accounted for about half of the estimated total of 400,000 victims of the military comfort women system.[18]

Untold Stories

Chinese comfort women, the majority of whom were abducted and detained by Japanese troops in warzones and occupied areas, suffered extremely brutal treatment coupled with a high mortality rate. In many ways, this was due to the widespread belief among Japanese troops that the vicious treatment of

enemy nationals was an expected and acceptable part of the war effort. Many Chinese comfort women died as a direct result of abuse or untreated illness; others were brutally killed as punishment for attempting to escape, as amusement for the Japanese soldiers, or simply to destroy the evidence of crimes committed by the military. Unlike the comfort women drafted from Japan and its colonies, who occasionally figure in Japan's wartime documents, those Chinese comfort women kidnapped randomly by Japanese troops are rarely mentioned. In addition, the Japanese military's deliberate destruction of relevant documents at the end of the Second World War,[19] along with the lack of a thorough investigation on the part of the Chinese government and the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) immediately after the war, also increased the difficulty of current investigations into Chinese comfort women. Since the end of the war, socio-political oppression has kept the few survivors silent. The small number of Chinese women who survived the comfort stations were often regarded by the authorities and citizens of their own country as immoral women who had served the nation's enemy. Some were subjected to criminal investigations and suffered further persecution under various political movements such as the notorious "Cultural Revolution." The strong influence of the Confucian tradition in Chinese society also contributed to the long silence of former comfort women. Confucian social conventions demand that, at all costs, a female remain a virgin until marriage, even if that means risking her life; hence, a survivor of rape was deemed impure and was regarded as a disgrace to her family. Even today, although the socio-political environment has changed tremendously in China and the former comfort women's struggle for redress has evolved (having begun in Korea and Japan) into an international movement, many of the Chinese comfort station survivors are reluctant to admit to having been raped by Japanese troops. Among those who have stepped forward to testify, some are still hesitant to have their stories published.

In postwar China the plight of former comfort women is not the only wartime tale of suffering that, until recently, has remained untold. Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon note that, although China's War of Resistance during the first half of the twentieth century was the worst period of warfare in the country's history, and that it resulted in immense destruction and loss of life, in China there is "a reticence verging on denial when it comes to discussing the slaughter," and "Chinese press coverage of Japanese atrocities was consistently low key on both sides of the Taiwan straits."[20] They observed: "The Guomindang (GMD) [Nationalist Party] government on Taiwan has found it difficult to deal with the events that occurred in the process of its own defeat by the Japanese" and "the Communist Party is vulnerable to

comparisons: the examination of suffering caused by the Japanese might lead to an examination of the self-inflicted suffering of the Cultural Revolution."[21] Because various socio-political factors combined to keep the victims silent for a long period of time after the Second World War, the comfort women's individual memories were excluded from the nation-state's heroic postwar narrative.

New Research in China

Inspired by the redress movement for comfort women initiated in Korea and Japan, research on the comfort woman issue emerged in China in the early 1990s as a grassroots movement. Since then, independent researchers and activists have carried out investigations. Earlier, most Korean and Japanese researchers, basing their work on documents that had been unearthed and testimonies supplied by comfort station survivors, had estimated that the Japanese military had detained between thirty thousand and 200,000 women during the war.[22] The early estimations, however, do not reflect the large number of Chinese comfort women. Recent findings by Zhiliang Su and Chinese researchers suggest that, from the Japanese army's occupation of the Manchurian area in northeastern China in 1931 to Japan's defeat in 1945, approximately 400,000 women were forced to become military comfort women and that at least half of them were Chinese.[23]

Since the mid-1990s, testimonies by former Chinese comfort women as well as a large number of studies have been published in Chinese; however, beyond a few reports included in Japanese publications, little has been made available to non-Chinese-speaking audiences. The unavailability of information about Chinese comfort women is a serious problem in the current study of the comfort women issue. Because Chinese women comprised one of the largest ethnic groups among comfort women, and because they, as Japan's enemy nationals, received unimaginably brutal treatment in the hierarchically structured military comfort women system, an accurate explication of the scope and nature of that system cannot be achieved without a thorough examination of their experiences.

The Contribution of this Book

Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves intends to help fill the aforementioned information gap by providing a set of personal accounts of former Chinese comfort women and by introducing Chinese research findings to the international community. The comfort station survivors' personal narratives and the connection between the proliferation of comfort stations and the progression of Japan's aggressive war in China

clearly show the militaristic nature of the comfort women system and the Japanese military's direct involvement in kidnapping, sexually exploiting, and enslaving women. While Japanese military leaders maintained that the purpose of setting up the comfort stations was to prevent the mass rape of local women and the spread of venereal disease among soldiers, the systematic implementation of the comfort facilities for the soldiers' sexual comfort, and the use of hundreds of thousands of women as the means of conveying that comfort, in fact institutionalized mass rape. The twelve women whose experiences are related here were all forced to become military comfort women when Japanese forces occupied their hometowns. These women are from different regions of China, from northern Shanxi Province to southernmost Hainan Island, from metropolitan Shanghai to a mountain village in Yunnan Province, thus indicating the vast scope of victimization. Without doubt, their narratives, corroborated by both regional wartime history and the testimonies of local witnesses, reveal that the comfort women system was a form of military sexual slavery and, as such, a war crime.

The experiences of Chinese comfort women reveal, unquestionably, the Japanese military's use of violence in drafting comfort women. How the women were brought into the comfort stations has been debated since the 1990s. Two important factors have underpinned this long-lasting debate: on one hand, there has been a lack of information about the mass abduction of comfort women in regions occupied by Japanese forces during the war. On the other hand, the Japanese military frequently hid its recruitment methods not only from people in colonized regions but also from people in Japan. In drafting comfort women from Japan and its colonies, Korea and Taiwan, the most common recruitment methods involved false job offers to daughters of poor families and/or the militaristic brainwashing of schoolgirls and young women. The real nature of the "job" was hidden from the victims until they were tricked into entering the comfort stations, at which time they were raped. During the drafting process in these regions, Japanese military personnel often stayed behind the scenes, using brothel proprietors or labour brokers to draft the women. Although such deception was also used in occupied areas, most drafting operations in these regions were much more blatant. The following testimony, given to the IMTFE by John Magee, an American priest of the Episcopal Church who lived in Nanjing between 1912 and 1940, describes how a Chinese girl was abducted and detained as a sex slave by Japanese soldiers in the vicinity of Nanjing.

> I took this girl to the hospital at some time in February 1938. I talked to her then at length and then saw her many times after that. She was from the city

> of Wufu, about sixty miles [about 96.5 km] from Nanjing. Japanese soldiers came to her home – her father was a shop-keeper – accused her brother of being a soldier, and killed him. The girl said her brother was not a soldier. They killed her brother's wife because she resisted rape; they killed her older sister because she resisted rape. In the meantime her old father and mother were kneeling before them, and they killed them, all of these people being killed with a bayonet. The girl fainted. They carried her to some barracks of some kind where they kept her for two months. The first month she was raped repeatedly, daily. They had taken her clothes away from her and locked her in a room. After that she became so diseased, they were afraid of her, and she was sick there for a whole month.[24]

The brutalization of Chinese civilians described in this testimony was widespread during the war,[25] and it is consistent with the cases recorded by Su Zhiliang, director of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University. Su records the cases of 102 comfort women who were drafted from Mainland China. Of these, eighty-seven women were kidnapped directly by Japanese troops when their hometowns were occupied; ten were abducted by local Chinese collaborators following the orders of the occupation army; three were first deceived by civilian recruiters with false job offers and then detained in military comfort stations; and two had been prostitutes before the war and were forced to become military comfort women when the Imperial Japanese Army turned their brothels into comfort stations.[26] In order to present an objective view of how Chinese women were forced into comfort stations, this book includes two cases of deception among the twelve survivor narratives. As seen in these two cases (presented in Part 2) and other cases (presented in Part 1), although Japanese military personnel employed deception to round up women in China, this was inevitably accompanied by violence. The vast majority of Chinese comfort women were kidnapped, and, during their abductions, many witnessed the torture or murder of close family members (as John Magee describes above). Japanese military officers both permitted and ordered soldiers to carry out this violence, and they also participated in it directly. Raping and kidnapping became so common that soldiers considered abusing Chinese women to be a sport – one of the few "rewards" of their harsh military life. For example, in his recollection, entitled "Dog," Tomishima Kenji, a former corporal and squad leader in the 59th Division, 54th Brigade, 110th Battalion of the Imperial Japanese Army, related how, on 8 December 1943, his unit made a young girl crawl naked for their entertainment and made a group of local women their "comfort delegation" in a small coastal village near Bohai Bay in China. That day was

Japan's Imperial Edict Day, which celebrated the Emperor's declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain two years earlier.[27]

The experiences of Chinese comfort women highlight the criminal nature of the military comfort stations and the comfort women system instituted as part of Japan's war effort. In assessing the nature of the comfort women system, earlier researchers have classified varying types of military comfort facilities into different categories, according to who operated the facility, length of operation, or "organizational motives."[28] Yoshimi Yoshiaki groups the comfort stations into three categories according to who operated them: (1) those operated by the Japanese military for the exclusive use of military personnel and employees; (2) those run by civilians, but under strict military control, for the exclusive use of military personnel and employees; and (3) those designated by the military as comfort stations that privileged military personnel but that were also open for civilian use.[29] Yuki Tanaka, on the other hand, categorizes the comfort stations in terms of the length of their operation, grouping them as: (1) "permanent" comfort stations established in major cities; (2) "semi-permanent" stations affiliated with large military units; and (3) "temporary" stations created by small troop units in battle zones.[30] Although employing different categorizations, both Yoshimi and Tanaka characterize the comfort women system as military sexual slavery. In her recent book, C. Sarah Soh, intending to "better explain the nature of the comfort system," categorizes the military comfort facilities according to "the motives behind running, supporting, and/or patronizing the facilities."[31] Her three different categories are: (1) the "concessionary" *ianjo* [comfort station] or "commercial houses of assignation and prostitution run by civilian concessionaires to make money"; (2) the "paramilitary" *ianjo* run by the paternalistic military as not-for-profit recreational facilities "to control the troops through regulated access to sex"; and (3) the "criminal" *ianjo* that "came into being primarily as an outcome of sex crimes committed by individual troops against local women."[32] Soh suggests that "the criminal category of comfort stations appears to have emerged primarily during the final years and months of the war" after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941.[33] She contends that definitions of comfort stations and the comfort women system as, for example, rape centres and military sexual slavery "do not offer an accurate view of the comfort system: they simplistically conflate the diverse categories of *ianjo* … into one."[34]

The complexity of Japanese military comfort facilities does indeed defy any simplistic categorizations, and Soh's attention to the varying motives behind the operation of the comfort stations sheds new light on the intricacy of the phenomenon. Although the organizational motive of her last category, the

"criminal" *ianjo,* appears murky, the varying motives of the comfort station operators can certainly be used as a set of criteria to describe different types of comfort stations. However, when this set of criteria is used to assess the overall nature of the military comfort women system, more complete analytical data are required, and the following statistical questions need to be asked: Did the "concessionary" comfort stations comprise a significant number among the Japanese military comfort facilities? Was the organizational motive claimed by the operators of the "paramilitary" comfort stations consistent with their actual effect? Were sexual crimes limited only to the makeshift comfort facilities set up by the individual troops and soldiers in the battlefield? Was there sufficient evidence to support the observation that "criminal" comfort stations emerged primarily during the last years of the war? The experiences of Chinese comfort women are indispensible in answering these questions.

