

Vol. 1 No. 1 (2018)

**THE "COMFORT
WOMEN" ISSUE**
PATHS TO JUSTICE
AND RECONCILIATION

ALPHA
Education 

DIGITAL ARCHIVE PROJECT
PRIMARY SOURCE
COLLECTION

About the Cover: This photo was taken by Charles H. Hatfield, of the U.S. 164th Signal Photo Company. According to contemporaneous reports during the period, the women in the photo are Korean and Japanese "Comfort women" rescued by the Allied Forces from Songsshan (China) on 4 September 1944.

The photo is one of the most well-known archival photograph of the Japanese Military's "Comfort Women." This photo, as well as contemporaneous documents regarding surrounding incidents shortly after the photo was taken aided researchers in identifying newly discovered film footage of the "Comfort Women" from the U.S. National Archives.



www.alphaeducation.org
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ALPHA Education is a registered charitable organisation founded in Toronto, Canada. In its pursuit of justice, peace and reconciliation, the organisation fosters awareness and a critical understanding of the often overlooked history of World War II in Asia. Our goal is to activate historical memory and dialogue to promote reconciliation, healing, closure, and cross-cultural understanding. ALPHA Education engages educators and students, empowers youth, supports research and connects with local and international communities.

THE ALPHA TEAM: Flora Chong, Executive Director, Gen-ling Chang, Deputy Director, Judy Cho, Program Director, Fred Tsang, Director of Finance, Carolina S. Ruiz, Research and Resource Development Associate, Helen Kim, Researcher, Alex Sweeny, Museum Project Coordinator, Jason Liu, Operation Coordinator, Yannick Wong, Education Program Associate

“ If the effect of nearly fifty years of public silence on the subject of these war crimes was isolation and alienation for the victims, the result of breaking that silence has been a burgeoning network of alliances. Not only have the surviving women themselves formed links with one another and with a variety of human rights groups and feminist organizations worldwide, but the supporters of their struggles for official acknowledgement, apologies, and reparations from the Japanese government have come together in ever-expanding coalitions. ”

Stetz, Margaret and Oh Bonnie (Eds), *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*, 2001.

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Research and Resource Development Associate, ALPHA Education

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Introduction



After the Cold War era, a surge in remembrances of World War II events in Asia helped to generate a transnational memory of the war – one that was no longer solely confined to single (or disparate) national narratives.

Among the many wartime atrocities from the Asia-Pacific wars that came to light, the experiences of women survivors under the system of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery assumed a prominent place quite comparable to the Nazi Holocaust in terms of historical significance. Carol Gluck notes, “Just as the Nazi Holocaust became the referent for the surpassing evil of genocide, the Asian ‘comfort women’ signified the end of the long invisibility of wartime sexual violence against women.”

Nearly a half a century after the war, knowledge about Japanese comfort stations and the experiences of the surviving ‘comfort women’ reached a wider public audience. Survivors came forward and broke their long silence. Today, only a few of the self-identified survivors of military sexual slavery remain. Many of them continue to do important solidarity work in combating violence against women on a global scale.

This resource puts together a collection of selected testimonial, documentary, photographic and film primary sources that document the Japanese system of Military Sexual Slavery which existed across the Asia-Pacific during the Second World War.

The selection of primary resources in this collection is but a tip of the empirical iceberg. Further evidence corroborating the existence of Japanese “Comfort Stations” continues to be uncovered. Along with an annotation of selected primary sources, timelines provide additional contextual information about the surrounding political and legal developments with regard to the “Comfort Women” issue.

ALPHA Education believes that learning to analyze primary sources in the classroom helps to develop critical skills among learners – capacities that are necessary for the development of historical thinking.

We developed this resource with our partner educators as well as student researchers in mind. It provides a useful overview of how the “Comfort Women” issue came into the public purview and outlines the contemporaneous primary sources that have come to light in the last thirty years or so. The resource is ideal for student researchers who want a basic introduction to the issue but it is also a handy instructional material for educators who want to make use of primary sources in the classroom.

On behalf of the ALPHA Education team, we would like to express our appreciation for the hard work of our interns in developing this resource. This annotated collection of selected primary sources about “Comfort Women” (the first of a series of annotated primary source collections from the ALPHA Digital Archives Project) was painstakingly created by ALPHA Education’s Research Intern from Hong Kong University, Lee Jae Sun, during her Research Internship in Toronto in the Summer of 2018.

This particular collection is accompanied by a supplementary legal timeline of the lawsuits that have been filed against the Japanese government in relation to the “Comfort Women” issue. This part of the resource is the work of Daniel Won Ki Moon, ALPHA Education’s Overseas Research Intern who spent two months abroad (China, Korea and Japan) this summer studying legal and social movement questions pertaining to the “Comfort Women” issue. Daniel is a law student at the University of Toronto, Faculty of Law and the International Human Rights Program (IHRP) fellow of 2018.

Carolina S. Ruiz, LLB., LLM.

Research and Resource Development Associate ALPHA Education

In July this year, Kim Bok-deuk passed away. She was 101 years old. In 2012, she donated scholarship funds to Tongyeong Girls’ High School and in 2013 she contributed 20 million won (US\$17,900) to build a comfort woman history museum in South Gyeongsang Province.

ALPHA Education dedicates the first issue of the Digital Archives Project Primary Source Collection to the memory of grandma Kim Bok-deuk.



The "Comfort Women" Issue

Paths to Justice and Reconciliation

by Lee Jae Sun

During World War II, roughly two hundred thousand Asian women were taken from their communities and put into brothels by the Japanese imperial army. According to scholars, in most cases the "Comfort Women" came from poor families of the rural working classes.

In 1991, Kim Hak Sun (the first survivor to come forward) along with three other former 'comfort women' filed the first lawsuit against the Japanese government before the Tokyo District Court and demanded a formal apology and reparations. Dozens of suits followed.

In the 1990s, the "Comfort Women" issue garnered wide-scale public attention through the media – initially in the terrain of vernacular, rather than official memory. Survivors from different parts of Asia (supported by emerging transnational women's movements and human rights activists from different parts of the globe) took on the challenge of holding the Japanese government accountable for its atrocities. They also confronted their own governments' failure to respond to the plight of the survivors.

The Japanese government denied any involvement by its military and insisted that the brothels that catered to Japanese soldiers during the war were privately owned and managed.

In 1992, Prof. Yoshiaki Yoshimi, a Japanese historian, located wartime documents from the Japanese Self-Defense Agency Archives which demonstrated the Japanese military's involvement in establishing, managing "comfort stations," and in recruiting and forcing women to serve in them as "comfort women." Prof. Yoshimi showed the key documents to a journalist he trusted which led to their publication in the *Asahi Shimbun*, a leading Japanese newspaper.

