

Chinese Comfort Women

Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves

Peipei Qiu, with Su Zhiliang
and Chen Lifei



UBCPress · Vancouver · Toronto

Sample Material © 2013 UBC Press

Contemporary Chinese Studies

This series provides new scholarship and perspectives on modern and contemporary China, including China's contested borderlands and minority peoples; ongoing social, cultural, and political changes; and the varied histories that animate China today.

A list of titles in this series appears at the end of this book.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables / ix

List of Abbreviations / xi

Acknowledgments / xiii

Foreword / xvii

Introduction / 1

Part 1: The War Remembered

1 Japan's Aggressive War and the Military "Comfort Women" System / 21

2 The Mass Abduction of Chinese Women / 35

3 Different Types of Military "Comfort Stations" in China / 50

4 Crimes Fostered by the "Comfort Women" System / 67

Part 2: The Survivors' Voices

5 Eastern Coastal Region / 81

6 Warzones in Central and Northern China / 102

7 Southern China Frontlines / 126

Part 3: The Postwar Struggles

8 Wounds That Do Not Heal / 151

9 The Redress Movement / 160

10 Litigation on the Part of Chinese Survivors / 171

11 International Support / 184

Epilogue / 191

Notes / 198

Selected Bibliography / 226

Index / 240

Figures and Tables

Figures

(All photographs taken by the collaborating researchers of this book.)

- 1 Dayi (or Daiichi, in Japanese) Saloon indicated with an circle on a 1937 Japanese map / 25
- 2 A cave dwelling in Yu County, Shanxi Province, used as a “comfort station” by the Japanese troops and the place Wan Aihua was imprisoned in 1943 / 41
- 3 Survivor Huang Youliang (on right) showing the site of Tengqiao “Comfort Station” on Hainan Island, where she was enslaved in 1941 as a “comfort woman” / 51
- 4 Yuan Zhulin revisiting the old temple where the Japanese army kept her in 1940 as a “comfort woman” / 53
- 5 The buildings of Dayi Saloon on Dong-Baoxing Road in Shanghai today / 56
- 6 Locations of the “comfort stations” where the twelve women whose stories are related in this volume were enslaved / 76
- 7 The rock cave where Li Lianchun hid in 1943 after her escape from Songshan “Comfort Station” / 79
- 8 Lei Guiying giving a talk in Shanghai in 2006 to teachers and students from Canada / 81
- 9 Zhou Fenying, in 2007, speaking to interviewers of her wartime experiences / 89
- 10 Zhu Qiaomei at the 2001 notarization of her wartime experiences / 94
- 11 Lu Xiuzhen, in 2000, giving a talk at the International Symposium on Chinese “Comfort Women” at Shanghai Normal University / 98
- 12 Yuan Zhulin, in 1998, attending a public hearing in Toronto on the atrocities committed by the Japanese military during the Asia-Pacific War / 102
- 13 Tan Yuhua, in 2008, in front of her home / 108

- 14 Yin Yulin, in 2001, praying in her cave dwelling / 114
- 15 Wan Aihua, in 2000, telling the students and faculty at Shanghai Normal University how she was tortured by Japanese soldiers during the war / 119
- 16 Huang Youliang, in 2000, speaking to interviewers about her experiences in a Japanese military “comfort station” / 126
- 17 Chen Yabian, in 2003, in front of her home / 131
- 18 Lin Yajin, in 2007, attending the opening ceremony of the Chinese “Comfort Women” Archives in Shanghai / 135
- 19 Li Lianchun, in 2001, being interviewed in her daughter’s house / 141
- 20 “Comfort station” survivor Zhu Qiaomei’s home after the Second World War; her family became destitute as a result of the Japanese invasion / 155
- 21 “Comfort station” survivor Zhu Qiaomei was sick at home in 2001 / 157
- 22 “Comfort station” survivor Mao Yinmei (middle) in front of her house with Su Zhiliang (second from right) and researchers from Germany and Japan / 173
- 23 Gravestone erected by the Research Center for Chinese “Comfort Women” commemorating the life of Yang Wubang, a Hainan Island “comfort station” survivor who died on 31 August 2006, the day after the Tokyo District Court denied the Hainan victims’ claim for compensation / 177
- 24 Chen Lifei (second from left), of the Research Centre for Chinese “Comfort Women,” attending the funeral of “comfort station” survivor Lu Xiuzhen, who died on 24 November 2005 / 185
- 25 “Comfort station” survivor Tan Yuhua (sitting second from left) with history teachers from North America after giving a talk in July 2008 about her experience during the Japanese occupation / 187

