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To: The Honorable Members of the Human Rights Council at the United Nations

Subj: PRESENTATION OF FACTS RELATED TO THE COMFORT STATIONS AND  
COMFORT WOMEN

Encl: (1) Presentation of facts related to the comfort stations and comfort women

1. Enclosure (1) is provided for review by the Human Rights Council of the United Nations.

2. There are three reasons for submission of this presentation:

Firstly, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1994/45 E/CN.4/1996/53/Add.1 4 January 1996" fails to mention the reality of the public prostitution system which was enacted by Japan and exported to Korea. This failure might have caused the statements, especially in paragraphs 11 through 14, 19, and 20, made by Ms. Coomaraswamy to mislead the recipients of her report. The public prostitution system began to be enforced, in the case of Korea, from as early as 1908 until at least 1945. Records clearly indicate it was not a nominal system but was a practically influential in the Korean Peninsula.

Secondly, "Appendix: An analysis of the legal liability of the Government of Japan for "comfort women stations" established during the Second World War of the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practices during armed conflict: final report / submitted by Gay J. McDougall, Special Rapporteur, 22 June 1998, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/13" contains in paragraph 1 a numerical estimate of over 200,000 women who were forced in to sexual slavery in rape centres throughout Asia, which has not been corroborated at all.

Thirdly, those who interviewed a few dozens of former Korean comfort women to obtain testimonies got so focused on the abuse the women experienced that they failed to see the overall picture which linked the women to the public prostitution system enforced in the Korean Peninsula.

3. This presentation is meant to put an end to the diplomatic abuse and defamation campaigns against Japan, by presenting facts related to the comfort stations and the comfort women. Its intention is, nevertheless, not to disclaim Japan's past wrongdoings.

Very respectfully,

Hidemi Nagao

### ENCLOSURE (1)

## PRESENTATION OF FACTS RELATED TO THE COMFORT STATIONS AND COMFORT WOMEN

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- II. Public Prostitution System in the Korean Peninsula
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### References

**Ref. A:** Suzuki, Yuko; Yamashita, Yeong-ae & Tonomura, Masaru (Ed.). (2006). Nihongun Ianfu Kankei Shiryo Shusei [Collections of Materials Related to the Comfort Women of the Japanese Military] (author translation) Parts I and II. Tokyo, Akashi Publishing House. (\* The two-part book consists of public documents contained in Ref. B, related materials, and reviews of the matters pertinent to the comfort women.)

**Ref. B:** The Asian Women's Fund (Ed.). (1998). Seifu-Chosa Jugun-Ianfu Kankei Shiryo Shusei [Compilation of Materials Related to the Military Comfort Women Investigated by the Government] (author translation) Parts 1~5. Tokyo, Rhyukoku Publishing House. (\* The five-part book reprints documents kept by the government and other sources which pertain to the comfort women. Quite a few of them were hand-written.)

**Ref. C:** Sakuma, Tetsu. Nankai no Iansho (Rabaul, Palau, Truk, Mariana Islands)

[Comfort Stations in the South Sea (Rabaul, Palau, Truk, Mariana Islands)] (author translation) *Nippon Report: Jugun Ianfu wo Shiraberu, Jugun Ianfu no Taikendan to Memo 1~7 and 9~12* [Memoranda 1 through 7 and 9 through 12 on Research of and Experiences of Comfort Women] (author translation). (n.d.). In *Nippon Report*. Retrieved March 8, 2018, from <http://satophone.wpblog.jp/?p=2886>. (\* This website contains excerpts of autobiographies, memoirs, and essays that refer to the comfort women and comfort stations; each quote is provided with page numbers of the original books, the majority of which are pertinent to the islands under control of Japan before and during the Pacific War.)

**Ref. D:** Nishino, Rumiko & Kim, Puja. Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (Ed.) (2010). *Shogen: Mirai heno Kioku Asia "Ianfu" Shogenshu Part I & II—Minami-Kita Zainichi Koreans* [Collection of Witness Statements of Asian Comfort Women, Memories for Future Regarding North and South Korea and Japan] (author translation). Tokyo. Akashi Publishing House. (\* The two books print witness statements of 25 former comfort women.)