In China, local records indicate that, as early as 1932, when Japanese military authorities implemented the first naval comfort stations in China's major port city, Shanghai, and set up army comfort stations in occupied Manchuria, Japanese troops in northeast China had already kidnapped local women and forced them to become sex slaves. In these cases the soldiers abducted local women, brought them to military barracks, or detained them in civilian homes.[35] The number of these kinds of makeshift comfort stations increased rapidly after the Nanjing Massacre, and, throughout the war, they existed in tandem with officially authorized military comfort stations. The larger Japanese military units commonly set up comfort facilities where the troops were located; however, in addition to this, even a platoon or a squadron would often set up its own comfort facility. Among the twelve Chinese survivors presented in this book, eight were enslaved in this type of improvised comfort facility, which could be a military blockhouse, a barracks, a mountain cave, a small inn seized by the occupation army, a shed made of metal sheets, or the victim's own house. The time of their abduction and enslavement ran from early 1938, immediately after the Nanjing Massacre, to 1944, a year before Japan's surrender. As Zhu Qiaomei relates in the second part of this book, four women in her family were forced to become sex slaves when the Japanese army occupied her hometown on Chongming Island near Shanghai in the spring of 1938. They were not confined to a regular comfort station but, instead, were forced to serve as comfort women in their own homes. Further to this, they were also called to the military blockhouse. This situation was common for Chinese comfort women in occupied areas, but it was uncommon for comfort women drafted from other countries.

The Chinese survivors' narratives also reveal that, while the most brutal crimes often occurred in these impromptu frontline comfort facilities, the sexual abuse and torture of comfort women were common occurrences in the "regulated" comfort stations affiliated with the larger military units or run by civilian proprietors in occupied urban areas. Lei Guiying was nine years old in the year of the Nanjing Massacre (1937) when she witnessed Japanese soldiers raping, kidnapping, and killing local women in the Jiangning District of Nanjing, then China's capital (see Part 2). She was hired to be a housemaid by a Japanese business couple in the Town of Tangshan, but as soon as she turned thirteen and started menstruating, her employers forced her to become a comfort woman in the military brothel they were operating. What Lei Guiying experienced in this civilian-run military brothel is clearly criminal: she was beaten and stabbed with a bayonet by Japanese soldiers (leaving her leg permanently damaged) when she resisted rape and abuse.

Lei Guiying's case is far from isolated. The investigations conducted since 1993 by Su Zhiliang, Chen Lifei, and their research team in twenty-two provinces and cities indicate the vast scope of victimization that occurred at military comfort stations in China. In Shanghai alone 164 former comfort station sites have been located, and this does not include those that are known to have existed but whose exact locations can no longer be concretely verified due to postwar urban development.[36] On the remote southern island of Hainan, researchers found sixty-two former military comfort stations.[37] Chinese comfort women confined in these stations suffered unspeakably cruel conditions. They were given the minimum amount of food necessary to keep them alive and were subjected to continual sexual violence. Those who resisted being raped were beaten or killed, and those who attempted to escape could be punished with anything from torture to decapitation (this could include not only the woman but also her family members).[38]

Confined under these slavish conditions, most Chinese comfort women received no monetary payment; instead, their families were often forced to pay a large sum to the Japanese troops in an attempt to ransom them. The fact that monetary payment was given to some of the comfort women has fueled speculation over whether the comfort stations should be considered commercial brothels and the comfort women professional prostitutes. However, it must be emphasized that, although some comfort women received money when they were recruited and/or were given a percentage of the service fees in the comfort stations, most of them were deprived of their freedom and were continually forced to provide sexual services to the military once they were taken to these stations. Despite a certain disparity in the recruitment

and treatment of comfort women, the coercive nature of the comfort system as a whole is undeniable. The Japanese military's explicit discrimination toward the comfort women of different ethnic groups and its especially brutal treatment of the women of enemy countries clearly indicates that the military comfort women system constitutes a war crime: it was implemented for militarist war-related purposes and was made possible precisely because of the context provided by the war. The motives behind the implementation of the military comfort women system, according to military leaders, had to do with preventing the rape of local women and the spread of venereal disease by ensuring that soldiers had regular and regulated access to sex. The effect of the system, however, was quite contrary to its alleged "purpose." As an officially authorized institution it not only failed to prevent rape and the spread of venereal disease but also normalized and fostered massive sexual violence both inside and outside the comfort stations. In addition, the procurement of comfort women entailed kidnapping, human trafficking, and enslavement on an extremely large scale.

The accounts of Chinese comfort women presented in this book expose the multiple social, political, and cultural forces that played a part in their life-long suffering. Indeed, their plight must be considered not only in the context of the war but also in the contexts of history and culture. As Sarah Soh points out, "the abuse and maltreatment of daughters and wives in the patriarchal system, with its long-standing masculinist sexual culture, contributed as much as did the colonial political economy to the ready commodification of these women's sex labor."[39] In order to provide a fuller perspective, this book includes the prewar reminiscences of the twelve survivors (e.g., being sold by one's impoverished parents to another family to be a child-bride or running away from an abusive marriage) as well as postwar descriptions of their being persecuted for having allowed themselves to be defiled and/or for having served the nation's enemy. These individual narratives show that the women's lives are defined by more than their involuntary experiences in the military comfort stations; their hardship before the war and their continued suffering and struggle for justice after the war teach us equally important lessons concerning the fundamentals of (in)humanity. While revealing the many factors that have played a role in the comfort women's prolonged sufferings, these survivor narratives leave no doubt that the military comfort women system amounted to sexual slavery.

Structure

Chinese Comfort Women consists of three parts. Part 1 provides the historical background of the narratives. It traces the establishment of the military

comfort women system in Mainland China from the early stage of Japan's aggression in Manchuria and Shanghai (1932) to its rapid expansion after the Nanjing Massacre (1937) to Japan's defeat (1945), revealing the close correlation between the proliferation of the comfort stations and the progression of Japan's war of aggression. In recounting how the War of Resistance (also known as the Second Sino-Japanese War and, in China, as the Anti-Japanese War) and the Japanese military comfort stations are remembered by the Chinese people, Part 1 brings to light aspects of the comfort women system that have not been fully exposed in the existing literature, such as the Imperial Japanese Army's mass abduction of local women, the enlistment of local collaborators to set up comfort facilities, the various types of improvised comfort stations set up by the small military units throughout the battle zones and occupied regions, the ransoms that victims' families were forced to pay to the occupation troops, and the extraordinarily large number of Chinese comfort women. Part 2, which opens with a description of the interview method, presents the narratives of twelve comfort station survivors, grouped by geographical area and told in chronological order. A brief local wartime history precedes each woman's story, with short annotations being provided where needed. The accounts chosen are wide-ranging in terms of geographical location (of both home and comfort station), experience, age at abduction, and length of enslavement. The sexual enslavement and torture described here and in Part 1 are extremely vicious: readers need to be prepared.

Part 3 documents the survivors' postwar lives and the movement to support the former comfort women's redress in China. It shows how, after surviving the brutality of the Japanese occupation and the comfort women system, survivors were then subjected to discrimination, ostracism, and poverty due to the prejudices of their fellow countrypeople and the political exigencies of the time. This section also offers a summary of the major legal debates and events concerning Chinese comfort women's lawsuits and transnational support for the Chinese survivors, particularly from Japanese people. It shows how the suffering and stories of the comfort women, whether Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or another nationality, resonate with women and men all over the world.

Source Materials

The survivors' narratives in Part 2 were recorded in Chinese by Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei over a ten-year period. The founding members of the Research Center for Chinese "Comfort Women" at Shanghai Normal University, Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei have, since the early 1990s, played a leading role in

the research of comfort women in China and, with the help of local researchers, have documented the life experiences of over one hundred comfort women. The twelve women whose accounts are presented here were selected as representatives of different geographical areas, time periods, and varying methods of procurement. Recognizing that, due to wartime trauma, old age, and poor education, the survivors' remembrances of their horrific experiences over sixty years ago may contain lacunae, Su and Chen made multiple research trips to visit the sites where the women were abducted and enslaved, checked regional historical records, and gathered supporting evidence from local people. While memories do have limitations and inconsistencies, the historical accuracy of the wartime victimization of these women is verifiable, and their narratives, taken together, provide an authentic picture of the reality of Imperial Japanese Military comfort stations.

The Chinese comfort women's narratives presented in Part 2 are translated into English by Peipei Qiu, who also provides the historical context in Part 1 and describes the postwar condition of the survivors' lives in Part 3. The writing of Part 1 and Part 3 is based on a large number of primary sources that, to this point, have only been available in Chinese, and it also draws on a wide range of contemporary scholarship. The historical outline of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-45) in Part 1 and Part 2 is based on Chinese, Japanese, and English scholarship, particularly the recent publications that brought together the perspectives of Japanese, Chinese, and Western scholars, such as *China at War: Regions of China, 1937-1945* (Stanford University Press, 2007) and *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945* (Stanford University Press, 2011). The discussion of the establishment and expansion of the Japanese military comfort women system in Part 1 refers both to wartime documents and to source materials compiled after the war. The Japanese military and official documents made available in Yoshimi Yoshiaki's compiled volume *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū* (Documents on military comfort women) (Ōtsuki shoten, 1992) and *Seifu chōsa "jūgun ianfu" kankei shiryō shūsei* (Governmental investigations: Documents concerning the military "comfort women"), compiled by Josei no tame no Ajia heiwa kokumin kikin (known as the Asian Women's Fund), 1997-98, provided essential information on the Japanese military structure and its role in the establishment of comfort stations. Chinese research from the past two decades (see below) supplied the physical, documentary, and testimonial evidence of the organized sexual violence of the Japanese imperial forces. In order to provide a more objective and layered description of the proliferation of the Japanese military comfort women system, Part 1 cites both the eyewitness accounts of Chinese civilians and

military men published during the war and the diaries and writings of Japanese military men. Reports and diaries of foreign nationals who witnessed the war atrocities in China are used to provide additional observations and details. As well, the existing studies on Japanese military sexual violence and the comfort women system provided immense help to this project in piecing together the historical context.

In describing Chinese comfort women's experiences, Part 1 and Part 3 introduce a large number of historical sources and research findings published in China during the past two decades. Along with the rise of the redress movement in the late 1980s, China saw an outpouring of publications on the atrocities committed by the Japanese imperial forces during the war. These publications, often referred to as *baoxinglu* (reports of atrocities), appeared in television documentaries, films, media reports, online materials, oral histories, novels, memoirs, history books, and so on. Several underlying factors can be observed in this outpouring of *baoxinglu:* the reaction to the neo-nationalist denial of Japan's imperialist violence; the need to preserve the eyewitness memories of the war; the eruption of the long suppressed sufferings of individual victims; the revival of the compilation of regional and local history *(difangzhi)* after the Cultural Revolution; and the inspiration taken from the international redress movement. Amid this outpouring of memories of the war, investigations into Imperial Japan's war atrocities were carried out both nationally and locally, producing large book series and collections as well as monographs and articles. Japanese military sexual slavery, which was largely neglected by the war crimes trials at the close of the Asia-Pacific War, is now given special attention.