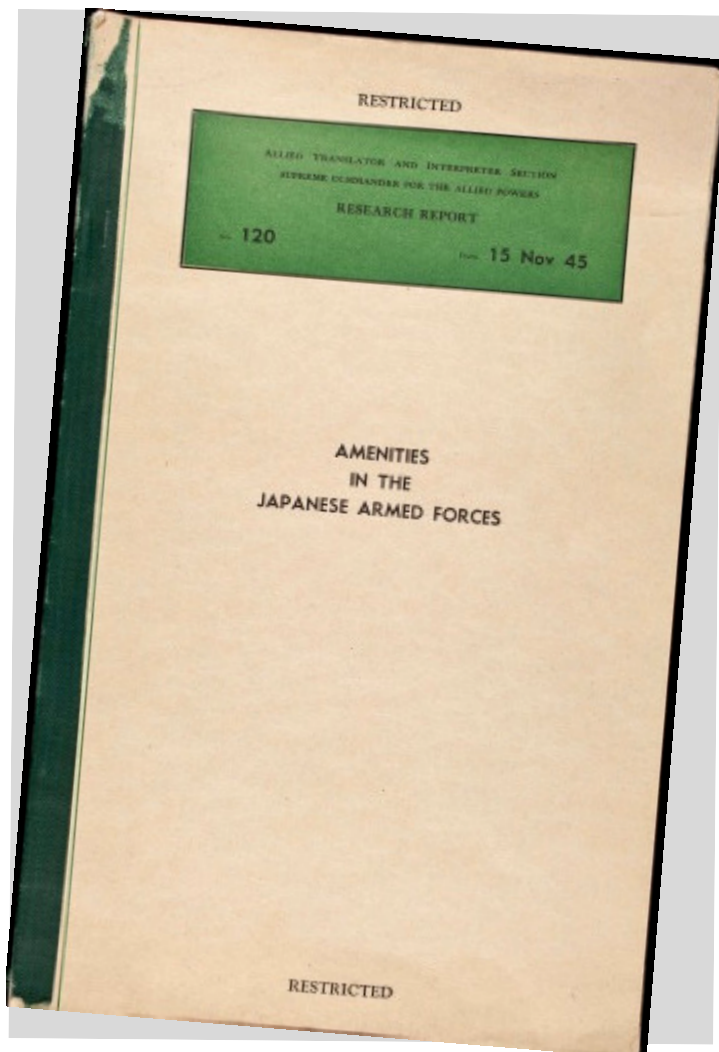
The Japanese government was forced to change its original position of blanket denial, and admitted (to some extent) its military's responsibility for establishing and running the "comfort Stations," but still insisted that civilians were responsible for recruiting women into prostitution.



Kim Hak-sun, the first survivor to come forward about her experiences as a "Comfort Woman" under Japanese Military Prostitution passed away in 1997. (Photo Credit: Amnesty International)
Below: Newspaper Clipping from the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* a Korean Daily covering Kim Hak-sun's public testimony on August 14, 1991



In 1991, Kim Hak Sun and 3 other former 'comfort women' filed the first lawsuit against the Japanese government before the Tokyo District Court demanding a formal apology and reparations. Dozens of suits followed.



Grant K. Goodman donated his original copy of Research Report No. 120 to the University Archives at the University of Kansas in 2016

Prof. Yoshimi's revelations met push back and the authenticity of the archival documents he found were questioned. Later that year, while reading a local newspaper, an American from Kansas City Missouri, Grant K. Goodman, came across a story about Prof. Yoshimi's revelations including the questions that had been raised regarding the authenticity of the wartime documents he discovered.

As a former US Army officer who had served under the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section (ATIS), Goodman recalled that he had translated a document entitled, "Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces" (Report No. 120).

The document included an entire section on brothels which detailed regulations, business operation, management, hygiene, discipline, as

well as outlining regulations for special clubs for officers and high-ranking civilian officials. Moreover, the document listed the geographic locations of the Japanese military's other comfort stations, among them the Philippines, Burma, Sumatra, and New Britain in Papua New Guinea. Additional appendices included fourteen forms required by the Japanese army for a brothel to be operated in Manila, and a very detailed police report of a medical and sanitation inspection of a typical Manila brothel.

As it happened, Goodman had actually kept a copy of the document and decided to approach a Japanese journalist in Washington. News about Report No. 120 broke in the Japanese press in February of 1992.

Goodman, now a scholar, noted that the Allied forces had known about the Japanese army's military brothels all along. He pointed out that Report No. 120 was one document among many other wartime records that were publicly available at the United States National Archives on microfiche, as *Wartime Translations of Seized Japanese Documents: Allied Translator and Interpreter Section Reports, 1941-1946* (Bethesda, MD: CIS, 1988), 2v. He found it surprising that nobody had discovered the document before he brought up Report No. 120.

But the lack of interest within the military (not just Japan's) was hardly surprising given the prevailing attitude within these institutions of regarding brothels as a "male necessity of war." The prevailing outlook made them morally invisible.

In 1993, the first globally organized fact-finding mission on the "comfort Women" that was undertaken by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), an international human rights NGO led by eminent jurists. The ICJ found that:

(1) The Allied powers had extensive documentary and other evidence immediately after the war about the comfort stations, the manner in which the women were recruited, and the vicious nature of the control the Japanese military had over the women.

(2) They also knew that comfort stations had been established throughout the Asia-Pacific Region and that Dutch, Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipino, Indonesian, Malaysian and Burmese women had been victimized.

(3) When the International Military Tribunal for the Far East was established, the crimes perpetrated against these women were not considered at the trial.

(4) The plight of some of the Dutch women who had been victimized in Indonesia was brought into the open by the Batavia Trial held in Indonesia and several Japanese military men were tried and convicted for these crimes. Sadly, the local Indonesian women, who had been similarly victimized, were ignored at the Batavia Trial.

In 2007, after over two decades of research, the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility (JWRC) issued an "Appeal on the Issue of Japan's Military Comfort Women." It concluded that:

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



Tan Yuhua, a Chinese survivor in 2008



Rosa Maria Henson is the first Filipino survivor who came forward to talk about her experience as a "Comfort Woman"

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.

Almost thirty years after the "comfort Women" issue first found an audience, more primary sources (from historical artifacts to even more official documents) are still being unearthed as scholarly interest around the "Comfort Women" issue sustains research as well as debate.

The publication of "Chinese Comfort Women" by Peipei Qui, Su Zhilang and Chen Lifei in 2013 (the first English language monograph to record the experiences of Chinese women placed under Japanese Military "Comfort Stations") drew attention to the plight of Chinese survivors – a group that until then, had received little attention outside of China. The book outlines recent findings by Su Zhilang, who notes that earlier estimates regarding number of women detained by the Japanese military as "comfort women" do not

reflect the large number of Chinese “Comfort Women” during the Japanese occupation of Manchuria from 1931-1945. In the same year, Ahn Byeong-jik, a scholar from Seoul National University, published the diary of a Korean businessman who reportedly managed a Japanese Military Brothel in Burma.

Last year (2017), scholars from the same University released the first ever film footage of “comfort women” discovered from the United States National Archives.

Philip Charrier observed:

“What is particularly exciting about this discovery is that it connects directly with a few contemporaneous Signal Photo Company photographs of the same women, as well as information gathered by a United Press journalist at Songshan. It is a unique case of overlapping evidence.”

As Charrier points out, some of the women in the film were previously photographed after being rescued at Songshan in China by the Allied Forces and identified as rescued “comfort women” in the November 1944 edition of (China Burma India) CBI Roundup,