**Ref. E:** The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Study Committee on the Volunteer Corps (Ed.). (1993). (The Uri-Yeoseong Network on Military Comfort Women Issues, Trans.). Tokyo. Akashi Publishing House. (\*This book contains witness statements of 19 of the 110 former comfort women who came forward in early 1990s.)

Other reference materials quoted in the text below are individually identified in parentheses. The author added explanations to words in the parentheses with an asterisk (\*) and underlined some words to call attention.

## I. Terminologies Related to Comfort Women

Listed below are words related to the comfort women. The list provides a glimpse of prostitution history.

Comfort Station: A facility set up in warfront for prostitution

Business Operator: Employer of public prostitutes

Profession of Prostitution: Prostitution as a public prostitute

Woman in Profession of Prostitution: Woman entertainer, special woman, second class woman entertainer, barmaid, second class barmaid, prostitute, kisaeng (first class, second class, and third class)

Rental Parlor: House of prostitution, special restaurant, second class

restaurant, inn, P-house in the Japanese Army jargon, Res in the Japanese Navy jargon

Geisha: Woman specialized in entertaining men with her skills of dancing and singing; the distance between a geisha and a public prostitute sometimes gets very narrow (Ref.: Geigi [Geisha] (author translation). (n.d.). In *Geigi*. Kotoba-bank [Dictionary of Words] (author translation). Retrieved March 8, 2018 from <https://kotobank.jp/word/芸妓-488297>).

Public Prostitute: Woman who is registered at police authorities

Private Prostitute: Woman who is not registered at police authorities

Designated Area: An area in which a rental parlor was authorized to open business

## II. Public Prostitution System in the Korean Peninsula

### 1. Policing of prostitution

Ms. Yeong-ae Yamashita, one of the editors of Ref. A, divides into three parts the period in which Japan introduced the public prostitution system to Korea (Ref. A Part II, p675):

The first stage: Since 1876 when the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity was signed

The second stage: Since 1905 when the Japanese Resident-General of Korea was established

The third stage: Since 1916 when the Government-General of Chosen issued the Regulations to Control Rental Parlors and Public Prostitutes

Upon signing the treaty, three ports in Busan, Wonsan, and Incheon and urban areas of Seoul and Yongsan were opened for the Japanese. Japanese merchants began to move in and settle in the reservations. In no time, bilateral trade and exchanges began to grow and Japanese geishas and prostitutes came to practice their profession, which made the Japanese authorities soon begin to enforce a licensing system for them (Ref. A Part II, p675).

Why was the system exported to Korea? There were two reasons: One is because the Tokugawa Shogunate had policed both public and private prostitutes whose businesses flourished since 17<sup>th</sup> century. The other is because the Empire of Japan that took over the Shogunate government had already in place a domestic policy to control prostitutes before the first stage above.

*“The modern day public prostitution system promulgated in 1872 as Government Order No. 295 was meant to reform the prostitution control system of the earlier times. Its new policy was to grant those women a permit upon registration of them at the authorities on condition that they would*

*practice business only at the designated areas*”(author translation) (Ref.: Masugi, Yuri. (2009, March). The Institute of Humanities, Human and Social Sciences of the University of Ritsumeikan Bulletin No. 93, Jinshin Baibai Haijo Hoshin ni Miru Kindai Kosho Seido no Yoso [Outlook of the Modern Prostitution System in the Policy to Eliminate Human Trafficking] (author translation), p237).

Prostitution culture was not foreign in Korea, either. There were several classes of prostitutes at the end of the Joseon Dynasty (Ref. A Part II, p677).

While the Japanese authorities enforced the public prostitution system in the Japanese reservations, they could not exercise any control over the Korean prostitutes during the first stage.

The Japanese Resident-General of Korea which began to virtually rule the peninsula after 1906 issued in 1908 two police bureau directives to put under control Korean kisaengs and private prostitutes by requiring them to register at the police authorities (Ref. A Part II, p677).

Following Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910, the Government-General Police promulgated four directives on March 31, 1916 to collectively and uniformly control the public prostitution businesses, which took force on May 1 that year (Ref. A Part II, p680). Each governor of the 13 Korean regions designated districts where businesses for public prostitution were granted (Ref. A Part I, p583-641). The number of districts in each region was provided in the parentheses:

Hamgyeongbuk-do (2), Hamgyeongnam-do (5), Pyeonganbuk-do (\* Though the related documents do not name any districts, therein are references to the rental parlors and geishas/prostitutes/barmaids), Pyeongannam-do (10), Hwanghae-do (1), Gyeonggi-do (3), Gangwon-do (\* Ditto), Chungcheongbuk-do (\* Ditto), Chungcheongnam-do (1), Jeollabuk-do (3), Jeollanam-do (13), Gyeongsangbuk-do (2), and Gyeongsangnam-do (19).