Selecting from this staggering body of work, this volume draws on the newly released archival documents concerning Japanese military sexual slavery, such as the interrogation records of captured Japanese military men and their Chinese collaborators. Part I of this book also introduces investigative reports based on field research, historical documents, and eyewitness testimonies, such as those undertaken by the national and local committees of cultural and historical data associated with the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC),[40] the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and its provincial academies, university researchers, and local historians. *Qin Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu* (Collection of recorded cases of the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during Japan's invasion of China), for example, is a collection of reports based on a nationwide investigation conducted from May 1991 to November 1994. The committees of cultural and historical data associated with the CPPCC coordinated the investigation in twenty-six provinces and autonomous administrative regions that had been occupied

or invaded by Japanese imperial forces, including Beijing and Tianjin. The collection contains 2,272 investigative reports and eighty-three historical photographs and images, in which Japanese military sexual violence and slavery are exposed in all twenty-six provinces and regions. Another source material introduced in this volume, *Riben qinlüe Huabei zuixing dangan: Xingbaoli* (Documented war crimes during Japan's invasion of north China: Sexual violence), is a special volume in a ten-volume series focusing on Japanese military sexual violence and slavery. It is compiled by China's Central Archive (Zhongyang danganguan), the Second National Archive of Historical Documents (Zhongguo di'er lishi danganguan), and the Hebei Province Academy of Social Sciences. It reproduces the relevant archival documents preserved in the Central Archive, Hebei Province Archive, Beijing City Archive, Tianjin City Archive, Qingdao City Archive, and Shanxi Province Archive, and it also brings together the Chinese survivors' legal testimonies and documentary materials, as well as investigative reports from other Chinese sources.

One of the important features of the current movement to re-examine war atrocities in China is that it started as a grassroots movement and has been carried out by local researchers. *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu* (Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan) and its sequel, both of which are cited in this volume, exemplify such locally initiated research projects. From 1993 to 1995 historians and researchers from all six cities and thirteen counties on Hainan Island engaged in investigating the crimes committed by the Japanese military during its six-year occupation. Located in the South China Sea, Hainan Island was made into a major Japanese military base, and a large number of Japanese troops were stationed there during the war. The investigations reveal that, in addition to killing, burning, looting, torturing, and forcing local people to work on military construction sites, the occupying forces built many comfort stations, of which sixty-two are confirmed. The investigators also found a large group of comfort station survivors. Huang Youliang, Chen Yabian, and Lin Yajin, whose narratives are recorded in Part 2, are among the survivors who came forth to tell their wartime experiences, with the help of local researchers. The investigation produced three volumes with 242 reports of atrocities, including first-hand accounts of the military comfort stations by the survivors and local people who were drafted to work there as labourers.

Beside these concerted investigative projects, in-depth case studies and thematic analyses of the Japanese military comfort women system have been

conducted by university researchers and independent scholars, some of whom have written pioneering articles that have been collected in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* (Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War). As our bibliography shows, the delineation of Chinese comfort women's experiences in *Chinese Comfort Women* is built on a substantial number of Chinese findings. For the readers' reference, Part 1 and Part 3 provide detailed information on all materials used. The cases of Chinese comfort women mentioned in this book all include the victim's identity, the time and location of her victimization, and the source of our information.

In addition to Chinese research findings, Parts 1 and 3 frequently cite Japanese scholarship and research reports, such as those by Yoshimi Yoshiaki, Hayashi Hirofumi, Senda Kakō, Kasahara Tokushi, Hora Tomio, Ishida Yoneko, Uchida Tomoyuki, Tanaka Toshiyuki, Utsumi Aiko, Nishino Rumiko, Kim Il-myon, Kawada Fumiko, Suzuki Yūko, Ueno Chizuko, Ikeda Eriko, Yamashita Akiko, Hirabayashi Hisae, Matsuoka Tamaki, and the researchers at the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility. These parts also draw on the investigatons of Japanese legal specialists, including those by Totsuka Etsurô, Ōmori Noriko, Onodera Toshitaka, Takagi Ken'ichi, and the lawyers of the Japanese Legal Team for Chinese War Victims' Compensation Claims (Chūgokujin sensō higai baishō seikyū jiken bengodan). Their research not only provides important information on Chinese comfort women but also inspired the writing of this book. In order to facilitate further studies, the postwar lives of Chinese survivors and their struggle for justice is outlined in Part 3. Therein the contemporary scholarship on Japanese war crimes trials and the Allied occupation of Japan, as well as Korean, Japanese, and Western studies of Japan's war responsibilities and the comfort women redress movement, were of enormous help in supplying the intricate historical, political, and legal contexts within which the Chinese comfort women's struggles took place.

Unless otherwise noted, translations of the Chinese and Japanese texts used in this volume are provided by Peipei Qiu. Chinese, Japanese, and Korean names are given according to East Asian practice: family name appears first, followed by given name. Exception is made for those writers who have followed the Western practice of placing their given name first in their own Western language publications. The Pinyin system is used for the transliteration of Chinese terms and proper nouns, except for the names of individuals from Taiwan, for which the Wade-Giles system is used. The modified Hepburn system of Romanization is used for Japanese terms and names. Transliteration

of Korean names follows that of the publications from which the names are cited.

When asked why he chose to spend years of his career and much of his personal savings representing Chinese war victims, Japanese attorney Oyama Hiroshi, who led the Japanese Legal Team for Chinese War Victims' Compensation Claims, replied: "I want to be responsible for history. Whether Chinese or Japanese, we all must take responsibility for history."[41] More than sixty years have passed since the end of Japan's war of aggression in Asia and the Pacific region, but the wounds of that war remain in the hearts, minds, and bodies of victimized men and women, and in the collective and individual memories of all nations involved. Healing and reconciliation begin by taking responsibility for history. Until the experiences of the hundreds of thousands of comfort women are properly written into history, our collective memory and understanding of the past is incomplete. This book constitutes a small step toward taking responsibility for that history, and it is dedicated to those who have suffered, to those who continue to suffer, and to those who have cared about them.

Epilogue

The two-story greyish buildings at Lane 125, Dong-Baoxing Road, Shanghai, don't attract any attention from passersby today, but to local residents they are important historic locations: eighty years ago these buildings housed Japan's first military comfort station, "Daiichi Saloon" (*Dayi shalong* in Chinese). Entering the compound one sees decrepit walls and stairways, where traces of a fire, which occurred in the 1990s and burned a flight of wooden stairs, are still visible. Rubble and trash lie scattered in the yard. The former dance hall, consisting of over fifty square metres on the right side of the ground floor, has been turned into small rooms. The passage connecting the three buildings is now a space with a shared kitchen and three small bathrooms. Only a few Japanese-style movable doors and wooden carvings of Japanese landscapes left in some of the rooms tell people of the buildings' wartime past.

Daiichi Saloon is one of the 164 sites of Japan's military comfort stations found in Shanghai in recent years. At most of those sites the buildings had been demolished during the urban development after the war, and the existing ones have atrophied due to lack of maintenance. The buildings of Daiichi Saloon were made into residential houses soon after Japan's defeat in 1945; currently about seventy families live here.[1] In order to preserve this historic site, Su Zhiliang and other Chinese researchers have appealed to the government to convert it into a museum, like those at the sites of Hiroshima and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Local authorities have agreed to the idea but claim to be stifled by lack of funds. Scholars from Europe and Japan who have visited the place have also suggested that a memorial museum be set up here to record the crimes of the Japanese army, but thus far nothing has been done. Funding such a project is certainly not easy since repairing the buildings would be expensive, as would relocating the current residents. However, researchers believe that it is not beyond the government's ability, given the nation's rapid economic growth in the past two decades. The real obstacle seems to be political concerns. According to *Global Times,* a press officer for

the cultural department of Hongkou District said that, due to the sensitive nature of the matter, the museum would not be built in the near future.[2]

The situation concerning the museum at the Daiichi Saloon site is a microcosm of the socio-political memoryscape surrounding the comfort women issue in China: while, at the grassroots level, researchers and activists are struggling to commemorate the traumatic experiences of hundreds of thousands of military comfort women, authorities are held hostage to state politics and so avoid dealing with the issue. However, avoidance cannot heal the wounds of the past: on the contrary, it creates a void in social memory and leaves a space in which amnesia and narrow, nationalistic understandings of history take root and grow. True healing and reconciliation begin with the formation of a transnational memory of the traumas of the past.

One of the political concerns implied by the "sensitive nature of the issue" seems to be that the museum, by memorializing the traumas of the past, may harm the current diplomatic relationship between China and Japan. However, as demonstrated by the narratives of the Chinese survivors presented in this book, the stories of the comfort women are not simply about hatred and revenge. These women, whose very bodies were taken as war supplies, were tortured and exploited by the Japanese imperial forces. Then, when the war ended, they were discarded as shamed and useless by members of their own patriarchal society. Indeed, in China many of them were ignored, treated as collaborators with the enemy, or otherwise persecuted. Yet what the survivors remember and recount is not only suffering and anger but also humanity – no matter how little they themselves have received. We see in the stories that Wan Aihua, though gang-raped multiple times and nearly beaten to death by Japanese troops, never forgot the army interpreter who saved her from an officer's sword and the local people who helped her. "I didn't know if the interpreter was Japanese," Wan Aihua emphasized, "but I believe there were kind people in the Japanese troops, just as there are today, when many Japanese people support our fight for justice." We also hear Yuan Zhulin speak of her grateful feelings toward a Japanese officer. Yuan lost everything during the Japanese occupation: her first marriage was destroyed as the battle zone kept the couple apart; her father starved to death and her mother was driven away from her hometown; her only daughter died while she, Yuan, was detained in the military comfort station; and her body was violated and damaged, resulting in her inability to have a child. Despite all the sufferings the Japanese army inflicted on her, Yuan Zhulin recalls Nishiyama, a lower-ranking officer who not only treated her kindly but also helped other local Chinese people during the war. Yuan Zhulin was treated

as "a whore working for the Japanese" in the postwar era and sent to do hard labour for seventeen years. At the time she was interviewed, political conditions in China had changed, but there was little room for the idea of affection between a Chinese comfort woman and a Japanese officer. It was with great courage and from a deep faith in humanity that Yuan Zhulin revealed her fondness for Nishiyama, saying that to this day she believes he was a kind person. The comfort women's stories teach us that the fundamentals of humanity transcend the boundaries of the nation-state. They force us to think deeply about what led to the atrocious behaviour of the Japanese troops and how to prevent such behaviour from reoccurring.

The wounds the war left on the bodies and hearts of the comfort women were so deep that, more than half a century later, in the 1990s, when Ishida Yoneko and a group of Japanese researchers first interviewed a comfort station survivor in Shanxi Province, she began to shake and to panic as soon as she heard the voice of a Japanese man. Only with the psychological support of local people and female researchers was she able to speak of her wartime experience as a comfort woman.[3] This difficulty in recalling the traumas of the past is experienced by all the survivors, and they experience it whenever they are re-interviewed. In order to minimize their distress in retelling their extremely painful wartime experiences, the researchers who collaborated in producing this book worked closely with local researchers in order to provide the survivors with the necessary psychological and physical support during each interview. By the time this book was written, the twelve women had been interviewed a number of times by different researchers, activists, and media reporters; and some of their testimonies had also been collected by legal experts for litigation against the Japanese government. While the interviews and legal investigations helped the women break their silence and provided them with a supportive space in which to recall their traumatic memories, the process also created a narrative structure, beginning with self-identification and ending with a call for justice. This structure may give the impression that the narrators' understanding of their experiences was influenced by interviewers and/or activists. This impression, whether accurate or not, should not be viewed negatively. Having little education and living in imposed silence for most of their lives, these women needed to be empowered through a larger socio-political discourse in order to overcome their fear, and they also needed a venue in which they could articulate and reframe their narratives. The international redress movement for comfort women provided this discourse and this venue. Yet each individual survivor's life story, as is evident in this book, is personal and unique.