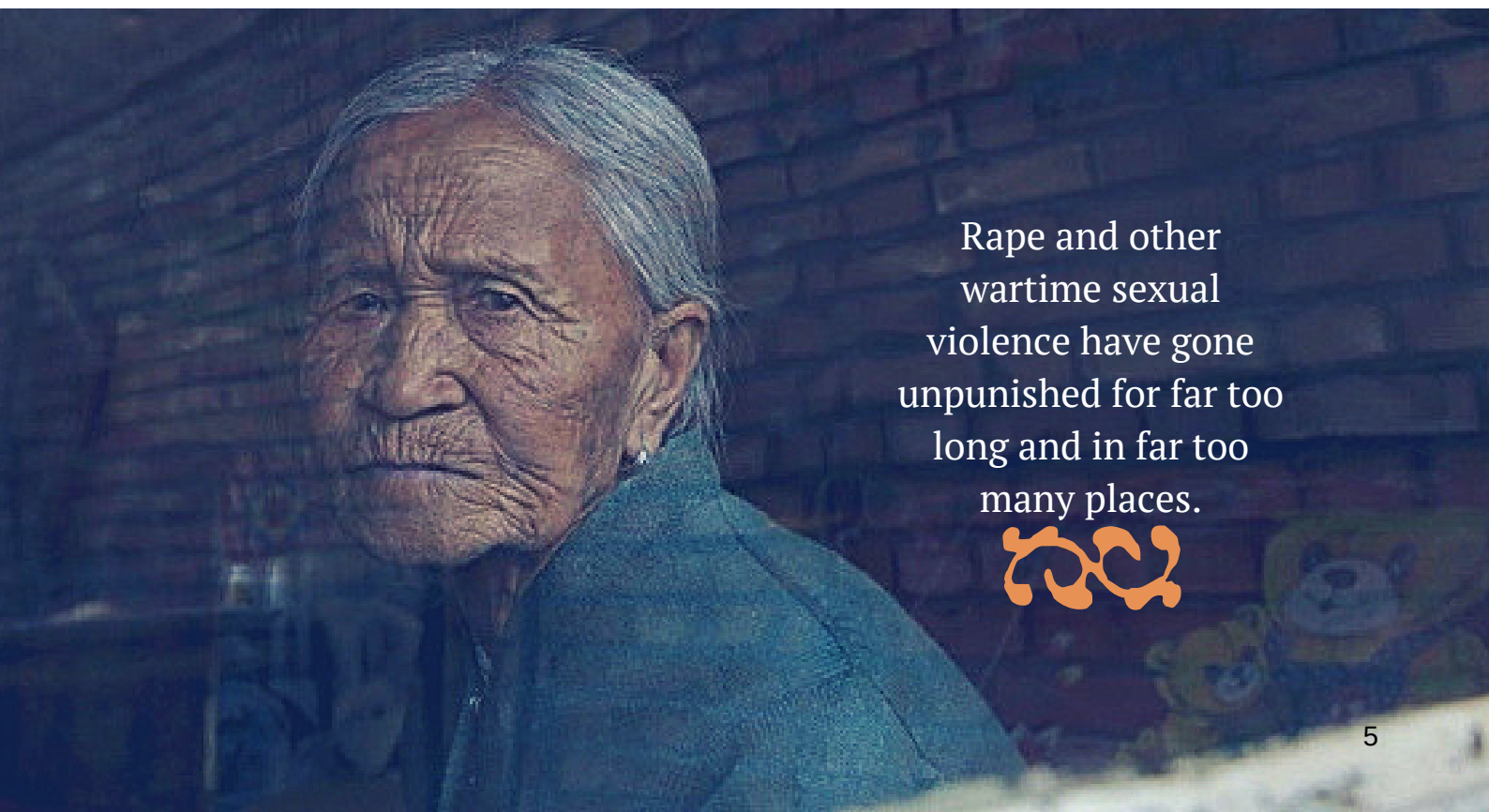
a weekly newspaper of the United States Forces during the Second World War intended for the troops in China, Burma, and India.

One of the women in the now well-known photograph taken at Songshan (which appears on the cover of this resource) was Park Young-Shim, who was pregnant at the time of the rescue. Park was one of the survivors whose testimony was submitted before the IWCT in 2000.

She recounted how she miscarried shortly after the photograph was taken and suffered a nervous breakdown. Charrier recounts that seeing the hotel’s complimentary Japanese Kimono while she was attending the IWCT in Tokyo was too much for Park to handle and she ended up unable to testify publicly.

Park revealed that she used to wear a kimono while she was forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers. Besides the survivors, two former Japanese soldiers came forward to testify and apologized to the survivors for their actions at the IWCT.

Along with 16 other plaintiffs Zhang Xiantu (below), sued the Japanese government in 1995.



Rape and other
wartime sexual
violence have gone
unpunished for far too
long and in far too
many places.





Gil Won-ok wearing a butterfly pin to a protest in July 2015

In 2000, a transnational alliance of women's human rights groups convened the International Women's War Crimes Tribunal (IWCT) and called attention to the fact that the sexual enslavement of the "comfort women" was never prosecuted before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo War Crimes Trial).

The main purpose of the mock trial was to serve as an addendum to the unfinished business of holding the Japanese government accountable for its war crimes. At the same time, however, the tribunal had a more universal goal in mind:

"The second aim is to end the cycle of impunity of wartime sexual violence against women and to prevent it from happening again in any part of the world. Rape and other wartime sexual violence have gone unpunished for far too long and in far too many places."

Indeed, while justice and accountability have not been forthcoming given the stance of the current Japanese government, the IWCT's latter goal is widely recognised to have borne fruit.

The "comfort women" who came forward in the 1990s (along with the transnational movement of activists that supported them) played a key role in the legal recognition of sexual violence in war as a war crime. In spite of being denied their path to justice, these women have done much to ensure that others will stand a better chance of finding theirs.

Additional Photo Credits: Photo of Rosa Henson from the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Photo of Tan Yuhua was taken from the book by Pepe Qui, et. al., and the photos of Zhang Xiantu and Gil were taken by Kim Hyung-hoon for Reuters

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A TIMELINE OF THE "COMFORT WOMEN ISSUE"

While this timeline does not fully reflect the achievements of the transnational and social justice movements supporting the 'comfort women,' it offers contextual information regarding major political and legal events around the issue. For additional details, including the outcome of the cases mentioned here, please see the Appendix Legal Timeline.

1990

Jan

Publication of Yoon Jung-Ok's report about Japan's 'comfort women' in Korea

May

Statement from the Korean Women's Association calling for truth identification and compensation

Jun

Motooka Shoji of the Socialist Party requests the Japanese government to investigate the 'comfort women' issue

Shimizu Tsutao, Director of the Employment Security Bureau, responds to Motooka's request and denies the Japanese military's participation asserting that that private businesses were responsible for the "Comfort Women" system

1991

Aug

Kim Hak-Sun becomes the first Korean witness to testify in public -

Sep

Yoshida Seiji, a novelist and former member of the Japanese Communist Party who published a memoir in 1977 claiming that he was involved in the trafficking of 'comfort women' during World War II, is interviewed by the New York Times. He is later forced to admit that sections of his memoir are fictionalised accounts.

Dec

Kim Hak Sun and 3 other former 'comfort women' file the first lawsuit against the Japanese government before the Tokyo District Court, requesting a formal apology and reparations

1992

Jan

The first Wednesday protest is held in Korea
(To this day, this protest takes place every week. Thousands of people around the world have joined marchers in solidarity over the years.)

Japanese professor, Yoshimi Yoshiaki, discovers an official military notice from the Japanese Army Ministry addressed to the Japanese Army Chiefs of the Staff for the Northern China Area Army) regarding the recruitment of "comfort women"

Prime Minister Miyazawa addresses the Korean public with an apology regarding the "Comfort Women"

Feb

Grant K. Goodman (former US Army officer) reveals that he kept a copy of a Report he translated as part of the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section (ATIS), which details the Japanese military's establishment of military brothels, including their involvement in recruiting and forcing women to serve as "comfort women." The Report (No. 120) also details other locations across the Asia-Pacific where brothels were established.

May

The Taiwanese government's 'comfort women' subcommittee requests apology and compensation from the Japanese government

Jul

The Japanese government releases the results of first investigation into "comfort women." Acknowledges their participation but denies the use of force.



1993

Feb

Discussion of 'comfort women' issue at 49th United Nations Human Rights Commission UNHCR

Apr 18

The first Filipina 'comfort woman' to speak out, Maria Rosa Henson, joins a lawsuit before the Tokyo District Court against the Japanese government

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) undertakes the first global mission to investigate the "comfort women" issue

Jun

Discussion of 'comfort women' issue at the United Nations International Human Rights Conference held in Geneva

Aug

Japanese government, through Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono, releases the result of the Japanese government's second investigation into "comfort women." Acknowledges the existence of "comfort women," the military's establishment of comfort stations and occasional use of force in the recruitment, transportation and management of "comfort women."