Tables

- 1 “Comfort stations” in Hongkou District, Shanghai, in 1940 / 33
- 2 A sample list of fees charged by “comfort stations” in China / 63

Abbreviations

AWF	Asian Women's Fund
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
IMTFE	International Military Tribunal for the Far East
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPC	National People's Congress
JWRC	Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility
POWs	prisoners of war
RQHZD	<i>Riben qinlüe Huabei zuixing dangan: Xingbaoli</i> [Documented war crimes during Japan's invasion of north China: Sexual violence]
RQHZS	<i>Riben qinlüe Huabei zuixing shigao</i> [A history of atrocities: Japan's invasion of northern China]
TXX	<i>Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu</i> [Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan]
TXXX	<i>Tietixiade xingfeng xueyu: Rijun qin-Qiong baoxing shilu, Xu</i> [Sequel to Bloody crimes of the occupation rule: Records of the atrocities committed by the Japanese military in Hainan]
VAWW-NET	Violence against Women in War Network
WAM	Women's Active Museum on War and Peace

Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In memory of the more than 200,000 women and girls who were abducted by the armed forces of the government of imperial Japan, 1930's-1945.

Known as "comfort women," they endured human rights violations that no peoples should leave unrecognized. Let us never forget the horrors of crimes against humanity.

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

English Publications of the Survivors’ Narratives

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

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

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

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

Key Debates

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

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

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

Untold Stories

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

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

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

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

New Research in China

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

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

The Contribution of this Book

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The experiences of Chinese comfort women highlight the criminal nature of the military comfort stations and the comfort women system instituted as part of Japan's war effort. In assessing the nature of the comfort women system, earlier researchers have classified varying types of military comfort facilities into different categories, according to who operated the facility, length of operation, or "organizational motives."²⁸ Yoshimi Yoshiaki groups the comfort stations into three categories according to who operated them: (1) those operated by the Japanese military for the exclusive use of military personnel and employees; (2) those run by civilians, but under strict military control, for the exclusive use of military personnel and employees; and (3) those designated by the military as comfort stations that privileged military personnel but that were also open for civilian use.²⁹ Yuki Tanaka, on the other hand, categorizes the comfort stations in terms of the length of their operation, grouping them as: (1) "permanent" comfort stations established in major cities; (2) "semi-permanent" stations affiliated with large military units; and (3) "temporary" stations created by small troop units in battle zones.³⁰ Although employing different categorizations, both Yoshimi and Tanaka characterize the comfort women system as military sexual slavery. In her recent book, C. Sarah Soh, intending to "better explain the nature of the comfort system," categorizes the military comfort facilities according to "the motives behind running, supporting, and/or patronizing the facilities."³¹ Her three different categories are: (1) the "concessionary" *ianjo* [comfort station] or "commercial houses of assignment and prostitution run by civilian concessionaires to make money"; (2) the "paramilitary" *ianjo* run by the paternalistic military as not-for-profit recreational facilities "to control the troops through regulated access to sex"; and (3) the "criminal" *ianjo* that "came into being primarily as an outcome of sex crimes committed by individual troops against local women."³² Soh suggests that "the criminal category of comfort stations appears to have emerged primarily during the final years and months of the war" after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941.³³ She contends that definitions of comfort stations and the comfort women system as, for example, rape centres and military sexual slavery "do not offer an accurate view of the comfort system: they simplistically conflate the diverse categories of *ianjo* ... into one."³⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Structure

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

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

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

Source Materials

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

© UBC Press 2013

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Qiu, Peipei, author

Chinese comfort women : testimonies from imperial Japan's sex slaves /
by Peipei Qiu, with Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei.

(Contemporary Chinese Studies, 1206-9523)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Issued in print and electronic formats.

Co-published by: Hong Kong University Press and Oxford University Press.

ISBN 978-0-7748-2544-3 (bound); ISBN 978-0-7748-2546-7 (pdf);

ISBN 978-0-7748-2547-4 (epub)

1. Comfort women – China – History – Sources. 2. Service, Compulsory non-military – Japan – History – Sources. 3. Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945 – Personal narratives, Chinese. 4. World War, 1939-1945 – Personal narratives, Chinese. 5. Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945 – Women – China. 6. World War, 1939-1945 – Women – China. I. Su, Zhiliang, author II. Chen, Lifei, author III. Title. IV. Series: Contemporary Chinese Studies

D810.C698Q59 2013

940.54'050820951

C2013-903795-0

C2013-903796-9

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada (through the Canada Book Fund), the British Columbia Arts Council, and Vassar College (through the Susan Turner Fund).

UBC Press

The University of British Columbia

2029 West Mall

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2

www.ubcpublishing.ca

Sample Material © 2013 UBC Press