By its very nature, memory is subjective and temporal, and it can present itself as partial and inconsistent. It is for this reason that the testimonies and memories of former comfort women have often been contested. It is true that, due to old age, wartime trauma, poor education, and the time lapse between the experience and the recounting of the experience, comfort station survivors may not be clear on dates and details surrounding past events. Wan Aihua, for example, due to head injuries suffered when she was beaten by Japanese soldiers, could not remember certain details of her abduction and torture. After her interview Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei spoke to many local people, including Hou Datu, who witnessed Wan Aihua's abduction, to confirm the information obtained through the interview. All the narratives presented in this book were subjected to such verification. Since the abduction and enslavement of these women were witnessed by local people, their stories are verifiable. As the testimonies of former comfort women have frequently been denied due to the tenuous nature of memory, the Chinese survivors' narratives constitute a strong voice, and it asks: In the reconstruction of history, whose words count?

The Chinese comfort women's stories are painful to read, revealing, as they do, the darkest crimes on the spectrum of sexual violence carried out under the aegis of the military comfort women system. As the women's accounts show, the wanton murder of Chinese women and the brutal mutilation of their bodies was part of the sexual violence that occurred in the comfort stations throughout Japan's aggressive war in China. These atrocious acts cannot simply be explained by sexual starvation on the part of the troops or lack of discipline. They were politicized acts made possible within the context of war and the violent nature of imperialist conquest. This politicized and militarized mentality dehumanized Japanese military men, enabling them to perceive brutality toward enemy nationals as a necessary part of the war effort and as an expression of their loyalty to the emperor.

The symbolic nature of the bodily damage Japanese troops inflicted on comfort women may be seen in the imperial soldiers' testimonies. The recollections of Kondō Hajime, a former Japanese military man of the 13th Infantry Battalion of the 4th Independent Mixed Brigade, are a telling example. Kondō was sent to the battlefields in China in 1940, and his unit was stationed at Liao County, Shanxi Province, not far from Yu County, where survivors Yin Yulin and Wan Aihua were detained as military comfort women. Kondō recalled that the new recruits in his troops were trained to kill enemies with a bayonet by tying Chinese people to trees and using them as targets. When he was made to thrust his bayonet into a Chinese man, he did not feel that he was killing a living person. Kondō said this numbness toward killing came

from the education soldiers received from childhood, which taught them that "Chankoro [a derogatory term for Chinese] are worse than pigs." In addition, the Imperial Japanese Army trained its troops to treat Chinese nationals as non-humans to whom they could do anything they wished.[4] Kondō witnessed and reported two revealing incidents of violence. One concerned the commander of his unit, Captain Maekawa, who had a village woman stripped naked and walk with the soldiers during a mopping-up action. The woman, who had been gang-raped by the troops on being captured, was holding a baby in her arms. As the unit was marching on a mountain ridge, a soldier grabbed the baby from the woman and threw the infant off the cliff. Following her baby, the woman threw herself over the cliff as well.[5] The other incident concerns Commander Yamamoto of the advance unit, who liked to cut local civilians with his sword. He ordered the soldiers to kill Chinese people by smashing their heads with large rocks. He said: "When killing Chinese people, using a gun would be inexcusable to our emperor. Use a rock instead!"[6] These two military commanders' acts demonstrate how raping and killing were seen as symbolic of imperial conquest and service to Imperial Japan: the body destroyed, tortured, raped, and humiliated was perceived as that of the nation of China. With the women's bodies transformed into the symbolic site of the enemy nation, their suffering was perceived by the Japanese troops as signifying the victory of the occupiers and the humiliation of the occupied. This political symbolism seriously increased Chinese women's suffering during the war.[7]

Tragically, the imperialist symbolism associated with the suffering bodies of Chinese women fuelled a prejudice, parading as nationalism, toward their suffering: their violated bodies were seen by many of their compatriots as signifying China's shame and the failure of its citizens to defend it. This reaction helps to explain why the suffering of Chinese comfort women was excluded from China's heroic postwar narrative for a long time. In fact, the few Chinese women who survived the torture of the comfort stations were not only silenced but also often treated, by the authorities and the public alike, as collaborators who served the nation's enemy.

This nationalistic prejudice combined with patriarchal ideology to demean the sufferings of the comfort women. According to this ideology, women had to be virgins before marriage and chaste thereafter. A woman who died resisting sexual violence was deemed a martyr, while one who survived was deemed shameful. The patriarchal requirement of feminine chastity was further politicized during the war, with the result that a comfort woman who serviced the enemy's troops, even though forced to do so, was regarded not only as immoral but also as disgracing the nation and her family. During the

Mao era, the nationalistic and patriarchal prejudices against former comfort women were transformed into political persecution when a series of political movements aimed at eradicating all dissidents labelled numerous innocent people "public enemies." Thus, the women who survived the brutality of the comfort stations were persecuted after the war. As is seen in the survivors' stories, Chen Yabian and Li Lianchun hid themselves in the mountains to escape harassment; Yuan Zhulin was exiled to do hard labour; and many of the women suffered from explicit or implicit ostracism. The continued suffering of the surviving Chinese comfort women reveals how social and political institutions joined together to prolong their victimization. Their stories teach us that the comfort women issue is not simply a historical matter: they pose a fundamental challenge to those contemporary institutions that have perpetuated their suffering.

The Chinese comfort women's narratives of their prewar lives expose how women were abused and maltreated by a male-dominated culture that regarded girls as unwanted goods and women as mere tools for producing offspring to ensure the continuation of the family line. As seen in Zhou Fenying's and Tan Yuhua's narratives about their mothers, in such a cultural environment a woman's personal identity was often ignored and her name forgotten; she was referred to either as the daughter of her parents or the wife of her husband. We also see that, in order to survive economic hardship, daughters of poor families were frequently abandoned or sold to be the "child-daughters-in-law" of richer families and that wives were divorced or discriminated against when they lost the ability to produce children. This patriarchal culture contributed to the life-long suffering of these women and made them easy prey for the violence of Japanese troops.

Commonly, rape has been considered a private, individualized experience of bodily violation.[8] To the contrary, the experience of the Chinese comfort women is highly politicized, first by Japan's imperialist war and then by China's patriarchal ideology and nationalistic politics. This politicization both increased their victimization during the war and prolonged it afterwards, causing a lifetime of suffering. Yet, as is seen in the stories in this book, these women demonstrate remarkable agency, which they sustained through wartime brutality and postwar persecution. Their life stories show that they were not mere sex slaves and victims but also historical actors and heroes. The escape stories of Lei Guiying, Lu Xiuzhen, Wan Aihua, Huang Youliang, and Li Lianchun, each filled with danger and accomplished through the courageous help of local people, portray the strength to resist violence and to overcome hardship. Such agency and strength is also demonstrated in the narratives of their postwar lives, a time when many of them were subjected

to discrimination, ostracism, and poverty due to prejudice and political exigency. As Li Lianchun's daughter tells us, during the Cultural Revolution the people in a small mountain village all shunned Li Lianchun and her family. Not succumbing to this hardship, Li Lianchun worked in the fields day and night and single-handedly supported all three of her children through their schooling. In a place where many children were not able to complete their elementary education, this was a remarkable achievement. Wan Aihua, whose body was severely deformed by Japanese soldiers, suffered physical pain the rest of her life. Yet, in spite of her own suffering, over the years she offered free massage therapy to those who could not afford medical treatment. The resilience and humanity demonstrated by these women, who continued loving others even though they themselves were abused, is their most important legacy.

When this book was completed, Lei Guiying, Li Lianchun, Lu Xiuzhen, Yin Yulin, Yuan Zhulin, Zhou Fenying, and Zhu Qiaomei had all died. Tan Yuhua's health has been deteriorating rapidly since 2011, and Wan Aihua has been hospitalized. The other women are also suffering from poor health and the trauma induced by their torture in the comfort stations. Before Li Lianchun died, she said the following words in an interview in 2001:

> I've suffered my entire life, and I have been poor my whole life, but I have one thing that is priceless to me. That is my body, my dignity. My body is the most valuable thing to me. The damage done to it cannot be compensated for with money, no matter how much money they pay. I am not seeking money, and I am not trying to get revenge. I just want to see justice done.

Poignant words. Indeed, the voices and memories of the former comfort women constitute a legacy that has profound and far-reaching social, political, and cultural implications. When the rape of women is still used as an instrument of armed conflict and the sexual exploitation of women continues to be globally prevalent, the legacy of the comfort women plays an important role in the attempt to attain a more just and humane world. As more and more of the comfort women's individual memories become part of our collective memory, this legacy will continue to educate us as well as future generations, thus sustaining the transnational endeavour to prevent the occurrence of yet more crimes against humanity.

Notes

Foreword

1 Daisuke Shimizu, "'Comfort Women' Still Controversial in Japan, S. Korea," *Asahi Shimbun,* 14 July 2012. Available at ajw.asahi.com/ (viewed 30 July 2012).
2 Available at http://petitions.whitehouse.gov/ (viewed 6 June 2012).
3 Josh Rogin, "Japanese Comfort-Women Deniers Force White House Response," *Foreign Policy,* available at http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/ (viewed 6 June 2012).
4 This point has been made by Timothy Brook, "Preface: Lisbon, Xuzhou, Auschwitz: Suffering as History," in *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China,* ed., James Flath and Norman Smith (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), xviii.

Introduction

1 The "Chinese Comfort Women" in the title refers mainly to the narratives of former comfort women drafted from Mainland China. Information on comfort women drafted from Taiwan, then Japan's colony, has been published in English. See, for example, Nihon Bengoshi Rengōkai, *Investigative Report in Relation to Cases of Japan's Imperial Military "Comfort Women" of Taiwanese Descent* (Tokyo: Japan Federation of Bar Associations, 1997); Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation, "Comfort Women," available at http://www.twrf.org.tw/; and Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II,* trans. Suzanne O'Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 115-17.
2 For postwar/postcolonial publications on comfort women, see C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 145-73.
3 For survey and analysis of the controversy over the comfort women issue, see George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 194-266; and Soh, *Comfort Women,* 29-77.
4 Ustinia Dolgopol and Snehal Paranjape, *Comfort Women: An Unfinished Ordeal* (Geneva, CH: International Commission of Jurists, 1994).
5 Linda Chavez, "Contemporary Forms of Slavery," working paper on systematic rape, sexual slavery, and slavery-like practices during wartime, including internal armed conflict, submitted in accordance with sub-commission decision 1994/109, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1995/38.1995; Radhika Coomaraswamy, *Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Japan on the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery in Wartime,* UN Doc. E/CN.4/1996/53/Add.1, 4 January 1996; and Gay J. McDougall, *Contemporary Forms of Slavery: Systematic Rape, Sexual Slavery and Slavery-Like Practices during Armed Conflict,* final report submitted to United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 50th Session, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/13, 22 June 1998. The three reports can be found under United Nations documents at http://www.unhchr.ch.

6 Dai Sil Kim-Gibson, *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (Parkersburg: Mid-Prairie Books, 2000); Sangmie Choi Schellstede, ed. *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 2000); and Nelia Sancho, ed. *War Crimes on Asian Women: Military Sexual Slavery by Japan during World War II; The Case of the Filipino Comfort Women* (Manila: Asian Women Human Rights Council, 1998).