1994

Jan

Discussion of 'comfort women' before the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

Former Dutch 'comfort women' and prisoners-of-war file a lawsuit against the Japanese government in the Tokyo District Court

Aug

Japanese government announces its plans to raise funds for compensation through private funding



1995

Jul

The UNHCR officially starts an investigation into the "comfort women" issue

Prime Minister Murayama launches Japan's 'Asian Women's Fund' (AWF)

1997

Discovery of US military document that records the shooting of 30 Korean 'comfort women' on the night of September 13, 1944 by Pang Son Ju

Asian Women's Fund releases a collection of materials related to the wartime "comfort women" issue

Dec

The Taiwanese government starts to support the victims by paying 2 million yen to 12 reported Taiwanese 'comfort women'

1998

Apr

The Yamaguchi District Court (Shimonoseki) rules that Japan should pay 300,000 yen to three 'comfort women' as a compensation (See Legal Timeline for final outcome and details)

Jun

The UN Human Rights Subcommittee announces the special report of Gay McDougall, calling for accountability on the "comfort women" issue, and recommending that the Japanese government compensate the former "comfort women"



2000

Jan

The Hong Kong Legislative Assembly adopts a resolution to demand apology and compensation for the victims of Japanese atrocities

Sep

Fifteen victims from South Korea, Taiwan, China and the Philippines file a joint lawsuit against the Japanese government in the Washington District Court

Dec

The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japanese military sexual slavery

2001

Mar

The Hiroshima Supreme Court dismisses first Shimonoseki case, reversing the previous judgment by the Yamaguchi District Court (See Legal Timeline for details and the final outcome)

Jul

The United Nations Human Rights Subcommittee adopts a resolution recommending Japanese history textbook to reflect the 'comfort women' issue accurately as well as to include related human rights violations

Aug

The first trial for the joint lawsuit filed by the fifteen former 'comfort women' begins at the Washington District Court

2002

Oct

The Tokyo District Court dismisses the case filed by nine Taiwanese women against the Japanese government



2004

Nov

The Japanese Supreme Court upholds dismissal of the 'Shimonoseki Decision'
(See Legal Timeline for details and final outcome)

2006

Sep

The US House of Representatives International Relations Committee
unanimously passes resolution related to the 'comfort women'

2011

Oct

The 'comfort women' issue is raised before the United Nations General
Assembly

2013

The English translation of the book, "Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies
from Japan's Imperial Sex Slaves," by Peipei Qui, Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei is
published

Aug

A diary of a man who claimed to have been a manager at a Burmese "comfort
station" (Ilbongun Wianso Gwalli'n-ui lilgi) is published by Korean historian, An
Byeong-Jik

2015

Dec

An agreement between the foreign ministers of Korea and Japan regarding
the 'comfort women' issue is reached. Failing to include or consult any of the
survivors in this deal results in the unpopularity of the accord.



2016

Jan

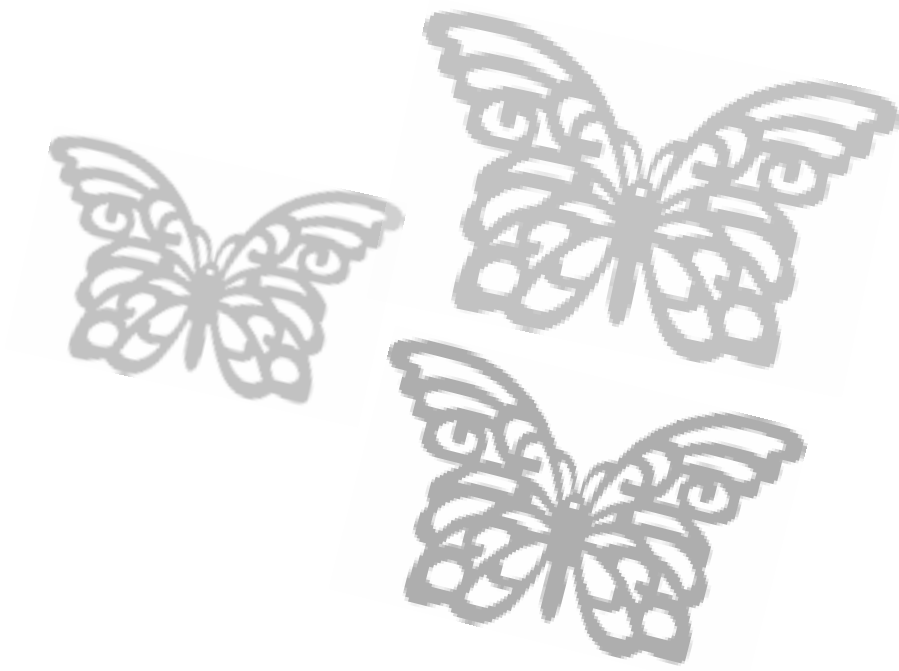
Goodman's copy of Research Report No. 120: Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces' becomes part of the collection of the Archives of the University of Kansas

2017

Researchers from Seoul National University release newly discovered film footage of 'comfort women' in Songshan, Yunnan, China

May

South Korean President Moon issues an official statement that the Korean public cannot accept the 2015 agreement



**SELECTED
PRIMARY DOCUMENTS
ON THE
"COMFORT WOMEN"
ISSUE**



Public Testimony – August 14, 1991/Lawsuit filed: December 6, 1991

Record of Kim Hak-sun's Testimony in the case of
Kim Hak-sun v. Japan, 1597 HANREI JIHÔ 102 (Tokyo D. Ct., March 26, 2001)
Official Judgement of the Court

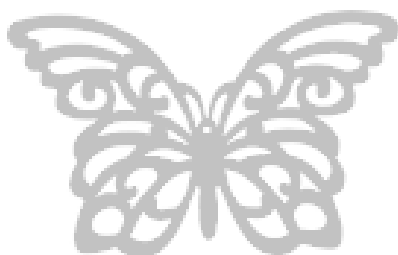
Kim Hak-sun testified that she was abducted from her home in Pyongyang in 1941 at the age of 16 and forced by the Japanese imperial army to work as a prostitute in northern China. She claimed that she was given a Japanese name, "Aiko," and was forced to have sexual intercourse as many as 20-30 Japanese soldiers a day. After serving in the comfort station for three months, Kim managed to escape with the help of a Korean man and eventually returned to Korea by boat to Incheon in 1946. (Excerpts from the Testimony of Kim Hak-soon, English language summary from Memory and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific, a research and policy program located in the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at the George Washington University in Washington D.C.)

The 'comfort women' issue started to gain public and media attention in Korea when Kim Hak-Sun became the first Korean woman to testify in public. Kim became an important figure in the justice movement for 'comfort women.' Kim Hak-soon was the first woman who made a public statement in August 1991 and also one of the lead litigants in the first case ever filed against the Japanese government on behalf of former "Comfort Women." By coming forward and becoming an advocate of justice for 'comfort women,' Kim encouraged other victims to come out of the shadows. Kim passed away in 1997, three years before the International Women's War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo was conducted in 2000.

