

Shortly before the war I was studying in the third year of law school. I completed my third year. However, my father insisted that I should get married. I was therefore, against my wishes, married to a person who was also a civil engineer and in the civil construction business. We were married in 1941. Thereafter, I had two daughters from the said marriage.

A bridge had been destroyed by guerrillas. This bridge was important for the Japanese because it connected the Province of Camarines Sur with Albay. The Japanese took my husband and ordered him to repair that bridge. My husband obeyed. After the bridge was repaired the Japanese distrusted my husband and therefore my husband and I were made to travel in a car several times up and down that bridge till the Japanese were satisfied that they could use that bridge without any fear of losing their lives or vehicles. That was my first contact with the Japanese.

My father used to stay with us. My husband and my father were away for a few months because of their work. I was alone in the house with the maid and my two small children; the older one was 1 year old and the younger daughter was just a babe in arms. One day I saw a Japanese pick-up truck with the Japanese emblem of the Red Sun stopping in front of my house. Immediately thereafter I heard Japanese soldiers coming into my house. When they saw me they grabbed me and asked me to step down and into the truck. They threatened to kill my children if I did not obey. In those days, when the Japanese asked a person to do something, the choice was either to do it or to die. I wanted to live because of my children. I therefore accompanied them to the truck leaving my children with my housemaid.

I was taken in that truck to Albay and then to Regan Barracks. Regan Barracks had been previously occupied by the Philippine Army, but it was defeated by the Japanese and they took possession of Regan Barracks. That was in 1944. I had managed to escape any violation by the Japanese because my husband was always around. I escaped this fate from 1941 to 1944. However, in 1944, the following incident occurred.

I found on arrival at Regan Barracks that there were five or six other girls, all Filipinas, who were inside. These girls were young, in their

early teens, but there was one older woman among them. We were not allowed to talk to each other and this was made absolutely clear to us by beating and kicking us. Within these barracks they took us to a certain outpost which I suspected was a message centre. There was a sentry who was posted there twenty-four hours a day. This outpost was in a wooded area which was not easily accessible to any person. When we arrived the Commander of that place summoned me and asked me some questions. I replied in English. That Commanding Officer seemed to know English and I asked him how, and he replied that he was a graduate of an American university. He told me very clearly what was expected of me and of the other girls in that comfort station. He told me that we were merely to provide sexual pleasure to Japanese officers who would come there. He also made it very clear that I would have to service even his friends, who were officers, who would visit him at that outpost once in a while. I later learnt that these Japanese officers would frequent this outpost at least three times a week and there were about three or four of them who regularly came there. He warned me not to concern myself about other girls and be involved only with myself.

The first time I tried to resist this Commanding Officer, he got so enraged that he beat me on my leg with a stick. That stick was a steel rod covered with leather. The blows were so violent that there was a swelling immediately just behind my knee-cap and a lump formed, which lump I bear even today. I could not walk at all. The pain was unbearable. He violated me in spite of this pain which I was undergoing. For several days thereafter, whenever he wanted to comfort himself with me, he would have to drag me as I could not walk at all. I tried to catch the name of this officer but I couldn't read Japanese and could not decipher the letters on his badge. This officer wore a khaki uniform, always carried a long sabre or a sword and a gun. He also wore long boots.

I was confined in these barracks for almost one year and two months. None of us comfort girls were allowed to even step out of the outpost. Every day of the week I would have to serve this Commanding Officer. Three or four days in a week, this officer's friends, who were also officers, would visit the comfort house. There were

three or four such officers in number. We were supposed to service all of them. There were in all about six comfort girls in that outpost.

These officers were extremely brutal. The Japanese were cruel to a point I have not seen. On the second day after my arrival there, one of the friends of the Commanding Officer kicked me in my back because I was sobbing miserably when the officer came into the room. I had turned away my face because I did not want to let him see that I was crying. He, however, was enraged that my back was turned to him, and he gave me a severe kick in my back. As a result of that violence I was thrown onto the side of the bed. I crashed against the wooden bed and dislocated two ribs. I was writhing in pain but I was not spared the molestation and the sexual assault.

Once a week the Japanese doctor would come and check us up, but all that they did was to see whether we had any diseases which we could communicate to any of the officers. In one such check-up I told the doctor of the pain in my knee as well as the dislocation of my ribs. He just examined me saying that all this would be treated later. However, I was never treated for this at all.

The Japanese officers who forced themselves upon me were premature ejaculators. Perhaps for this reason they were extremely cruel and brutal and treated us like playthings and possessions, to be mistreated at their sweet whim and fancy. I was always in pain, severe constant pain, everything was connected with pain at that comfort station. The Japanese soldiers/officers would perform abnormal sexual acts with me including anal sex. They would hurt me whilst doing or performing the sexual act. There was no kindness coming from them, no sense of gratitude or even a sense of empathy for our suffering and pain. Many of these officers were not neat and tidy and were unclean. The Commanding Officer, however, was always neat and tidy and he expected me to be the same. He used to give me soap, toiletries, sanitary equipment and sometimes clothes.

Very often these officers would be in a hurry and would not even bother to undress me fully. They would not undress themselves fully and, with this kind of indignity, they humiliated me even further. On other occasions they would be so frustrated that they would even tear off

my clothes in an attempt to force themselves upon me. Many times I would hear other women in that comfort station screaming and crying out in pain. But I was never allowed to go and see or talk to any of them. I wanted to scream myself several times but I refrained for fear that they would inflict more harm and injury on me. I wanted to live because I wanted to see my children.

Although the thought of suicide entered my head several times I did not actually implement it. The first and the most important reason was my children. One day, one of the other comfort women saw members of the "Hukbalahap"³ near the comfort station. She rushed out of the comfort station to talk to one of them. Just as she was running out she was shot in cold blood by a Japanese sentry. My room in that comfort station faced the gate and I saw this entire episode which sent a shiver down my spine. I wanted to live at any cost so as to see my two little daughters.

I could not get any news about my husband or my family. No civilian ever came into that camp. One day there were air-raids upon that outpost. I could see the Commanding Officer rush in and rush out with some papers. I suspected that something was wrong. There was some bombing of the outpost. Taking that opportunity I left my room and came out to find that I was completely alone. The other comfort girls also realized that there were no sentries or guards, nor soldiers around us. We all rushed out into the compound. This was the first time that we had met in that entire year of confinement. However, there was no time to talk to anybody. We were so excited that we were free at last and were eager to return to our homes. I ran from that place until I reached a spot where I could hear heavy vehicular traffic. I guessed that this must be a road. I crawled up to the road and I saw, from a distance, several vehicles being driven by American soldiers. I was overjoyed because I knew then that the Americans had finally arrived. I hailed a jeep which was being driven by an American soldier. He stopped and he offered me a ride. He brought me back again to the Regan Barracks where several wounded soldiers and civilians were being treated by American

³ "Hukbalahap" was the local guerilla group in the Philippines.

doctors. I was given first aid and some food and clothing. The American doctor checked me, saw my broken rib bones and my swollen knee and told me that all this would be treated later. They were extremely busy tending to the other more serious cases of severe bleeding and wounded soldiers. With the help of these American soldiers I managed to trace my family, which had moved out of our original house.

When I reached my house my husband received me very warmly while in the presence of the American soldiers. However, when the soldiers had left he immediately distanced himself from me. He told me to sleep in a separate room and made it very clear that he would not share a bedroom with me any more. I swallowed this insult because of the fact that I could at least be near my children. However, he would not allow me to share my children's bedroom. I was thus isolated in my own house. Thereafter, I noticed that my husband also treated me just like a comfort woman. He would come to me whenever he felt the need for sex. He said he did not want to restore our original relationship because he termed me as a left-over of the Japanese soldiers. He could not reconcile himself to the fact that it was not my doing and that I was not at fault. My husband never fully understood or even tried to understand my plight.

Whenever my children wanted to hug or kiss me, if my husband was around he would order the maid to take away the children, thus reducing my contact with my own children. In this situation, I bore him two more children, one son and another daughter. I continued to bear my humiliation because of my children.

A few years later, my husband moved us to another province. On reaching it, I discovered he had another woman whom he was seeing regularly. One day, when I had gone out marketing, I returned to find the house empty. The children and their belongings had disappeared, my husband's belongings had also disappeared. My husband returned only to tell me that he did not want me any more, that I was just a left-over used by many Japanese soldiers, that he did not respect me and that he had found another woman. He also told me that he had sent the children to a relative to be raised by them. He would not tell me who. I

have heard my children went to the United States. I have not seen them since the day my husband sent them away.

I was left alone in that province and I didn't know anybody over there. He just gave me fifty pesos, which was not even enough for my travel expenses. I then approached the Red Cross in that province and asked the social worker, who was a lady, to give me a free plane ticket to Manila where at least I could find some employment. I did not fully explain to her what had happened to me in the past. She was, however, very kind and helpful and I managed to reach Manila with her help.

In Manila I managed to find employment because one of my cousins was married to the Mayor. I worked as a social worker in the city hall. However, when the Mayor's term ended my job also came to an end. I was left to fend for myself. I started giving private tuition, which I am doing even today. My neighbours and friends sometimes help me out by asking me to draft their affidavits and short statements. They also help me in other ways. However, I am completely dependent on my private tuition for my survival. I have even taken an examination qualifying me to give this private tuition.

When I heard Lola Rosa on television I cried and felt miserable. However, I managed to pick up enough courage to approach the Task Force. After I went public in this way, many of the pupils who were taking private tuition from me were withdrawn by their parents. However, most of my neighbours are supportive and understanding. After coming out in public and after sharing my suffering with other former comfort girls, I feel better and unburdened. However, I am unable to support myself or even to pursue any medical treatment for want of funds.

All I want from the Japanese Government is to help me. I have not told anybody of my past except in a confession which I made to a priest. I had locked the secret away in the bottom of my heart. I have lived a life of utter misery and suffering due to no fault of my own.

Anastasia Cortes, aged 70

I was born on 15 August 1923, in Pampanga, Philippines. When I was thirteen years old I went to Manila at the Elpo factory in Grace Park.

However, I was not satisfied with the pay and I moved to another job, in a refreshment store owned by a Japanese. This is where I met my first husband, Guillermo Murillo. We were married in 1939 at the City Hall of Manila when I was sixteen years old. My husband was a sergeant in the Philippine Army. Sometime in the year 1943, one night, Japanese soldiers came to our house to take both my husband and me. My husband was dressed only in his underwear and, as he was being dragged out, he yelled at me to get his clothes. When I went to gather his clothes I discovered a pipe lying there which I hid and brought out with me to the outside room. There I saw a Japanese soldier tying up my husband. I crept up from behind and hit the Japanese soldier on his head with that pipe, but it was of no use. The Japanese soldier turned around and kicked me in the chest. He also bayoneted my husband's head and blood started spurting out. Seeing this I was unable to bear any more and I fell unconscious.

When I regained consciousness my husband and I were being transported on a truck. We were brought to the Spanish quarters in Fort Santiago in Intramuros. There my husband and I were put in a cell as prisoners. My husband was stripped naked and hung upside down and beaten with a huge stick. After that his head was shaved with a blade and the Japanese soldiers even shaved off his scalp. Blood started trickling down my husband's face and the scene was quite horrible. Not being satisfied with this the Japanese fitted steel between my husband's fingers and then pressed it which made the bones in his fingers break. His fingernails were also pulled out one by one. I was forced to witness this torture of my husband. Subsequently, my husband was taken to a cell which was underground and I did not see him thereafter. A Filipino janitor who was working in Fort Santiago at that time, a few days later, came and told me that my husband had been killed along with other prisoners of war, by the Japanese soldiers. (She believes her husband was put in an underground cell, which she pointed to when we visited the fort, and allowed to drown as the tide from the river rose.)

A month after our arrival in Fort Santiago, I was approached by a Commanding Officer of the Japanese army, whose name I remember as Mr. Fukushima, who dragged me out of my cell and took me to a

small room. In that small room he, by sheer brute force, raped me. After that he brought me back to my cell. A few hours after that another soldier came to get me, took me to that same small room with the small cot and raped me. After that I was brought back to my cell and, for several days thereafter, three to four soldiers would get me from my cell, bring me to that same small room and, waiting for each other's turns, would rape me one by one.

I was a prisoner in this manner for about six or seven months. I was sexually molested, raped and abused for about six months repeatedly, by three or more soldiers three times a week, merely as a means to comfort them and to provide for their sexual needs. This was totally against my will and was done by using force and violence against me.

I was taken out of Fort Santiago with the help of a Japanese priest whose name I remember as Reverend Fujita. This priest was approached by my mother-in-law who asked him to help me. That priest asked the army to release me. I was thereafter released. I stayed in my mother-in-law's house and then I discovered that I was three months pregnant. As I did not know who the father was because I had been repeatedly raped by several soldiers, I decided not to have that baby. In order to spare my mother-in-law the agony of discovering that I was pregnant, I ran away from that house and went to Blumentritt, where I worked in a restaurant. During the period of my employment, a number of Japanese used to come to that restaurant and one of them I recognized as a soldier I had seen in Fort Santiago. I was afraid that he might recognize me. I ran out of the restaurant and asked the help of a policeman. This policeman later on became my second husband. Though we were not actually married I lived with him and I bore him six children. My second husband died in 1975 from a stroke.

The entire episode of my being imprisoned, as well as the torture of my first husband, and the forced sex that I was asked to provide, gives me nightmares even today, especially when I see violence on television or in the movies. I was afraid to speak out because others might not understand what I have suffered. At some point, a few years ago, I wrote out my past in a notebook in order to unburden myself. When a campaign was started on the radio to identify comfort women

who had been forced to provide sexual services to the Japanese, I wanted to send them my notebook, but I was overcome with shame and I was afraid that I might be censured, and therefore I kept quiet.