Records of the Japanese and Korean geishas and prostitutes registered at the police authorities from 1910 to 1942 remain today. Those of the last three years were as follows (Ref. A Part I under the Statistics of Entertainment Businesses, p779, 783-786):

		Geishas	Prostitutes	Barmaids
1940	<i>Japanese</i>	2,280	1,777	216
	<i>Koreans</i>	6,023	2,157	1,400
1941	<i>Japanese</i>	1,895	1,803	292
	<i>Koreans</i>	4,828	2,010	1,310
1942	<i>Japanese</i>	1,797	1,774	240
	<i>Koreans</i>	4,490	2,076	1,376

## 2. Circumstances of the Geishas and the likes

What made the Government-General of Chosen issue those directives? They were meant not only to stem the sexually transmitted diseases and make them pay taxes but also to clarify the status and rights of those women. It is clear the intent was not to make the women sexual slaves. Only key, pertinent clauses of the two directives are provided below with new paragraph numbers.

(1) **The Government-General of Chosen Police Directive No. 3: The Regulations to Control Businesses of Geishas/Prostitutes/Barmaids and Lodging Houses**, promulgated as official journal of March 31, 1916 (Ref. A Part I, p615-616)

*Those who intend to practice business of geisha (including kisaeng) and barmaids will attach the following documents to the application form, describing registered domicile, name, place of business; then they will obtain a permit from the police authorities:* 1. A letter of consent of the husband if the applicant is married or a letter of consent of her father or a person under duty to support her. 2. His certificate of a seal-impression. 3. A certificate of family register. 4. A document that describes her background and the reason for practicing the profession. 5. A health certificate.

(2) **The Government-General of Chosen Police Directive No. 4: The Regulations to Control Rental Parlors and Public Prostitutes**, promulgated as official journal of March 31, 1916 (Ref. A Part I, p619-622)

*A business operator will obtain a permit from the police authorities and abide by the rules described below:* 1. The operator shall not change the contents of a contract of the prostitute against her will. 2. The operator shall not force the prostitute to make unnecessary expenditure of money. The operator will procure two books of balance sheet for each prostitute, give one to her, make entries to the book by the third day of each month for debt-credit transactions of the previous month, and place seals on it with the prostitute. The police authorities shall not grant a permit to the operator when the prostitute is less than 17 years old or when the contract on her earnings or advanced loan is improper.

The public prostitution system prevailed in Korea for a few decades before the Japanese military began to request for the establishment of comfort stations abroad. Thereupon, the Police Bureau Director of the Internal Ministry of Japan drafted the following notice. The reason it was addressed to the governor of each prefecture, city, and county is because an army unit ordered to go on an overseas mission was organized at the place where its headquarters was in Japan. For example, the Amaya unit was stationed in Kagawa Prefecture and ordered to go to Hankou, China. An operator in Kagawa began to submit to the prefectural governor an application form to obtain a permit to take public prostitutes to Hankou, while locally recruiting public prostitutes (Ref. A Part I, p187-188).

The draft notice above titled **Matters Regarding Procedures to Handle Women**

**Who Intend to Travel to China** dated February 18, 1938 states as follows (Ref. A Part I, p124-130).

*1. As for the women who intend to travel to Northern and Central China for prostitution, they will be given tacit permission for the time being on condition that they are in fact practicing such profession in Japan; they are 21 years old or older; and they are free of sexually transmitted diseases or other contagious diseases. They will be issued an identification certificate in consonance with the Vice Foreign Minister Notice of Bei-3-Secret-Go-3376 of August 1937. 2. They shall be advised in advance to return home once the contract is over. 3. They are required to present themselves at the police authorities to obtain an identification certificate. 4. They will obtain a letter of consent from her family. 5. The police authorities will pay extra attention, through investigation, to make sure they are not objects of human trafficking, deceit, or abduction. 6. The police authorities, through careful investigation, will not issue a permit to those recruiting agents who do not possess proper permits or certificates issued by consulates or who are dubious of their identities.*

The draft notice above was officially sanctioned on February 23, 1938 as **the Internal Ministry Police Directive No. 5 Regarding Procedures to Handle Women Who Intend to Travel to China**, which was later issued to the local administrators in Japan (Ref. A Part I, p138-139).

Based on Directive No. 5, recruiting agents solicited applicants by presenting them or their parents contracts, letters of consent, IOUs, and conditions of employment, which normally contained the following statements (Ref. A Part I, p128-132):

*Contract document is to state: 1. Term of employment. 2. Sign-on bonus. 3. Earnings will be 10% of proceeds (a half of it must be deposited in the post-office savings). 4. The operator will defray the costs of meals, attire, bedclothes, other consumables, and medical expenses. 5. Signing of the contract document by both the woman and the operator.*

*Letter of consent is to include: A letter of consent of the woman's family and a statement in which the woman has agreed to practice profession.*

*IOU is to state: The debt the woman or her family has must be paid back. Signing of the IOU by the debtor and her cosigner.*

*Conditions of employment are to state: 1. Term of employment is for 2 years. 2. An advance payment for the contract is from 500 yen to 1,000 yen (20% of the amount will be deducted as costs of outfitting and travelling). 3. The debt of the advance payment will expire when the woman completes the term. That is, even if the woman goes on sick leave, the debt will be considered paid at the end of the term. 4. Penalty for breach of contract. 5. The operator will pay for the woman's travel expense home upon completion of the term. 6. The operator will reward with a bonus the woman who completes the term of employment, according to the proceeds she makes.*

The contract document above refers to savings. In today's world, there are

sweatshop operators who take out a life-insurance policy on employees and make them work in hazardous environments or work very long hours. It is those operators who get insurance payouts. The savings above are, however, for the sake of the women. The Malaysian Administration Commandant also mentions them as follows in the notice titled **Establishment of Rules to Abide by Regarding Comfort Station and Lodging House Businesses** dated November 11, 1943 (Ref. A Part I, p433-438):

1. *The ratio of earnings of the public prostitutes, after deducting compulsory savings, will be as follows:*

	<u>Debt</u>	<u>Operator Income</u>	<u>Prostitute Income</u>
<u>Ratios</u>	1,500 yen and more	Less than 60%	40% and more
	Less than 1,500 yen	Less than 50%	50% and more
	No debt	Less than 40%	60% and more

2. *The advance payment and debts accrued afterward will not bear interest.*

3. *The operator will deposit 3% of the prostitute's monthly proceeds in her behalf in the post office designated by the governor. The savings will be given to the prostitute upon completion of her employment.*

Is it reasonable to suppose the rules above were issued incidentally and for the first time in Malaysia alone in 1943? For, the regulations governing the public prostitutes had at least 27 years of history since 1916.

### III. The totals of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women

#### 1. Estimating works

##### (1) Background

What prompted the establishment of comfort stations is said to be the Shanghai Incident that took place in early 1932. Because quite a few Navy units remained in Shanghai even after the ceasefire agreement was signed between Japan and the Republic of China, comfort stations were established by the end of that year (Ref. A Part I, p28, 119 and Part II, p628). Having heard about them, the Army followed suit for its garrisons to request for comfort stations near their camps (Ref. A Part II, p628-629). Thereafter, operators began to travel to China with public prostitutes not only from Japan but also from Korea. Records show those prostitutes employed at comfort stations overseas began to be called special women, special ladies, and special comfort women (Ref. A Part I, p42, 178, 328).

##### (2) Where comfort stations were established

The documents included in Refs. A through C can be divided into two categories:

One category cites the geographic locations of comfort stations while the other merely cites the names of garrisons near the comfort stations. Their locations in the latter case were extrapolated by tracing troop movements.

Additionally, two hypotheses were made to count comfort stations: (a) There was at least one comfort station at a location from which a document—that ambiguously mentions comfort women/stations—was originated. (b) Whenever documents written after 1933 mention geographic locations and comfort stations, tactical situations at those places were presumed to be not volatile even after December 8, 1941 and, therefore, the comfort stations remained intact.

### **(3) The number of comfort women at each comfort station**

The majority documents in Refs. A through C do not give specific numbers of comfort women working at each comfort station. The following report was employed to estimate the number of comfort women: **The Ro-Group Special Staff Monthly Report No. 7, Regarding the Temporary Regulations to Control Public Prostitutes and to Collect Business Taxes from Operators of Rental Parlors Under the Jurisdiction of Security Unit Established in the Nanchang City Government** of 1940 states in Article 5: *Each rental parlor is authorized to accommodate less than 10 public prostitutes* (Ref. A Part I, p243-247).

## **2. Computation Results**

Estimates are provided below. The number of comfort women listed below includes the Japanese, the Koreans, the Taiwanese, the Chinese, and the Southeast Asians, needless to say.

Ref. A Part I	377 comfort stations and 4,038 comfort women
Ref. B Part V	68 comfort stations and 738 comfort women
Ref. C	59 comfort stations and 699 comfort women

The totals of the three references were modified because some descriptions in Ref. A Part I and Ref. B Part V overlapped with each other, i.e., 13 comfort stations and 130 comfort women in Burma.

Consequently, **the estimated totals** were: **491 comfort stations and 5,345 comfort women.**

The results above do not include the number of comfort stations and comfort women cited in Refs. D and E because witness statements are ambiguous in most cases about where they were and how many were there, and because the information available therein would not change the outcome so much.

## **3. The ratio of troops and comfort women**

Some scholars dealing with the comfort women issue estimate the ratio of troops to one comfort woman at 30~150 to 1 and the total comfort women to be 410,000~200,000~20,000 (Ref.: The Number of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women. (n.d.). In Digital Museum, Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund. Retrieved March 10, 2018, from [http:// www.awf.or.jp/](http://www.awf.or.jp/)). On the other hand, **the Report of the Ha-Group Medical Director Matsumura Attached to the Medical Bureau Directors' Report** of April 15, 1939 states: *"The comfort unit will be imported at the ratio of one woman to 100 troops"* (Ref. A Part I, p146).

The statement included in **the Medical Bureau Directors Report of September 3 Attached to the Army Department Daily Business Summaries for February, May, June, July, August, September, and October 1942** was also used for calculation: *The director in charge of commendation and reward said, "I would like to establish comfort facilities as follows: "100 in Northern China, 140 in Central China, 40 in Southern China, 100 in Southern Front, 10 in Southern Sea, and 10 in Sakhalin, 400 in all"* (Ref. A Part I, p308).

This is how the director's statement is interpreted: He gathered information and counted the number of comfort stations in warfront as of September 3, 1942. He predicted the number of troops to go warfront would increase yet he considered 400 comfort facilities would be sufficient for them. It is probable he had neither been informed of the brutal defeat of the Navy during the Battle of Midway in June that year nor of its significance in the war-fighting capabilities at sea.

Based on the benchmark of 400, each ratio was studied to see if it is realistic or not. Following are estimates of the total of comfort women at each comfort station:

(1) If there were 400 comfort stations:

20,000 comfort women ÷ 400=50 women

200,000 comfort women ÷ 400=500 women

410,000 comfort women ÷ 400=1,025 women

(2) If there were 491 comfort stations:

20,000 comfort women ÷ 491 ≐ 41 women

200,000 comfort women ÷ 491 ≐ 407 women

410,000 comfort women ÷ 491 ≐ 835 women

(3) If there were 1,000 comfort stations:

20,000 comfort women ÷ 1,000=20 women

200,000 comfort women ÷ 1,000=200 women

410,000 comfort women ÷ 1,000=410 women

#### 4. Reasonableness of the results above

The 50~20 comfort women at each comfort station may appear to be reasonable.

Refs. A through C, however, point otherwise. For example, the largest number on record of comfort women was 120 housed at four comfort stations in Palembang on the Sumatra Island, Indonesia (Ref. A Part I, p212). The next largest on record was 28 at a Kutaraja (Banda Aceh) comfort station of the Northern Sumatra Island, Indonesia (Ref. C, par. 536.7). The third largest, 20 women at one comfort station, is documented only at Hankou, China. In other words, 30 or so comfort women at one comfort station is exceptional.

One document may stand out here. **The Military Police History of the Japanese-German Battles** of September 1917 states, “Nine rental parlors house 348 public prostitutes for the Japanese in Qingdao, China (Ref. A Part I, p10-13). Though it translates one rental parlor accommodated an average of 39 public prostitutes, the document is obviously so outdated as to be any benchmark.

A hypothesis of the total of 1,000 comfort stations was added above on purpose to come up with the number of 20 women at one comfort station. Reviewing the records led to concluding even 20 women was too many. One possibility may not be denied for this 1,000 to become realistic if this situation existed: There were 509 private brothels near the Japanese garrisons, in addition to the 491 comfort stations.

## 5. Replacement ratios

Some scholars consider it necessary to apply a replacement ratio to estimate the total of the comfort women; Mr. Ikuhiko Hata and Mr. Yoshiaki Yoshimi respectively propose it to be 1.5 and 2.0 (Ref.: The Asian Women’s Fund. (2007). The “Comfort Women” Issue and AWF. Tokyo. The Asian Women’s Fund, p10). They infer from an operator’s need to continually augment women whenever one dies from illness or returns home upon completion of the contract term. For example, had there been 20,000 comfort women as of June 1940, the total of the women would have reached 30,000~40,000 as of June 1943 when the contract was for three years. The replacement ratio would be a reasonable tool to come up with the total of the comfort women.

It follows the estimated total of 5,345 comfort women above would be approximately 8,017 if the replacement ratio of 1.5 is factored in. This ratio, however, becomes questionable to some extent in consideration of such variables as (a) some of the comfort stations getting closed due to the intensity of battles, (b) some women moving from one station to another for personal reasons, and (c) some women renewing their contracts as a means of making a living.

Would the replacement ratio be applicable to the comfort women who were forced into sexual slavery? It is doubtless for an operator to fill up the vacancy made

by someone who happens to die due to malady, malnutrition, or abusive treatment. Remember those women could not dream of release from slavery as they were not on a fixed-term contract. The replacement ratio of 1.5 means as many as 50% of the women would die every three years, for example. No operator with cost-effectiveness in mind could afford such a big loss.

## **6. The ratio of the Koreans among the comfort women**

Were most of the comfort women Koreans?

A report of medical examinations of the comfort women compiled by the medical staff of the 15<sup>th</sup> Division states the accumulated number of the women who were in Nanking for the month of January 1943 were 1,007 Japanese, 113 Koreans, and 513 Chinese (Ref. A Part I, p387). (a) The ratio of the Koreans was approximately 7% of the total women examined. On the other hand, the number of the public prostitutes who travelled from Korea to Northern China, Central China and Southern China from the second half of 1941 through the first half of 1942 were 53 Japanese and 667 Koreans (Ref. A Part I, p395-396). (b) The ratios of the Koreans and the Japanese were approximately 93% to 7%.

Had there been 200,000 Korean comfort women in warfront, the total of the Koreans, the Japanese, and the Chinese would have been 2,857,142 with the ratio (a). Had there also been 200,000 Korean comfort women with the ratio (b), the total number of the Japanese would have amounted to 6,815. If all of them were housed in 400 comfort stations, each comfort station would have been inundated with 820 women in case (a) and 515 women in case (b). The latter does not include the Chinese or others. No operator would be able to make both ends meet even if 820 troops—who were given liberty—visit his/her comfort station in a day.

## **IV. Facts that can be induced from Refs. D and E**

Ref. D contains witness statements of 25 former comfort women. Checked herein are their statements against what the public prostitution system calls for.

### **1. Identifications papers, etc.**

It is a fact that newspaper advertisements had been used to recruit comfort women in Seoul, Korea (Ref.: Hata, Ikuhiko. (2016). *Ianfu Mondai no Kessan—Gendaishi no Shinen* [Closing the Comfort Women Issue, Profoundness of Modern History] (author translation). Tokyo: PHP Institute, p209). Each operator was required to receive a letter of consent from the woman or her parent or a person with parental authority, to exchange a contract document and

an IOU, and to negotiate the term of employment and a ratio of earnings to the proceeds. The woman was to obtain an identification certificate from the police authorities and present it to the local authorities upon arrival at warfront.

Five among 25 were issued their IDs although their recounting was not straightforward (Ref. D Part I, p46, Part II, p24, 83, 116, 288). One mentioned a letter of consent or something with a similar content (Ref. D Part II, p241). Four knew they had been sold (Ref. D Part I, p83, 127, 155, Part II, p313). No operator would require IDs or a letter of consent to kidnap or abduct women. If it was a case of trafficking of a woman, was it her parent or an intermediary who received a price for her? No parent would report to police of missing daughters even if 200,000 women were kidnapped?

## **2. Earnings of the comfort women, etc.**

The comfort women had incomes on a regular basis, saved up money by being encouraged or being forced, and mailed home some money (*Refs.: Mizuma, Masanori. (2014). Hitome de Wakaru Ianfu Mondai no Shinnjitu [With a glance, you will understand truth about Comfort Women Issues] (author translation). Tokyo: PHP Institute, p. 78-79, and the Japanese Prisoners of War Interrogation Report 49 of the U.S. Office of War Information Psychological Warfare Team of October 1, 1944*). Their earnings varied from 10% to 60% of the proceeds and their savings bore interest.

Four among 25 said they had been paid (Ref. D Part II, p32, 115, 221, 314), with one of the four acknowledging her income had been based on a certain ratio of the proceeds (Ref. D Part II, p32). 14 of them related they had given in to someone's offer of a job that would make handsome money (Ref. D Part I, p21, 45, 104, 118, 127, 167, and Part II, p22, 81, 117, 132, 178, 241, 251, 283). Sexual slaves might have been given cash stipend, but it would be a big surprise if there were on the payroll. Even if those women found out later they had been deceived, should they bear no responsibility for initially yielding themselves to a lucrative job offer?

## **3. Comfort women who came forward**

### **(1) Were they public prostitutes or private prostitutes?**

The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Study Committee on the Volunteer Corps (the Korean Council herein after)—established at the end of December 1990—began to appeal to former comfort women to come forward. 110 of them were registered at the council since summer of 1991. The council could interview only 19 of them in a formal setting (Ref. E). Had they never taken the required procedures as public prostitutes, their claim that they had been

abducted and forced into sexual slavery and that they had gone through painful experiences until the end of the war would have been acceptable. What would that mean? It would only explain they were private prostitutes. As the South Korean side keeps mum on contract papers, earnings, savings, and mailing money home, so there is no way but to conclude they were private prostitutes.

### **(2) Ratios of those who came forward and those who remained behind**

239 comfort women had been registered by the South Korean Government, according to a Yonhap News Agency dispatch of December 19, 2017 (Ref.: Nihon Zaiju no Ianfu Higaisha ga Shikyo [One comfort woman victim living in Japan passed away] (author translation). 2017/12/19. Retrieved March 28, 2018 from [www.chosunonline.com](http://www.chosunonline.com) 国際 慰安婦). If there were in fact 200,000 Korean comfort women during the wartime, 239 were approximately 0.12% of the total, which is a very low turnout. If the estimated total of 5,345 comfort women was close to reality and if the total of the comfort women from Japan, China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia were 2,955, the total of the Koreans would be 2,390. The turnout ratio would be 10%. A stage had already been set in early 1990s for them to be able to sue the Japanese Government for violation of women's rights. The ratio of 0.12% against 10% is very hard to believe, even in consideration of a sentiment of reservation to disclose their miserable past and passing away of some of them by then, not to mention the lingering, twisted relations between Korea and Japan.

### **(3) Supplementary misgivings**

(a) The attitudes of Ref. D interviewers need to be scrutinized. It is important for them to find out in detail how and why the women went warfront. There was no visible trace, however, of their asking the women questions by employing coherent, reasonable methods. It is certainly worthwhile documenting real-life sufferings, both mental and physical, of the women. Their efforts fell far short of expectations because the whole spectrum of the circumstances in which the women were remains covered. Had they prepared a list of questions beforehand, facts common to the women could have been unearthed more clearly than those in Ref. D, especially when the women's memory tends to escape.

(b) Ref. D states one comfort woman was at a comfort station in Chiong-hoà, Taiwan (Ref. D Part I, p107). She recounted that a fee for sexual service was paid not by a military coupon but cash money and that her customers included private citizens. The two facts above and another fact that the military authorities were concerned about information leakage make it reasonable to presume the place she worked was a common brothel.

(c) Ref. E provides a map (p19) where the 19 comfort women were respectively

taken to. The list shows Jilin, China (p113), Osaka, Japan (p245), Toyama, Japan (p286), and Busan, Korea (p301) in addition to Hsinchu and Kaohsiung, Taiwan. All of them were not in warfront. Where they worked seem to be brothels in town.

(d) Their reasoning to re-print in Ref. D six of the 19 witness statements in Ref. E is puzzling because the former was published in 2010 while the latter was in 1993.

#### **4. Facts available on record afterwards**

##### **(1) The Korean War**

Professor Kim Gi-ok of the Hansung University made public at an international symposium in 2002 that the Korean Government and the Army operated two kinds of comfort stations before, during, and after the Korean War. One was the Special Comfort Stations for its own troops; the women were called the Special Comfort Units or the Fifth Logistics Items (author translation). The other was the U.N. Comfort Stations for the United Nations Command troops, including the American troops; the women were called the U.N. comfort women or western princesses (Ref.: Hata, Ikuhiko. (2016). *Ianfu Mondai no Kessan—Gendaishi no Shinen* [Closing the Comfort Women Issue, Profoundness of Modern History] (author translation), p15, 51). If they had been public prostitutes, the South Korean Government should bear the responsibility for abusing the women's rights. If they had been sexual slaves, the government must accept more responsibility than that.

##### **(2) The Vietnam War**

In 2015, Mr. Noriyuki Yamaguchi of TBS TV, Japan, based in Washington reported in the *Shukan Bunshun* weekly of the April 2 edition that the Korean military operated comfort stations under the name of Turkish Bath in South Vietnam during the Vietnam War. The women employed at the bath were for its own troops and sometimes for American troops. The comfort women were Vietnamese (Ditto, p16, 71). If they had been public prostitutes, the South Korean Government should bear the responsibility for abusing the women's rights. If they had been sexual slaves, the government must accept more responsibility than that.

#### **V. Conclusions**

Having reviewed the references and having come up with the estimated totals of 491 comfort stations and 5,345 comfort women, the author has drawn the following conclusions:

1. The comfort stations should not have been established in warfront in view of the protection of women's rights. The Japanese Government erred in that context and is

responsible for having given a green light to the establishment of comfort stations.

2. The totals of 491 comfort stations and 5,345 comfort women are only estimates, however, they are reasonable estimates. Therefore, the estimated totals of 20,000~200,000 comfort women variously and separately claimed by the Korean Council and scholars in Japan are groundless.

3. The claim made by the Korean Council and some Japanese scholars that the comfort women were slaves for sexual services are groundless, in consideration of the facts that they as public prostitutes made incomes under contract. The statistics of entertainment businesses (Ref. A Part D) quoted in Paragraph II.1 above details the number of public prostitutes in the Korean Peninsula, which indicates the public prostitution system promulgated by the Government General of Chosen was not nominal but in fact prevalent there. This fact is contradictory to their claim. If the women were sexual slaves, it follows the operators took the women to warfront by circumventing the regulations. If the women were public prostitutes, the women were not sexual slaves. There is no other way of interpreting the women's status.

4. It is appropriate for the Japanese Government to make an apology for cases in which the public prostitution system was not strictly adhered to. Then, what about the acts of villains who, in fact, deceived and abducted innocent girls and women? Should they merely remain under reasonable suspicion? The claim to call on the government for universally taking responsibilities for all the villains is questionable whatever lawyers may say.

5. No one can question the propriety of the South Korean Government to lodge, in behalf of the comfort women, complaints with the Japanese Government. Then, the South Korean Government is also responsible for clarifying the above-mentioned facts at the United Nations' forums, now that the issue has been presented there many a time. The author did not mention it herein due to limited space available.

6. The so-called comfort women cenotaphs and statues have been erected in many U.S. cities and the Philippines and Germany at present. The South Korean Government is responsible for advising the parties concerned with them as to the consistency of the above-mentioned facts and what the cenotaphs state about the comfort women. The author did not mention it herein due to limited space available.

7. The author—due to limited space available herein—did not mention the book written by Seiji Yoshida, *My War Crimes: The Forced Draft of Koreans*, Tokyo, 1983, which was quoted in paragraph 29 of the Coomaraswamy Report. This is because his statements regarding forcibly taking Korean women away from the Cheju Island had been denied by the *Asahi Shimbun* article of August 5, 2014. The article, after the newspaper's own investigations, stated, "The witness statements on forcibly taking away (of women) could not be corroborated and they have been concluded as fabrication (author translation)."