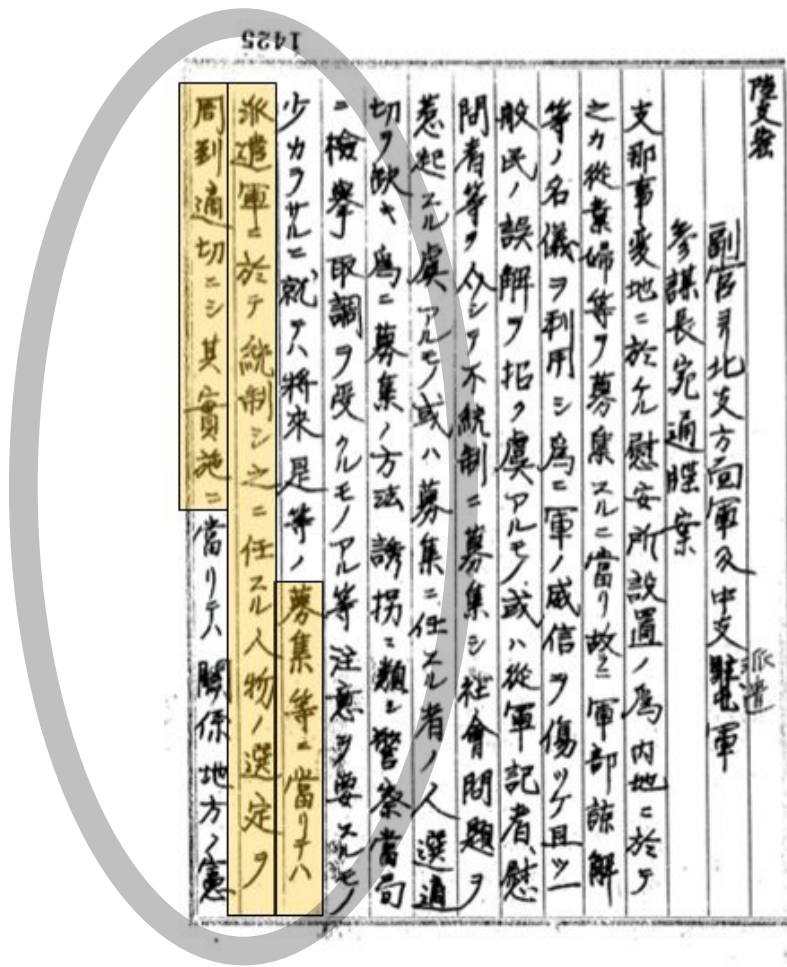
Kim Hak-Sun was born in Jilin, China in 1924 but she moved to Pyongyang after several months. Growing up in Pyongyang under Japanese colonization, she had limited prospects in terms of education. She attended the gisaeng school, which was mainly a school for learning entertainment (similar to the Geisha). After she finished school, she had to work as a gisaeng but at her age, she was not able to work in Korea. In 1941, she moved with her step-father to Beijing in order to earn money.

At 16, Kim was abducted from her home in Pyongyang in 1941 by the Japanese imperial army and put to work in a military brothel in northern China. Kim initially kept silent about her experience and hid her pain. Like many other former "Comfort Women," Kim dreaded exposure and feared judgement and stigma within conservative and patriarchal Korean culture. While her case was eventually dismissed by the Japanese Supreme Court, Kim continued to work as a justice advocate until her death on December 16, 1997.

Original Text of the Final Judgement (In Japanese) at: [https://www2.gwu.edu/~memory/data/judicial/comfortwomen_japan/2004Korean_Ianfu_court.pdf]



A short summary of the case in English by Memory and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific (a research and policy program at the Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University) is available at: https://www2.gwu.edu/~memory/data/judicial/comfortwomen_japan/haksun.html



Translation of highlighted portion:

"In the future, the armies in the field should control recruiting and select the agencies circumspectly and properly."

(Translated by The Social Justice Foundation)

Official Notice to the Japanese Army - March 4, 1938

Wartime Military Document

Date Released January 10, 1992

Location of the Original Document :

Defense Agency Library Archives of Tokyo

Brief Description

Official military notice from the Army Ministry of Japan addressed to the Japanese Army Chiefs of Staff for the Northern China Army and Central China Expeditionary Army regarding the recruitment of "Comfort Women." This was one of several official documents unearthed by Prof. Yoshimi Yoshiaki.

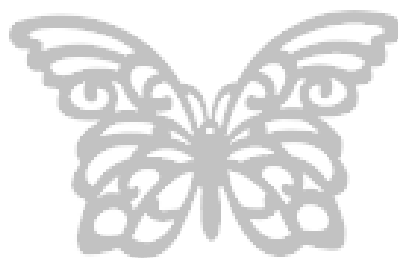
This document was written in March 4, 1938 around the period when the comfort system was first established in China.

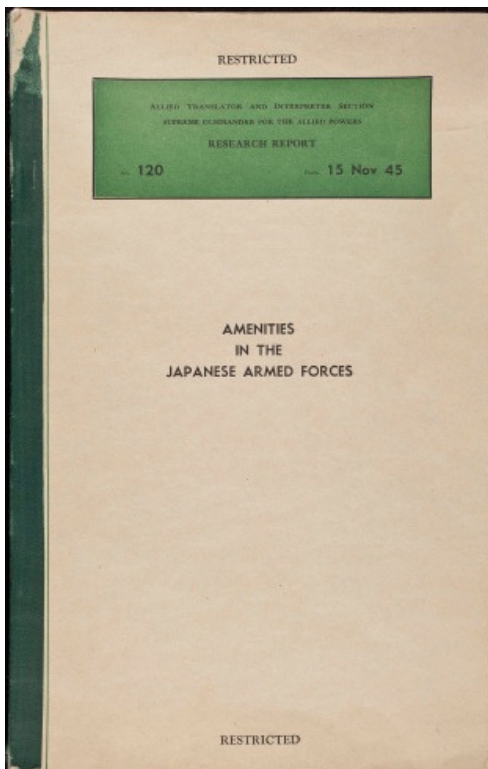
This notice was one of the key documents discovered by Yoshimi Yoshiaki at the Defense Agency Library of Tokyo in 1991. The Asahi Shimbun published the document on January 10, 1992 along with other archival documents.

This military notice not only proves the existence of the comfort stations, but also demonstrates the Japanese government's direct hand in managing and running these comfort stations. The portion of the document included here includes a translation from Social Justice Foundation. The highlighted portion of the document states:

"In the future, the armies in the field should control recruiting and select the agencies circumspectly and properly."

This indicates that the Japanese armies were indeed instructed by the Army Ministry to directly engage in the recruitment of comfort women.





Noncommissioned officers and chart (Figure 4).

Classification	Time	Rate			Summary
		Japanese	Koreans	Chinese	
Officers and warrant officers	1 hour	3.00	3.00	2.50	1. Overnight stay will be from 2200 until 0800 of the following morning. 2. Persons staying longer than one hour will pay double for each hour.
	Overnight stays				
	From 2400	10.00	10.00	7.00	
From 2200	15.00	15.00	10.00		
Noncommissioned officers	1 hour	2.50	2.50	2.00	
	30 minutes	1.50	1.50	1.00	
Privates	1 hour	2.00	2.00	1.50	
	30 minutes	1.50	1.50	1.00	

Figure 4. Established Rates of South Sector Billel Brothel

Note: 1. Civilian employees will pay the fixed rates in accordance with their position. 2. Customers are not to pay more than the above fees to the brothel operators or to prostitutes.

Left (Cover Page): "Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces," Above (Detail of a chart classifying a fee/payment scheme) from the document.

Research Report No. 120 November 15, 1945
 Date Released February 1992
 Translated Wartime Japanese Military Document

Location of the Document

Original Document United States National Archives on microfiche, as Wartime Translations of Seized Japanese Documents: Allied Translator and Interpreter Section Reports, 1941-1946 (Bethesda, MD: CIS, 1988), 2v

An Original Copy kept by Lt. Col. Grant K. Goodman, who translated the document, was donated to the University Archives at Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas in 2016

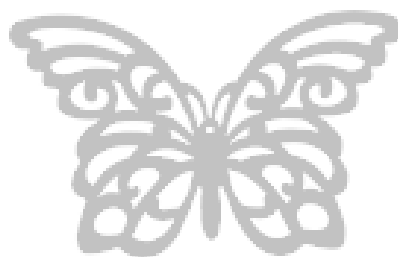
Brief Description

Research Report No. 120: Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces is a translation of a Japanese Military document procured by the Allied Translation and Interpreter Section Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. It outlines 'comfort station' rules and regulations as well as locations of other "Comfort Stations" in the Asia-Pacific region.

Research Report No. 120: Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces was translated by the Allied Translation and Interpreter Section (ATIS) under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (Gen. Douglas MacArthur).

This document is a study that analyses amenities provided to Japanese soldiers by the Army and it contains information about "Comfort Stations." While there are only around eleven pages (pp. 9-19) about the "Comfort Stations" in the document, it contains detailed information about the establishment, management and operations of the military brothels, as well as their locations all over the Asia-Pacific. The categorization of military brothels as a form of "amusement" under the direct administration of the Japanese military in this document adds credence to the charge that the procurement of women to serve as "comfort women" was systematically pursued.

As seen in the Table of Contents of the document, military brothels are categorized as form of amusement for Japanese soldiers. Geishas are classified separately along with other entertainment troupes. The document contains the rules and regulations applicable to these brothels. An excerpt from the document (above) reflects specific rates and charges for 'comfort women' in what appears to be a hierarchy of fees according to the nationality of the women and the soldiers' rank or position. The brothels charged more for Japanese women, and slightly less for Korean women and even less for Chinese women. Officers and officials had to pay more than ordinary soldiers and sailors.

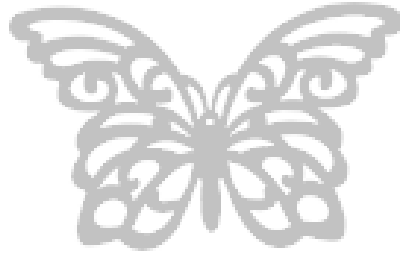


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(Highlighted Portion) Brothels are listed Under "Amusements"

Locations mentioned in the document include Burma, Sumatra, South West Pacific and Manila



The existence of a fee system in “Comfort Stations” has been used by some to raise questions about the precise nature of the sexual services in these Japanese Military brothels. Those who refuse to acknowledge that the enslavement of women under this system was a human rights violation have argued that the existence of a fee system (one that was conceived and administered by the military, as Report No. 120 demonstrates) is enough to negate the coercive nature of the “Comfort Stations.” They claim that the existence of fees (imposed by the Japanese Military) prove that the “comfort women” were ‘prostitutes’ who were paid to do their job.

Apart from disregarding the experiences of former “comfort women” who testified that they never accepted any monetary compensation, such an argument glosses over the details of the women’s captivity – that many of them (like Kim Hak-sun) were required to serve as many as 20 to 30 soldiers a day (sometimes more), and that the women were required to pay the cost of their procurement (whether they were sold by traffickers who were strangers or their own family) and expected to also pay interest.

The same document indicates that few were able to buy back their freedom under this scheme and that “conditions of war” were often cited as the reason for not setting the women free.

A PDF copy of the original document kept by Dr. Grant Goodman, professor of history at the University of Kansas is available from the Kansas University Archives (Grant Goodman Papers) at:
<https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/handle/1808/19803>

0930 XIG/A (Message timed 142230) LUNGLING Locations:
87th Div: Divisional troops on MENGKINGPO) 200
260th Regt: His troops " ") men
259th Regt: consists of 1 Bn, 150 men, holding salient into LUNGLING.
261st Regt: one Bn of this Regt (150 men) holding salient into LUNGLING.
 Two Bns of this Regt are on HUAPO.
28th Div: consists of 1 Co of 70 men, located on LAOTUNGPO.
38th Div: Divisional trps at LUNGLING salient) estimated 1000 men.
263rd Regt: 2 Bns of this Regt at LUNGLING salient.) Salient, frm strg pt
264th Regt: 2 Bns of this Regt at LUNGLING salient.) ll NE to W in weap-
 onspit 28
262nd Regt: 2 Bns of this Regt on LAOTUNGPO and vicinity with an estim-
 ated 400 men.

1030 XIG/A (Message timed 142000) LUNGLING AREA 9th Div: located at CHEAOHWATI
 (lower slope of SANKUANPO) attacked by estimated 300 Japs afternoon and night
 of the 14th. At 1800 hours the Chinese were holding. Chinese casualties 40,
 Japs estimated at 100. 4 to 6 jap pos Arty directing heavy fire on Chinese
 positions between attacks. Request air support to knock out these guns.

1100 54th A (Message timed 141855) TENGCHUNG One Burmese Rifleman said that he and
 another rifleman had been captured by the Japs at MYPKYINA some months ago
 and brought to TENGCHUNG. He said that the Japs had killed two Englishmen
 about 12 to 15 days ago. He directed Col Greenway to a corner of the city wall
 where he said the Englishmen had been killed. Two bodies were there. One of
 them had reddish hair not yet decomposed. Their hands were tied behind their
 backs. Apparently their throats had been cut.
 Night of the 13th the Japs shot 30 Korean girls in the city.
 Yanks estimate that there are 1000 dead Japs in the E quadrant,
 half of which had been wounded before having been killed. Main Chinese activity
 today is looking for Japs who ~~decided~~ have been rounded up. One group
 that escaped to the SE are reported to have encountered ~~130th~~ Div who, it is
 reported, 'took care of them'.

1600 CEF Phone from Gen Hsiao: 200th & 36th Divs meeting with success in their co-
 ordinated attack on Hills # 5412 & 5310.

1900 XIG/A (Message timed 151415) At 1200 hours today the Japs took the high ground on
 SANKUANPO.

2000 XIG/A (Message timed 151515) LUNGLING AREA 1st Div: patrols of this Div entered
 NANCHANG today and found 300 dead Japs. Patrols then went to Hill 5412 and
 found NO Japs! They then went to Hill 5310 and FOUND NO NIPS THERE! Patrols
 going to PAGODA Hill to see if any Nips there. REPORTED THAT THE JAPS ARE ON
 THE WAY BACK TO THE ROAD BLOCK VIA TEMPLE HILL! Request for Air Support on
 Temple Hill - believe there will be Nips there.

G-3 Daily Diary September 13, 1944

Date Released 1997

Wartime Military Record kept by U.S. Allied Forces

Location of the Document

United States National Archives

Brief Description

This is a US military document that recorded the shooting of 30 Korean "comfort women" on the night of September 13, 1944 (4 days after film footage surveying the mass killing site was taken). It was discovered by Pang Son Ju, a Korean-American historian in 1997.

The G-3 Daily Diary is a US military document that records the shooting of 30 Korean 'comfort women' in September of 1944. The document is a record of US military activity.

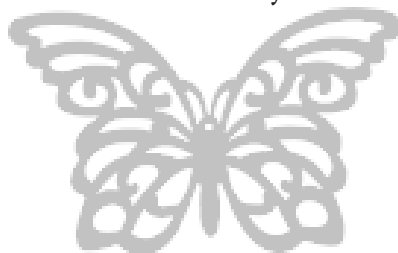
The document dates back to September 13, 1944 and was a report filed at 6:55 pm on Sept. 14 by the US-Chinese Allied 54th Army. This document was discovered by a Korean-American historian, Pang Son Ju, but because it lacked context, the document as well as photographs of what appear to be a massacre site were left unexplored until a video of mass killings was discovered by scholars, finally linking the document to photographs and the film. (The film footage is discussed separately).

The document reads:

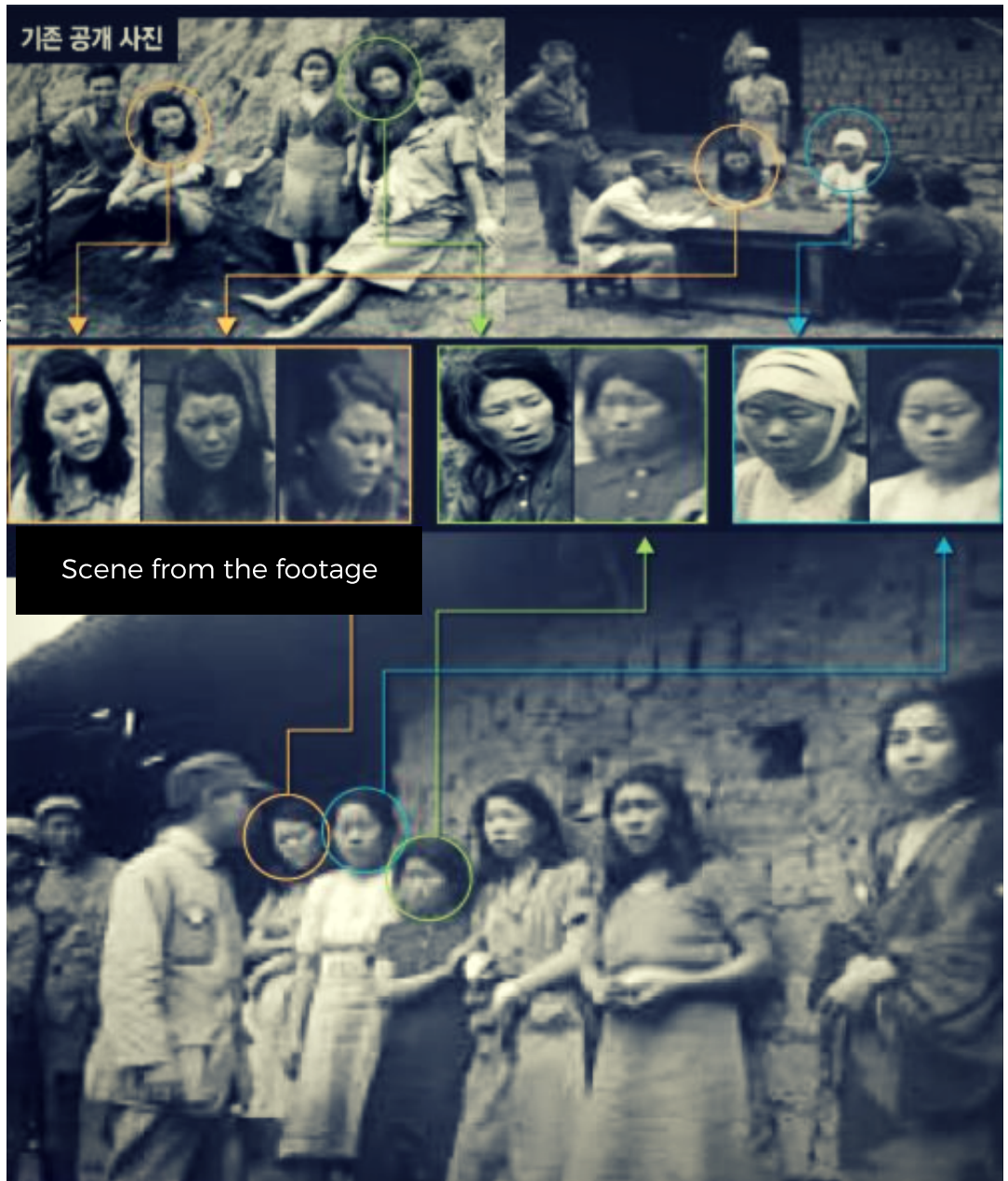
'Tenchung... night of the 13th the Japs shot 30 Korean girls in the city.'

Scholars matched the details of this document with contemporaneous reports during the period (e.g. the Sept. 18, 1944, edition of the Shaodangbao, the official gazette of China's Nationalist Party or the Kuomintang), as well as a film clip and photos showing the corpses of women discovered from the US national Archives.

Scholars identified a Chinese soldier who appears in the more recently discovered film as the same soldier who appears in a set of previously known photographs by Charles H. Hatfield of Korean and Japanese comfort women rescued from Songshan in 1944. This document, as well as the contemporaneous primary sources mentioned here, lends support to the charge that the Japanese military conducted mass killings as they retreated. This contradicts the Japanese claim that the casualties were caused only by bombings by US-China allied forces as well as by acts of suicide.



Previously known Photo by Charles A. Hatfield US National Archives (Cover photo of this publication) seen here side by side in comparison to images captured from the film footage



18 second film footage - September 8, 1944

Date Released 2017

Location of the Film

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) of the United States

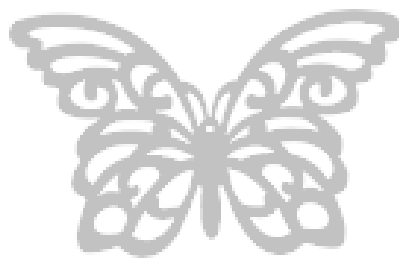
Brief Description 18-second film of 'comfort women' in Songshan, Yunnan, China, discovered by researchers from Seoul National University

Screen shot above from: Kang, Jieun. "일본군 위안부 참상 증명할 '영상' 찾았다...서울시-서울대, 최초 공개." (Seoul Metropolitan City- Seoul National University first reveals the film that proves Japanese atrocities on "Comfort Women") Korea JoongAng Daily, 5 Jul. 2017, <http://news.joins.com/article/21729511>.

This film record was only recently discovered in the United States National Archives by researchers from Seoul National University, with the support of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. The 18-second film of 'comfort women' in Songshan, Yunnan, China was taken on September 8, 1944, only a few days before the known reports of 30 'comfort women' being shot in Tenchung.

A previously discovered and undated photo of a site of women's corpses was later linked to the report when a Chinese soldier who appears in the photograph was identified as the same soldier who appears with the two women in the film in a set of previously known and published photographs of 'comfort women.' A known advocate and former "comfort woman," Park Young-Shim, is pregnant in one of these famous photographs in a series taken by Charles H. Hatfield, US 164th Signal Photo Company, which are at the US National Archives.

The screen shots above (as seen in a video released by the SNU scholars), matched the faces of the women in the photographs taken by Hatfield.



Media Coverage of the SNU discovery includes the 18 second film footage at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GIC481VxVIE>

A timeline of cases on the "Comfort Women" Issue

by Daniel Won Ki Moon

International Military Tribunal for the Far East (The Tokyo Trial) – April 29, 1946 – November 12, 1948, Convened in Tokyo, Japan



Case No. 40/1946, 72/1947 and 72A/1947 before the Temporary Courts Martial of Batavia (current day Jakarta)

This case is the only prosecution/conviction of individual members of the military and civil brothel owners for enforced prostitution as a violation of the laws and customs of war. The victims were all Indo-European or Dutch Nationals.

Except for the Batavia trial and the Hwang case in 2000, all cases included here were brought before the courts in Japan and are chronologically arranged according to date of filing

1991

Korean Victims of the Asia-Pacific War, Filed on Dec 6, 1991.
Kim Hak-Soon was one of the plaintiffs.

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed) Mar 2001
Reasons Cited: (1) Unacceptable under International Law
(2) 1965 Normalization Treaty between Korea and Japan
APPEALED
- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed) Jul 2001
 - o Ratio: Right to bring an action expired
APPEALED
- Kim Hak-sun v. Japan, 1597 HANREI JIHÔ 102 (Tokyo D. Ct., March 26, 2001)
The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed) Nov 2004
 - o Upheld the High Court's decision

1992

Pusan Comfort Women and Women's Labor Corps Members (Shimonoseki Trial), Filed on Dec 25, 1992

SHIMONOSEKI BRANCH, YAMAGUCHI PREFECTURAL COURT (Compensation Awarded in the amount of ¥300,000), Apr 1998 (This is the only decision that ordered compensation for the victims)

o APPEALED

Demanded a proper apology/ Unsatisfied with the amount of compensation

- The Hiroshima High Court (Dismissed), Mar 2001
 - o Reason Cited: The Constitution is not clear on whether the Government of Japan has a duty to enact a law to compensate victims
APPEALED

Judgment is unconstitutional

- The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed), Apr 2001
 - o Rejected the Shimonoseki Decision

1993

Song Shin-Do v Japan, Filed on Apr 3, 1993
Song Shin-Do was the only Korean plaintiff who was a resident of Japan

• The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), Oct 1999
Reasons Cited: (1) Under international law, an individual has no right of action against a nation (2) Retroactivity bars Song from relying on the State Redress Law (effective as of 1947)

APPEALED

- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), Nov 2000
 - o APPEALED
- The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed), Mar 2003
 - o Reason cited: Limitation Period had passed

1994

Dutch "Comfort Women" vs Japan, Filed on January 24, 1994

This is the first lawsuit filed against the Japanese Government by Europeans. There were eight Dutch citizens, including one former "comfort women" victim. They argued that the Japanese Imperial Army contravened the Geneva Conventions, along with other international agreements.

• The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), November 1998
o Ratio: (1) International law did not give the plaintiffs the right to sue the Government for sufferings during war (2) Compensation already paid under the San Francisco Peace Treaty, 1951

However, the court found that the plaintiffs were forced into labour.

APPEALED

- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), October 2001
 - APPEALED
- The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed), March 2004

“ The crimes associated with the euphemistically named "comfort women" system instituted in the countries once occupied by Japan have largely gone unpunished. The surviving victims still await compensation and sometimes even acknowledgement of their ordeal.”

Nina H.B. Jorgensen and Danny Friedmann, "Enforced Prostitution in International Law Through the Prism of the Dutch Temporary Courts Martial at Batavia," FICHL Publication Series No. 21 (2014)

1995-96

Chinese “Comfort Women” v Japan (Filed on Aug 7, 1995 and February 23, 1996)

FIRST GROUP

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), May 2001
- o Reason Cited: Sino-Japanese Joint Communiqué of 1972 extinguished the plaintiffs’ right to sue

APPEALED

- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), Dec 2004
- o Reason Cited: The Government of Japan had no responsibility and Limitation Period had passed

APPEALED to the SCJ

SECOND GROUP

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), March 2002
 - o Reason Cited: No individual right to sue the State
- APPEALED
- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), March 2005
 - o Reason Cited: Impugned crime was not systematically conducted or authorized by the G of J

APPEALED to the SCJ

The Supreme Court of Japan (Dealt with both claims), April 2007

- Reason Cited: Sino-Japanese Joint Communiqué of 1972 extinguishes the plaintiffs’ right to sue

Nota Bene: This is the first law suit against the Japanese Government filed by Chinese victims. The Tokyo District Court (second group) acknowledged post-traumatic syndrome disorder as part of damages.

1998

Women from Shan-xi Province v Japan, Filed on October 30, 1998

The women in this trial were not forced into sexual slavery; rather, they were repeatedly raped by Japanese soldiers

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), April 2003
- o Ratio: (1) There was no law requiring the government to compensate (2) Limitation period had passed according to the Civil Code

APPEALED

- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), March 2005
 - o Upheld the District Court’s decision
- The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed), November 2005

In the District Court’s decision, the court suggested that the Government should reach a settlement. The Judge also found that the Government was negligent in maintaining troop order.

1999

Taiwanese “Comfort Women” v Japan, Filed on July 14, 1999
Noting the dismissal of the suits by Korean women, the plaintiffs argued that their case could be distinguished from lawsuits brought by Korean victims because the 1952 Taipei – Tokyo Peace Agreement was annulled in 1972.

Support groups from Taiwan brought the case to the UN in February, 2005.

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed), October 2002
- The Tokyo High Court (Dismissed), February 2004
- The Supreme Court of Japan (Dismissed), February 2005

Hainan Island, Filed on July 16, 2001

- The Tokyo District Court (Dismissed)
 - o Reason Cited: The court found that the women were kidnapped and forced into sexual slavery but dismissed the claim based on limitation period.

APPEALED

2000

Hwang Geum-Joo, et al. v. Japan (First claim Brought in the U.S.), Filed in September 2000

15 former “comfort women” victims filed a class action against the Japanese Government before the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit— from the District Court’s decision. The plaintiffs argued that they suffered from human trafficking and endured rape/torture. The defendant (Japan) proceeded with a motion to dismiss. Defendants argued that the court lacked jurisdiction over Japan’s conduct and that Japan had immunity under The Foreign Immunities Act (FSIA).

- The District Court (Dismissed)
 - o Reason Cited: Japan has sovereign immunity
- The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals (Dismissed), June 2003
 - o Reason Cited: Affirmed DC’s decision that Japan had immunity from U.S. lawsuits at the time of the impugned acts.

APPEALED

- The Supreme Court of the United States of America (Remanded to the Circuit Court)
- The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals (Dismissed)
 - o Reason Cited: Not justiciable (political matter)
 - o SC denied cert and closed the case in February 2006.

Teaching and Learning History using Primary Sources

Primary Sources are records that were created during the historical period and event under study. They are usually found in archives or other institutions that keep official records. Primary source documents provide immediate, first-hand accounts of an event or incident.

They can be anything from records of interviews and testimonies to reports and communications. Other archival media can be graphic representations such as photographs, film and other materials like maps and/or drawings.

While personal diaries and memoirs are not “official” or meant for publication, these records can serve as important contemporaneous sources of historical information, especially when they are kept by witnesses, whether they are survivors or perpetrators. Media reports during the period, which quote from actual witnesses and participants during the event under study, are also primary sources.

Secondary sources are one step removed from primary sources, which means they are generally works created from the use of primary sources. A good example of this is a history textbook.

The value of primary sources lies in their direct link to the period or event which they reference. In addition, documents which form part of regularly updated official records have an aura of authenticity about them simply because the key motivation or purpose for keeping them is the regular course of business or operations.

While many primary documents (including declassified material) may be found in national archives and libraries and are widely accessible to the public, not all official documents in relation to World War II have been preserved. It is reported for example that the Japanese Military destroyed a lot of records and documents (as well as burning its sites of operation) before the arrival of Allied Forces. Likewise, the classification of key documents as “Top Secret” by countries such as the United States and Russia (the former U.S.S.R.), at the height of the Cold War limited the availability of historical information. (CSR)

Analyzing Primary Sources

What is in the document/material? (Content)

(1) What is the document? (Type of document/Purpose of the Record)

(2) Who produced/created the document?
Who took the photo or film?
(Individual/Institution)

(3) When was it produced/where? (How soon after the event?)

Information on the destruction of wartime documents:

Imperial Japanese Navy's orders to destroy wartime documents found at the Library Archives of the Imperial War Museum (Navy Orders to destroy papers found, April 5, 2008, japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/04/05/national/navy-orders-to-destroy-papers-found/#.W6KGLNJKiUK);

Ex-serviceman, 91, tells of regret at burning war records in 1945, The Asahi Shimbun, August 14, 2018, (<http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201808140034.html>)