Recently when I saw Lola Rosa on television, I tried not to pay attention to her story. My sister-in-law urged me to tell my story to the public. In fact, my sister-in-law had also been a comfort woman and knew what I had gone through during the Japanese occupation. My sister-in-law encouraged me and accompanied me to the office of the Task Force. That same night I told the story to my children, with whom I am living now. I had kept the story a secret for half a century. However, my children were very understanding and supportive.

The ICJ mission visited the house of Anastasia and found that her son, with whom she is living, had taken a holiday just to be present when we visited her. It was an extremely thoughtful gesture on his part. Thereafter we visited Fort Santiago with Anastasia, and she pointed out to us the place where she was confined initially and forced to witness the torture of her husband. Anastasia could also identify the area where her cell had been; she could locate it because she remembered there was a window at one end. Anastasia was terribly disturbed during this visit and when recounting her ordeal.

Statements from the Republic of Korea

Yun Soon-Man, aged 66

Ms. Yun is 66 years old; because of lack of formal education she does not know her birthdate. Her family was originally from the propertied class in Korea; she, her parents and her sisters and brothers lived with her grandparents, as it was her grandfather who actually owned the property. Apparently her grandfather was a member of the Korean Independence Movement and this fact became known to the Japanese. During the lunar calendar month of March, she and some other family members were out in the fields, her grandmother was feeding the cows, her mother was in the house cooking and her grandfather was resting. A village leader, accompanied by three

Japanese soldiers, came to the house and took the grandfather outside and tortured him. Seeing this Ms. Yun went inside and hid herself, but was discovered by a Japanese soldier and was pushed outside the house. This is her last memory of her family as her parents and grandparents died prior to her return to Korea.

After being taken by the Japanese soldiers she was put into a jeep which was full of other Korean girls, perhaps 62 in number. They were taken to Pusan which is a large port on the south coast of Korea, by train; they remained in Pusan, for two days and were then placed onto a ship which took them to the port city of Shimonoseki in Japan. Ms. Yun was taken from her area with 62 other girls, all of whom accompanied her to Shimonoseki. During this period of time none of them were given any food to eat. After their arrival in Japan they were given a rice ball. Initially, they were made to work in a textile factory where they slept in a dorm; they were not permitted to go out of the dorm and they were not given any time off from work. The food apparently was poor in quality and small in quantity. None of the women were paid for their work. They were all told that as Koreans they had to work for the Japanese Emperor.

She was then taken to a small village outside Osaka where there was a military base. It was at this point that she was placed in a comfort house and was raped by Japanese soldiers. The comfort house was a small building which was very poorly constructed. The "rooms" allotted to each woman were only separated by curtains. Ms. Yun found it difficult to describe exactly what had been done to her on her first day there; she indicated that she had resisted and struggled against the Japanese soldiers and was beaten by them. After being raped by several soldiers her vaginal area was swollen and her body was sore. She described the soldiers as being like "crazy dogs" and said that they came into the room already naked. She said that she asked the Japanese why they were assaulting Korean girls and the soldiers responded by saying that they worked for the Emperor. The soldiers also said that they were not being given leave to see their families and that they had a need for women. Ms. Yun said that she only saw Korean girls at the comfort house.

It was at this point that, while attempting to resist a soldier, Ms. Yun's arm was broken and because of lack of medical attention it healed incorrectly and her arm is permanently deformed at the elbow. Essentially, she is left without use of her left arm. She said when she tried to resist the Japanese soldiers that, in addition to being beaten and tortured, she was told by them that she had been put there to serve them with her sexual organ. She lived in comfort houses in Japan with 16, 17 and 18 years old. Her third comfort house was near a battle field and despite the air raids, she was forced to continue to have sex with the Japanese soldiers. She said that many of the girls she had seen in the comfort houses died because of the poor conditions.

When asked to describe the conditions at the comfort houses, she said that there were long lines of soldiers and that each soldier was given a very short period of time to be in the room with an individual woman. If any soldier took "too long" there would be banging on the door and other soldiers would be calling for them to come out.

In addition to having had to endure these acts of cruelty and hardship, Ms. Yun continues to carry deep emotional scars, saying that she "hates herself because she was not given the chance to be a good girl".

Ms. Yun returned home when she was 18 but, as her family members were all dead, she went to live at a Buddhist temple, cooking and cleaning for the monks. Because of her experiences she had to have a hysterectomy and continues to rue the fact that she has never been able to have children. At the age of 28 she married a man twenty three years her senior and lived with him and his five children for three years, but as she had not been able to have any children, his family refused to give her any property after his death. She lived for many years in a Buddhist temple, helping the monks by cooking and cleaning and doing general chores.

Until deciding to come forward with her story two years ago, she had never told anyone about her experience in the comfort houses. It is obvious that she continues to be very angry about what has happened to her. Her situation, like that of many of the other women, has to be

understood in the context of Korean society, where it is essentially the children who are responsible for taking care of their parents as they grow old. Government funding is only available for those people who have no relatives who are able to support them and the level of assistance is quite low. One of the members of the mission visited Ms. Yun in her home which consists of an outdoor kitchen, a shared toilet area and a room approximately six foot by six foot with one window and a door. Her dream is to be able to own her own house and to have some additional space in which to live.

Another difficulty being faced by Ms. Yun and several of the women interviewed in South Korea, is that Japanese lawyers, media personnel and others come to Korea fairly frequently and seek to interview the women who have come forward. The constant interviewing is becoming a source of distress to the women, particularly as they cannot see it serving any useful purpose to them. There are also complaints that the women are not being told about the reasons for the interview. Ms. Yun expressed a level of frustration against her own government, suggested that it had not been doing enough on behalf of the women and that the money to provide support to the comfort women should be coming from the Japanese Government, not the Korean Government. She was most insistent that the Japanese apologize for what had been done to the comfort women in particular, and to the Korean population in general.

After talking about these matters, Ms. Yun returned to her experiences at the comfort house and in the period immediately after her release. She said at the time her arm was twisted she also had three ribs broken and asked herself how anyone could do this to another human being. She spent six to seven months in bed and it was only through the efforts of the other comfort women that she survived. They would hide rice from their own meals and bring it to her and feed her. She also said that when women tried to run away from the comfort house they were shot; one of her friends had to have a leg amputated as a result of a gunshot wound. When the bombing began at the last military base where she was located, she ran away from the camp and eventually

found a Korean civilian and stayed with that family until the following year, when she returned with them to what is now South Korea.

While in the comfort house she was not able to go out of the house, as the military police were in charge of watching the house. The only thing they were allowed to do was to clean their clothes periodically. When she arrived home she had a number of skin problems and other medical complaints but was not taken to a doctor and her aunt used herbal remedies to treat her.

After some additional questioning she described the incident with her arm in a bit more detail, saying that a Japanese officer arrived at the comfort house and that she refused to have sex with him because he was "too fat" and that he got angry and twisted her arm and broke it. Because of her condition this was her last experience of being raped. After she recovered she was not used as a comfort woman again.

Because of her experiences at the comfort house she has eschewed social relationships, stating quite emphatically that she does not deal with people easily.

Kim Bok-Sun, aged 67

Ms. Kim was born on 20th February 1926 by the lunar calendar. Her place of birth was Kangjin, Cholla Province.

She lived in a remote village with her grandfather, her parents and two siblings, both of whom were girls. Her parents were poor farmers. She was able to complete six years of formal schooling, but because of the financial situation of her family, had to leave. Her parents were divorced when she was twelve years old and she went to live with her paternal uncle. Her two older sisters were able to get married and so she was the only one who went to live with the uncle. She helped with the chores around the farm and the house.

In 1944, her uncle became concerned about her situation, having heard that girls were being kidnapped for "sex slavery". She did not believe that she was at risk of being kidnapped, because she was "immature" and "tall and fat". She said that her uncle had tried to convince her to get married but that she had refused a marriage proposal made to her.

Her uncle became increasingly concerned about her welfare and told her she should stay out of sight and remain in the family's attic. She followed her uncle's instructions for approximately two weeks, then believing that the atmosphere had calmed down, went out in the yard to have lunch with her cousins. As there was no gate around the family's house it was possible for neighbours and others to see what was happening in the general vicinity of their house.

During lunch a Korean man in a military uniform came in with two Japanese military police. The Korean man sat on the ground while she and her cousins finished their lunch and then said to her uncle "Why do you leave your niece at home, you must send her to Japan for one year in order for her to work. She can earn big money there. And when she returns with the money she can meet a good man and get married." She asked this Korean man how much she would earn per month and how long she would have to stay in Japan and when she would be able to go home. He again repeated that she would stay for one year and said that she could either be paid monthly or have all her money deposited during that period and take it all with her when she left. Her uncle indicated that he was responsible for her as her parents were divorced and that she should get married in Korea and not go to Japan.

At this point the mood of the Korean and the Japanese changed; until that point they had been quite friendly to the family but when her uncle said no, the Japanese stood up and dragged her out of the yard. She asked to be able to take her personal belongings with her and was told that she would not need any clothing or other belongings as they would all be provided to her. She was driven to Kwangju, where she was made to stay in an inn with five other girls. No one would tell her what was happening to her; she asked the Korean man, a Mr. Chae, what was happening but he did not respond. As she understood Japanese, having had some schooling, she overheard the Japanese telling Mr. Chae not to say anything to her. During the two days at the inn she spoke to some of the other women and found out that they all had come from different places; some of them were married, some of them were quite young. One Japanese soldier and the Korean man, Mr. Chae, also stayed at the inn. They were guarded by both men, who accompanied them on any trip they wished to take to the toilet. After two

days they boarded a train and the Japanese soldier paid for the tickets. They were put in the freight section of the train, which made many of the girls more nervous than they were before and they kept calling out "where are you taking us to". None of their questions received a response. She again attempted to elicit a response from the Korean man and the Japanese man again told him not to speak with her.

They arrived in Seoul and were put on another train and taken to Inch'on, where she was taken to a Japanese military camp. She estimated there were already sixty girls at the camp. The building they were put into had three rooms, each housing twenty girls. Six girls were put into another separate room. She stayed there one night and was examined by a Japanese doctor. The doctor did chest x-rays and four of the six girls were declared to be healthy; two others had consumption and were sent home. After this process, a group of twenty girls were put together; each was told that they would have to change their names to a Japanese name. Her Japanese name was Kaneya Mitsuko. They stayed at this military camp for one week and the only thing that was said to them was that they were all going to Japan. They were given two sets of pants, two sets of underwear and two t-shirts. They were then put on a ship and sent to Pusan; from this point onwards, it was only the Korean civilian who accompanied them.

At that time she believed that they were going to Japan to work in a factory. She said that they were carried in a Japanese battleship from Pusan to Osaka; some of the women were left at Shimonoseki. On arrival at Osaka they were taken to a military camp where she saw forty other girls. She and the other women were put into a plywood building. At that point she again asked Mr. Chae whether she was really going to have a job in a factory and what kind of factory it was. She was then told that there were no longer any jobs open in Japan and that they would have to move on to another country. Further, that it would be to a "hot country". She was then taken by military ship to Saigon with approximately sixty other women. There she was sent to a large military camp where the women were divided into groups of twenty; at this point all of the women had realized that they had been deceived and had come to the realization of what was going to happen to them.

She and nineteen other women were confined to room No. 3, where they sat around talking about what was going to happen to them. They told each other that they would now be used for the sexual desires of Japanese soldiers. They were confined to the room and that surveillance on them was tight. The room was locked at night and when the women went to the toilet, a guard would accompany them. They were then sent from the camp in Saigon to Rangoon in Burma; at this point the girls had been divided into smaller groups. She said that she was told by Mr. Chae that she should put up with the pain of what was going to happen to her for one year and that she should try and endure the mental suffering that she would experience. She was told by Mr. Chae that if she cried and resisted, she would be hit and beaten by the Japanese; she decided to resign herself to her fate and consequently was not beaten.

At Rangoon they were placed on a military truck and travelled for about an hour and a half into the mountains, finally arriving at a military base. There they saw a sign indicating the name of the comfort station. The buildings were run down and, from her description, it would appear that they were made of plywood. The building had a central corridor with ten rooms on each side and toilets at one end. The rooms were numbered one to twenty and she was put into room number three and her Japanese name hung on the door. Throughout the night many of the girls cried and she could hear them being hit by the Japanese soldiers because of their crying. The next day they were forced to begin "accepting" Japanese soldiers; for that day they were sent as many soldiers as the number on their room. Apparently, the Japanese soldiers went into the comfort house with tickets which they gave to Mr. Chae. Ms. Kim stated that she asked one of the soldiers for a notebook and kept count of the number of soldiers that she was forced to serve in that book. The maximum number that she was forced to accept in one day was twenty. Although many of the girls were bleeding at the end of their first day the Japanese soldiers continued to come and the girls were told by a Japanese doctor that they were not bleeding because of what was happening to them but because they were menstruating. Some of the women were given a rest period of three or four days to recover from the pain.

This comfort house was heavily regulated; there were separate hours for the private soldiers, petty officers and officers. Only officers were allowed to stay overnight. The hours for the private soldiers were nine to three, for the petty officers three to seven and the officers from nine to the following morning. Because of the time constraints, many of the soldiers would strip before entering the room. Because of her fear of venereal disease, Ms. Kim collected used condoms left by the soldiers. She said that when the soldiers finished, they would just drop the condoms in the room and that, when she was finished, she would collect them and put them into a chemical solution so that she would have a supply available in her room. It appears that in this comfort station the women were able to refuse soldiers who were not using, or were unwilling to use, condoms. Although they did go away, Ms. Kim indicated that when she refused to have sex with some of the soldiers because they were not wearing the condoms, they beat her before leaving.

She remained at this comfort station for three months, after which there was heavy bombing in the area and the Japanese said that they were moving out and would have to go into fox holes. The women were forced to accept soldiers in these fox holes and Ms. Kim described vividly the fact that they were forced to do so even in the rainy season in Burma. She did say that, occasionally, some of the officers were kind to them, providing them with some additional food or trying to offer some solace to them. Apparently, there were women from some other countries working as labourers in the military camp; she believed some of them were from India; these women were not used as "sex slaves" but as labourers. She said that many of these girls died of malaria. When the Japanese decided to move the military camp because of the intensity of the bombing, Mr. Chae told her and a friend of hers which truck to get on to and advised them to be the last to get on the truck. However, she and her friend decided not to get on the truck and hid in the darkness; a few minutes later Mr. Chae came back and they decided to make their way through the jungle. They found their way into India and spent five months with an Indian family. When they found out that the air raids had stopped they

decided to go to Rangoon in order to go home; on their way to Rangoon the other woman in the party drowned.

She said while she was in Rangoon she was interviewed by some English soldiers who questioned her about where she was from and to whom she related her story about being a "sex slave". She said that she was not sure that the soldiers actually believed her because at that time she developed malaria; the English provided her with medicine. She believed that the English only took some simple history from her. She and Mr. Chae were told to head for Bangkok in order to get home to Korea. They went by train and headed for an English military camp and from there went by ship to Pusan. Apparently Mr. Chae paid for the train fare and for the ship's passage.

She went back to her home village but was unable to locate any of her family. She has lived alone since that time. She operates a small restaurant, which she has done for the past thirty-four years.

When asked about whether or not Mr. Chae was paid by the Japanese soldiers, she said that he was paid monthly by them although his pay was not related to the number of soldiers who used the comfort station. She also indicated that she was not examined by a doctor during her stay at the comfort station. She was just told to observe the rules, particularly to make sure that the soldiers were wearing condoms. Asked to describe the location of the comfort house, *vis-à-vis* the military camp, Ms. Kim indicated that there was a perimeter fence around the camp and that the comfort house was immediately outside the perimeter fence. The rooms in the comfort house were approximately five feet by three feet. It was the only building immediately adjacent to the military camp and was the only building that had women in it. The closest village was approximately one hour away.

Ms. Kim indicated that she continues to be upset at Japan's denial of their responsibility for creating and operating the comfort stations. She is most insistent on a formal apology from the Japanese Government.

As is the case of many of the other women, Ms. Kim has lived an isolated life, keeping herself secluded from other people in large part because of her sense of shame about what happened to her. She said

that it was a miracle that she had survived, as many of the women in the comfort station died because of the conditions there.

Kang Soon-Ae aged 65

Ms. Kang was born on 27 September 1928 by the lunar calendar. She was born in Tokyo as her parents had migrated there to work. She returned to Korea in 1936 when she was eight years old; she, her parents and two brothers and a sister went to live in Masan. Because of the family's poor circumstances, when they arrived in Masan she was forced to beg food from the Japanese soldiers there. Her family continued to live in dire circumstances.

One day when she was thirteen years old she and her mother were scavenging for food under a bridge (rice would drop out of passing trucks overhead), when they were approached by the Japanese military police. Her father saw what was happening and tried to stop the military police from taking her, but he was hit with a knife and began to bleed. At that time she was just in her undergarments; these were traditional undergarments of baggy pants and a pyjama-like top. She was taken by the military police to a station where she found thirteen girls already waiting. She recognized the men as being military police as they had white armbands with red letters. They were taken to a Korean inn and all the girls were put into the same room. When the girls asked where they were being taken, they were told that they were going to a "nice place". She believed that before they departed for Hiroshima, thirty-five girls had been collected by the military police. They travelled on a ship named Hokido.

When they arrived in Hiroshima they were taken to a movie theatre where they were joined by a group of girls who had arrived from what is now North Korea. The two groups of girls were put together and eventually were sent to an orchard to pick fruit. She stayed at the orchard for four months at which point she was put on to a ship called the Mido Maru, which she believes to have been an army ship; they headed for Palau. Aboard the ship were Japanese officers and soldiers and some Korean soldiers. It was the Korean soldiers that told the girls where they were going; the Japanese soldiers refused to tell them anything. Neither the Korean nor Japanese soldiers told them why they

were going to Palau Island, although the Korean soldiers said to them "You'll never return to Korea, if you go you'll die there (meaning Palau)".

On the way to Palau the ship was wrecked at sea; everyone fell into the water. For reasons that are not clear to her, the Japanese soldiers became very angry and started to strike out at some of the girls; she was stabbed in the leg by one of the Japanese soldiers with his sword. The interviewer saw the scar on her leg. Only thirteen of the girls survived the shipwreck. They were taken to an island called Kaikonshima, where they remained for a couple of days. As her clothes had been destroyed during the shipwreck, she was given a military uniform to put on. They were put on another ship and taken to Palau; the voyage took one month and three days; the name of the ship was the Osaka Maru. When questioned about whether or not any of the Japanese soldiers had attempted to assault them sexually while on the ship, she indicated that they had not.

When they arrived at Palau they were taken to an army camp; she described the life there as being very difficult, as the ship that had brought them there was to return to Japan for food but it was shipwrecked on the return voyage and they had to survive on the fruits growing on the island. Apparently, the people living on the island helped them to select edible fruits and vegetables.

She and the other women all lived in the army camp. Each woman was put into a single room. Each girl was forced to "accept" between five and thirty-five soldiers a day. The soldiers were quite cruel. (The interviewer was shown scars on the side of her pelvis which came from cigarette burns. There were also scars from cigarette burns on her hands. By this point in the interview, Ms. Kang was very upset.) Sometime during September or October 1945, the Japanese soldiers began to run away and a number of officers committed suicide. It was at this point that the women learned that the Japanese were losing the war with the Allies. A number of soldiers attempted to kill the women that were in the army camp and Ms. Kang showed the interviewer a scar on her back where she had been stabbed by a sword. She also has a scar on the back of her head where the sword hit her. She described other

acts of brutality by the Japanese soldiers, saying that one woman had her breast cut off and another had had her stomach cut open by a Japanese soldier. Eventually, American soldiers came to the site where they had been housed and began to distribute food. She was never interviewed by the American soldiers as to the reasons why she was there, nor as to what her experiences had been.

She was eighteen years old when she returned to Korea from Palau; an American army ship took her back to Korea. She arrived on the first of January, which was the traditional day for holding ceremonies for the dead, and she arrived to find her mother holding such a ceremony for her. She lived with her mother until her mother's death a few years ago. She has never married and her only relative is a nephew, whom she recently told about her trauma. As with the other women interviewed, the pain of having had her body mutilated and of having been unable to marry and bear children was at least as great as the pain of having gone through the continual rapes and brutality inflicted by the Japanese soldiers.

Woo Yun Jae, aged 65

Ms. Woo was born on 27 July 1928, in Hamkyung Province; the name of her village was Samsu Kun. She lived with her grandfather, parents, two brothers and a sister. Her parents were landowners and therefore she was able to attend school for several years. In 1943, when she was almost sixteen years old, a policeman whom she believes to be Japanese, and a civilian who spoke Korean but could have been either Korean or Japanese, came to visit her home. They insisted on taking her from the house and, when her parents attempted to resist, the police said that they were just going to talk to her and wanted her to come to the police station for questioning. It appears that the chief of their village, a Wong Po Chin, was aware that girls were being taken by the Japanese. She was put onto a military truck and taken to the Haesanjin Station, where she was put on a train with other girls who had also been taken and placed in military trucks. When they asked where they were going, they were first told that they were going to Japan to get jobs in a factory. As the windows of the train were covered over, they were unable to see where they were headed and were only allowed out of

the train when they arrived in China. They were then transferred to another train; after sometime they arrived at a station and were taken to a military camp. On arriving at the military station, she was pulled out of the vehicle in which she had been riding. She was placed in a house and, when she resisted the attempts of a Japanese soldier to sexually assault her, she was kicked in the buttocks and then, once she had fallen to the ground, she was kicked around her head. Because of her attempt to commit suicide she was not touched for the first couple of days in the military camp. Eventually, a Japanese officer came to her room, spent some time talking to her and attempted to have her engage in sexual intercourse with him. She repeatedly told him that she wanted to go home and eventually did have intercourse with him, believing that if she did so she would be able to go home. However, this did not happen and after the officer had finished, the soldiers began to come into her room and raped her repeatedly. She said that she believes that about twenty to thirty soldiers came into her room, at which point her vaginal area was very swollen and her clitoris was very sore. She said despite the pain she was forced to accept additional soldiers day after day on a continuous basis. She described the soldiers as being like brutal animals who attacked her without regard to her physical condition.

At no time was there any discussion about money. There were no medical examinations given to the women. If the women did not engage in sexual intercourse with the soldiers they were beaten.

Some time in 1944 she saw the Japanese put up a floating bridge over the Hung Pok River and cross the bridge to the other side. The soldiers never returned to the military camp. Having nowhere to go the women remained at the camp until the following year, when some Korean journalists arrived in the area and told her that the Japanese had been defeated in that area of China. She was asked whether she wanted to go to Korea and, upon saying yes, she was taken to the train station. A ticket was purchased for her and she spent three days on the train and returned to Korea near the town of Buyongdae oh; she then went to stay with her paternal aunt. The Japanese soldiers in the area retreated shortly after her arrival; once they had retreated, her father came to find her and took her through a mountain pass back to the house in which he and the family were living. They waited

approximately another eighteen days and then discovered that Korea had been liberated.

She did not tell her father or other family members what had happened to her; she only told them that she had been sent to Manchuria. At the time she was taken from her village, five other girls were taken with her and she was the only one to have survived. The mother of one of the other women died shortly after her return and she believed it was because of the grief of knowing that her own daughter had died.

She was ill when she returned from China with various stomach and intestinal complaints. She was treated with various herbs and other forms of oriental medicine, but was not taken to a hospital.

As her family was unaware of her story, they urged her to marry and, given the conservative nature of her family, she felt that she had to accept this, although she felt an immense amount of shame at what had happened to her. She has never told her husband, who is now seventy-six, ten years her senior. Although she was told that it would be impossible for her to have children, she has had one son; he does not know of her ordeal. She is convinced that if her son and husband find out about her experiences it will bring "tragedy" into her life. She has not been willing to tell her story before the Korean public thus far because of the shame she believes it will bring on her and her family. She continues to have medical problems which she believes are an outcome of her experiences in the comfort house.

Hwang Dum Joo, aged 71

I was born in 1922, at Buyo-Kun, Chungchong Nam Province. My ancestors were noble persons. My father studied at Meiji University in Tokyo, where he completed his study in the field of law. At the time of graduation he fell seriously ill. Hence, the economic situation of our family declined. His health became worse and therefore my father returned to Puyong. He was suffering from a kind of cancer. I was the eldest child of the family and I was responsible for looking after everybody. I had one younger sister and one younger brother. I did not go to school because there was no money. When I was twelve years

old I went to work as a maid in the city of Seoul, with a rich family. I worked in that household for one year. The second wife of my employer treated me very badly. I learnt that she had paid a large amount of money to my family. I protested against the ill treatment to my employer. He therefore took me to his first wife's residence in Hamhung City in Hamkyung Province. I worked at that house for about three years.

In Hamhung, Japanese officers went around telling each family to send at least one daughter to the army ammunition factory. The house in which I was staying consisted of a family of three daughters and my employer's first wife. His three daughters were studying in school and or college. My employer's wife was worried. I therefore offered to go in place of those girls. I felt obliged to repay the kindness shown by my employer to me. I therefore suggested to my mistress that I be allowed to go, in order to earn more money and improve my economic situation. The Japanese officers said that young girls would be taken to work in ammunition factories and would get a lot of money after about three years. My mistress therefore said that if I went to work in this ammunition factory instead of her own daughters, she would arrange for my marriage in a good family. With all this persuasion and with the hope of improving my economic lot, I decided to go. The Japanese officer decided the place and time where I would meet him. At that place, when I went at the appointed time, there were twenty young girls who were all Korean, aged between seventeen and nineteen years. They seemed to be unmarried young girls. We were put on a train. One man was dressed in the uniform of an army policeman. He wore a khaki uniform, had a badge on his arm and carried a long sword as well as a rifle. He was Japanese. There was no other person with him. When we took the train there were about thirty young girls in all already on the train. Therefore there were a total of about fifty girls on that train. There were several military police on the train. The windows of the train had black curtains so we could not see outside. However, I managed to peek out and I saw the military policeman who had brought me there, exchanging papers with the other military policeman and soldiers. No pictures were taken of us, nor were our names recorded, nor were we asked to disclose our names.

It was autumn. It was quite cool. The family with which I had worked had given me an expensive coat which I wore at that time. I was nineteen years old and it was about the year 1941. I remember that the engine of the train was changed several times. We were given rice every three or four hours, but we couldn't eat because of our anxiety. One and a half days' journey was what it took for us to reach in the evening a place called Jilin, which was in Manchuria. When I was working I had learnt to read and write Japanese. Therefore at Jilin Station I could read the name of the station. I saw there a large number of soldiers who looked like young Korean students. From other trains there poured out many young Korean girls. Hundreds of young girls assembled at the station. We were taken to an army truck which was waiting for us. Twenty of us girls were pushed into one truck. There were five or six such trucks and they went off in different directions with their truckloads of young Korean girls. The trucks were old, dirty and ramshackle. The road was bumpy and the journey was miserable. Many of us girls were hurt during the journey, which lasted for about five or six hours. It soon became dark and we were very sick. We had headaches and body aches. We arrived in what looked like a camp. We were made to stay in a tent. The Japanese referred to it as koya. It was very cold. All twenty girls were pushed into one small tent. There were five other similar structures existing around our house. I don't know what happened to the other trucks which had left the station along with ours. I remember it was dark and cold and we were to go to a dining area which was supposed to be in an adjoining tent. I couldn't step outside because it was too cold. We were given one set of blankets, which were dirty and old. I could see that it was army material. However, it was not sufficient and all of us girls huddled together, piled up our blankets one on top of the other, and shared this entire pile, which when shared was quite warm. We consoled ourselves with the thought that the next morning we would be taken to the factory.

The next morning when we came outside we saw many soldiers around. We cleaned ourselves and were pushed by some soldiers into a restaurant where we were told to eat. The food was served to us in small bowls of tin, which was also army material. The restaurant was in

a tent. After finishing breakfast we went back to our tent. Two soldiers came to our house and saw two of us. They took me outside to a soldier's tent which was bigger, cleaner and well equipped. I later on learnt that it was an officer's tent. However, at the time when the soldier summoned me, I thought that he was taking me to the ammunition factory at last. In the tent, one high-ranking Japanese officer looked at me. I pleaded with him to let me go to a factory and start working so that I could earn some money. He asked me where I was from and I answered. He then asked me to take off my clothes. I refused. He then grabbed me. I resisted with all my might. However, he took his bayonet and used it to cut off my clothes. He even cut off my underwear with the bayonet. I was wearing Korean clothes at that time. With all this I was so scared that I fainted. There was a bed in that tent and when I returned to my senses I found that I had clothes only on the upper portion of my body and that I was bleeding from my vagina. I was a virgin before I was raped in this manner. I cried and cried. I also discovered the officer lying down beside me. He tried to pull me to him again and when I struggled, in that violence, I fractured a bone, perhaps in my back. My back still hurts and it is difficult for me to walk even now. Thereafter, the officer told me to leave. I wrapped up my clothes in a blanket, wrapped myself up in another blanket and one of the soldiers took me back to my tent. I noticed that there were drops of blood falling onto the ground when I walked from that tent back to my tent.

After that I could not move for a week. I couldn't even walk. The same officer, however, came to see me and on the third occasion when he came to see me he took me to his office. My vagina still hurt. He asked me to perform oral sex, as I had told him that he should not violate me any more. I refused. He beat me very badly. He threw me around and even kicked me. I fainted again. This was repeated quite often. I stayed for four years in this camp. Fortunately, officers were moved around to other places. When new girls arrived, the officers used them because they were virgins.

After about two months I was sent to a proper comfort house which was right beside the tent which was occupied by us. The comfort house was a small house. It consisted of small cubicles separated by a

long corridor. The cubicles were on either side of that long corridor. The size of the cubicles was such that one could spread only one blanket on the floor and the entire room would be covered. There were about ten to fourteen such rooms separated by ten wooden partitions. I didn't know who was in the other rooms because we were not allowed to talk to anyone. About thirty soldiers a day used to queue up before each room on weekdays. However, on Saturdays and Sundays about forty to fifty soldiers would queue up. There were long queues. "Quickly, quickly" they used to say to each other. Each one stayed for about five to ten minutes in each room. "Hayaku" they used to say, which I later on learnt was Japanese for quickly. The room used to get very smelly. I used to block my nose with grass to avoid the stench. Sometimes, in order to avoid them, I used to lie to them, telling them that I was diseased. Many soldiers did not even care about becoming contaminated; they used to say that in any case they had to die on the battlefield so they might as well enjoy themselves. Even during menstruation they had sex with me. I used to bleed almost all the time.

After a few months of this routine, I opted to go to the battle front to another comfort station in order to escape the ordeal which I was suffering at this particular comfort station. I stayed at the battle front comfort station for about two months. However, I quickly learnt that the situation there was much worse because there were even more soldiers there, and also all kinds of soldiers. I therefore decided to go back to Manchuria at the first opportunity. The movement of soldiers to Manchuria came around that time and I followed them. I became pregnant on at least three occasions. The first time I only realized it when I was in the third month of my pregnancy. We used to be given a strong injection called 606 for prevention of venereal disease. However, that injection must have been too strong because I had a miscarriage. The second time I had to be taken to the army hospital to have an abortion because I was two months pregnant. The third time also I was taken to the army hospital and an abortion was performed on me. The injection 606 was given to us twice a month.

Inside the camp our lives were miserable because we were not even allowed to hold our heads high and walk. We had to walk with our heads down in order to prevent us from seeing the faces of the soldiers

around us. The army used to provide us with clothes, two or three times a year. There were no sanitary towels so we used to utilise old clothes for that purpose. However, towards the end of the war no clothing was given at all. We used to steal the soldiers' old clothes. Many of the comfort girls there got severe venereal disease. They used to be treated at the army hospital for eight to ten days and then would be brought back to the comfort station. If any girl went to the army hospital on three occasions for treatment, she would not come back to the comfort house after the third time. She would just disappear. Towards the end of the war, from ten girls, only eight remained. However, out of those eight I was the only one who was healthy and could move about. The other seven girls fell seriously ill with venereal disease. We didn't get enough to eat. The number of soldiers decreased little by little. Some of the girls were replaced by other girls if they got severe venereal disease. However, at the end of the war new girls did not arrive.

One day, when we woke up, we discovered that there were no soldiers' queues and there was nobody in sight. There was no sign of any food. It was very quiet. We wondered why and, about ten o'clock in the morning, I plucked up enough courage to step out of the comfort house. There was nobody around. I went to the restaurant in the neighbouring tent. Nobody was there. Looking for food I noticed that there were dirty dishes and piles of bowls with the soldiers' bags lying around. I tried to drink some water and, from a distance one soldier shouted, "Why are you there?" he said. "Japan has been bombed and your country is liberated, so you can go home now". He said his responsibility was to transfer communication from one distant outpost to another and he had gone to the mountain when he received the news. He said he was trying to go back to Japan. He discarded his army uniform, wore plain clothes, and told me to return to Korea as soon as possible because Chinese soldiers would arrive and would kill me. After that he left me and went away. All the Japanese soldiers had run away. There were just the eight of us girls left behind. All of us were Koreans, seven were seriously ill and I was the only one who could move around. I said to them "Korea is liberated". They said I should leave them and go. However, I didn't have any clothes to wear,

nor any shoes nor any money. I found some old soldiers' clothing. I wore that. The shoes which were discarded by the soldiers were too big. I wore them nevertheless and with great difficulty walked in those loose shoes. I went to the comfort station and told the other girls that I was going. We bid a very tearful farewell to each other.

I went to army camps which were in the surrounding areas. Not a soul was around. At a certain spot I discovered many persons on their way to Korea. Some of them were former comfort women like me, some were soldiers, some were labourers, all Koreans walking together towards home. When we reached a spot from where we could take a train ride, the train driver, who was Japanese, allowed us to board the train without paying any money. We took two such train journeys. The rest of the way we walked. It took us a very long time to reach home, almost four months. I reached Seoul and I discovered that I had severe venereal disease. I was operated on and my uterus was removed. I still bear the scars of that operation. For about ten years thereafter I was treated with penicillin to no avail. Before my operation I used to bleed continuously. I was also given blood transfusions. After the operation I took about two years to recover.

At Seoul railway station I had a lot of lice, therefore I was sprayed with DDT. In fact, DDT was sprayed all over my body. I decided that I could not go back to my own family in such a condition. I stayed on in Seoul and never contacted my family at all because I was feeling ashamed. I did not marry, because I had developed a deep-rooted aversion to men and sex. I don't like to think about men at all. I developed a close friendship with a man but I could not continue that friendship because of my disease and my bleeding. I took care of five children who were orphaned during the war. One of those children is dead. The four of them, whom I care for as if they are my sons and daughters, are in Seoul and Pusan. However, when I tried to have them admitted to school, these children could not be registered as my children. They therefore had to be put in school under my neighbours' names. However, my neighbours were circumspect about these children obtaining rights of inheritance over their own property and therefore, after a while, this arrangement was discontinued. My children do not want to take care of me. I did not tell anybody of my past

because I was totally ashamed of myself. I met my mother on one occasion but I could not tell her anything. Some of the people from my village had seen me at Seoul and had gone and informed my mother and she came to see me. I didn't meet her after that. My mother asked me to get married but I didn't want to. She asked me for an explanation but I had none that I could give her, in view of the total sense of shame that I felt for my past.

My sister is still alive, she is still living in our village. I went to the village to obtain some forms for filing a civil suit in Tokyo. At that time I met my sister in the village but I couldn't tell her anything. My sister married at a very early age in order to avoid the same kind of fate which most parents realized would befall their children, especially girls. My sister must have escaped from a similar ordeal because of the fact that she married early. I was the only unfortunate one in the family to suffer the kind of experiences that I did. I feel that my past was abnormal and, if disclosed, would bring disrepute to the family. It was also considered shameful if a girl stayed single and the family was blamed for that. A girl had to be married. After my ordeal during the Second World War I was treated with total disregard by society because I did not have a husband. I have braved all these circumstances and adverse situations. I am now managing a restaurant; however I do not serve alcohol there because I am reminded of the conduct of the Japanese soldiers when they got drunk and came to the comfort station. I have lived a life of isolation and I hope that the Japanese Government will do something for me."

Kim Sang-Hi, aged 71

I was born on 29 December 1922 at Miryang, in the south-eastern part of the Republic of Korea. My father was a government official. One day he fell off his horse, broke his leg and couldn't walk thereafter. I came from a rich family. My brother was employed in the city. Hence, the whole family moved to the city when I was about seven years old. The name of the city was Taegu. We were in all five children, two brothers, two sisters and myself. I didn't go to school because I was more interested in household work. My father became a scribe; he would write documents for illiterate people. When I turned sixteen years old,

I went to take a photo of myself with a friend of mine. My father never used to allow any of the girls to step out because he was aware that there was danger lurking outside the doors of our house. However, being at that foolish age I went without telling him or anybody else in the family. On my return, when I was just coming out of the photo studio, three Japanese-speaking men accosted us. The three men were wearing uniforms. Two men held me on both sides with their arms under my armpits. One man stood behind me and pushed me forward into a waiting truck. My friend was two years older than me. I was too frightened so I called out for my mother. The soldier who was behind me gave me a brutal kick from the back. I noticed that some girls were already in the truck and were crouching with fear. We travelled for about ten minutes and stopped in front of a house, where ten more girls were brought out and loaded onto the truck as if they were goods. It was dark, because the truck was covered with a sheet. We came to Taegu Railway Station where we were told to get down from the truck. We were pushed onto a train, twenty girls in all. We were given some kind of blouse and a blue skirt and a yellow military overcoat. Many of us were crying and were extremely frightened. It was a long overnight journey. We arrived at Anshan in China and from there went to Theryon. We were then made to walk from there to a house in which there was a Korean woman. On seeing me she clapped in sympathy. All of us girls were given food. We went to the pier and were made to get into a boat. It was a cargo ship. After the boat journey we arrived at a place where we were put in a truck. I noticed that all the houses in the area were damaged. We reached a house, all twenty girls together, and we stayed there for one night.

The next morning we were divided like possessions. I was separated from my friend. I cried and cried and I was really miserable. I was then made to board a train and after another long journey we arrived at Sozu. At that place there were only soldiers and no civilians at all. We were given a room which was exactly like a pigsty. There was only one blanket which we had to share. We were locked in from the outside. Towards late evening the chief officer came there and without any explanation he came over to me and started molesting me. I resisted. He raped me. I was bleeding profusely. That night that chief

repeatedly raped me. Thereafter everyday, from ten to thirty soldiers used to visit me and force sex upon me. I lost consciousness after five days. When I woke up I found myself in a military hospital. The military doctor was a good person. He was Japanese. He reported to that chief officer that I was too young and if this kind of treatment continued I would die. I had to be shifted out of the hospital. However, that military doctor was then transferred away from that hospital. I returned to the comfort station. After about ten days, I couldn't stand it and I drank poison with a view to committing suicide. That poison was a bottle of disinfectant. I was again taken to the military hospital where I remained for a long time. I was disappointed that I could not die as I had wished.

The army camp to which I had been assigned moved to Nanking. It was situated there for about one year. Thereafter we were taken to Singapore. It took us one month to reach Singapore, because of severe air raids. On the ship nobody bothered me because the air and sea raids were very frequent. I wanted to jump into the sea to commit suicide but I couldn't reach the upper deck because we were at the bottom. When we were brought up for air onto the top deck we were heavily guarded. There were only soldiers on the ship, no civilians. When we reached Singapore it was the spring of 1943. There were about ten girls with me. On the way I saw soldiers working as prisoners of war and they were in their underwear because it was terribly hot. At that time I didn't know what nationality they were, but I later learned that they were American soldiers.

At that time I developed an appendix problem which required an operation but no surgery was possible. For almost a week I numbed the pain with ice. After that I contracted tuberculosis. I was in hospital for one year and during that time I got a kidney infection. The day I came out of the hospital I was required to go back to my duties at the comfort station. If I refused they would beat me profusely.

I was in Singapore until the end of the war. There was no way to escape from any of these places. In each of these places we were required to service thirty to forty soldiers a day for each girl. In Singapore the comfort house was a wooden house and in other places we

lived in brick houses. Towards the end of the war I developed cancer of the womb and my uterus had to be removed. I did not immediately return after the war was over. I came back in 1946. The food was extremely bad during my stay at the various comfort stations. Prior to the end of the war there was not enough food to go around. I learned of the end of the war from a Japanese soldier. He came to me and said that the war was over and we had to escape. He said to leave everything behind except one set of clothes. He bolted all the doors and pasted some paper over them. Myself and the other comfort girls ran into the mountains. The soldiers accompanied us till there and then left us and went away. We started cutting the forest. We survived on soup made from grass. Many of us died of starvation. I almost died too because I was sickly and weak. However, I had some leftover pills with me which were given to me by that kind Japanese military doctor in my comfort station in China. I imagine that those must have been vitamin pills because I did not die of starvation, I survived. The soldiers did not come into the mountains with us. However, Japanese civilians had made a camp. Korean soldiers wearing civilian clothes had also formed a camp in the jungle. We were watched by soldiers wearing turbans and I think that these must have been Indian soldiers. They were dressed like military personnel in military clothes and were dark skinned and kept an eye on us. They were carrying guns. A few days later a person called Smith, who I later learned was the Chief of the Singapore American soldiers, came and explained to us that we had to return to Korea but that we could not do so immediately and we would have to wait for some more time. He brought us boxes of food and drink. There were three camps. Each camp had about sixty to one hundred people. Many girls were gathered from Java, Sumatra, and other areas. We were repatriated camp by camp. Our camp leader spoke to Smith but none of us got a chance to speak to Smith. I don't remember if any photographs were taken of our camp.

We returned to Korea by ship. I was covered with lice. I couldn't eat very well on the ship. We arrived at Pusan. There American soldiers sprayed us with DDT, gave us toilet facilities, and generally helped us. Thereafter I took a train and arrived in Seoul. I came to Taegu and I went home. I was eagerly welcomed back. I had returned after

nine years. I did not tell anybody about my past. I used to cry and be miserable and lonely. When I was thirty two-years old my father died. When I was thirty-three my mother died. I had not married until then. Thereafter I met a widower with three children. I was not married to him legally, but we lived together as man and wife. I couldn't bear children because my uterus had already been removed. I raised the three children, who were in fact my step children. I did not tell my so-called husband about my past but he could hazard a guess. On one occasion someone came to my husband and told him that he had seen me in China. My husband got suspicious and life got worse for me after that. In spite of that I raised the three children as my own.

In 1981 I could no longer bear my husband's ill treatment and I cut off relations with him altogether. I have not kept contact with the children. Nor have I told my children where I am. I presume that their father must have told them about my past and hence they must be avoiding me. When I decided to tell my experiences and my miserable life as a comfort woman in public, the reaction of some people was kindness, but most of them who were not educated treated me with contempt. I still feel isolated from society. I felt worse when I initially reported my past life. I fell sick for three months after my initial reporting; however, now when I tell my story over again, I feel better, having talked about it. I feel light and unburdened.

Statements from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Chong Song Myong, aged 69

Ms. Chong was born on 10 August 1924, in Wonsan City; she was the eldest daughter in a poor peasant family. Her father's name was Chong Myong Gin and her mother's name was Won Pok Don; she had five brothers and sisters. Her father died in July 1936, when she was twelve years old. She entered primary school in 1933 and remained in school for six years, until 1939. After her father's death, her mother became a peddler in the area of Wonsan City, but was unable to pay the rent and the owner of the house threatened to evict them.

About this time a Japanese man came to the house and suggested to her that if she were to go a city called Mokpo and enter the factory, she would be able to earn enough money in six months to be able to live in Korea for three years. She had not met him before and did not know why he came to the house at that point. Her mother refused the man's offer and told her not to go, but she felt strongly that she should go in order to help provide for her family. She was put on a train with nine other girls and sent to Seoul. When they arrived in Seoul they changed trains and headed for Pusan. The Japanese man who had come to her house paid for her train tickets to Pusan. He was dressed in civilian clothing.

When they arrived in Pusan she asked him why they were there, as he had said they were going to Mokpo, and was told that Pusan had bigger factories and that she would be able to find a better job there. They slept in an inn that evening and the next day she was taken to the port at Pusan where the Japanese man kept a close watch on her; he would even accompany her to the toilet. At Pusan port there was a group of approximately four hundred girls; she asked him where they were going and he responded by hitting her on the ears and told her not to speak to him any more. She was able to communicate with this man because she had learned Japanese in primary school; at that time it was compulsory for educational instruction in Korea to be given in Japanese.

The ship headed south and she understood that they were going to the tropics. The ship passed by way of Singapore, where two hundred girls were left, and then went on to Rangoon. The trip took approximately forty days. The boat was a Japanese military ship which had a crew of Japanese soldiers. The women were placed in the ship's hold where there were no windows and the air was stifling. She described the situation as being very difficult. The Japanese man who had taken her from her home did not accompany her on the ship but left her in the care and control of the crew. She described the food as being very poor in quality; basically they were served boiled barley with salted vegetables. She recalls that all the women were so hungry that their conversation centred mostly around food. When they arrived in Rangoon the girls were divided into groups of twenty and each group was placed on a truck and sent off in different directions.

It took her and the women she was with three days to get to their location; because of the constant air raids they could only travel at night time. When they arrived at their destination she saw a wooden board which said Tai Kudara Comfort Station. She described the house as being made of bamboo and divided into small rooms, each about four feet by six feet. Ten girls were put into the comfort station at Tai Kudara and the other women were taken to a comfort station approximately four kilometres away. She described the comfort station as having a small entry area, a central corridor and five rooms on each side of the central corridor.

The Japanese ordered her to change her name to Kinue, saying that all women must now have Japanese names. All the Korean women were forced to change their names. In the comfort station the women were told that they would no longer be able to speak Korean and that they should speak in Japanese. In addition they were forced to adopt Japanese-style dress and to give up their Korean dresses. Each room had one straw mat, one blanket and a pillow, which was essentially dirty cotton stuffed with rags. The hours for the comfort station were 9am to 3pm for ordinary soldiers; 3pm until 6pm for non-commissioned officers and 8pm through the following morning at 7am for officers. No-one entered her room the first night that she was at the comfort station; however the next day a number of Japanese soldiers from the surrounding areas arrived at the camp. The first man into her room was the assistant of the regiment commander; she believes that it was the 33rd regiment that was posted in this area.

She found the experience to be very shameful and described him as having "torn away" her virginity. A few days later the same man came back again and this time she attempted to resist him, whereupon he took out his sword and threatened to kill her. She continued to resist, at which point he forcibly took off her clothing and she says that she was beaten ruthlessly and lost consciousness. This man, who she believes to be a lieutenant, was apparently responsible for beating a number of the women in the comfort station. She was revived by the other comfort women. She indicated that she lived in constant fear of being killed by the Japanese soldiers and did not think that there was any way out of the situation. She said that the women were beaten frequently if the

soldiers accused them of having done something wrong. All in all, she was there for approximately two years.

She said that she awoke one morning and realized that there were no Japanese soldiers in the area and was told by another comfort woman that the Japanese had been defeated; when questioned about how the news had arrived at the camp she said that she did not know, all she knew was that this other woman said that the Japanese had been defeated.

She was not aware of any of the women having become pregnant; one woman died of malaria. She said that once a week they were given a medical examination by a military doctor. According to her, the manager of the comfort station was a Japanese lieutenant. She developed some sort of skin disease which was treated by a male Korean nurse at the military station. Apparently her legs developed purple bubbles which, when pressed, let out a clear liquid. A number of the other women developed the same condition and when the commander of the regiment saw the bandages on their legs, he asked who had provided them with treatment. The majority of the women kept silent but one woman, afraid for her life, did reveal that it was the nurse and she says at this point the male Korean nurse was beaten and later died. As a result of her experiences at the comfort house she suffered from a number of medical complaints and at age forty had to have her uterus removed.

Of the twenty girls at the comfort station, one died of malaria; therefore there were nineteen left at the time of the Japanese defeat. They decided to walk in an attempt to head back to Korea. They begged for food from the villages in the different areas that they went through and also ate wild fruits and edible grasses. Eventually they crossed the border into Thailand, where they came to an Immigration Centre; there they found six hundred Korean men and women who they believed to be forced labourers. They spent six months there and were provided with food by the Thais. The name of the Immigration Centre was Ahu Cha. She stated that the Thai Government allowed the men and women in the Immigration Centre to go home and provided them with ship's passage to Inchon which is a port in what is now South Korea. The journey took thirty days.

She arrived to discover that South Korea was divided at the 38th Parallel and was unable to go home as her village was north of the 38th Parallel. She stayed in a village called Kim Chin Ri but eventually was able to cross the 38th Parallel and arrived home in 1946.

She found her mother as well as her brothers and sisters. She felt unable to tell them about what had happened to her and said that she had been taken to Burma as a field hospital nurse. She lived with her mother until her mother's death ten years ago. In all of that time she never told her what had happened to her. Her reasons for coming forward at this time are that she believes it is important to expose what happened to Korean women during the Japanese occupation of Korea and during the Second World War. She said that she read about the issue in newspapers and heard about it on radio and saw programmes about it on the television. She said that she was particularly angry about the fact that the Japanese originally denied their involvement in the running and managing of the comfort stations and remains angry at their refusal to apologize.

Ri Po Pu, aged 72

Ms. Ri was born on 16 March 1921 by the lunar calendar. She grew up in the sub-county of Anju in South Pyonyang Province. Her father was a servant on land owned by a Kim Yun Si An; in addition to her father's work, her mother did cooking and washing for the family.

When she was eighteen years old, a Korean policeman came to her family to say that he was going to establish a bar in Beijing and that she should come with him because she could earn lots of money. The man was known to the family that her parents were working for. She went with him to Beijing along with four other women. Those women left the train near the border with China and when she arrived in Beijing she was the only woman left. The bar manager ordered her to play music and sing songs, whereupon she responded by saying that you told me that I was coming here to cook. He was quite angry with her and sent her to the kitchen, where she washed vegetables. She was there for a total of three days; several times the manager told her to dance in the bar and she continued to say that she wanted to go back home.

On the third day another Japanese man came to the bar and the policeman who had taken her from her village told her to follow that man and that, if she did so, she would be freed and allowed to go home. This was not to be the case as this second Japanese man took her to the comfort station. She does not know the exact location of the comfort station; she indicated that she was so frightened that she didn't pay attention to the direction in which they were heading. When they arrived, she was sent to a house which was in the style of a military barracks. There were several doors and behind the doors were mats. She had been taken to the military camp in a military vehicle.

The room she was given was very narrow, and had room only for one person and had a small place where her dresses could be put. She was given two blankets, one to go under her and the other for a cover, and two pillows. On the first night she was not approached by any soldiers. She stated that when the Japanese man came to the bar he was dressed in civilian clothing, but she later saw him dressed in the uniform of a captain. Apparently there were three other girls in the truck with her but they continued to travel with the Japanese soldiers who were also in the truck and she does not know where they went to.

The day after her arrival, many soldiers began to come to the house and she was ordered by the manager to change into Japanese clothing. At some point the manager, who was a Japanese man, ordered a soldier to hit her and she did not understand why she was being hit. As she did not fully understand Japanese and the soldiers did not speak Korean there was no real communication between them. Apparently she managed to get through the first day without being raped, but on the following day a number of soldiers again came to her room. She again resisted and then an officer came to her room, who she believes to be a captain; she describes him as having three stars and a gold string across the front of his uniform. The captain told the soldiers not to touch her and sent them away.

The following day an officer came and forcibly raped her. When she resisted his efforts she was pushed to the floor and raped. He remained in her room throughout the night. She told him that she wanted to go home but, as he only spoke Japanese and she only spoke

Korean, he did not understand what she was saying to him and responded to her with grunts. The day after this ten persons came into her room and violated her. By the end of this she was unconscious and therefore lost count of the number of men who came to her room. She said that she continued to resist them, but that she was tired and weak and was unable to stop them from violating her.

When asked to describe the location of the comfort station, she indicated that the station and the soldiers' barracks were about twenty metres apart, but that both were inside the perimeter fence. She believes that the comfort station was an old storehouse.

At some point during her ordeal, after she lost consciousness, someone threw cold water on her and she awoke to find that there were still a number of Japanese soldiers outside her room. She decided to make an attempt to run away, thinking that one way or another she was going to die. She left the house through a rear door where a Chinese man was cooking food. She ran out of the door and ran about one hundred metres before being shot by a Japanese soldier. Apparently the Chinese man had yelled out that one of the girls was running away and the soldiers followed her. One bullet went into her knee and the other went into her groin. The interviewer was shown the scars from these injuries. There was a sterile solution in the room which she was to use to wash herself and she applied some of this solution to her wound.

She was taken back to the comfort station. Despite the fact that she had been wounded she was forced to accept soldiers. She believes that, as she was new to the comfort station, every soldier wanted to go to her room. She was not given any medicines nor was she given a bandage. She tore her clothes to fix them like a bandage around the wound, which apparently swelled quite profusely. Because of the swelling in her groin area it was impossible for the soldiers to have sex with her, so she was carried by five soldiers to a lake and was thrown in; however she did not land in the deep part of the water and was able to crawl four kilometres to a village called Linjo.

At the village she encountered an old man who was selling tea. She begged him for food and also asked him to provide her with Chinese trousers and a jacket, which he did, so that she could disguise herself and

attempt to look Chinese. She then crawled to the train station (as her wound had not received any treatment, it was still quite painful and she was unable to walk). At the train station she met a Korean who asked her what had happened to her but she felt unable to tell him and just said that she had fallen down. He gave her the train fare and asked her to carry a parcel with her to Korea. However, because of her wound she was unable to board a train and stayed in the town for about a month. She said that one Chinese man asked her what had happened and she again lied and said that she had fallen down. She says that he gave her a piece of opium which she put into her wounds and that eventually they began to heal and she was able to walk with two sticks. She boarded the train and arrived in Chong Jin during the summer months, while the Japanese were still occupying Korea. They were defeated four months after her arrival there. After their defeat she went back to her native village.

Her recollection of the time spent in the various places was not clear; it appears that she spent approximately one year in the comfort station prior to running away and being wounded, and then four years wandering in China before being able to head home. She was unable to tell anyone of her experiences as she thought what had happened to her would disgrace her in the eyes of her fellow citizens. She lived an isolated life, devoting herself to her work. She said that she kept thinking to herself, "...if I expose my life and what happened, what will my fellow citizens think of me?" However, after watching a television programme where it was stated that the Japanese were unwilling to apologize and had denied that the military was involved in the running of the comfort stations, she decided to speak out. It was important to her that the younger generation of Koreans learn what had happened and about the crimes committed by the Japanese. She repeatedly stated that, as a woman, what had happened to her was very disgraceful and emphasised that for a Korean woman it was difficult to speak out. She indicated that she was determined not to die before the government gave an official apology for what had happened. She also stated that she has often been struck with grief by the fact that she was unable to have children; she said that as a human being it was her wish to have children, but because of what the soldiers had done to her she felt

unable to marry and therefore had not been able to have children. She indicated that this was particularly difficult for her in the context of Korean society, where it is important to have someone, particularly children, to bury you. She said, "if I die, who can bury me?" She recognized that other villagers would perform a burial ceremony but repeated that it was "a great pity" for Koreans not to have children to bury them.

Kim Yong Shil, aged 69

Ms. Kim was born on 24 October 1924. Her birthplace was Pho Chon-Ri in Ryanggang Province; she is now living in Hye San City.

As a child she lived with her father and mother and five brothers and a sister. As her father was ill he was unable to work and her mother was what is termed a "daily worker", that is, someone who goes to a factory each day hoping to fill the place of a worker who has not shown up for work on that day. She said that she was unable to attend school as her family was too poor. As a child she was a "baby tender" for neighbours and sometimes begged in the streets for food and money.

When thirteen years old, she was told by her father to go to her paternal aunt's house in order to live. She followed her father's instructions but when she arrived in her aunt's village she discovered that the aunt had moved. She stayed in the aunt's village, Hyei Ryong, for five years, believing that it would be too much of a strain on her family if she were to return home. During those five years she acted as a baby tender, sometimes ran errands for various people, was a servant in a bar and sometimes was forced to beg on the streets.

One day when she was eighteen, a stranger, who was Japanese, came up to her and said, "why not work in a factory and earn some money?" She says that he was dressed in khaki trousers and a black jacket. He told her to follow him and arrived at a place where there were thirteen other Korean girls. She said that they were all approximately the same age as she and all of them were told that they were going to work in a factory. The following day a military truck arrived and the Japanese man ordered all the girls to get into the truck.

The truck took them to the railway station and they were taken by train to Chyong Hak Dong, which is on the border where the Soviet Union, China and Korea meet.

When the train stopped at the border station the Japanese man who had accompanied them ordered them off the train and they were put into a military vehicle and taken to the countryside. She said she remembers seeing Japanese soldiers along the way. She began to ask where the factory was, as she was beginning to worry, and the man ordered her not to speak. When they arrived at a place with military barracks, she was ordered to get off the truck. Near the barracks was a house, which from her description appears to have been made of plywood, with a door made from a straw bag. The house was on the road leading into the camp and was on the camp side of the sentry station; therefore it appears that it was actually inside the military base. There were some women at the door who called out to her and said, "why have you come here, you can't get out of here, you can't get out of this dirty place without dying". The Japanese man said to her "Please come quickly". She then came to what she believed to be a store house and was given a Japanese dress and told to change her clothes. After changing her dress she and the other women were gathered together in the courtyard and they were given some food, which she said was boiled barley and a thin soup. As she was afraid she ate little.

The women who had been inside the house when she arrived were put onto a truck and she and the other girls were taken into the house. The house was in fact two smaller houses which were connected by a central corridor, with rooms on both sides. In each room there was a mattress, a blanket and a pillow made from straw. The rooms were large enough to contain two persons and no bigger. She stated that when she was taken to her room she was given a Japanese name and a small piece of cloth was put on the door that had her new Japanese name on it.

That evening soldiers began to come into her room. She said the first person who entered was the man who had spoken to her about going to work in a factory. He was now dressed in a military uniform.

He came into the room and took off her clothes and she immediately became afraid and stood in a corner of the room. She was embarrassed by what was happening and attempted to resist and then fell down and was forcibly violated. After this incident seven more soldiers came into the room. She said she found it impossible to sleep in that situation. Apparently, the comfort house was used by soldiers from the surrounding areas, as well as those that were actually stationed in the camp. She later learned that there was another comfort house nearby. In the daytime the ordinary rank and file soldiers would come to the comfort station, then in the early evening "lower ranking" officers would come and at night time "the high ranking" officers would visit. She has no idea of the exact amount of time that she was forced to receive soldiers. All she remembers is that there were long queues and that the soldiers would stand in the queues singing songs.

In addition to being forced to have sex with soldiers at the comfort station, she and the other women were taken to what she described as a mobile station for two or sometimes more days. They would be taken to an area and forced to receive soldiers and then taken back to the camp. She said that when they were at the military camp they were given small amounts of food, but at the mobile stations there was no food. She said that she saw the man who had originally approached her several times and that each time he came back to the camp he arrived with new women. It appears that the procedure was to take the women who were already at the comfort station, move them to another one and have the new girls placed into this comfort station. Ms. Kim was taken to another station somewhere on the Chinese/Soviet border. When questioned about the soldiers' treatment of the women, she said that she was hit by some of the officers, including the man who had initially deceived her.

She described one incident in particular detail. One night she found herself so tired that she was unable to go to the dining room for dinner and then, having laid down, in her room was approached by a soldier. She tried to resist him and as he had sat down on her stomach and had begun to hit her about the face she decided to strike back at him and bit him on the arm. The fierceness of his response left her with two broken teeth and a bloodied face. He apparently took out his sword and

attempted to kill her but her screams brought other soldiers to the room and they dragged the officer out. She ran into another room at this point. She stated that as a result of his humiliation from the incident, this officer committed suicide and that another officer accused her of having killed him. She claims that she was then taken and tortured; she stated that water was poured into her mouth and nose and that when her stomach was swollen the soldiers placed a board over it and began to move it back and forth across her stomach and forced the water out. As this continued she lost consciousness and came to in her room.

She stated that she saw three girls killed, one girl because she spoke Korean, another because she had had a child and that she and the child were thrown into the river, and another woman because she was too weak to continue to "serve" in the comfort house. One day the Japanese soldiers came to them and said that they were going back to Japan and that the women must follow them. The women thought that if they followed, they would continue to be violated and might be killed, so they decided to run away. They climbed to a nearby hill where they stayed for three days; they finally descended because of hunger. They came to a village and heard that the Japanese had been defeated in the war. She and the other women begged for food in the surrounding area and finally she made her way back to Chong Jin. When she arrived at her village she found that her mother and father had died and that her brothers and sisters were scattered.

She felt very shy because of what had happened to her and felt herself to be "shameful". She lived in an agricultural village until recently, when she moved to Hye San City. She never married and continues to live alone. As with the other women, it was the presentation of the television programme about the comfort women which prompted her to come forward and tell her story. She initially testified in 1992, after having thought about it for quite a while. She also believes it is important for the Japanese to apologize and to pay compensation to the women. She noted that she was made particularly angry by Japanese statements that some or all of the women had gone to the comfort stations in order to earn money. She said that no woman would sell her body in this way.

Chang Su-Wol, aged 69

I was born on 21 March 1924, in Anju County, South Pyongyang Province of DPRK. My father was a worker at a factory. There were six members in my family. As my family was poor, I could not go to school.

When I was 16 I found a job at a sandal factory. I worked there for one year. One day, a stranger, a Japanese, approached me with an offer of a job where he said I would earn three times the amount of my salary. I was young and very poor. I was persuaded by that stranger to accept his offer. He took me to the railway station and asked me to board a train. He kept a strict watch over me even when I went to the toilet. On leaving, I had told my family that I was going to earn much more money in my new job.

The stranger was dressed in khaki clothes; he was not carrying any weapons, nor did he wear any badges. I don't know how long the train journey took. After we got off the train, we took a horse-drawn cart, and arrived at Chichi Haru in North China. When I left my village, there were seven other girls with me who also went to Chichi Haru. In China, I found, at that place, 15 more girls. All of us were Koreans, aged between 15 and 30.

On reaching our destination, the stranger pushed us girls into rooms. It was a brick house with many rooms; the rooms had numbers on them. Each girl was pushed into a room.

I was 17 years old then. I did not get any chance to talk to any of the other girls. We were told we would be taken to a factory.

I was forced to undress. I resisted. I was then threatened with a sword placed on my neck. I struggled, and my finger was cut. I decided to commit suicide; but the other girls persuaded me not to die on foreign land.

The manager of the place was a Japanese man called Yoshida. There were long queues of soldiers all through the day. I would get tired and exhausted, but would be beaten with leather strings and allowed no rest at all. In the daytime, I had to serve soldiers, and at night, officers.

Sometimes we were made to sit close together, all the girls, and then the officers would choose a girl each, push us into a room, and force sexual intercourse on us. This went on until 7 am the next morning. Even if I was menstruating, I was forced to have sex.

On one occasion, my stomach became bloated because of what I think was improper menstruation. I was taken to a hospital. I was not pregnant; as over 30 people in a day would have forcible sex with me, it was impossible for me to become pregnant.

That hospital was about 5 km away. I was taken there by Yoshida, and I had to walk there. Black paste was applied to my stomach, and I was given an injection. After one week, I was taken back to the comfort station by Yoshida.

All of us girls had medical check-ups once a week by the Japanese Army doctor. The comfort station was a temporary structure. The food was boiled barley and cabbage, it was insufficient. The room in which I was confined was large enough to accommodate just one straw mat. I had one quilt and a pillow apart from the mat. That was all. In winter, I was provided with a skirt and blouse.

Soldiers were to give me tickets. At first, I could not understand why they were giving me these. I gave them back. The soldiers insisted that I should keep them, and I did. Every soldier gave me a ticket. In the morning, the manager would collect the tickets from the girls. The girls with small collections would be beaten by the manager.

Finally I decided to run away. I selected a moment in the evening when the officers would choose us, because there was a possibility of us being taken to their barracks. At midnight, I pretended to go to the toilet. In fact, after every soldier left, we had to wash our genitals. I ran away after being confined at that place for four years.

After a time I found some Chinese farmers who gave me food and a place to rest. Two other girls also escaped and they caught up with me a little distance away. We shared the bread given by the farmers. We walked and walked. On the way we met some Koreans. They were farmers. They provided us with clothes.

I returned to my family, but I could not tell anyone of the suffering I had had to endure. I was ashamed, and would not speak out. I wished to live a normal life like every other woman, with a husband and family. But because of my shameful past, I thought I could not marry.

I have been living alone. I am still alone.

Kim Tai Il, aged 77

I was born in 1916, in Sariwon City. My family was poor. I used to earn money as a baby tender. I worked from the age of eight years. When I was twelve, my father deceived two Korean men by promising to marry me off to them and receiving money in exchange. He broke his promise and was sent to jail. I found a job in a textile mill owned by a Japanese. After three years of working there, I repaid the money taken by my father from those Korean men.

The section chief of that mill, a Japanese man called Fukuda, told me that he had found a job for me where I could earn more money. I thought I should go, as I could earn more. I had learnt a little Japanese in one of the houses where I had worked as a baby tender.

The section chief took me to Pusan. On arriving there, I found 50 Korean girls who were aged 14 to 16. Fukuda took all of us on a boat, and all of us arrived in Shimonoseki. The 50 girls were dispersed in different directions.

I was taken by him to the Den Nogi Hospital at Osaka. The staff of the hospital was about 800. I was 16 years old at that time. I did all kinds of menial jobs, and was humiliated for being a Korean. No salary was paid to me. My food consisted of leftovers from the Japanese.

I was raped by the chief of the hospital one night on New Year's Eve after I had worked there for 2 years. The next morning he took me to Tokyo and told me to go with a stranger. He told me I'd be happy at the place where the stranger would take me. Later I found out I had been sold to the 12th Division as a comfort girl.

The stranger was a military soldier, a Japanese. He took me to Shimonoiseki, put me on a ship, and then took me to Chang Chun Manchuria. The 12th Division was in charge of Manchuria.

On my arrival in China, I found about 200 Korean girls. I was not told what was happening. I did not ask any questions while travelling; I was afraid of the soldiers, of being beaten. The girls were surprised to see me. They told me it was a miserable place.

I moved with the 12th Division. I was with them for 5 or 6 years, forced to provide sexual services to the soldiers.

Then I was moved to the 6th Division. The 6th Division was notorious for its cruelty. They were very proud of themselves.

Along with 50 other girls, I was moved to Shanghai along with the 6th Division. I was 22 years old. We arrived on 17th January. I had to serve 40 to 50 soldiers every day at Shanghai.

The 6th Division was wild and outrageous. They would stick their swords in the mattress the moment they entered the room. They frightened me, and forced sex on me. In the evenings I sometimes lost consciousness. My life there was difficult and intolerable. I tried to commit suicide on 3 different occasions.

Sometimes I was mobilised as a nurse. During a battle, I was given a helmet, a red-cross bag, and made to work as a nurse by day and as a comfort girl at night.

The food was boiled barley and salted carrot. It was insufficient.

I personally know that many comfort girls had to follow combat units, and ill and pregnant women were put in a trench and killed by hand grenades.

I moved with the 6th Division to Nanjing, Singapore and other places.

After a month in Singapore, the Japanese were defeated. The Japanese killed some of the Korean women; I escaped with two others. We three girls crawled on and on, and found a Chinese house. At first they were afraid. We said, "we're Korean, please help us".

They hid us, gave us food and clothes and found a Korean family for us.

We stayed at the Korean house. That's where I heard of the unconditional surrender of Japan, as there was a radio in that house.

I would like the Japanese to apologize and I would like compensation for all that was done to me.

Chapter Five

Statement of Ex-Soldiers

While in Japan, the members of the mission had the opportunity to interview three former soldiers. They were Mr. Kouki Nagatomi, a member of the Special Mission Organization which was the intelligence branch of the Japanese military, who was involved in the establishment and maintenance of a comfort station while stationed in China; Mr. Ichiro Ichikawa, a member of the military police; and Mr. Yoshio Suzuki, who was a member of the Japanese army also stationed in China. Their reasons for coming forward varied, but all three agreed that it was time for the history of Japan during this period to be told. As did the victims, the soldiers emphasised the importance of finding measures at the international level both to ensure this type of conduct did not occur in future and to punish the perpetrators. The statements are set out in the order in which they were recorded; as with the victims' statements, we have tried to summarise them as faithfully and accurately as possible.

Mr. Kouki Nagatomi

On the date of testifying Mr. Nagatomi¹ was 77 years old; he was born in 1916. Before setting out his story Mr. Nagatomi indicated that it had been very difficult for him to decide to come forward and testify, but that he had decided to do so because he was concerned by the present policies of the Japanese Government, in particular the failure of the government to express its remorse for the past behaviour of Japan and the government's intention to amend Article 9 (the "peace provision") of the Constitution. Mr. Nagatomi indicated that he found it unfortunate that the Japanese Government was following proposals made by the United States of America without having given sufficient

¹ Mr. Nagatomi was taken prisoner by Communist troops and placed in a camp in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, where he was tried for war crimes and sentenced to 13 years in prison (see *Japan Times*, 6 August 1992).

consideration to Japan's own history. He also believed the government was continuing to evade the issues raised by the comfort women as well as by those individuals who were forcibly conscripted into the Japanese labour force prior to and during the Second World War.

In 1937 Mr. Nagatomi went to China as a representative of the student coalition called "The Patriotic Student Association Federation" and was present in China during the Nanking massacre. Early in 1938 he joined the army as a civilian cooperating with the military. Later that year Mr. Nagatomi joined the Special Mission Organization which served as a form of secret service in the military. Its job was to control and manage the local population, mitigate anti-Japanese feeling and maintain security within the armed services. After joining the Special Mission Organization, Mr. Nagatomi was sent to Anching to establish an office there. During his stay in the Nanking and Shanghai areas, Mr. Nagatomi heard soldiers talking about what had occurred in and around Nanking during the episode commonly referred to as "The Rape of Nanking". It was said by the soldiers that between Shanghai and Nanking there were no virgins. Mr. Nagatomi indicated that the damage and destruction of Chinese homes, property and means of production were so great that villagers were forced to come to large cities such as Shanghai in order to earn a living. Women were forced into prostitution because of the poverty of their families. The conduct of the soldiers was of concern not only to the outside world but to the military itself. As a result Mr. Nagatomi was told to set up a comfort station for soldiers in the Anching area. This was done by having an outside person establish a comfort house; the women in this comfort house were Chinese. This was done in 1938.

Mr. Nagatomi recounted a particular incident when seven or eight girls had been recruited for approximately 100 yen each. They were brought to the Special Mission Office where several officers held a lottery, the winner of which was able to choose the girl he wanted to sleep with. After that the other people in the Office were able to "purchase" the remaining girls; they were given "exclusive custody" of the girls. Mr. Nagatomi admitted that he had purchased one of the women, and although she was allowed to go home, when he wished her services he would send for her and she would have to come and stay with him.

Mr. Nagatomi indicated that it was his view, on being stationed in China, that military comfort houses were established wherever there was a military presence in China.

Mr. Nagatomi moved to another post near the Mongolian border. The troops stationed in this area were assaulting houses and demanding women and young girls on a continual basis. Because Mr. Nagatomi spoke Chinese, a local official approached him to ask him how these raids on Chinese women could be stopped. Mr. Nagatomi advised him that the establishment of a comfort house could prevent such behaviour and as a result a comfort house was established in that area. This was in 1942. Again members of the local population were used "to recruit" women from the general vicinity. Mr. Nagatomi did not know much about the organization of this particular comfort station; it was his general impression that the women were between 17 and 20 years old and that the comfort station was open only to Japanese soldiers.

When Mr. Nagatomi was questioned about what had happened to the women in the comfort station after the surrender by Japan, he indicated that his unit left the women behind and that he believed that they were probably cared for by the Allied forces who came into that area of China.

Mr Ichiro Ichikawa

Mr. Ichikawa was born on 15 December 1920; he was a tailor and also a school-teacher, from 1935 until 1941.

In his opening remarks Mr. Ichikawa said that he shared the feelings of Mr. Nagatomi as to why it was important to speak out. He indicated that when he first heard this issue being raised in the media he realized the government was claiming that it had not been involved, which he knew was false. He said that he had personally managed a comfort station in which there were Korean women and he provided this information during a nation wide call-in. Mr. Ichikawa was tried as a "C" class war criminal and detained in Siberia for five years after the Second World War. He believes that Japan should express its repentance for what happened during the Second World War.

With respect to his career in the military, Mr. Ichikawa indicated that he was drafted in July of 1943 and sent to a military police academy in Manchuria. In March 1944 he became a fully-fledged member of the military police and was assigned to a regiment in Manchuria. The work of the military police covered essentially three areas: espionage; policing; general affairs.

The military police had extensive powers over the navy, army and civilians. Members of the military police were paid higher salaries than those of soldiers or naval personnel and were also given a generous budget for their activities, which included the recruitment of spies and the buying and selling of opium. During his stay in Manchuria, Mr. Ichikawa was put into the general affairs section of the military police. When he arrived at his post he was told by his commander that he was to be in charge of a comfort house; at that time he was 23 years old and this was the first time he had seen or frequented such a place. During his testimony Mr. Ichikawa drew a general outline of a comfort house under his control, which showed an entrance area and small waiting room with a central corridor running down the building and small rooms off the side of that corridor. He indicated that each of the rooms was approximately 4 feet by 5 feet and was furnished with just a mat, a mattress and blanket. This particular building was made of brick.

According to his testimony the house was under the control of the military, although there were outside managers, a husband and wife of Korean origin, who were stationed there to oversee the women. Mr. Ichikawa was emphatic that this house and many other houses were under the control of the military. He said that there would be some truth to a statement that there was a private sector, because certain comfort houses were run by the private sector; these were usually frequented by military officers. Private houses were more often established within a local restaurant, but even these catered specifically to military officers.

With respect to the comfort station which was under his control, he indicated that all ranks in the military were able to have access to this comfort house. The fee paid varied according to the rank of the soldier. Upon arrival a soldier would obtain a permit for entry; those for the

rank-and-file were black, those for non-commissioned officers were blue and those for officers were red. The military police kept an accurate account of the number of times a soldier visited a comfort house. Given the low rate of pay of the soldiers, suspicions would be raised if a rank and file soldier visited such a house more than once or twice a month, as they would not have had the funds to support more frequent visits. Too great a frequency might indicate that the soldier was trafficking in a prohibited substance or was defrauding the local population.

The military police were also concerned that no secrets be revealed from users to the women and so wanted the number of visits limited, in order to prevent relationships developing between a soldier and a comfort woman. What was of particular concern was the possibility that a soldier might reveal the movement of troops, by saying to one of the women that he was on his way out in the near future. Every morning the Korean couple provided to the military police a list of users for each woman and the military police would look to see if one particular soldier was visiting the same woman too often.

Once a week there would be a medical check on each of the women; this was done by a military doctor. The purpose of these was to determine whether or not the woman was suffering from a venereal disease; Mr. Ichikawa emphasised that this was not done for the benefit of the woman but for the benefit of the soldiers. Most of the women were suffering from urethritis, an inflammation of the urethra. Mr. Ichikawa was also firm in his view that the practice of medically checking the women solely for the benefit of the soldiers was inexcusable.

He did not know whether any of the women were paid. The managers bought food for the women in the commissary; he does not recall ever seeing a woman making a purchase for herself.

Mr. Ichikawa was frank enough to state that he had availed himself of the service. There were approximately 30 women at this comfort station, all of whom were Korean. The station was located in the centre of the town and troops stationed in the general area as well as those moving through were able to have access to it.

When questioned about the use of force in recruiting the comfort women, Mr. Ichikawa stated that he was unable to say whether or not force had been used in this comfort station, as it was already in existence when he reached the town. What he did say was that if the military police had intervened in the recruitment, there would have been no way for someone to resist their demands.

Mr. Ichikawa was critical of other soldiers and military officers for not coming forward. He also indicated that one of the military newspapers had criticised those former soldiers who had testified in favour of comfort women, but he believed it was important to do so. He was also of the view that many of the soldiers would still believe that what they did was acceptable.

When questioned about the reports that he made on the soldiers' activity in the comfort stations and in particular about the existence of documents, Mr. Ichikawa said that the documents from the Korean managers were sent to him personally and that he would include the information in his verbal reports to his supervisors. The original documents remained with him and these documents were destroyed when the war ended.

When asked about the number of men who would enter each woman's room and engage in sexual activity every day, he said that he believed the number at the comfort station near his military base was 15 to 20.

He was then questioned about violence towards the women, other than sexual violence, and stated he did not believe that this occurred. (It should be noted here that many of the women we interviewed were personally the victims of physical violence as well as sexual violence.) He also asserted that the women were able to go out of the comfort station and that they were able to speak with one another and were given money to spend. (This is also inconsistent with the testimony we heard from the women, but without having interviewed women from that particular comfort station it is impossible to determine whether Mr. Ichikawa's testimony in this regard was accurate or not.)

When questioned about the efforts made by the Japanese soldiers to

repatriate the Korean women when they realized that defeat was imminent, Mr. Ichikawa stated that at the time Koreans were discriminated against and that Japanese soldiers began to leave by train but that the Koreans were not allowed to get onto a train. He believes that many of the women were lost because the soldiers did not know what to do about them.

Finally, Mr. Ichikawa indicated that he wanted to stress that he had personally made sure that all women in that comfort station were evacuated when the Soviets invaded. When questioned about the age of the women at the comfort station, Mr. Ichikawa asserted that the women were above the age of 20.

As to the documentation concerning the women, he indicated that the military police did maintain documents on the women and would have had in their personnel files the women's Korean names. It was his belief that these documents were destroyed at the end of the war and that it would be very difficult to trace the women through the soldiers as these might or might not remember the Japanese names assigned to the women. (It should be noted that this portion of Mr. Ichikawa's testimony supports what was said by the Korean women, i.e. that they were forced to give up their Korean names and take Japanese ones.)

Mr. Yoshio Suzuki

Mr. Suzuki was born in 1920 and joined the military at the age of 19. He was placed with a unit stationed south-east of Beijing. He stayed there until the end of the war, at which time his rank was sergeant major.

Mr. Suzuki was located at the headquarters of the 51st Division; a comfort station called by the name of Hoshi Star Club was located near the military headquarters and contained 100 Chinese women. Its physical layout was similar to that described by Mr. Ichikawa except for the fact that there were curtains between the rooms. Behind each curtain there would be a bed. Unlike other comfort stations that Mr. Suzuki had heard described, he indicated that there were no queues at this comfort station because of the number of women. He also stated that there was a comfort house located at the battalion headquarters which

contained Japanese women and was strictly for the use of the officers. He said that there was a network of comfort houses and wherever a company of soldiers was stationed there would be at least one or two comfort houses which contained Korean women and would have five women per house. According to him, the rank-and-file soldiers utilised the houses mainly on Sundays. They would be given a leave permit upon exiting from the military camp and would also be given a condom. He was firm in his testimony that the condoms were supplied by the military.

Mr. Suzuki stated that in some cities there would be more than one or two comfort houses. He stated that the comfort houses were effectively the only place the soldiers had to go when given leave. With respect to their method of operation he said that the fee, which was 1 or 1.5 yen in 1942-43, was very low. There was a time limit of one hour. At other comfort houses many soldiers queued outside each door; there could be 10 people waiting in line. The one hour was a theoretical time limit as after 5 to 10 minutes the other soldiers would bang on the doors and tell you to hurry up. Many soldiers began to undress outside the door and would come out of the rooms undressed.

Mr. Suzuki said that he did not utilise the comfort house when he was an ordinary soldier but did do so when he became a non-commissioned officer. As an officer he did not want to be seen waiting in line and as the officers had two extra hours of leave he went to the comfort station after the others had left.

He then referred to his stay in Ujo, where there was only one company of soldiers. He indicated that there was no exclusive facility for officers but that as the officers were able to go out any night during the week, they used the comfort stations during weekday evenings. He also said that by 1944, when it was apparent that the Japanese would lose the war, many petty officers were desperate and began to go out more frequently at night, and that holes were cut in the fence. He said that this behaviour sometimes led to the formation of closer ties with some of the women.

When questioned about the military's involvement, he stated that there was a clear signboard above the comfort station saying that it

was accessible only to soldiers and civilians working for the military. The doctor's reports with respect to the existence of venereal disease among the women were made public. Reports would indicate which women were to be put "off duty". At this comfort house there were five women and he said that usually one in five was "off duty". Apparently the doctors gave ratings to the women, indicating whether their physical health was good, fair (which meant they had minor problems) or bad (which meant they were sick and were not to be with soldiers). He said that this information passed through the chain of command and therefore was evidence of the military's involvement in the running of the comfort houses.

He was most adamant in his rejection of the stated reasons for the operation of the comfort houses, which were to prevent rape of local women and the spread of venereal disease in the armed forces. He said that to his mind there was not a single woman in any of the comfort houses who enjoyed complete health; all of them were suffering from some form of disease. Further, as the women were virgins when they arrived at the comfort house it was impossible that venereal diseases originated with them; the comfort houses were responsible for spreading venereal disease throughout the armed forces. He further asserted that a significant percentage of his colleagues had some form of venereal disease and that he knew of several cases of syphilis among his colleagues. With respect to the issue of rape, he admitted that what happened to the women in the comfort houses was rape.

Mr. Suzuki indicated that the spread of venereal disease through the armed services had another effect on the local population. As many officers and soldiers were unwilling to indicate to the military doctors or to staff in military hospitals that they had venereal disease, they resorted to having paramedics obtain medication for them on the open market. As up to 30% to 40% of the soldiers who had been in the military for 4 to 5 years had some form of disease, this meant that they were spreading the disease through the women. Furthermore, the medication used by the soldiers, Biodoc 606, was expensive and could not have been obtained by the soldiers with their monthly salary. What many soldiers did was to volunteer to take part in military excursions in the area and while out on an excursion they would burgle houses or

rob the local Chinese population. Mr. Suzuki claimed that these acts became so serious that they were drawn to the attention of the military authorities and that eventually soldiers were body checked on their way into camp to see if they were carrying large amounts of cash. As he was a non-commissioned officer he was asked by the rank-and-file to carry in money because he would not be subject to a body check; he stated that he did in fact undertake to do this.

Mr. Suzuki also remarked that by this point in the war many of the soldiers were "numb" in the sense that they had no feelings toward anything and could commit acts of brutality without feeling any sense of remorse. He commented that the brutality of the soldiers should not be underestimated and that even the existence of the comfort houses did not prevent the soldiers from engaging in acts of rape against local women.

During his testimony Mr. Suzuki recounted an incident. One of his superiors was or seemed to be cooking his dinner over a fire and Mr. Suzuki asked whether he could cook for him. The officer continued to cook, then offered Mr. Suzuki a piece stating that it was the brain of a local Chinese woman. He asserted that he was eating it because he believed it could cure him of syphilis.

Another incident recounted by Mr. Suzuki was a New Year's Eve gathering in 1944 during which officers exchanged rice cakes with the comfort women living in a comfort house called Dava. When the idea was first suggested he hesitated, but was told by the kitchen staff that this was the usual practice.

The purpose of recounting this story was to show the military's active involvement with the comfort stations and that there were a series of fixed routines between the officers and the women in the comfort stations. Mr. Suzuki went on to recount that later that evening, after some of the officers had drunk sake, Japanese rice wine, they went to the comfort station and found the house occupied by non-military personnel, at which point he lost his temper and became quite violent with these "intruders". He said that he was never reprimanded or penalised for the actions he undertook that night.

It is his recollection that the comfort houses in the area where he was posted were staffed by Chinese, Korean and Japanese women. He believes that the Japanese women who were present had been geishas in Japan.

When questioned about his knowledge of the way in which the women were recruited, he said that when he spoke with a particular woman whom he visited frequently, she told him that she thought she was going to be a nurse with the Japanese military. He indicated that she said repeatedly that she had been deceived; she cried for most of the time that he knew her. Mr. Suzuki also stated that his colleagues told him that they had heard similar stories from the women that they went to. Each woman claimed to have been deceived and wanted to go home. As the women were controlled by the organizers and managers they could not go home; also none of them had money. He also believed that the women were afraid of the managers and that they were constantly supervised and afraid to go out of the comfort house.

Mr. Suzuki stated that by 1945 military discipline had broken down and that there were many occasions on which the women in the comfort house came into the military buildings asking for things such as soap and clothing, he assumed that their life was extremely bad. He estimated that they were suffering from extreme poverty. Mr. Suzuki was not aware of the number of soldiers that each woman was forced to receive each day, but does remember that on Sundays there were long queues of soldiers and he estimated that each woman would have been forced to receive 20 to 30 soldiers.

The ICJ mission noted that as was the case with the victims, the soldiers had a vivid recollection of the events and could recount their stories in detail. What was most remarkable was the fact that both victims and soldiers remembered songs they had been taught or heard continuously. Mr. Ichikawa was able to remember the refrain of a Korean love song he had learned in China from a Korean comfort woman.

Chapter Six

After the War Ended

Japan officially unconditionally surrendered to the Allied forces on 2 September 1945. The Second World War abruptly came to an end.

Germany, the other aggressor State, had been censured in the Moscow Declaration of October 1943 by the Allied Powers. In the Moscow Declaration the Allied governments affirmed their previously announced intention to ensure retribution for those responsible for the atrocities of the war. In this Declaration it was announced that members of the German armed forces responsible for the atrocities would "be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples they have outraged", and that major war criminals "whose offences had no particular geographic location" would be punished.¹

The United Nations' War Commission was formed in 1943², for the purpose of investigating war crimes. It undertook the preparation of lists of war criminals and to make recommendations to the member governments on the various aspects of the proposed trials relating to the apprehension, trial and punishment of war criminals. In preparing these lists, the Commission took into account documents placed before it by the member governments. Between 1945 and 1947 Pacific and Far Eastern Sub-commissions were created. In addition most of the Allied countries created their own war crimes offices.

In 1945, the Allies agreed to the setting up of the Far Eastern Commission. This Commission set the policy for prosecution of Japanese war criminals and delineated the definition of war crimes.³ This took place in April 1946.

1 Oppenheim and Lauterpacht, 1952, vol.ii, 7th. ed., p.577

2 Piccigallo, P.R., *The Japanese on Trial* (University of Texas Press, Austin 1979)

3 *Id.* at 10-11.

Pursuant to the Moscow Declaration and other pronouncements of political will to bring to justice the perpetrators of war crimes, on 8 August 1945, the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics entered into an Agreement for the "Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis". Article 6 thereof sets out the crimes which would be tried - crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity. An International Military Tribunal was set up in 1945. The Nuremberg trials went on from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946. Other war crimes trials were held by the Allied Powers individually in various countries, e.g. Germany, Austria, Italy and so on.

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE)⁴ was set up by the Supreme Commander's Proclamation on 19 January 1946; a bench consisted of not less than six and no more than 11 members. The Tokyo Tribunal was conferred jurisdiction to try crimes against peace, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war (Article 5 of the Proclamation). Only those charged with offences which included crimes against peace were to be tried in Tokyo. This contrasted quite markedly with the Nuremberg trial. All other war criminals were to be tried by national and other courts.⁵

Japanese war crimes suspects were classified as "A" (aggressive war charges amongst others), "B" (conventional war crimes), and "C" (atrocities, i.e. crimes against humanity). Twenty-eight major Japanese war criminals were indicted before the Tokyo Tribunal. Two of the accused died during the trial. One was declared unfit for trial. None of the accused were acquitted on all counts. There was one dissenting judgement.

A large number of "B" and "C" class Japanese offenders were tried in the Asia-Pacific region by the victorious countries. The Australians

4 Also called the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal (and hereafter referred to as the Tokyo Trial or Tribunal).

5 Piccigallo, *supra* n.2 at 12.

conducted trials, *inter alia*, at Singapore, Borneo, New Guinea, New Britain, Darwin and Hong Kong. The British held trials, *inter alia*, in Hong Kong, Singapore and Rangoon, the Chinese in Shanghai and Nanking, the French in Saigon (Indo-China) and the Americans in Yokohama, various places in China, Manila (until 1947) and throughout the Pacific. After 1947 the Philippines Government took over prosecution of war crimes trials in the Philippines.

The Dutch held trials in Java, Borneo and elsewhere in the Netherlands East Indies. One such trial was held in Batavia (the former name of Jakarta). The Batavia court was the only one to try and punish the Japanese for coercing 35 Dutch women into prostitution. At least two such trials took place, one of a Batavia hotel keeper and the other of Japanese military officials for raping women who had been interned at a camp in Ambarawa, Java. The Dutch Government has recently made public the findings of the later Batavia trial, after blanking out the names of the victims and the accused. One of the accused was condemned to death and others were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from two to 15 years for committing crimes against humanity, namely coercion to prostitution, abduction of girls and women for forced prostitution, rape, and bad treatment of prisoners.

The Batavia Court

In its Verdict 231, the Temporary Court Martial in Indonesia, convicted several Japanese military men for offences committed by them against about 35 Dutch girls and women who had been forced to become comfort women for Japanese military. In this trial specific charges were framed against the defendants, one of which read thus:

"7th Defendant: On or around 23, 24, 25 and 26 February 1944, or at least in or around the month of February 1944 in Semarang and Ambarawa, having abducted girls and women to force them into prostitution, or at least having allowed subordinates under his command, both Japanese and non-Japanese subjects or foreigners in the service of the hostile Japanese nation to abduct the girls and women

referred to above, to force them into prostitution, by selecting girls and women from each of the camps of Semarang East, Gedangan and Halmaheira, in Semarang and the No. 4 and No. 6 Camps in Ambarawa, or to have been selected by the earlier mentioned subordinates and to have abducted or having the women and girls thus selected, abducted under the pretext that they would have to do office work for the Japanese authorities, from the Camps already mentioned to premises situated on Kanarielaan in Semarang, when he knew or should reasonably have suspected that none or at least a minority of the women and girls thus abducted would voluntarily submit to prostitution, so would have to be forced to do this.”

The charges against this Defendant were on the grounds of his having committed war crimes of rape, abduction of girls and women, forced prostitution and coercion to prostitution. The Court Martial observed thus:

“Considering: that in Court the statements (not under oath) of the Japanese Captain, Reserve Captain, Colonel, Medical Doctor, and another Reserve Captain, have also been read aloud and shown to the Defendants, from which it appears:

That it was discovered when by the end of February 1944 the military authorities were taking over the internment camps in Central Java from civil command, that women belonging to these camps had been employed as prostitutes in Semarang brothels; that **this was considered undesirable by Head Quarters of the Prisoners of War and Civil Internment Camps as the conclusion might be drawn that this has been done under duress, this being in contravention of international law..**” (emphasis added).

“.. Considering that in the opinion of the Court Martial, if they (Japanese military) had openly and clearly revealed the purpose of what the women and girls were in for they would

have met with stiff resistance and have had great difficulties and that it is highly questionable if they would have succeeded in recruiting women and girls from those camps, without the use of force..”.

In these circumstances, there can be no doubt at all that the generally understood meaning of war crimes was and continues to include various atrocities, including rape, abduction of women and girls for forced prostitution, and coercion to prostitution. Japan is therefore responsible for the atrocities perpetrated by the then military upon these comfort women.

But the trial failed to take note of the large number of Indonesian women who had been similarly coerced into prostitution by the Japanese military. No one bothered about them and the thousands of Korean, Chinese, Malaysian, Taiwanese and Filipino women who had suffered the same plight as these Dutch women.

The Verdict 231 as well as documents set out in Chapter Three of this report were all available to the Allied countries — in fact the report *Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces* was prepared by the Supreme Commander and/or under his instructions. Yet, human rights violations on such a gigantic scale were simply ignored by all those who could have done something.

Subsequent Events

Thereafter, Japan was admitted as a member of the United Nations in 1956. At San Francisco a Peace Conference was held in 1951 for settling questions arising from World War II. A treaty was signed on 8 September 1951 between Japan and the Allied Powers. Allied Powers were defined to mean States at war with Japan. Korea was not considered to be at war with Japan. Korea was not represented at the Peace Conference, and neither was China. Under this Treaty, Japan accepted its liability to pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war, reference was made to further bilateral treaties which might be entered into for this purpose. The Philippines was represented at the 1951 Conference.

Korea was recognized as an independent State by Japan in the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Korea thus went totally unrepresented at San Francisco, and even at the Tokyo Tribunal, and was in no position to try even "B" and "C" class Japanese criminals. The then Government of the Republic of Korea concluded a bilateral treaty on war reparations with Japan in 1965, which purported to limit Japan's financial liability to pay monetary compensation to US \$ 300 million. At that time there was considerable public sentiment against the treaty in the Republic of Korea, which was crushed by the then South Korean Government.

Reparations

Post-war reparations were paid by both principal aggressors, Germany and Japan. The inadequacy of Japan's payments, however, is evident in comparison with the payments made by Germany.

To begin with, both Houses of Parliament in the Federal Republic of Germany have repeatedly stated their adherence to the policy of their government: that restitution for the crimes of the National Socialists is one of the most important and urgent obligations of the German people.

Germany has enacted legislation specifying the persons and the compensation to be paid, as also assistance to be given to survivors of deceased victims. Legislation has also been passed in Germany relaxing the statute of limitation in matters concerning the trial of war criminals.

Bilateral treaties have also been entered into by Germany for payment of reparation to States and compensation to victims not eligible under legislation. Eleven European States have received from Germany an aggregate of DM 876 million (US \$ 565 million) in this regard. It is estimated that payments will continue to be made until the year 2000, bringing the total to DM 102 billion ⁶ (US \$ 66 billion).

⁶ Annex G to the Submission made by the War Amputations of Canada, *supra* n. 3 of Chapter 1 of this report.

Japan, in stark contrast, has paid 364,348,000,000 yen (US \$ 1012 million) as war reparation to four Asian countries: Burma, Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam (South). Japan has further paid US\$ 300,000,000 to the Republic of Korea. Almost all the payments were made for the benefit of society in general and were not directly received by individuals.⁷ In fact, Japan has not made any payment of reparation or compensation after 1965.

⁷ See Japan Civil Liberties Union, *supra* n. 4 of Chapter 1 of this Report.