7 See, for example, Yoshimi, *Comfort Women* (English translation [2000] of the 1995 Japanese book); Hicks, *Comfort Women;* David A. Schmidt, *Ianfu: The Comfort Women of the Japanese Imperial Army of the Pacific War – Broken Silence* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 2000); Margaret Stetz and Bonnie B.C. Oh, eds. *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001); Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Soh, *Comfort Women*.

8 I have borrowed the term "memory change" from Carol Gluck's "Operations of Memory: 'Comfort Women' and the World," in *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia,* ed. Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, 47-77 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). My discussion here is inspired by her work.

9 Hirofumi Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' System and Its Perception in History," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 123-32.

10 For more detailed information on English publications on the subject, see Soh, *Comfort Women,* 46-56.

11 *Japan Times* online, 11 March 2007, available at http://www.japantimes.co.jp. For a summary of the disputes in Japan over the comfort women system, see Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan."

12 For major publications of this perspective, see Fujioka Nobukatsu, *Jigyakushikan no byōri* [An analysis of the masochistic views of history] (Tokyo: Bungeishunjū, 1997); and Hata Ikuhiko, *Ianfu to senjō no sei* [Comfort women and sex in the battlefield] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1999).

13 Nicola Henry, *War and Rape: Law, Memory and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2011), 51.

14 Soh, *Comfort Women,* 235-36. The characterizations she quotes are from Yoshimi, *Comfort Women,* 66; and Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 173.

15 Soh, *Comfort Women,* 235.

16 Ibid., xii-xiii.

17 A few cases of Dutch, Philippine, Indonesian, and Chinese comfort women are mentioned very briefly, but the author's arguments are based primarily on the experiences of Korean and Japanese comfort women.

18 Su Zhiliang, *Weianfu yanjiu* [A study of the comfort women] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1999), 275-79.

19 Many researchers have revealed that the Japanese military destroyed its own documents at the end of the Second World War, including those concerning the operation of comfort stations. Among these researchers, Yoshimi Yoshiaki conducted extensive investigations in *Jūgun ianfu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten,1995). In his 1995 article, "Korean Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan," Chin Sung Chung also cites recently uncovered documents to demonstrate that the Japanese military not only secretly operated the comfort women system but also instructed soldiers to destroy records at the end of the war. See Keith Howard, ed., *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women* (New York: Cassell, 1995), 11. For evidence of the murder of Chinese comfort women by the Japanese military at the end of the war, see Part 1 of this book.

20 Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, eds. *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 3-4.

21 An abbreviated term for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a political movement initiated by the leader of the CCP, Mao Zedong, from 1966 to 1976. The political power struggles between rival factions during the movement brought the whole nation into social and economic chaos. Tens of thousands of people were persecuted, abused, or died, and Chinese people have since referred to the movement as "ten years of catastrophe" *(shinian haojie).*

22 For a brief summary of the varied estimations of the numbers of comfort women, see Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 78-81; Hata, *Ianfu to senjō no sei,* 397-407; and Soh, *Comfort Women,* 23-24. Yoshimi reports an estimated range of between 50,000 to 200,000.

23 Su Zhiliang, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 275-79.

24 Cited in Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 126-27.

25 See, for example, Kasahara Tokushi, "Chūgoku sensen ni okeru Nihongun no seihanzai: Kahokushō, Sanseishō no jirei" [The Japanese army's sexual crimes at the frontlines in China: The cases of Hebei and Shanxi Provinces], *Sensō sekinin kenkyū* [Studies of war responsibilities] 13 (1996): 2-11; and Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei, eds., *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War] (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000).

26 These statistics are based on Su Zhiliang's record and do not include cases recorded by other Chinese researchers and institutions.

27 Tomishima Kenji, "Inu" [Dog], in *Sankō: Kanzenban* [The three alls: A complete collection], comp., Chūgoku kikansha renrakukai, 102-8 (Tokyo: Banseisha, 1984).

28 Soh, *Comfort Women,* 117.

29 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 74.

30 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 18-19.

31 Soh, *Comfort Women,* 117-32.

32 Ibid., 117-18.

33 Ibid., 118 and 134.

34 Ibid., 235-36.

35 One of the cases, for example, is reported by Guan Wenhua, "Rijun dui Beipiao funü de lingru" [Japanese troops' sexual violence against women in Beipiao], in *Qin-Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu* [Collection of investigative records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during Japan's invasion of China], ed. Li Bingxin, Xu Junyuan, and Shi Yuxin, 69 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1995).

36 Su Zhiliang's investigative record. See also Wang Yufeng, "Scholars Propose Memorializing 'Comfort Stations': The Ravages of Time," *Global Times,* 22 September 2011.

37 Fu Heji, "Qin-Qiong Rijun 'weianfu' shilu" [The reality of the Japanese military "comfort women" in Hainan], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 188. The article was originally published in *Kang-Ri Zhanzheng yanjiu,* 1996 (4): 34-50.

38 For more detailed information on the conditions in which Chinese comfort women were confined, see Part 1 of this book.

39 Soh, *Comfort Women,* xvi.

40 A political advisory body in China, which consists of delegates from a range of political parties and organizations as well as independent members.

41 Zhang Jiliang, "Weishan Hong: Wei Zhongguo zhanzheng shouhaizhe daili susong 40 nian" [Oyama Hiroshi: Forty years of representing Chinese war victims' litigations] *Renmin ribao haiwaiban,* 7 July 2005.

Chapter 1: Japan's Aggressive War and the Military "Comfort Women" System

1 Mark R. Peattie, "The Dragon's Seed: Origins of the War," in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945,* ed. Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 48-78.

2 Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria (1904-1932)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 1-16.
3 Peattie, "Dragon's Seed," 66.
4 Matsusaka, *Making of Japanese Manchuria,* 381-87.
5 Peattie, "Dragon's Seed," 66-67. See also, Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War: World War II and the Japanese, 1932-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 65.
6 Peattie, "Dragon's Seed," 67.
7 Ibid., 67.
8 Zhang Xianwen, *Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzhengshi* [A history of China's resistance war against Japan] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2001), 92-105.
9 Guan Wenhua, "Rijun dui Beipiao funü de lingru" [Japanese troops' sexual violence against women in Beipiao], in *Qin Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu* [Collection of investigative records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during Japan's invasion of China], ed. Li Bingxin, Xu Junyuan, and Shi Yuxin (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1995) 69.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 For a survey of the Chinese wartime publications on Japanese military sexual violence against Chinese women during the war, see Egami Sachiko, "Rijun funü baoxing he zhanshi Zhongguo funü zazhi" [Japanese military's violence against women and wartime Chinese women's magazines] in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War], ed. Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000), 56-70.
13 Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 23-24.
14 Besides the evidence recorded in the Chinese source cited above, Korean survivor Ch'oe Il-rye's testimony also dates the establishment of Japanese military comfort stations in the Manchuria area to 1932. See Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 125.
15 Based on the reliable documents discovered and the field investigations conducted since the 1990s, several researchers have concurred that the earliest comfort stations were set up by the Japanese imperial military in Shanghai. See, for example, George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 45-49; Chin Sung Chung, "Korean Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan,* ed. Keith Howard, trans. Young Joo Lee (London: Cassell, 1995), 13-15; Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 14-19; Su Zhiliang, *Weianfu yanjiu* [A study of the comfort women] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1999), 23-40; Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 8-12. The Korean survivors' testimony and evidence in China also indicate that comfort facilities were set up in the Manchurian area around the same time. See Soh, *Comfort Women,* 125.
16 Morisaki Kazue, *Karayuki san* [Overseas prostitutes] (Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1976), 92.
17 Su, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 24.
18 Ibid., 24.
19 "Shōwa jūsannenjū ni okeru zairyū hōjin no tokushu fujo no jōkyō oyobi sono torishimari narabi ni sokai tōkyoku no shishō torishimari jōkyō," in *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū* [A collection of documents on military comfort women], ed. Yoshimi Yoshiaki, 184-85 (Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 1992).

20 For more detailed discussion of this point, see, Chin-Sung Chung, "Wartime State Violence against Women of Weak Nations; Military Sexual Slavery Enforced by Japan during World War II," *Korean and Korean American Studies Bulletin* 5 15, 2-3 (1994): 16-17; Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 18-19; and Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 10-12.
21 Su, *Weianfu yanju,* 31-34.
22 Ibid., 30.
23 Okabe Naozaburō, *Okabe Naozaburō taishō no nikki* [General Okabe Naozaburō diary] (Tokyo: Fuyō shobō, 1982), 23. Cf. See also the translation of this passage in Yoshimi, *Comfort Women,* 45.
24 Inaba Masao, ed., *Okamura Yasuji taishō shiryō: Senjō kaisō hen, jō* [Sources of General Okamura Yasuji: Recollections of the battlefield, vol. 1] (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1970), 302. Many scholars have discussed why Okamura chose to draft comfort women from Nagasaki and suggested that this had to do with the history of the area. Nagasaki was known as the hometown of a large number of *karayuki-san,* women of poor families who had been sold to overseas brothels or had worked as indentured prostitutes in many Asian countries since the Meiji period. See, for example, Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 45; Su, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 23-40; Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 10.
25 Yoshimi Yoshiaki, "Jūgun ianfu to Nihon kokka" [Military comfort women and the Japanese nation-state], in *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū* [A collection of documents on military comfort women] (Tokyo: Otsuki shoten, 1992), 28-50.
26 Translation of this title follows Suzanne O'Brien's translation of Yoshimi, *Comfort Women,* 58. The discussion here also owes much to O'Brien's translation.
27 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 105-6.
28 Ibid.
29 Yang Tianshi, "Chiang Kai-shek and the Battles of Shanghai and Nanjing," in Peattie et al., *Battle for China,* 143.
30 Zhang, *Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzheng shi,* 229-58.
31 Yang, "Chiang Kai-shek," 146.
32 Ibid., 147.
33 Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven, "An Overview of Major Campaigns during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," in Peattie et al., *Battle for China,* 31.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Many books and research articles have detailed the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces in and around Nanjing at this time. See, for example, John Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1998); Hora Tomio, *Nankin daigyakusatsu: Ketteihan* [Nanjing massacre: An authoritative edition (Tokyo: Gendaishi shuppankai, 1982); Nankin jiken chōsa kenkyū kai, ed., *Nankin jiken shiryōshū* [Documents on the Nanjing incident] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1992); Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Penguin Group, 1998); Honda Katsuichi, *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999); Yang Daqing, "Atrocities in Nanjing: Searching for Explanations," in *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China,* ed. Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 76-96; and Suping Lu, *They Were in Nanjing: The Nanjing Massacre Witnessed by American and British Nationals* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004). On the other hand, conservatives and nationalists in Japan have denied the occurrence of the Nanjing Massacre. For a detailed study of the debate, see Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking": History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

37 Chinese sources generally estimate that more than 300,000 Chinese citizens and unarmed soldiers were killed during the massacre. A newly unearthed document in the US archives reveals that William Edward Dodd, the US ambassador in Germany, reported in his telegram to the president of the United States on 14 Dcember 1937 that Shigenori Tōgō, a Japanese ambassador in Germany, said the Japanese army had killed 500,000 Chinese people. See Yuan Xinwen, "Nanjing datusha zai tian tiezheng" [New evidence of the Nanjing massacre], *Renmin ribao,* 6 December 2007.

38 HyperWar Foundation, "HyperWar: International Military Tribunal for the Far East," IMTFE Judgement (English Translation), Chapter 8, "Conventional War Crimes (Atrocities)," 1015. Available at http://ibiblio.org/ (viewed 26 April 2008).

39 Ibid., 1012. The Chinese Nationalist government's investigation indicated a much larger number, determining that approximately eighty-thousand Chinese women were raped during the Nanjing massacre. See Zhu Chengshan, "Nanjing datusha shi Rijun dui renlei wenming shehui de jiti fanzui," [Japanese army's collective crimes against humanity during the Nanjing massacre], in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War], ed. Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000), 128.

40 Rabe, *Good Man of Nanking,* 81. Format as it is published.

41 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 210.

42 According to the Japanese military codes, those who committed rape would be punished, receiving a sentence ranging from seven years imprisonment to death. See Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 120.

43 Aiko Utsumi, "How the Violence against Women Were Dealt with in War Crime Trials," in *Common Grounds: Violence against Women in War and Armed Conflict Situations* (Quezon: Asian Center for Women's Human Rights, 1998), 191.

44 Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial,* 120. See also, Eguchi Keiichi, *Jūgonen sensō shōshi* [A history of the fifteen-year war] (Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1986), 117; Kasahara Tokushi, *Nankin jiken* [The Nanjing incident] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997), 191-200.

45 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 23.

46 Nankin jiken chōsa kenkyū kai, ed., *Nankin jiken shiryō shū,* [Documents on the Nanjing incident] (Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1992), 411; cited and translated by Tanaka in *Japan's Comfort Women,* 13.

47 Jiang Gonggu, *Xian jing sanyue ji* [The fall of the capital: A journal of the three months], private publication, August 1938. Reprint: (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 14-24.

48 Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 58.

49 Li Shimin, "Qiao Hongnian choushe weiansuo" [Qiao Hongnian prepared and set up comfort stations], *Dadi zhoubao* [Land weekly] 31 (1946): 2.

50 Chen Juan, "Nanjing Rijun 'weianfu' zhidu de shishi" [The implementation of the Japanese military "comfort women" system in Nanjing], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 157-58.

51 Jing Shenghong, "Qin-Hua Rijun zai Nanjing shishi 'weianfu' zhidu shimo" [The Japanese invaders' implementation of the "comfort women" system in Nanjing] in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 166-67.

52 Chen Juan, "Nanjing Rijun," in Su et al, *Taotian zuinie,* 158.

53 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 25.

54 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 195-96.

55 Many researchers have made this observation. See, for example, Senda Kakō, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), 72-76; Chin Sung Chung, "Korean

Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women,* ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassell, 1995), 16-17.

56 After the outbreak of the Pacific War, women from other Asian-Pacific regions, including the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, East Timor, Malaya, Burma, and Vietnam, were also forced to be comfort women for the Japanese military.

57 Asō Tetsuo, *Shanhai yori Shanhai e: Heitan byōyin no sanfujinkai* [From Shanghai to Shanghai: A gynecologist at the commissariat hospital] (Fukuoka: Sekifūsha, 1993), 215.

58 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 183-84, and 258-68.

59 Hokushi keimubu, "Hōjin shokugyōbetsu jinkō tōkeihyō" [Statistics of population by occupations in northern China], 1 July 1939, in Gaimushō gaikō shiryōkan [Foreign Ministry Diplomacy Archive]; cited in Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 30-31.

60 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 214-15.

61 Kinbara Setsuzō, "Rikugunshō gyōmu nisshi tekiroku" [Excerpts from the work logs of the Department of the Army], entry for 15 April 1939, kept in Bōeichō Bōei kenkyūjo toshokan. Cited in Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 32.

62 Shanghaishi City Archive, document no. R36, *Quanzong 1 hao mulu*. For detailed information, see Chen Zhengqin and Zhuang Zhiling, "Dang'an zhong faxian de youguan Shanghai Rijun 'weianfu' wenti" [Newly discovered archival evidence of the Japanese military 'comfort women' in Shanghai], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 110-22.

63 Su Zhiliang, Chen Lifei, and Yao Fei, *Shanghai Rijun weiansuo shilu* [Investigative records of Japanese military comfort stations in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1995), 2-3.

64 The Third Report of Committee on the Investigation of the Victimization of Former Chinese Comfort Women, published on All China Lawyers Association website, www.ACLA.org (viewed on 30 June 2010).

65 "Shanghai de diyu – Dikou xinglesuo" [A hell in Shanghai – the enemy's entertainment facility] in *Dagongbao,* 27 February 1938, cited in Li Xiuping, *Shiwan weianfu* [One hundred thousand comfort women] (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe, 1993), 34.

66 Gao Xingzu, "Rijun Nanjing qiangjian shijian yu weiansuo de chuxian" [The rapes committed by Japanese forces in Nanjing and the establishment of the comfort stations], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 123-26.

67 Su, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 124-30.

Chapter 2: The Mass Abduction of Chinese Women

1 This summary of these battles is based on Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven, "An Overview of Major Military Campaigns during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945." In *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945,* ed. Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 33-35.

2 The war resulted in enormous casualties in China, for which there is no accurate number, although figures of between 20 million and 30 million are widely used. See Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra Vogel, eds. *China at War: Regions of China, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 1-2. China's official statistics for the total Chinese civilian and military casualties during the Japanese invasion from 1937 to 1945 are about 35 million: 20 million dead and 15 million wounded. See Guo Rugui, Huang Yuzhang, and Tian Zhaolin, *Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzheng zhengmian zhanchang zuozhan ji* [Major battles during China's Resistance War] (Nanjing: Jiangxu renmin chubanshe, 2001), 31.

3 Complete statistics on Chinese forced labour during the Japanese invasion are not available. According to the Japanese Foreign Ministry Report, beginning in April 1943, as the draft had resulted in severe labour shortages, 38,935 Chinese men between the ages of

eleven and seventy-eight were brought to Japan to advance Japan's war effort by performing harsh physical labour in mines and on construction sites and docks from Kyūshū to Hokkaidō. Within barely two years, 17.5 percent of them had died. Some individual worksites posted death rates in excess of 50 percent. The official fatality figure of 6,830 excludes the thousands of victims who died in China during detention or while trying to escape prior to reaching the coast. See William Underwood, "Chinese Forced Labor, the Japanese Government and the Prospects for Redress," *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus,* available at http://www.japanfocus.org/ (viewed 2 July 2010).

4 Sakurada Takeshi and Shikanai Nobutaka, *Ima akasu sengo hishi,* vol. 1 [A secret postwar history now revealed] (Tokyo: Sankei shuppan, 1983), 40-41, cited in Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 37.

5 It was believed that the term came from the pronunciation of "p" in "prostitute." Another explanation is that it was an imitation of the sound of a Chinese slang word for female genitals.

6 Senda Kakō, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), 72-76. The military physician Asō Tetsuo, who conducted medical examinations of the comfort women at Yangjiazhai comfort station, wrote: "The special military comfort station is not a place for hedonistic pleasure; it is a hygienic public toilet." See Asō Tetsuo, *Shanhai yori Shanhai e: Heitan byōin no sanfujinkai* [From Shanghai to Shanghai: A gynecologist at the commissariat hospital] (Fukuoka: Sekifūsha, 1993), 222.

7 Senda, *Jūgun ianfu,* 73-74. The former Japanese soldiers' testimonies cited in Nishino Rumiko's *Jūgun ianfu: Moto heishi tachi no shōgen* [Military comfort women: Testimonies of former soldiers] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1992), 34 and 42-60, attest to the same fact.

8 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 22.

9 Chen Lifei, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan* [A critical analysis of the Japanese military comfort women system] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 202.

10 *Dagong bao,* 27 February 1938.

11 Jiang Hao, *Zhaoshi: Zhongguo weianfu – kuaguo kuashidai diaocha baipishu* [Exposé: Chinese comfort women – An investigation across the boundaries of nations and times] (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1998), 172-88.

12 This estimated figure is used in Chinese, Japanese, and Western sources. See, for example, Zhang Xianwen, chief compiler, *Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzheng shi* [A history of China's resistance war against Japan] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2001), 25 and 1263-64; and "Second Sino-Japanese War," *New World Encyclopedia,* available at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/ (viewed 11 July 2010). Hata Ikuhiko also indicates that Japan had 1,980,000 military personnel in China and the pacific region in December 1941 and that this number had reached 3,240,000 by the end of the war (the majority of these were in China). See Hata Ikuhiko, *Ianfu to senjō no sei* [Comfort women and sex in the battlefield] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1999), 401. In assessing the total number of women victimized by the Japanese military comfort stations, Korean and Japanese scholars have estimated the total number of Japanese soldiers at roughly 3,000,000.

13 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 78-81.

14 Senda, *Jūgun ianfu,* 119-20. Yuki Tanaka arrives at a slightly different figure of 800,000 as the number of soldiers involved during the Guangdong Army Special Manoeuvre. See Yuku Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 18.

15 Yoshimi Yoshiaki, comp., *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū* [A collection of documents on military comfort women] (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1992), 83.

16 Kim Il-myon, *Tennō no guntai to Chōsenjin ianfu* [The emperor's forces and the Korean comfort women] (Tokyō: Sanichi shobō, 1976), 50.

17 Hata, *Ianfu to senjō no sei,* 405.

18 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū,* 83.
19 Su Zhiliang, *Weianfu yanjiu* [A study of the comfort women] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1999), 277-79.
20 Li Xiuping, *Shiwan weianfu* [One hundred thousand comfort women] (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe, 1993), 6-7.
21 Su, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 278.
22 Wen Yan, "Anhui Rijun 'weiansuo,'" in Li Bingxin, Xu Junyuan, and Shi Yuxin, eds. *Qin-Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu* [Collection of investigative records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during Japan's invasion of China] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1995), 742-43.
23 Fu Heji, "Qin-Qiong Rijun 'weianfu' shilu," in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War], ed. Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000), 194-95.
24 For Philippine comfort women's experiences, see, for example, Maria Rosa Henson's memoir, *Comfort oman: A Filipina's story of prostitution and slavery under the Japanese military* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).
25 Mrs. Andrew Levinge's testimony, submitted to the International Tribunal for the Far East, Ex. 1590, 5089B. Published in Yoshimi Yoshiaki (editor-in-chief), Utsumi Aiko, Udagawa Kōta, Takahashi Shigehito, and Tsuchino Mizuho, eds. *Tōkyō saiban: Seibōryoku kankei shiryō* [Tokyo trial: Documents regarding sexual violence]. (Tokyo: Gendai shiryō shuppan, 2011), 183-86.
26 Wu Liansheng (narrator), Lin Liangcai, Liang Chuntian, and Fu Heji (recorders), "Chuguan beige hongyan xuelei: Rijun Nada weiansuo qindu ji" [Tragic stories of the suffering women: The Japanese military Nada comfort station I witnessed], in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu, Xu* [Sequel to Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], ed. Fu Heji, 272-79 (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995). Hereafter Fu, *TXXX*.
27 Li Qin, "Xin faxian de Rijun qiangzheng Tianjin funü chongdang 'weianfu' shiliao xi" [An analysis of the newly discovered historical documents relating to the Japanese military forcing Tianjin women to be "comfort women"], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 639.
28 Ibid.
29 "Jin Ji Lu Yu bianqu banian kang-Ri zhanzheng zhong renmin zaoshou sunshi diaocha tongji biao" [Statistics based on the investigations of civilian damages during the eight-year resistance war against Japanese forces at the Jin Ji Lu Yu border region] (January 1946), preserved in Hebei Province Archives, Quanzong-hao 576, Mulu-hao 1, Anjuan-hao 31, Jian-hao 3, cited in He Tianyi, "Lun Rijun zai Zhongguo Huabei de xingbaoli" [The Japanese military's sexual violence in northern China], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 255.
30 "Diren zai Huabei de baoxing," in Central Archives of China (Zhongyang Danganguan), Document 190, published in Zhongyang Danganguan, Zhongguo Dier Lishi Danganguan, Hebeisheng Shehui Kexueyang, comp., and Tian Susu, ed., *Riben qinlüe Huabei zuixing dangan 9, Xingbaoli* [Documented war crimes during Japan's invasion of north China, volume 9, Sexual violence] (Shijiazhuang: Hebeirenmin shubanshe, 2005), 154-58. Hereafter Zhongyang et al., *RQHZD*.
31 Quanzong-hao 91, Mulu-hao 1, Juan-hao 6, Jian-hao 1, cited in He, "Lun Rijun zai Zhongguo Huabei de xingbaoli," in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 260-62.
32 Ibid.
33 He Tianyi, "Lun Rijun zai Zhongguo Huabei de xingbaoli," in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 262. See also, Xie Zhonghou, Tian Susu, and He Tianyi, eds., *Riben qinlüe Huabei zuixing shigao* [A history of atrocities: Japan's invasion of northern China] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2005), 424. Hereafter Xie et al. *RQHZS.*

34 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 113-15.
35 Yamada Sadamu, *Kempei nikki* [A military policeman's diary] (Tokyo: Surugadai shobō, 1985), 273-76. This and other documented evidence have been cited in Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 113-15.
36 The Central Archives of China, Document 119-2-988-1-10, published in Zhongyang et al., *RQHZD,* 2-3.
37 Suzuki Hiraku's confession, kept in the Central Archives of China, Document 119-2-1-1-4, published in Zhongyang et al., *RQHZD.*
38 Chen, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan,* 199.
39 He, "Lun Rijun zai Zhongguo Huabei de xingbaoli," in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 260-61.
40 The weights and measures have been converted to those familiar to Western readers. In the document the last of the benefits is written as *mo* (ink), which may have been a misprint of *mei* (coal), for which the pronunciation is similar.
41 "Wenshui hanjian 'Tongling' qiangzheng jinü" [The collaborators in Wenshui County ordered to draft prostitutes by force], in *Wenxian* 5 (February 1939): 57, cited in Su Zhiliang, *Rijun xingnuli* [Japanese military sex slaves] (Beijing: Renming chubanshe, 2000), 87.
42 Xie et al., *RQHZS,* 397-404.
43 Mizobe Kazuto, ed., *Dokusan ni: Mōhitotsu no sensō* [The 2nd Independent Mountain Artillery Regiment: Another war] (Yamaguchi: Privately published, 1983), 58, cited in Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 116-17. Cf. O'Brien's translation in Yoshimi, *Comfort Women,* 120.
44 Mizobe, *Dokusan ni,* 55.
45 Hu Jiaren (narrator), Zhuo Shichun and Chen Yunhong (recorders), "Fuli-miao Rijun he ziweituan de judian qingkuang jiqi baoxing" [The strongholds of the Japanese military and self-guard league at Fuli-miao and their atrocities], in Fu, *TXXX,* 308-9.
46 The original text seems to contain a misprint in this sentence. *"Suijing"* should be *"xüjing,"* judging from the context.
47 Wang Bizhen, "Weiansuo li de nütongbao" [Women in the comfort station], *Guangxi funü* 17-18 (1941): 36.
48 Collaboration in occupied China is a complicated issue, and its study has just begun. In his in-depth analysis of the subject, Timothy Brook follows Henrik Dethlefsen in defining collaboration as "the continuing exercise of power under the pressure produced by the presence of an occupying power." See Henrik Dethlefsen, "Denmark and the German Occupation: Cooperation, Negotiation, or Collaboration?" *Scandinavian Journal of History* 15, 3 (1990): 193-206. Cited in Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 2.
49 Shao Minghuang, "Taiwan in Wartime," in MacKinnon et al., *China at War,* 101.
50 He Shili, "Sanbai 'weianfu' cansi taiban: Shilu tiekuang 'weiansuo' diaocha shikuang" [Over half of the three hundred "comfort women" died: An investigative record of the Shilu iron mine "comfort station"], in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu* [Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], comp. Fu Heji (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995), 748-50. Hereafter Fu, *TXX.*
51 Fu Heji, "Qin-Qiong Rijun 'weianfu' shilu" [The reality of the Japanese military "comfort women" in Hainan], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 191-96.
52 *Shenbao* (Hong Kong edition), 6 March 1938.
53 Beijing Archives Bureau (Beijingshi dang'anguan), "Rijun qiangzheng 'weianfu' shiliao yijian" [A historical document on the Japanese military's forcible drafting of "comfort women"], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 623-26. The article includes Zhou Qian's as well as a victim's written testimony as submitted to the court. For more information about the Japanese military's forcing prostitutes in Tianjin to be comfort women, see Lin Boyao, "Tianjin Rijun 'weianfu' zhi gongji xitong" [The Japanese military "comfort women" procurement system in Tianjin.], in Su et al., *Taotian zuinie,* 269-307.

9 Li Xianheng, "Rijun shezhi weiansuo de baoxing" [Japanese army's violence in setting up comfort stations] in *Qin-Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu* [Collection of investigative records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during Japan's invasion of China], ed. Li Bingxin, Xu Junyuan, and Shi Yuxin (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1995), 1275. Hereafter Li et al., *QHRBZ*.
10 Asō Tetsuo, *Shanhai yori Shanhai e: Heitan byōyin no sanfujinkai* [From Shanghai to Shanghai: A gynecologist at the commissariat hospital] (Fukuoka: Sekifūsha, 1993), 214-30.
11 Su, *Weianfu yanjiu,* 57-71.
12 Ibid., 59.
13 For earlier researchers' discussions of the varieties of comfort stations, see Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 74; Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 18-19; and Soh, *Comfort Women,* 117-32.
14 Asō, *Shanhai yori Shanhai e,* 214-30.
15 Chen, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan,* 182.
16 Wu Liansheng's testimony, in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu, Xu* [Sequel to Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], ed. Fu Heji, 272-79 (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995). Hereafter Fu, *TXXX*.
17 Li Shi, "Rijun zai Fuyang-xian de baoxing" [Japanese army's atrocities at Fuyang county], in Li et al., *QHRBZ,* 768.
18 Fang Zhiyuan, "Yige xiuru de baogao" [A humiliating report], in Chen Sibai, *Yeshou zai jiangnan* [The monstrous troops in south China] (Shangyao: Qianxian ribaoshe, 1939), 89-92.
19 Kim Il-myon. *Tennō no guntai to Chōsenjin ianfu* [The emperor's forces and the Korean comfort women] (Tokyō: Sanichi shobō, 1976), 124.
20 Chen Liming, "Anhui Bangbu zuihou yichu qin-Hua Rijun weiansuo jiuzhi jiang bei chaiqian" [The last building of the former Japanese military comfort station in Anhui Bangbu will be demolished] *Xin'an wanbao,* 19 September 2005; http://china.com.cn.
21 Wen Yan, "Fengyang 'weiansuo'" [Comfort stations at Fengyang], in Li et al., *QHRBZ,* 734.
22 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 51-52.
23 Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 130.
24 Yoshimi Yoshiaki, ed., *Jūgun ianfu shiryōshū* [A collection of documents on military comfort women] (Tokyo: Otsuki shoten, 1992), 285-86.
25 Yamada Seikichi, *Bukan heitan: Shina hakkengun ian kakarichō no shuki* [The Wuhan commissariat: Memoir of the department head of the China detachment army comfort facilities] (Tokyo: Tosho shuppansha, 1978), 86; cited in Yoshimi, *Comfort Women,* 135.
26 He Shili, "Sanbai 'weianfu' cansi taiban-Shilu tiekuang 'weiansuo' diaocha shikuang" [Over half of three hundred "comfort women" died: An investigative record of the Shilu iron mine "comfort station"], in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu* [Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], comp. Fu Heji, 748-50 (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995). Henceforth Fu, *TXX*.
27 Song Fuhai (narrator), and Chen Ziming and Wang Ji (recorders), "Wo qindu de Xinying Rijun 'weiansuo'" [The Japanese military Xinying "comfort station" I witnessed], in Fu, *TXXX,* 188-90.
28 Zhang Lianhong and Li Guanglian, "Nanjing Xiaguan-qu qin-Hua Rijun weiansuo de diaocha baogao" [Investigative report on the Japanese military comfort stations in the Xiaguan District of Nanjing], in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women System during the Second World War], ed. Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000), 146.

50 The Association of Advancement of Unbiased View of History, "Comfort Women," ABC of modern Japanese History. Available at http://www.jiyuushikan.org/ (viewed 13 October 2010).
51 Wang, "Weiansuo li de nütongbao" [Women in the comfort station] *Guangxi funü* 17-18 (1941): 36.
52 Chen, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan,* 239-40; cf. Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 46-47.
53 Soh, *Comfort Women,* 3.

Chapter 4: Crimes Fostered by the "Comfort Women" System

1 Tang Huayuan, "Rijun zai Yueyang jiansha funü de baoxing" [Raping and killing women: The Japanese army's atrocities in Yueyang], in *Qin-Hua Rijun baoxing zonglu,* ed. Li Bingxin, Xu Junyuan, and Shi Yuxin (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1995), 1010. Hereafter Li et al., *QHRBZ.*
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Zhang Huaiqing, "Fengyang da can'an" [Massacres in Fengyang], in Li et al., *QHRBZ,* 710.
5 One of the two major forces led by the Chinese Communist Party during the War of Resistance.
6 Zhang Huaiqing, "Fengyang da can'an," 710-11.
7 Tang, "Rijun zai Yueyang jiansha funü de baoxing," in Li et al., *QHRBZ,* 1010.
8 Ibid.
9 Wu Liansheng's testimony, in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu, Xu* [Sequel to Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], ed. Fu Heji, 272-79 (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995), 274. Hereafter Fu, *TXXX.*
10 Satō Kanji, *Akai chūrippu no heitai: Aru heishi no ashiato* [Troops of red tulips: A soldier's footprints] (Tokyo: Senshūsha, 1978), 77-78, cited in Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 134-35.
11 Chen Lifei, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan* [A critical analysis of the Japanese military comfort women system] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 291.
12 He Shili, "Sanbai 'weianfu' cansi taiban – Shilu tiekuang 'weiansuo' diaocha shikuang" [Over half of the three hundred "comfort women" died: An investigative record of the Shilu iron mine "comfort station"], in *Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu* [Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan], comp. Fu Heji (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 1995), 748-50. Hereafter Fu, *TXX.*
13 Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 145-46.
14 Wu Liansheng's testimony, in Fu, *TXXX,* 272-79.
15 Ayan's testimony recorded by Li Weilin in Fu, *TXX,* 649-50,
16 Wu Liansheng's testimony, in Fu, *TXXX,* 275.
17 Chen Zuliang, "Qin-Hua Rijun Dianxi weiansuo yu 'weianfu'" [The Japanese military comfort stations and "comfort women" in western Yunnan], in *Taotian zuinie: Erzhan shiqi de Rijun weianfu zhidu* [Monstrous atrocities: The Japanese military comfort women system during the Second World War], ed. Su Zhiliang, Rong Weimu, and Chen Lifei (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2000), 315.
18 Song Fuhai, "Wo qindu de Xinying Rijun 'weiansuo'" [The Japanese military Xinying "comfort station" I witnessed], in Fu, *TXXX,* 188-90.
19 In *Jūgun ianfu,* Yoshimi provides evidence of this by citing the military records. See Yoshimi, *Jūgun ianfu,* 154.

2 The tribunal was convened on 8 December 2000 and adjourned on 12 December 2000. It was a people's tribunal organized by Asian women and human rights organizations and supported by international NGOs. It was convened to adjudicate Japan's military sexual violence, in particular the enslavement of "comfort women." This information is cited from the website of Violence against Women in War-Network Japan.

Chapter 5: Eastern Coastal Region

1 This was one kind of arranged marriage practised in China before the People's Republic of China was established in 1949: a family in economic hardship would give or sell a young daughter to another family. The girl would be treated as an adopted daughter who would be married to a male member of the adoptive family when grown up – hence, literally, "the child raised to be daughter-in-law" *(tongyangxi)*. In many cases, her in-laws used the child-daughter-in-law as free labour.
2 The Japanese troops invaded the Nanjing area in the winter of 1937. Lei Guiying's description here is consistent with historical fact.
3 Foot-binding was practised on girls and women in China from around the tenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. Binding a girl's feet tightly from a very young age in order to achieve the desired smallness often caused life-long disabilities, particularly for those whose arches or toes were broken.
4 Jiangsu-sheng Rugao-shi difangzhi bianzhuan weiyuanhui, *Rugao xianzhi* [Historical record of Rugao County] (Hong Kong: Xianggang xin Yazhou chubanshe youxiangongsi, 1995), 594-604.
5 The New Fourth Army was a unit of the National Revolutionary Army of the Republic of China established in 1937. Different from most of the National Revolutionary Army units, it was led by the Chinese Communist Party. Beginning in 1938, the New Fourth Army and the Eighth Route Army were the two main communist forces. The New Fourth Army was active south of the Changjiang River, while the Eighth Route Army was based in northern China.
6 Wang Jingwei (1983-44) was a member of the Chinese Nationalist Party, and he held prominent posts in the Nationalist government. A long-time rival of Jiang Jieshi, Wang became the head of the puppet state set up by Imperial Japan during its invasion of China.
7 This information is from the investigative notes of Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, which were written in Chinese.
8 According to local history, the company had approximately sixty or seventy soldiers.
9 This building has now been demolished; the Miaozhen Town Hall now stands in its old location.
10 Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, investigative notes.

Chapter 6: Warzones in Central and Northern China

1 Hans van de Ven and Edward J. Drea, "Chronology of the Sino-Japanese War," in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945,* ed. Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 9.
2 Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven, "An Overview of Major Military Campaigns," in Peattie et al., *Battle for China,* 34-35.
3 It is not clear what kind of pills Yuan Zhulin was forced to take. Yuan seemed to suspect that they were some sort of contraceptive drug, but the availability of oral contraceptives at that time is questionable. Some other survivors also mentioned that the comfort stations made them take pills, but the nature and effect of these drugs is unclear.
4 Shihuiyao is today's Huangshi City, Hubei Province.

Sex-Slave Coercion Revealed," *Japan Times,* 18 April 2007. See also, Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 176-79, 181-82, and 185-86.

3 Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial,* 185.
4 *Tokyo Judgment,* 1:392-93, cited in Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial,* 185.
5 Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial,* 185.
6 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 87.
7 John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 469.
8 Ibid.
9 Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 632.
10 Ibid., 443-49.
11 Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun ianfu* [Military comfort women] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 175-92. See also Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 86; and C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 22.
12 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 86. See also Toshiyuki Tanaka, "Naze Beigun wa jūgun ianfu mondai o mushishita no ka" [Why the US forces ignored the military comfort women issue?"], *Sekai* 627 (1996): 174-83, and 628 (1996): 270-79.
13 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 87.
14 George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 167; Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 110-32.
15 Hicks, *Comfort Women,* 158-62; Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women,* 133-66.
16 Takemae Eiji, *The Allied Occupation of Japan,* trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 67-71.
17 *Yomiuri Shimbun,* 3 September 1945, morning edition.
18 Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial,* 185-89.
19 Ibid., 151.
20 Ibid., 152-55.
21 Nicola Henry, *War and Rape: Law, Memory and Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 40.
22 Ibid., 28-60.
23 Pilip R. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 158-73.
24 Ishida Yoneko and Uchida Tomoyuki, *Kōdo no mura no seibōryoku: Dā'nyan tachi no sensō wa owaranai* [Sexual violence in the villages located in the area of the yellow earth: The war is not over to these aged women] (Tokyo: Sōdosha, 2004), 225-28.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., 377.
28 Ibid., 363.
29 Ibid., 49-56.
30 The pension is based on the work Wang Gaihe did as a Resistance Movement member before she was captured by the Japanese army; it is not compensation for her forced sexual slavery as a comfort woman.
31 Ishida and Uchida, *Kōdo no mura no seibōryoku*, 114-17.
32 Ibid. 76-79.
33 Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei's investigative notes.
34 Chen Lifei, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan* [A critical analysis of the Japanese military comfort women system] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 325-26.

for supporting the claims by Chinese war victims], available at http://www.suopei.jp (viewed 5 April 2009).

2 Ibid.

3 Cao Pengcheng, "Zi tao yaobao daili suopei: Ri lüshi bang Zhongguo yuangao daguansi" [Paying out of his own pocket to represent the war victims' cases: The Japanese lawyer who has helped Chinese plaintiffs with their lawsuits], *Huanqiu shibao,* 24 August 2005.

4 Li Gongjian, "Wei Shanhong: Yi zhengyi gandong Zhongguo" [Oyama Hiroshi: His great sense of justice moved China], *China Reports,* 24 February 2004.

5 Phone interview with Attorney Kang Jian, 7 July 2009.

6 Ōmori Noriko, *Rekishi no jijitsu to mukiatte: Chūgokujin "ianfu" higaisha to tomo ni* [Facing the truth of history: Together with the Chinese "comfort women" victims] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon shuppansha, 2008), 15.

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10 Chen, *Rijun weianfu zhidu pipan,* 355. Masami Ito's 2004 report indicates that the amount of compensation demanded is 23 million *yen*. See "High court convenes, snubs sex slave appeal, calls it a day," *The Japan Times,* December 16, 2004. http://www.japantimes.co.jp. According to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, on 1 August 1995, the exchange rate of the Japanese *yen* to one US dollar was 94.7383. See http://research.stlouisfed.org (viewed 8 June 2012).

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13 Dwight Daniels, "'Comfort Women' Deserve Justice," *China Daily,* 28 March 2005. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn (viewed 8 April, 2009). *The Kyodo News* reports that the plaintiffs sought a combined 46 million *yen* in redress. See "Top Court: No War Redress for Chinese; Rights Void but Abuses Admitted – Suits to Fail," *Japan Times* online, 28 April 2007, available at http://search.japantimes.co.jp (viewed 8 April 2009). According to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, on 1 February 1996, the exchange rate of the Japanese *yen* to one US dollar was 105.7880. See http://research.stlouisfed.org (viewed 8 June 2012).

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15 Dwight Daniels, "'Comfort Women' Deserve Justice."

16 "Japan Rejects Comfort Women Claims," *China View,* 19 March 2005, available at http://news.xinhuanet.com (viewed 8 April 2009).

17 Masami Ito, "High Court Rejects Sex-Slave Suit: Judge Trots Out Treaty with Nationalists, Statute of Limitations," *Japan Times* online, 19 March 2005, available at http://search.japantimes.co.jp (viewed 8 April 2009).

18 *Kyodo News,* "Top Court."

of the subcommittees meet annually to discuss the plans for activities in various countries as well as the movement of the council as a whole.

7 Resolution of the International Solidarity Council Demanding Settlement of Japan's Past, 5th Conference, The Hague, Netherlands, in commemoration of the 101st anniversary of the 1907 Hague Convention, 4 October 2008.

8 The proposed bill can be found in the appendix to an article by Totsuka Etsurō, "Shimin ga kimeru 'ianfu' mondai no rippō kaiketsu: Senji seiteki kyōsei higaisha mondai kaiketsu sokushin hōan no jitsugen o motomete" [The legislative resolution of the "comfort woman" issue is in the hands of citizens: Seeking legislative resolution of the issues concerning victims of wartime sexual violence]. *Kokusai jinkenhō seisaku kenkyū,* vols. 3 and 4 (2008): 59-62.

9 Ibid., 30.

10 According to a 2009 statistic, about half of the women had already died by that year. See "'Ianfu' mondai no rippō kaikatsu o motomeru kai" [Association for legislative resolution of the comfort women issue] and "Senji seiteki kyōsei higaisha mondai kaiketsu sokushin hōan no rippō o motomeru renraku kaigi" [Coalition for seeking legislation of the bill on issues concerning wartime sexual violence victims], *"Ianfu" mondai no sōki rippō kaiketsu no tameni* [For the timely resolution of the "comfort women" issue through legislation] (January 2009), 1.

11 Hahm, "Urgent Matters," 128.

12 Unpublished report from Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation.

13 In December 1997 the Taiwanese government provided 2 million *yen* as temporary payment to the forty-two former comfort women who came forth to testify in support of their litigation against the Japanese government. In April 1998, the Government of South Korea paid about 3 million *yen* to the former comfort women who had refused to accept the payment from the AWA. See "*Ianfu" mondai no sōki rippō kaiketsu no tameni,* 2.

14 The findings are published on the All China Lawyers Association's website, http://www.acla.org.cn/ (viewed 2 January 2009).

15 Zhongguo yuan "weianfu" shouhai shishi diaocha weiyuanhui, "Zhongguo yuan 'weianfu' shouhai shishi diaocha weiyuanhui fabu diyi jieduan diaocha jieguo" [The results of the first phase of the investigation published by the committee for the victimization of former Chinese comfort women], post on www.ACLA.org.cn (viewed 2 January 2009).

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17 One of the eight political parties in China. The members of the Zhi Gong Party are mainly overseas Chinese who have returned and relatives of overseas Chinese.

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Epilogue

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3 Zhuang Qinghong, "Riben nüxing jishu de Zhongguo 'weianfu' lishi" [The history of Chinese "comfort women" documented by Japanese women], *Zhongguo qingnianbao,* 5 April 2010.

4 Ōmori Noriko, *Rekishi no jijitsu to mukiatte: Chūgokujin "ianfu" higaisha to tomo ni* [Facing the truth of history: Together with the Chinese "comfort women" victims] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon shuppansha, 2008), 111.
5 Ikeda Eriko, "Tamura Taijirō ga egaita senjō no sei: Sanseishō Nihongun shihaika no baishun to kyōkan" [Tamura Taijirō's portrayal of sex in the battlefields: Prostitution and rape under the Japanese military occupation in Shanxi Province], in *Kōdo no mura no seibōryoku: Dā'nyan tachi no sensō wa owaranai* [Sexual violence in the villages located in the area of the yellow earth: The war is not over to these aged women], ed. Ishida Yoneko and Uchida Tomoyuki (Tokyo: Sōdosha, 2004), 320. Kondō's recollections are also recorded by Ōmori in *Rekishi no jijitsu to mukiatte,* 112.
6 Ibid.
7 This discussion is inspired by the observation Timothy Brook made in *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 23-24.
8 Nicola Henry, *War and Rape: Law, Memory and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2011), 52.

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