



Criticism of Historical Revisionists' Views on the Issue of Japanese Military Sex Slavery

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INTRODUCTION

On August 4, 1993, the Japanese government's Kono Statement, which acknowledged that Japanese "Comfort Women" had been forcibly detained, was issued, and in 1996 the UN Human Rights Authority defined "Comfort Women" as "sex slavery." After that, the movement to deny the Kono statement in Japan began in earnest by the right wing of Japan, and such a movement of denial of history has recently spread to South Korea and the United States. Historical revisionists who deny the "Comfort Women" issue of the Japanese military or the "forced labor of Koreans" in the Japanese Colonial Period began to create an international network to change the theory of sex slavery at the United Nations Human Rights Committee. Mark Ramseyer, a professor at Harvard University in the United States, and Lee Young-hoon, a former professor at Seoul National University in South Korea, belong to such a group of scholars. This article is intended to criticize the basic way of thinking about the Japanese military "Comfort Women" problem of historical revisionists or history deniers.

The core of the historical revisionists' argument on the Japanese military Comfort Women issue is that Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes. Licensed prostitutes mean state-approved prostitutes. Historical revisionists argue that Japanese military Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes in several ways. They argue that Japanese military Comfort Women were not sex slaves because licensed prostitutes became prostitutes by themselves. The main logic of the historical revisionists is as follows.

(1) The women signed a sex contract with the pimps to become Licensed prostitutes. These contracts are called 'prostitute contracts.' And the women became licensed prostitutes because they have signed 'the prostitute contracts'.

(2) Before women leave their country, they had to appear at the competent police station and had to obtain permission to become Japanese military Comfort Women. The women were licensed prostitutes registered as Japanese military Comfort Women at the police station in the Japanese Empire.

(3) The Japanese military tested women for sexually transmitted diseases. Women were not unlicensed prostitutes but licensed prostitutes because they had been tested for sexually transmitted diseases regularly. The Japanese military Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes because they were tested for sexually transmitted diseases. This venereal disease test system was introduced to the licensed prostitute system in the Japanese Empire.

(4) Women who would become Japanese military Comfort Women received advance payment from pimps. Therefore, they were not sex slaves but sex workers as licensed prostitutes.

(5) If a Japanese military comfort woman paid all the advances, she would be free at the end of the contract period. Therefore, the Japanese military Comfort Women had the freedom to close their job, so they were not sex slaves but sex workers.

(6) The statements of former comfort women claiming they were Japanese military Sex Slaves keep changing. Their statements are inconsistent because they are lying.

For the above reasons, historical revisionists argue that Japanese military Comfort Women were never sex slaves but licensed prostitutes who were sex workers. This paper was written to criticize and refute such historical revisionists' arguments.

1. About the historical revisionists' claim that Japanese military Comfort Women all had sex contracts with pimps

Were there sex contracts claimed by Professor Ramseyer? "Sex contracts" mean "the licensed prostitute contracts". In conclusion, women signed "licensed prostitute contracts" with the pimps if they become licensed prostitutes in Japan or Chosun at that time, but women who went to Japanese military brothels overseas did not sign "licensed prostitute contracts". More specifically, when Japanese women went abroad to become Japanese military Comfort Women, they signed "barmaid contracts" with the pimps, not "licensed prostitute contracts," however Chosun women never signed contracts at all.

In 1900, Japan enacted a law that required women who



wanted to become prostitutes to make a contract with the pimps and they also needed to register at the police station. In Korea, which became a Japanese colony in 1910, a similar enforcement rule was enacted into law in 1916 as in mainland Japan. The purpose of the establishment of the Prostitute Enforcement Rule in Japan and Korea was to prevent brothels and to regularly test women for STDs. That is, to prevent epidemics. And it was also to protect women legally. Because of the existence of the contract, women could sue the pimps to the police if the pimps violated the contract or treated them unfairly. Therefore, this system of a licensed prostitute was maintained on the basis of the prostitute contract. The presence or absence of the contract was a criterion by which women could distinguish whether or not they were licensed prostitutes.

Nevertheless, there were many women who were forced to become licensed prostitutes due to human trafficking, and in Japan, the movement to abolish the licensed prostitutes' system became active in the 1920s. In 1925, Japan joined the "International Treaty on the Prohibition of the Sale of women for the Purpose of Prostitution" and in 1927 abolished the licensed prostitute system in Shanghai.

At this time, Japan introduced the "Restaurant Barmaid system" instead of the licensed prostitute system. The nominal title is called a barmaid, so it is the barmaids who serve alcohol to the guests, but the system by which the barmaids can have sex at the request of the guests was the 'Restaurant Barmaid system'. Therefore, although the licensed prostitute system was abolished in Japan and Korea, this barmaid system was a new system that borrowed the form of a bar. This restaurant barmaid system developed into a Japanese military Comfort Women system.

However, we cannot speak of this barmaid system as a new licensed prostitute system. This is because the Japanese authorities themselves have ceased to use the term "a licensed prostitute". It is the logic of the historical revisionists to claim that the Comfort Women system was a licensed prostitute system. This article does not tell the Comfort Women system as the licensed prostitute system. Especially in the case of the Korean Comfort Women, who was the Japanese military sex slavery, they cannot be called licensed prostitutes, since they did not write contract paper. The existence of the contract paper is proof of the licensed prostitute.

And the restaurant barmaid system and the Japanese military "Comfort Women" system were not the same. This is because even if the women made contracts as barmaids of the military comfort stations, the Japanese military prohibited the sale of food, alcohol, etc., and drinking alcohol in the comfort stations as follows:

"The comfort station should always be kept clean and the sale of food, alcohol, and snack food is prohibited."¹

1 Wada Haruki with others, *The Collection of Data on Military Comfort Women*, 1997, Vol. 2, p.330.

"Drinking is forbidden in comfort stations."²

The Japanese military contracted women as a barmaid but it's prohibited in military comfort stations. Therefore, the Japanese military and its contractors were in clear violation of their contracts with the women.

In the end, the contractors selected by the Japanese Army contracted with women as "barmaid, hospitality women, military restaurant allowances, and associate nurses in naval hospitals, etc," but at the local military units, the Japanese military forced women to engage in prostitution only. This was a criminal act of clear breach of contract, and the Japanese military and its contractors cannot help but be called a criminal group that deceived and abducted women.

The women cried out for being deceived, but they had already been paid advanced money and were forced to become sex slaves even if they tried to escape from the battlefield under the watchful eye of the soldiers, which was the miserable situation of the Japanese "Comfort Women".

The barmaid signed a contract with the pimps. The original barmaid contract was different from the barmaid contract that the Japanese military let the pimps make with women in 1938. However, a mixture of the original barmaid contract and the prostitute contract created the "restaurant barmaid system" and on that extension, the Japanese military "Comfort Women" system was created. Even women who were not originally prostitutes, such as barmaids and nurse assistants, etc, forcibly were turned into prostitutes by the pimps who brought women to the military.

In the case of Korean women, most of them, there were verbal promises only, so the lack of a contract itself often forcibly led them to prostitutes. The atrocious system deceived women to be prostitutes with or without contracts.

In 1938, at the request of the Japanese Military in Shanghai, the pimps, who had the intention to recruit 3,000 barmaids in Japan, signed "the barmaid contracts" with Japanese women.³

The pimps dispatched by the Japanese military contracted Japanese women as "barmaids." And the pimps slightly wrote on the contract like this, "the barmaid business is as same as *Shogi*".⁴ There were many women who didn't know that *Shogi* meant a licensed prostitute. The pimp tricked women who were weak in the contract and took them to Japanese military brothels. In February 1938, the police in Wakayama Prefecture, Japan, arrested and investigated the pimps, judging that there were possibilities that the pimps who recruited the women might kidnap them.

2 Wada Haruki with others, *The Collection of Data on Military Comfort Women*, 1997, Vol. 2, p.150.

3 Wada Haruki with others, *The Collection of Data on Military Comfort Women*, 1997, Vol. 1, pp.14~21.

4 on. cit., pp.28~29.

A recruiter arrested in Gunma Prefecture in January 1938 possessed a four-page barmaid contract form, which included a letter of request for cooperation. The contract form included such statements as "a contract period of two years," "income will be 10 percent of the generated revenue," "required to perform the duty of a barmaid at a military comfort station," and "penalty will apply for a mid-term cancellation of the contract." This is the contract form referred to by Professor Ramseyer and remains the only surviving copy.

A written consent form, which constituted the contract, states, in an inconspicuous manner, "the duty of a barmaid (equivalent to that of a *shogi*)." However, an ordinary woman at the time would not have recognized that *shogi* meant prostitute. It appears that the recruiters inserted the parenthesized expression to take the maximum possible advantage of the women's lack of knowledge and to avoid possible legal problems. Indeed, there was an instance where the Japanese police arrested some recruiters on suspicion of defrauding and kidnapping uneducated women who were not familiar with contractual terms.⁵

The situation in Chosun was even more miserable. The fact that Chosun women were taken to Japanese military comfort centers without any contracts was reported by a military doctor as follows.

"There have been more harsh cases among Korean pimps. They bought daughters of poor peasants as if trafficking them to work without any contract or documentary evidence and made them into disposable goods like slaves. In this way, there is no hope of freedom until death, but women themselves did not seem to be aware of their situation."⁶

Looking at the testimony of the military doctor above, it can be seen that Korean women were taken to comfort centers without any documents such as contracts. Professor Ramseyer also admitted that he had not found the contracts of Korean Comfort Women. In other words, the pimps signed barmaid contracts with Japanese women but did not write any contracts with Korean women. Therefore, the claim (1) of the historical revisionists that "Women were licensed prostitutes because they have signed licensed prostitute contracts with pimps" is nothing but false.

2. The claim of historical revisionists that women were licensed prostitutes because women appeared at the competent police station, registered there, and received a certificate of travel to go abroad

Since 1937, when the Sino-Japanese War began in earnest, Japanese (including Koreans and Taiwanese) had to appear at the competent police station to receive a certificate of travel

5 "Regarding the Incident of Kidnapping Women Using the Current Situation"(Feb. 7. 1938), National Archives of Japan, reference code: A05032044800.

6 Nagasawa Kenichi, Hankou Comfort Station, 1983, pp.63~64.

to go abroad, especially to China. All Japanese, Koreans, and Taiwanese, except public officials who go abroad for public affairs, had to go to the competent police station to receive a certificate of travel to go abroad in response to background checks.

Therefore, it cannot be said that women were licensed prostitutes just because they appeared at the police station at the time and were registered with the police receiving certificate of travel to go abroad. In fact, so many Japanese people who were not prostitutes registered with the police station. According to police data after 1938, *shogi's* departure from Japan, *shogi* means prostitute, has not been confirmed.

This was because the Japanese Imperial Diet ratified the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children in 1925 and, as a result, banned the sending of both underage and adult women abroad for prostitution.

Therefore, the logic of the historical revisionists that women who were registered with the police by appearing to the police were licensed prostitutes does not hold, because all Japanese who went abroad were registered by appearing in the police.

To avoid violating the Convention, the Japanese government abolished the licensed prostitution system abroad, starting first in Shanghai, China. Since Shanghai was a Japanese-occupied territory at the time, many Japanese nationals, including licensed Japanese prostitutes, lived in the city.

However, the signing of the international convention and the abolition of the licensed prostitute system by the Shanghai authorities led Japanese authorities to do away with licensed prostitutes. Against this backdrop, the termination of licensed prostitution gradually expanded from Shanghai to other overseas Japanese settlements. In the end, Japan as a country came to revoke the licenses of prostitutes overseas.

Despite this charade, Japanese authorities introduced the restaurant barmaid (*shakufu*) system in place of the licensed prostitute system. *Shakufu* literally means a woman who pours alcoholic drinks but does not refer to a prostitute.

The Japanese police clearly distinguished between prostitutes, performers, and barmaids in its statistics. ⁷ Originally, barmaids (*shakufu*) did not engage in sex with customers. When requested, however, some might have agreed to have sex with their customers. However, even in such cases, they never thought of themselves as prostitutes. ⁸ The Japanese police clearly distinguished between prostitutes, performers, and barmaids in its statistics. Originally, barmaids (*shakufu*) did not engage in sex with customers. When requested, however, some might have agreed to have sex with their

7 Hata Ikuhiko, Comfort Women and Sex in the Battle Zone, 1999, p.84.

8 Hata Ikuhiko, on. Cit. p.84.

customers. However, even in such cases, barmaids never thought of themselves as prostitutes. Japanese authorities introduced the restaurant barmaid system overseas to replace the licensed prostitute system, and the new system eventually led to the Comfort Women system.

In that context, the first comfort station in Shanghai was established in 1932 as a Navy comfort station.

What matters here is that although barmaids (*shakufu*) were not originally prostitutes, the Japanese military recruited women under this appellation and forced them into prostitution. Against this backdrop, these women later came to be referred to as "Comfort Women" instead of "licensed prostitutes" or "barmaids."

After Japanese authorities in Shanghai abolished the licensed prostitute system, the Japanese National Police Agency (NPA) produced new statistics on women who relocated to China. In these data sets, the prostitute category was eliminated. According to the NPA's statistics from 1938 to 1943, women who entered China were classified as performers, barmaids, waitresses, housemaids, dancers, and other types of workers, but none were categorized as prostitutes.

However, women who signed contracts as such workers were then forced into prostitution by the Japanese military, and that was the true nature and origin of the Comfort Women system. Contrary to what their contracts stated, these women were coerced into providing sex to Japanese soldiers. That is, their contracts were based on a fraudulent premise. And Korean women did not make contract papers because they were recruited by general recruitment without special contracts.

Among these recruitments, the recruiter involved deceiving a victim into believing that women would be hired as factory workers in Tokyo for a period of one year. In this case, a school teacher in Chosun, who was falsely made to believe she would be working at a factory in Tokyo for a year, was taken to Burma (present-day Myanmar) and forced into prostitution.

Later, the narratives of women who were deceived and forced to serve as Comfort Women were documented and published.⁹

The following is a true story of the experience of a military reporter who was a civilian in the military and used the comfort station in Burma mentioned above.

My partner was a woman about 23 or 24 years old. She said she was fluent in Japanese and was a public school teacher. I asked her. "Why did the school teacher come to such a place?" She confided that she was really resentful.

9 Hosaka Yuji, *Forced Recruitment of Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' Witnessed Through Documents and Testimonies*, 2019, pp.189~209.

"We were deceived. There was recruitment to go to a military factory in Tokyo. I applied because I wanted to go to Tokyo. So I boarded a boat that was staying in a port at Incheon. However, instead of going to Tokyo, I had to go all the way south and the first place I arrived was Singapore. About half of the women landed there and the rest of us were taken to Burma. Now we can't imagine going back on foot and we can't escape. We have given up. But the poor thing is that we are little kids who know nothing. There are 8 children aged 16 and 17 who cry that they hate this kind of trade. Is there any way to give relief to those children only?"

After thinking about it, I told her how to appeal to the military police, and I wasn't sure if the military police would help them properly. However, in the end, 8 girls asked for help from the military police. The military police were in trouble, but the girls ended up working in the officers' club. But it's common sense on the battlefield that the officers' club is never a safe place for girls. I don't know what happened to the girls after that.¹⁰

military comfort stations could be used not only by soldiers but also by military civilians. Therefore, a civilian-military reporter entered a comfort station in Burma, where he met a Korean woman fluent in Japanese. And he realized that the Korean woman was taken to a military comfort station in Burma, this case is a typical kidnapping case. It is a testimony that the contractor kidnapped a woman in employment fraud and made her a Comfort Woman and that the Japanese military knowingly neglected the situation.

In December 1937, the Japanese military decided in earnest to establish military comfort stations and commissioned recruiters who were pimps at the same time, to recruit women as barmaids. Unaware that barmaids were required to provide sex to Japanese soldiers, these women signed their work contracts that had been prepared by the pimps. This is what Professor Ramseyer means by "credible commitments," but these women never regarded their barmaid employment contracts as sexual service contracts, for barmaids are not assumed to be prostitutes. And Korean women were kidnapped to Japanese military comfort stations without contracts.

In such circumstances, women offered up fierce resistance after arriving at their destinations, realizing that they had been cheated. However, the Japanese military disregarded the protests of these women and forced them to serve as Comfort Women, sex slavery.

The following excerpt, written by a military doctor, details a case where a woman who was deceived and taken to a comfort station strongly resisted but was suppressed and coerced into serving as a comfort woman.

10 Omata Ikuo, *Battlegrounds, and Reporters*, 1967, pp.333~334.

The manager of the Senshokan (戦捷館) comfort station dragged in an unfamiliar young woman, grabbing her by the hands, but she continued to resist and lurch backward, recoiling with her bottom pushed backward. When she saw me, she backed away even more fiercely, with the scared face of a cornered dog.

I removed his grabbing hand from hers, brought him behind the curtain, and asked about the situation. The manager said that she arrived yesterday from mainland Japan and that she should receive a physical exam today and start working tomorrow, but was not cooperating and giving him trouble.

I brought her behind the curtain. Her tanned face suggested she had been brought straight from a farm. While crying, she said with an accent, "I was told that I only needed to console soldiers at a place called a comfort station, and never knew I was required to perform this kind of action at this kind of place. I want to go home. Please help me go home." At this, the manager looked very troubled. (omitted)

The next day, she returned to the medical office with the manager and the recruiter. ... Whether because she had been slapped by the manager and the recruiter or because she had been crying continuously, her face was swollen so much that her eyes were shut. As if having made up her mind, this time, she climbed up and lay on the examination bed without resistance. She hid her face with her sleeves. Her legs stiffened with nervousness and began to tremble. (omitted)

[The next day] I heard her crying. I looked out the window and saw the woman from yesterday sticking her face out the window and vomiting in a washroom of the Senshokan (戦捷館) comfort station located next to my building. ... Crying while she was vomiting, and when the vomiting stopped, she cried out again like a baby. ... She was heavily indebted, with no way to return, with her hometown too distant. Her cry could not be answered by her parents, siblings, family, friends, or anyone else. The only thing she could do must have been to cry out in a shrieking voice. After a while, a fellow comfort woman showed up, brought the other woman's arm over her shoulder, and took her out.¹¹

This is a true story of a woman who was told that a comfort station is where women provide solace to soldiers and later realized that it was a brothel and resisted. Although the military doctor was aware that she was a victim of fraud, he did not take any action. This situation at a comfort station clearly denies Professor Ramseyer's notion of "credible commitments" that sexual service contracts were contracts under credible premise between pimps and women.

In the end, claim (2) of the historical revisionists, that is, "Women are the licensed prostitutes because they have

11 Nagasawa Kenichi, *Hankou Comfort Station*, 1983, pp.146~149.

appeared at the police station, registered there, and received overseas travel certificates," is a false claim.

3. The false argument by historical revisionists that Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes because they have been regularly tested for venereal disease

Japanese troops all over the Asian countries tested Comfort Women for venereal diseases once a week. Historical revisionists argue that Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes because Japanese, Chosun, and Taiwanese authorities also regularly conducted venereal disease tests on women in their licensed prostitute system.

However, there have long been discussions in Japan that the management of unlicensed prostitutes is necessary.

In the end, Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Administrative Execution Act, enacted by Act No. 84 on June 2, 1900, stipulated "sanitation, treatment, or residence restrictions for violators of unlicensed prostitution", and this law existed in Japan until 1948.¹² In other words, there is a history that Japan administration had forcibly conducted venereal disease tests on not only licensed prostitutes but also unlicensed prostitutes since 1900.

According to the 2006 STD management Guidelines released by the Korean Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, female employees who sell various kinds of tea and alcohol were included as subjects of regular STD tests. Selling tea and alcohol means the businesses such as cafes, coffee shops, and bars. The female employees of these shops were considered potential unlicensed prostitutes, so such female employees had long been designated for venereal disease tests in Korea even after liberation in 1945.

Therefore, the logic of (4) by historical revisionists that Comfort Women were "licensed prostitutes because they had been regularly tested for venereal disease" is very short-circuited. Comfort Women had been regularly tested for STDs, but it is not possible to conclude that they were licensed prostitutes. This is because Japan and Korea had been conducting regular venereal disease tests on female employees who sell various kinds of tea or alcohol but are not licensed prostitutes during the Japanese colonial period and after 1945.

4. The historical revisionists' logic that the Comfort Women were licensed prostitutes because they were paid is false

The Japanese military "Comfort Women" system is also known as the Japanese military "sex slavery" system. However, the Japanese right wing and the pro-Japanese in South Korea argue that the Japanese "Comfort Women" system is not a sex slavery system. On that basis, what they claim is the fact that the "Comfort Women" get paid. They insist that slaves are forced to work unpaid and that the "comfort women" are not sex slaves because they received the money.

12 The Administrative Execution Act : <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2948367>

But “sex slavery” has nothing to do with money. A Japanese dictionary describes a “sex slave” as “a person whose freedom is restricted and forced to perform sexual service under the rule of others¹³.”

If we look at “sex slavery” in the English dictionary, the “Comfort Women” system is a representative example of sex slavery as follows:

“Comfort women” are a widely publicized example of sex slavery. The term refers to the women, from occupied countries, who were forced to serve as sex slaves in the Japanese army’s camps during World War II.¹⁴

In this way, there is no explanation in the English dictionary’s description of sex slavery that Comfort Women are not sex slavery because they received the money.

In other words, a sex slave is not a matter of receiving money, but of “a person whose freedom is restricted and forced to perform sexual service under the control of others.” The women were forced to perform sexual service to the Japanese military on the war field. They were wrongfully scammed into sex slavery employment by recruiters selected by the Japanese military.

Comfort Women had received money from soldiers. To be exact, they received military tickets. In addition, Comfort Women obtained permission to return to their hometowns after repaying the advance in full and at the end of the contract period. Therefore, historical revisionists argue that Comfort Women were sex workers, not sex slaves because they had the freedom to close their job and make money.

But what we have to make clear here is that there was a reason why Comfort Women had to receive money from soldiers. When the pimps recruited the women, pimps paid them an advance with few exceptions. It was easy to recruit women by deceiving them with a large advance. Therefore, most pimps used the method of job fraud. The pimps had to collect money by letting women work as comfort women at least the amount that they used when they recruited women. Pimps usually gave an advance of 300 to 1,000 yen per woman.

Therefore, because women had to receive money from soldiers so that they could pay back advances to the pimps, a Comfort Women system was in place for women who could receive money.

Women were tricked to go into military comfort centers, but women’s families thought women had decent jobs. Therefore, it was possible to hide the fact that women were taken to military brothels by allowing them to send money home. It is presumed that the reason why Comfort Women received money was to hide the fact that the Japanese military deceived women to take into military comfort centers.

13 Dictionary of goo: <https://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/word/%E6%80%A7%E5%A5%B4%E9%9A%B7/>

14 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sexual_slavery#During_the_Second_World_War

For the pimps, giving money to women was much more convenient for managing brothels than not giving money. In the Japanese military comfort centers, the pimps were only agents of the Japanese military because the Japanese military was controlling comfort centers so the military received all reports on the management from the pimps about military comfort centers. Therefore, the historical revisionists’ argument (4) that “women were licensed prostitutes because they received money” is only a short-sighted view that does not consider the Japanese military’s tactics at the time.

5. The historical revisionists argue that Comfort Women became free after the contract ended by repaying all the advances and that Comfort Women were not sex slaves but sex workers, because they were free to close their business

It was true that Comfort Women were given the freedom to return to their hometowns when the contract period ended by repaying the advance payment in full. However, this does not mean that women were not sex slaves. If women live as Japanese military Comfort Women for a long time women’s bodies become quite exhausted, so the Japanese military felt the need to replace women.

Therefore, women were replaced after six months to two years of sex slave lives. The Japanese military ordered pimps to send women back to their homes. Since then, the pimps have traveled to Japan, Chosun, and Taiwan to recruit new women. Therefore, each unit of the Japanese troops replaced women once after about six months or two years at most. It is believed that women were replaced about four times in each unit for about seven years and eight months from the beginning of 1938 to August 1945. In such a situation, it cannot be said that women had freedom of closure. It is a fact that women lived as sex slaves with limited freedom to go out during their Comfort Women period. In other words, if the advance payment was not paid back in full or the contract period remained, there was no freedom of closing jobs for Comfort Women.

Why were they sex slaves? First, the women were deceived with job offers as barmaids, performers, waitresses, factory workers, or others and then taken to military brothels. Since the area around the military brothels was a battlefield, the women could not flee.

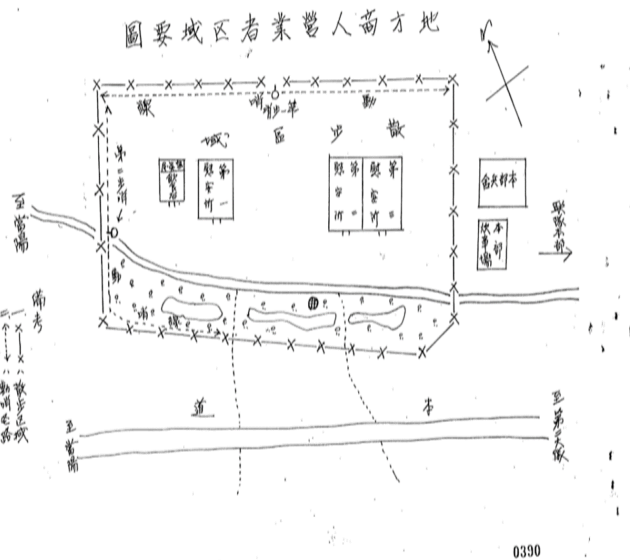
There is testimony that the women could go out shopping and spend time freely on their days off, but that was exceptional, and even in such cases, they were unable to leave zones guarded by Japanese soldiers or military police.

Above all, extant documents describe women being monitored so they could only move within a rectangular 50~100 meter perimeter around the military brothel.

Typically, 1 comfort woman was allocated for every 100 soldiers. On days off, nearly 100 soldiers would descend upon the comfort woman, who was essentially a sex slave. Prof. Ramseyer’s failure to discuss such cases is incomprehensible. The following is an official Japanese military document describing this actual situation.

"1 comfort woman is allocated for every 100 Japanese soldiers... Industry personnel (employees, Comfort Women, waitresses, etc.) can take a walk only in those zones indicated on the attached map."¹⁵

The attached map is as follows. The area enclosed by x-x-x-x was where Comfort Women were permitted to walk, and it is a rectangular zone of a mere 50~100 meters.



The following image is a scene from a graphic novel by Mizuki Shigeru depicting his own military brothel experience in his military life on the island of New Britain, Papua New Guinea. He tells of 70~80 soldiers per woman lining up in front of 3 Comfort Women on days off or when there would be combat the following day.¹⁶

Mizuki Shigeru describes the sex slave status of these Comfort Women as follows.

"The soldiers were also destined for hell, but those 'Comfort Women' may have experienced a worse hell... Stories of compensation for the Comfort Women sometimes appear in newspapers, but they must be incomprehensible to those who have not experienced such things. That was hell. That's why I always thought that the Comfort Women deserved compensation."¹⁷

From July 1942 to the end of 1944, there remained some diaries of a real man named Park Chi-geun, who worked in comfort stations in Burma and Singapore.¹⁸

Ahn Byung-jik, who translated and released these diaries,

15 "Regulations for Special comfort Work at Takamori Base", (Oct. 11, 1940), National Archives of Japan, reference code: C13070262500.

16 Onward Towards our Noble Deaths!, June, 1995, p. 14.

17 The Record of KaranKoron Drifting-Teacher GeGeGe talks a lot< "Karan Koron Drifting Diary - Gegege's Teacher Speaks a Lot">, 2010. p. 8.

18 Park Chi-geun, Ahn Byung-jik translation, commentary, "Diary of a Japanese Military Comfort Station Manager" (2013.8.)

cited a portion of Park Chi-geun's diary of July 29, 1943, and gave a real-life example of how the Japanese military ordered two women who had closed the "Comfort Women" to marry and forced them to return to the "Comfort Women."

Thursday, July 29, 1943, cloudy and rainy

I woke up at Mr. Murayama's house on Insen Yoma Street and had breakfast. I went to the logistics with Mr. Arai and got a condom. 2 or 3 Comfort Women who were not registered went to the military doctor and were examined. Haruyo (春代) and Hiroko (弘子), who had previously been Comfort Women in Murayama's comfort station and had gone out and gotten married, had to come back to Kim-cheon house as Comfort Women, this time by Logistic Support Command order.¹⁹

Ahn admitted that the "Comfort Women" were not allowed to leave their "business" freely, citing the case of the two women who became "Comfort Women" again by Logistic Support Command order.

What is the case when women who have been "Comfort Women" and ended up marrying have returned to "Comfort Women" at the behest of the Japanese military Logistic Support Command? When the order was given to return to the "Comfort Women", how did she and her husbands accept the command? For those who read this, it is a scene that makes people think a lot, and Ahn quoted the captive Interrogation Report (1944.11) and explained the difficulty of closing the "job" of comfort women in the battle zones and on the front lines. The story in the double quotation marks of the quote below is from the U.S. Army's captive Interrogation Report, "Report of the Investigation of the United Territorial High Command of the Allied High Command" (1944.11)²⁰ is the content of the article.

And even if they were all in the same Burma area, it seems that closing the job of Comfort women was more difficult in the battle zone. This is because if Comfort Women were not protected by Japanese soldiers in a foreign country, the outside of the comfort station is hell for them. "When any woman could repay the advance money paid to her family in the sum of the interest, she can receive free transportation to Korea. However, because of the war situation, no woman in the group held by prisoners of war (= pimps arrested by the U.S. military) has so far been allowed to leave the comfort station. In June 1943, the 15th Army Command arranged for one woman who became free from debt to return home, but she was easily persuaded to stay at a comfort station even if she met all conditions and wished to return."²¹

19 The book above, p.97.

20 Appendix-2, Report of the Survey of the United Nations Translation and Interpretation of the Supreme Command of the Allied Countries, Comfort Facilities of the Japanese Army, Section 2 Comfort Facilities 9 Yuansob Burma(1)', (Park Chi-geun, Ann, Journal of Military Affairs, 418-419.)

21 Park Chi-geun, Occupational Affairs From the Foreword, pp. 38-39.

From the above quote, we can confirm that even if the special circumstances of the war forced the Comfort Women to repay all their debts and go out of their "job", "Comfort Women" had no choice but to give up their return to Korea, which would not be protected by the Japanese army.

On August 10, 1944, there was an interrogation report on Japanese pimps who had become prisoners of war by the U.S. Army along with 20 Korean "Comfort Women," and that is the "Allied High Command Joint Translation and Interpretation Investigation Report" cited above, which states that before the pimps and Comfort Women were captured by the U.S. military, "four died on the journey, and two were mistaken for Japanese soldiers and shot."²² It was a distinct feature of the front line that the threat to life was always present. Because of such a dangerous situation on the front line, the historical revisionists' statement that "women voluntarily went to the comfort stations to make money" is quite inappropriate and not true. This is because women were forcibly sent to the front lines by being kidnaped or deceived.

Most of the "Comfort Women" from Chosun(=Korea) were not former prostitutes. The evidence that they were deceived and forcibly became "Comfort Women" is representative of the "Japanese Prisoner of War Interrogation Report No. 49," prepared by the U.S. Wartime Intelligence Agency's Psychological Operations Group in October 1944. This report reveals that the Korean "Comfort Women" were deceived and carried out to Burma (now Myanmar).

However, former Seoul University professor Lee Young-hoon, one of South Korea's leading historical revisionists, cited the following key points in the interrogation report but refused to acknowledge that women unrelated to prostitution were deceived into becoming "Comfort Women," and claimed that the "Comfort Women" from Chosun was licensed prostitutes in Chosun(=Korea). Some of the reports on the interrogation of U.S. prisoners of war that Lee Young-hoon cited in his co-authored book, "Anti-Japanese Tribalism", are as follows:

Early in May of 1942 Japanese agents arrived in Korea for the purpose of enlisting Korean girls for "comfort service" in newly conquered Japanese territories in Southeast Asia. The nature of this "service" was not specified but it was assumed to be work connected with visiting the wounded in hospitals, rolling bandages, and generally making the soldiers happy. The inducement used by these agents was plenty of money, an opportunity to pay off the family debts, easy work, and the prospect of a new life in a new land, Singapore. On the basis of these false representations many girls enlisted for overseas duty and were rewarded with an advance of a few hundred yen. The majority of the girls were ignorant and uneducated, although a few had been connected with "oldest profession on earth" before. The contract they signed bound them to Army regulations and to the "house master" for a

²² Park Chi-geun, Occupational Affairs From the Foreword, p.423.

period of from six months to a year depending on the family debt for which they were advanced.²³

The above reports of interrogation of prisoners of war by the U.S. military show that Korean women were recruited only to do similar things as nurses for wounded soldiers or to do things that pleased the soldiers. This means that they were deceived and forced into prostitution, forcing them to become "Comfort Women."

Forced mobilization began when these recruited women could not return after boarding the ship. In other words, the recruiters used the tactic in order to take women to a comfort station. First, the recruiters deceived women through employment fraud, and then boarded them on a military vessel. And after arriving in the foreign country and comfort station the recruiters tell women that they have the only way to become Comfort Women.

Lee Young-hoon cited these key parts of the U.S. military's prisoner of war interrogation report No. 49, and he wrote that "the opening of these Southeast Asian comfort stations was marked by the involvement of the Japanese military and the Chosun Governor-General's Department compared to other regions."²⁴

Lee Young-hoon acknowledged the historical fact that the opening of the Southeast Asian comfort station was led by the "Japanese Army and the Governor-General's Department," but he quickly changed his words: "However, in its essence as a licensed prostitutes system organized by the military, the Southeast Asian comfort station did not differ from the comfort stations in other regions."

We cannot see the consistency of Lee's logic as to why he suddenly claims that the Japanese military's comfort station is "a licensed prostitutes system organized by the military." Women were deceived by employment fraud and forced into prostitution against their will, and it appears only that Lee Young-hoon used the term "licensed prostitute system" to cover up the crimes of the Japanese military and the Korean Governor-General. There should be a "licensed prostitute contract" between pimps and women. However, since the contract itself is a fraud and the contract itself does not exist for Korean women, the Japanese military "Comfort Women" system cannot be called a "licensed prostitute system".

Lee Young-hoon's claim that the Japanese military "Comfort Women" is an extension of the Korean gisaeng(=Korean geisha) system is completely denied by the US military's report on the interrogation of prisoners. The fact that most of the Korean "Comfort Women" captured by the U.S. military in Burma were deceived by recruiters and had to go abroad. Almost all of these women had nothing to do with Korean gisaengs or licensed prostitutes.

²³ Lee Young-hoon with the others, Anti-Japanese Tribalism, 2019.7, 314.

²⁴ The book above, pp.314–315.



6. Historical revisionists claim that statements by victims of the Comfort Women problem are false because their statements are changed and inconsistent. But this is a wholly misguided view.

Historical revisionists argue that the victims' statements are lies because the statements of women victims of Japanese military Sex Slavery changed and the statements are inconsistent. Historical revisionists claim that the victims of Japanese military Sex Slavery are lying as if they were kidnapped by Japanese police or military police and forcibly taken to Japanese military brothels even though they became Comfort Women voluntarily.

However, the so-called perjury problem was also discussed in the issue of the slaughter of Jews by Nazi Germany. According to Takei Saika, 'perjury' is overwhelmingly committed by the perpetrators of the Holocaust problem.²⁵ In other words, the perpetrators committed perjury to dilute their criminality. Takei Saika points out that the victims also commit small perjury. But if the perpetrators try to deny the entire case through the victims' small perjury, such behaviors should be called historical revisionism.²⁶ Takei Saika cited the "Japanese military sex Slavery" issue as an example of historical revisionism trying to deny the entire incident due to minor perjury by the victims.

It is difficult to easily call the testimony of the victims of Japanese military sex Slavery perjury. This is because the memories of victims are those from about 80 years ago, so it is impossible to accurately revive them. Moreover, almost all victims of Japanese military sex Slavery have to recall cruel memories that they do not want to remember. It is difficult to recall such terrible memories and ask them to state memories correctly.

Takei Saika answers this question as follows.

²⁵ Takei Saika, 'How to face perjury, the view of revisionism— Compared to the Holocaust', 2015.10.28. <https://synodos.jp/opinion/international/11209/>

²⁶ The same article above.

"The interpretation of history is established over a long period of time, and it is not returned to nothing by some people's perjury. If anyone denies history in its entirety on the grounds of certain perjury, such an act is an insult to academics. The most worrisome phenomenon is Japan's current intellectual poverty, so-called anti-intellectualism which allows people's personal views to be discussed on the same stage with decades of research.

Therefore, if claims close to historical revisionism are left to proliferate in society, it will be a matter of Japan's national interest. Rather than proving the preconceived notion of Japan as a country that never reflects on itself, the Japanese people's insight itself becomes questionable because they cannot distinguish between historical interpretation and historical revisionism. Moreover, politicians who do not clearly distance themselves from this historical revisionist trend will be considered dangerous."²⁷

Takei Saika's view can be said to point out Japan's current intellectual trend sharply. We have faced an era in which Japanese historical revisionism has penetrated into Korea, and we have to be wary of anti-intellectualism not only by the Japanese but also by Koreans.

7. Criticism of Comments Supporting J. Mark Ramseyer's Paper

As Ramseyer's paper has caused controversy, a spate of criticism to cancel his paper and objections to it have followed.²⁸ Japanese and Korean citizens supporting Ramseyer have also emailed scholars critical of Ramseyer in protest.

Japanese historical revisionists have begun to publish rationale in defense of Ramseyer's paper in the Japanese and Korean press, and here we intend to introduce and critique some of this reasoning.

Examination of the literacy rate of Korean women in the 1930s shows that 92% of them could read neither Japanese hiragana nor Korean hangeul,²⁹ Since over 90% of Korean women did not speak Japanese, they could not communicate with the Japanese at the troop of their location and had no option except continued forced prostitution. In other words, the study on the literacy rate of Korean women in the 1930s suggests that there were no measures to rescue Korean women deceived into prostitution.

Official documents verify that the Japanese military established military brothels.³⁰ These were expanded to almost all territories invaded and occupied by the military, including China, Southeast Asia, and the South Sea Islands.

²⁷ The same article above.

²⁸ Website: <http://chwe.net/irle/>

²⁹ Itagaki Ryuta, "Literacy Survey in Colonial Korea", 1999, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* No. 58, p.289.

³⁰ "Regarding the Incident of Kidnapping Women Using the Current Situation" (Feb. 7. 1938), National Archives of Japan, reference code: A05032044800.

The military, therefore, needed many Comfort Women, so in this situation, the military intentionally did not examine each military brothel owner and how it had obtained those women's consent to become Comfort Women. The Japanese military needed many women for soldiers, so it did not think of the need for examination of the military brothels.

On August 14, 1991, the public testimony of South Korean Comfort Women victim Kim Hak-sun led to the emergence of a living witness of history, and the issue of the Japanese military's "Comfort Women" emerged as a global issue.

In Japan, data related to Comfort Women were first found in the library of the Defense Research Institute of the Japanese Defense Agency, and the Japanese government conducted an investigation on August 4, 1993, issued the results in the Japanese Government's investigation into Comfort Women relations and the following statement by the Minister of Defense. According to Kono statement, the comfort station was set up at the request of the military authorities at the time. Commenting on the statement that it was not a "military directive" but a "request from the military," on March 27, 1997, at the National Assembly of Japan, Takashi Minagawa, a deliberator of the Japanese Cabinet, commented:

The comfort station accepted the intention of the military, which felt the need, and determined that it was mainly set up and operated by a civilian and that the military had such an intention as a whole on the basis of the request of the field.³¹

In response, Sachiyo Abe, a member of the Communist Party of Japan, showed the following official document to claim that a military comfort station had been set up by order of the Japanese military.

In the materials found in the library of the Defense Research Institute of the Ministry of Defense, there is a document called "Recruitment Matters, etc., of the military Comfort Stations Staff," which came out as a deputy commander of the Ministry of Defense. This shows that "the recruitment method is similar to kidnapping because the selection of the person to be entrusted with the recruitment is not appropriate, and there are cases in which the recruiters are arrested and investigated by the police authorities, etc. In the future, the recruitment of women has to be controlled by the contingent and the selection of persons have to be carried out carefully and appropriately. In the implementation of the case, the connection with the relevant local gendarmerie and the police authorities is closely linked, so that there are no mistakes in social matters in order to maintain the prestige of the military. Notify by order."

It was drafted by the Military Affairs Department of the Military Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Army and was signed and stamped by the Deputy Minister of military

31 140th National Assembly Councillors Moon Kyo Committee No. 5 Remarks 98, <https://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/txt/114015077X00519970327/98>

Affairs named 'Umezu'. "Notify by order" means that it was issued after receiving the mandate of the Secretary of the Army. We can know by such documents that the Ministry of the Army had given command of the Comfort Women policy of the Japanese military.³²

When Sachiyo Abe asked if there was any involvement of the Japanese government, as well as the Japanese military, the Minagawa deliberator replied, "Some of the data indicate the involvement of the Japanese government," and the involvement of the Japanese government was recognized by the Japanese National Assembly.³³ Regarding the data indicating the involvement of the Japanese government, Senator Sachiyo Abe went on to state the following in an introduction to the data:

The Army alone could not make it possible to operate smoothly. To recruit women into comfort stations there was cooperation between other state agencies. On February 23, 1938, the Director of the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a document to governors of each prefecture entitled "Concerning the Handling of women who go to China." The document states, "The departure of the women is a necessity given the local military situation. The police authorities also need to take special care and take appropriate measures in accordance with the circumstances." And the document also states, "First, the departure of women for the purpose of the sexual business will be tolerated for the time being only by those who are currently licensed prostitutes in Japan, who are over the age of 21, and who are not equipped with sexually transmitted diseases or other infectious diseases, and who are heading to the northern and southern parts of China." The Japanese Government's Ministry of Internal Affairs called for the issuance of ID cards and participated in the deportation of Comfort Women. In other words, military comfort stations were established at the national level, such as by the Ministry of the Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. And military comfort stations were created as necessary facilities for the conduct of the war.³⁴

Congresswoman Sachiyo Abe then asked what "coercion" means.

The next question, "On the so-called Comfort Women question," states that the Comfort Women were always under the control of the military, were supposed to act with the military, and were forced to live a sad life without freedom.

32 140th National Assembly Councillors Moon Kyo Committee No. 5 Remarks 99,

<https://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/txt/114015077X00519970327/99>

33 140th National Assembly Councillors Moon Kyo Committee No. 5 Remarks 102, <https://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/txt/114015077X00519970327/102>

34 140th National Assembly Councillors Moon Kyo Committee No. 5 Remarks 103, <https://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/txt/114015077X00519970327/103>

It is said that the recruitment of Comfort Women was often collected against their own will using sweet talk or coercion, and furthermore, there were cases in which government officials directly participated in it. Minister Kono statement stated that. And it was found that lives in military comfort stations were painful and unfortunate under coercive circumstances. Referring to the Korean Comfort Women, he also stated that the management of recruitment transfers was largely done against their will, such as by coercion. If the recruitment of women was carried out against their will, does that not mean that they were forced?³⁵

To a question from Sachio Abe, a deputy director-general Minagawa replied, "If you define coercion as being against one's will, I think you can say so,"³⁶ and admitted that Comfort Women were collected by coercion. