Preface

I first confronted the comfort women issue in 1991. It was near the end of my study in Japan. As a volunteer I was translating former Korean comfort women's testimonies for NHK. When I returned to South Korea, Kim Young-sam was the president, and Korean nationalism was on the rise. The anti-Japan lobby "Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan" or "Chong Dae Hyup") in Korean was gaining momentum. Its leader said publicly it was determined to discredit Japan for the next 200 years. I regained my interest in this issue in the early 2000's when I heard that Chong Dae Hyup was confining surviving comfort women in a nursing home called "House of Nanumu." The only time these women were allowed to talk to outsiders was when Chong Dae Hyup needed them to testify for UN interrogators or U.S. politicians. But I was allowed to talk to them one day in 2003. One of the women (Bae Chun-hee) told me she reminisced the romance she had with a Japanese soldier and the sorrow when he died in combat. She said she hated her father who sold her. She also told me that women there didn't like being coached by Chong Dae Hyup to give false testimonies but had to obey Chong Dae Hyup's order. When Japan offered compensation through Asian Women's Fund in 1995, about 60 former Korean comfort women defied Chong Dae Hyup's order and accepted compensation. Those 60 women were vilified as traitors. Their names and addresses were published in newspapers as prostitutes by Chong Dae Hyup, and they had to live the rest of their lives in disgrace. So the surviving women were terrified of Chong Dae Hyup and wouldn't dare to defy again.
1. The origin of comfort women

With Japan's victory in Sino-Japanese war (1894 - 1895) the Korean Peninsula was no longer under the control of China. As Japanese military personnel and male workers began to spend time in Korea, women (mostly from Nagasaki and Kumamoto poor families) followed to comfort them.

2. Korean comfort women

After Korea became part of Japan in 1910, ethnic Korean women (Japanese citizens) also became comfort women. By 1920's Japanese women along with Korean women traveled abroad to comfort Japanese men and ethnic Korean men there.

3. Comfort women and female troops

Although women were working as prostitutes, some of them accumulated enough savings to lend money and rent places for secret meetings to men who were fighting for the nation. That is why they were also called female troops (娘子軍) and they took certain pride in their contribution.

4. Comfort stations

Comfort women system was not created suddenly by Japanese military in 1930's. At first Japanese military licensed existing prostitution houses in Manchuria as comfort stations. As Japan advanced into China and Southeast Asia, more comfort stations were needed. So Japanese military commissioned prostitution brokers to recruit more women and create more comfort stations. Japanese brokers recruited Japanese women in Japan. They owned and operated comfort stations employing Japanese women. Korean brokers recruited Korean women in Korea. They owned and operated comfort stations employing Korean women. (See footnote *3, *4)

5. Two types of comfort women

There were two types of comfort women. (1) Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese women (all Japanese citizens) - They were not coerced by Japanese military. (2) Local women in the battlefields (Dutch women in Indonesia, Filipino women in the Philippines, etc.) These two types should have been treated differently. But when the comfort women became an issue in the early 1990's, all women who provided sex to Japanese military were treated uniformly, and that created a big confusion.

6. The Myth "Korean comfort women were coerced by Japanese military"

The Korean woman who first claimed this in the early 1990's belonged to Chongsindae during the war. Chongsindae (also called Teishintai in Japanese) was a group of teenage girls conscripted by Japanese military. They worked in factories to manufacture military equipments and uniforms. Since she was conscripted, she thought comfort women were
also conscripted. It wasn't that she fabricated the story. It was an innocent mistake on her part. When I examined initial testimonies of former Korean comfort women, none of them claimed she was coercively taken away by Japanese military. (Japanese military was NOT in Korea) But some of them were recruited on false pretenses by Korean brokers.

7. The Myth "200,000 young girls were coerced by Japanese military"

Two hundred thousand was the number of factory workers conscripted. About 150,000 of them were Japanese and 50,000 were Koreans. Common misunderstanding in the West of "200,000 young girls were coerced by Japanese military" arose because Asahi Shimbun mistook factory workers for comfort women in August 11th, 1991 article. The estimates of comfort women numbers vary from 20,000 to 70,000 depending on the historians. Most comfort women were Japanese, Koreans and Taiwanese, and they were recruited by brokers, not by Japanese military. Most comfort women were not teenage girls but were in their 20's and 30's

8. Japanese military and Korean comfort women

Korean comfort women worked in kimono using Japanese names. Lower ranked soldiers committing violence to women were punished by higher ranked officers. Korean comfort station owners exploiting Korean women were also punished. Comfort women attended sports events, picnics and social dinners with both officers and men. They were also allowed to go shopping in towns.

9. Korean prostitution brokers

There is no evidence to support that Japanese military permitted Korean prostitution brokers to lie or use violence when recruiting Korean women or operating comfort stations. In fact there are documents which indicate that Japanese military sent orders to police in Korea to crack down on Korean brokers who engage in illegal recruiting. So if one wants to use the term "sex slaves" to describe former Korean comfort women, they were sex slaves of Korean brokers. They were not sex slaves of Japanese military. Japanese military personnel visited comfort stations only as customers. A diary written by a Korean comfort station manager was discovered in 2012, and it makes it clear that Korean brokers not only recruited women in the Korean Peninsula but also owned and operated comfort stations employing Korean women. And Korean women were treated badly by Korean brokers according to the memoir written by a former Korean comfort woman. Japanese and Taiwanese women worked at comfort stations owned and operated by Japanese brokers and were treated much better. That is why we hear little or no complaint from former Japanese and Taiwanese comfort women. Again, the common perception in the West that Japanese military operated comfort stations is incorrect.

10. Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910

Official Korean representatives did sign the treaty, and treaty documents do exist. So this treaty is legally binding.
11. Japan-South Korea Treaty of 1965

1965 Japan-South Korea Treaty was concluded to decide how to distribute assets. Japanese government asked South Korean government during treaty negotiation to identify and separate individual claims from the treaty because Japanese government wanted to make sure victims received compensation by delivering compensation directly to them. South Korean government declined, accepted the entire sum of 800 million dollars in place of its citizens and spent all of it on infrastructures and so on. Therefore it is not reasonable for South Korean government to keep asking for additional compensation from Japan. (Note: Korean victims recently sued South Korean government claiming that 300 million of the 800 million dollars were meant for them)

12. Kono Statement in 1993

Kono Statement did not acknowledge that Japanese military coerced them. Therefore, there is no need to revise Kono Statement.

13. Asian Women's Fund

Asian Women's Fund was established by Japanese government in 1995. (Compensation came with a letter of apology from Prime Minister of Japan). Although Korean women were not coerced by Japanese military and all individual claims were settled in 1965 Japan-South Korea Treaty, Japanese government still offered additional compensation to Korean women through Asian Women's Fund as a good gesture. Ironically every nation involved except South Korea accepted compensation through Asian Women's Fund and reconciled with Japan. (Note: South Korean government and Korean women wanted to accept Asian Women's Fund as well, but the anti-Japan lobby 'Chong Dae Hyup' threatened Korean women not to accept Japan's apology and compensation so that it could continue its anti-Japanese propaganda campaign. So most Korean women could not accept Japan's apology and compensation.)

14. Why has it been so difficult to resolve this issue only with South Korea?

The anti-Japan lobby Chong Dae Hyup opposed Asian Women's Fund, claiming it did not go through a legislation vote in the House. But considering all individual claims were settled in 1965 Japan-South Korea Treaty, a cabinet member decision was the best Japanese government could do. Chong Dae Hyup has had a very close relationship with North Korea. The real reason why Chong Dae Hyup opposed Asian Women's Fund was because it wanted to use the comfort women issue to block reconciliation between Japan and South Korea. Japan-South Korea discord is precisely what North Korea wants. The dynamics of South Korean politics is very difficult for foreigners to grasp.

15. World's view

Instead of reconciling with Japan by accepting Japan's apology and compensation, Chong Dae Hyup (≒ North Korea) and its U.S. affiliate KACE have appealed to the world by
dragging former Korean comfort women (now in their 80's and 90's) around the world as exhibitions. UN reports such as Coomaraswamy Report and U.S. House Resolution 121 were issued based solely on materials provided by the Korean lobby. Most Western media and scholars fell for Chong Dae Hyup's (North Korean) propaganda and believe "200,000 young girls including Koreans were coercively taken away by Japanese military." This view is not based on facts. And Korean women were not coerced by Japanese military because the Korean Peninsula was not the battlefield and therefore Japanese military was NOT in Korea. The comfort women issue remains only with South Korea because Chong Dae Hyup refuses to accept Japan's apology and continues to spread the false claim of "200,000 young girls including Koreans were coerced by Japanese military" throughout the world. Chong Dae Hyup is a very powerful special interest group in South Korea, and Korean politicians are scared to defy it. Chong Dae Hyup has no interest in the welfare of former Korean comfort women. Its goal is to discredit Japan and to block reconciliation between Japan and South Korea.

16. Empires and comfort women

The United States has military bases all over the world. And wherever U.S. military bases are located, there are women who provide sex to U.S. military personnel. It is ironic that the United States keeps coming up with resolutions to criticize Japan and comfort women statues keep going up in the U.S.

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Footnote: Professor Park Yuha's book "Comfort Women of the Empire" was banned from publishing in South Korea. Professor Park is also being sued for defamation by anti-Japan lobby and receives death threats from time to time. In South Korea, government often uses anti-Japan lobby to hunt down people who speak out the inconvenient truth. It is now very difficult for Professor Park to publish anything in Korea without being persecuted, but her books can be purchased in other Asian countries.


(*2) The following is a U.S. military report. Except for the part where it says "Japanese agents recruited women and Japanese housemasters operated comfort stations," this report is accurate. It should have said "ethnic Korean agents recruited Korean women and Korean housemasters operated comfort stations." The U.S. military interrogator should have realized the ethnic Koreans (being Japanese nationals) used their Japanese surnames.

http://ww2db.com/doc.php?q=130

(*3) The following article reports that Professor Ahn Byong Jik of Seoul University had recently discovered a diary written by a Korean comfort station manager. Professor Ahn
Byong Jik confirms in this article that **Korean comfort women were recruited by Korean prostitution brokers, not by Japanese military.**

http://archive.today/1jcC4

The Korean comfort station manager's diary (available only in Korean and Japanese) can be downloaded at the following site.


(*4) The photo below is a recruitment ad in Korean newspaper Maeil Sinbo on October 27, 1944 by a Korean prostitution broker. There are more ads like this.

(*5) The photo below is a record of how much a typical Korean comfort woman made.

(*6) The photo below is an article in Korean newspaper Dongailbo (동아일보 東亜日報) on August 31, 1939. It says, "About **100 Korean women were abducted by Korean prostitution brokers but were rescued by Japanese military police.**" There are dozens of articles like this. (other articles)
The photo below is an order sent by Japanese military to police in Korea to crack down on Korean brokers who engage in illegal recruiting. Professor Yoshiaki deliberately misrepresented this document as proof that Japanese military coerced Korean women. Confronted by other scholars, Mr. Yoshimi admitted to Japanese media that he lied, but he never did so to Western media. New York Times in its 2007 article used his initial statement as proof that Japanese military coerced Korean women. Many scholars have demanded New York Times to retract the article, but NYT has refused to do so.
(*8) The photo below is an article in Korean newspaper Kyunghyang Shinmun (경향신문 京郷新聞) on June 6, 1977. It says that a female Korean prostitution broker trafficked dozens of Korean comfort women to Rabaul, Papua New Guinea to provide sex to Japanese soldiers there during World War II. It was common knowledge in South Korea until 1970's that Korean prostitution brokers recruited Korean comfort women and operated comfort stations, and no South Koreans contested that notion. Then Asahi Shimbun published a series of fabricated articles in 1980's falsely accusing Japanese military of abducting Korean comfort women. South Korean left (≒North Korea) thought this was a great opportunity to discredit Japan and block reconciliation between Japan and South Korea. So it formed the anti-Japan lobby Chong Dae Hyup in 1990 and created the comfort women issue.

1977.6.6 京郷新報

(*9) The photo below shows the relationship between the anti-Japan lobby Chong Dae
Asahi Shimbun (left-wing Japanese newspaper with close ties to North Korea) published a series of fabricated articles on comfort women in 1980's. Based on these articles, the anti-Japan lobby Chong Dae Hyup was formed in South Korea in 1990. Then out of nowhere a woman named Kim Hak-sun came forward in 1991 and claimed she was abducted by Japanese military. There is clear evidence (recorded tapes) that suggests she was coached by Chong Dae Hyup to give false testimony. If Korean women were indeed abducted by Japanese military, it is rather odd that not a single woman claimed anything for over 45 years after the end of World War II. Former South Korean President Roh Tae-woo said in 1993 interview with Bungeishunju, "Asahi Shimbun created the comfort women issue out of nothing, provoked Korean nationalism and infuriated Korean people."

It is ironic that 99% of Westerners fell for Chong Dae Hyup's (North Korean) propaganda and believe 200,000 young girls including Koreans were coerced by
Japanese military while the majority of South Korean scholars (Professor Park Yuha of Sejong University, Professor Lee Yong-hoon of Seoul University, Professor Ahn Byong-jik of Seoul University, Professor Jun Bong-gwan of Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology, Professor Han Sung-jo of Korea University, Professor Lee Dae-gun of Sungkyunkwan University, Professor Choi Kei-ho of Kaya University, Professor Oh Seon-hwa of Takushoku University, Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, etc.) and a good number of South Korean public agree that Japanese military did not coerce Korean women and that the number of women (Dutch and Filipino) coerced by Japanese military was less than a hundred. Westerners must realize that North Korean and Chinese operatives are using the comfort women issue to drive a wedge into U.S.-Japan-South Korea security partnership.
In this book, Professor Soh criticizes the South Korean activist group "Korean Council" (also known as Chong Dae Hyup) for spreading North Korean propaganda and using the comfort women issue to block reconciliation between Japan and South Korea. She insists that Korean society must repudiate victimization, admit its complicity and accept that the system was not criminal. She also argues that the case of a small number of Dutch and Filipino women who were coerced by lower ranked Japanese soldiers in the battlefields was an anomaly, and that most women (Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese) were recruited and employed by prostitution brokers.

The following is an excerpt from her book "The Comfort Women." (Pages 10 - 11)
By 1920 some Korean women had become “overseas prostitutes.” Those who worked at a restaurant in Sapporo, Japan, became what Yun Chŏng-ok calls “industrial comfort women,” serving Korean men who worked there. When the adult entertainment business in Korea suffered as a result of the Great Depression of the 1920s, female workers and business owners migrated to China. By the late 1920s the capital of colonial Korea, Kyŏngsŏng, was home to four pleasure quarters, which employed a total of 4,295 prostitutes. By the mid-1930s 45 percent of Koreans had become infected with syphilis, compared to 15 percent of the French. Beginning in the early 1930s many Korean women were sold overseas to labor as prostitutes. Dong-a Ilbo, one of Korea’s major daily newspapers dating from the colonial days, reported on December 2, 1932, that about a hundred women a month were sold for 40 to 50 won to brothels in Osaka, Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Taiwan; this report, in hindsight, seems to predict the large-scale mobilization of Korean women to serve the troops through the 1930s up to 1945. In fact, the survivors’ testimonials amply illustrate that during the war Korean men and women actively collaborated in the recruitment of young compatriots to service the Japanese military and also ran comfort stations. For young, uneducated women from impoverished families in colonial Korea, to be a victim of trafficking became “an ordinary misfortune” in the 1930s. Amid widespread complicity and indifference to young women’s plight, the adult entertainment business in Korea began to recover after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and it flourished until early 1940.

When the war effort intensified in the early 1940s, however, many adult entertainment establishments had to close down, and by 1943 it was practically impossible to run such a business. This encouraged some brothel owners to seek their fortune abroad, including in Taiwan and occupied territories in the Southeast Asia. As Song Youn-ok noted, had there not been a “widespread network of traffic in women used in the state-managed prostitution system, the mobilization of Korean comfort women would have been a very different process.” Under grinding poverty, working-class families in colonial Korea sold unmarried daughters for 400–500 won for a contractual period of four to seven years. The parents received 60–70 percent of the money after various expenses involved in the transaction had been deducted, such as the mediator’s fee, clothing, document preparation, transport, and pocket money. Kim Sun-ok, who labored at a comfort station in Manchuria for four years, recalled:

I had no childhood. I was sold four times from the age of seven. As soon as I returned to my home in P’yŏngyang from Sin’ju after paying my ‘rent’ every year, I worked in the brothel, selling my body for a few hundred won. My only survival was to keep my daughter alive.
In this excerpt it says, "By 1920 some Korean women had become overseas prostitutes. "Beginning in the early 1930's many Korean women were sold overseas to labor as prostitutes. Dong-a-Ilbo, one of Korea's major daily newspapers dating from the colonial days, reported on December 2, 1932, that about a hundred women a month were sold to brothels in Osaka, Hokkaido, Sakhalin and Taiwan; this report predicted the large-scale mobilization of Korean women to serve the troops through the 1930's up to 1945. In fact, survivors' testimonials amply illustrate that during the war Korean men and women actively collaborated in the recruitment of young compatriots to serve the Japanese military and also ran comfort stations.” In an interview with Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, a former Korean comfort woman Kim Sun-ok said that she was sold by her parents four times.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

In an interview with Professor Park Yuha of Sejong University in South Korea, a former Korean comfort woman Bae Chun-hee said that she hated her father who sold her.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

A former Korean comfort woman Mun Oku-chu said in her memoir:
"I was recruited by a Korean prostitution broker. I saved a considerable amount of money."

According to Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh's book, Mun Ok-chu continued to work as a prostitute in Korea after the war.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

In an interview with Korean newspaper The Hankyoreh (the article was published on May 15th, 1991) a former Korean comfort woman Kim Hak-sun said that she was sold by her mother.

In an interview with Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, Kim Hak-sun said that her mother sent her to train as a Geisha in Pyongyang before she sold her.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.
In an interview with Professor Ahn Byong Jik of Seoul University, a former Korean comfort woman Kim Gun-ja said that she was sold by her adoptive father.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

Kim Gun-ja also testified in front of United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 2007 and said she was abducted by Japanese military.

In an interview with Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, Lee Yong-soo said, "At the time I was shabbily dressed and wretched. On the day I left home with my friend Pun-sun without telling my mother, I was wearing a black skirt, a cotton shirt and wooden clogs on my feet. You don't know how pleased I was when I received a red dress and a pair of leather shoes from a Korean recruiter."

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

Lee Yong-soo also testified in front of United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 2007. She was told that she had five minutes to speak. She ignored the instruction and went on for over one hour putting on a performance of crying and screaming. Her false testimony resulted in the passage of United States House of Representatives House Resolution 121.
In an interview with Professor Ahn Byong Jik of Seoul University, a former Korean comfort woman Kim Ok-sil said that she was sold by her father.

In an interview with Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, Kim Ok-sil said that her father sent her to train as a Geisha in Pyongyang before he sold her.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.

In an interview with Professor Ahn Byong Jik of Seoul University, a former Korean comfort woman Kil Won-ok said that she was sold by her parents.

In an interview with Professor Chunghee Sarah Soh of San Francisco State University, Kil Won-ok said that her parents sent her to train as a Geisha in Pyongyang before they sold her.

Yet she testified in front of UN interrogator Radhika Coomaraswamy that she was abducted by Japanese military.
Several people had witnessed the scenes in which Chong Dae Hyup (anti-Japan lobby) coached women to say "I was abducted by Japanese military."

Professor Ahn Byong Jik of Seoul University who interviewed former Korean comfort women says, "When I first interviewed them, none of them had anything bad to say about Japanese military. In fact they all reminisced the good times they had with Japanese soldiers. But after Chong Dae Hyup confined them, their testimonies had completely changed."

Korean women were not abducted by Japanese military because the Korean Peninsula was not the battlefield and therefore Japanese military was NOT in Korea. (Korean prostitution brokers recruited Korean women in Korea and operated comfort stations in the battlefields) Japan apologized and compensated, and Netherlands, Indonesia, the Philippines and Taiwan had all accepted Japan's apology and reconciled with Japan. So there are no comfort women issues between those nations and Japan. The comfort women issue remains only with South Korea because Chong Dae Hyup refuses to accept Japan's apology and continues to spread the false claim of "200,000 young girls including Koreans were abducted by Japanese military" throughout the world.
It is not surprising that China criticizes Japan because China is under Communist Party dictatorship. But why did South Korea begin to criticize Japan in the 1990's and insists Japan's apology and compensation were not enough.

When the allied forces prosecuted war criminals, the comfort women system never became an issue because the U.S. military reports concluded with testimonies from Korean women that they either volunteered or were sold by their parents to Korean prostitution brokers.

Let us verify some facts.

1) Past and present, there were/are women who got/get into prostitution unwillingly. But prostitution is not slavery.

2) The comfort women system was not illegal in Japan's eyes in 1930's, and the allied forces didn't think it was illegal, either.

3) Korean government established comfort women system for U.S. troops in 1970's. Koreans for some reason think coercion and confinement took place in Japan's system but not in Korea's system.
4) If Japanese government or people tried to get facts out, the international community would perceive that effort as revisionism.

5) In August, Asahi Shimbun published retraction articles admitting it falsely reported on abduction in Jeju Island. Asahi also admitted it mistook factory workers for comfort women, which inflated the number of comfort women. Many Westerners praised Asahi for admitting its mistakes. However, what they failed to realize was Asahi told more lies in its retraction articles, which infuriated Japanese public. Westerners mistook mainstream Japanese's disgust toward Asahi for right wing's bashing on Asahi.

When Japan apologized for what it did during the war, its sincerity was backed by 50 odd years of good behavior.

In 1998, South Korean president Kim Dae-jung accepted apology from Japan's Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and promised South Korea would never bring up the comfort women issue again. But subsequent Korean presidents have annulled Kim's gesture and used nationalism to bolster their low approval ratings.

Footnote: The following is a U.S. military report. Under 'Recruiting' this report misrepresents ethnic Korean agents and house masters using Japanese surnames as Japanese agents and house masters. (Ethnic Koreans were Japanese citizens at the time, so in that sense they were Japanese)

http://ww2db.com/doc.php?q=130

The following is excerpts from Korean comfort woman Mun Oku-chu's memoir. Her memoir is consistent with the U.S. military report.


"Comfort Women of the Empire" Reviewed by Professor Jun BongGwan

The following is a summary English translation of Professor Jun BongGwan's review of the book "Comfort Women of the Empire." Dr. Jun is a professor of Korean Literature at Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology. The review was published on July 20, 2014 in Korea's leading newspaper ChosunIlbo. The original article is shown at the
After reading the book, I was a little bit disappointed because there was nothing in the book that I didn't know. We all knew that Korean comfort women were not coercively taken away by Japanese military. Japanese military commissioned Korean prostitution brokers to recruit women in the Korean Peninsula and operate comfort stations in the battlefields. Japanese military was busy fighting all over Asia, and it certainly didn't have time to be in Korea recruiting women.

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October 16, 2014

Former Korean Comfort Woman Mun Oku-chu's Memoir The following is a English transaltion of excerpts from a former Korean comfort woman Mun Oku-chu's memoir.

The original memoir: http://goo.gl/si8Ett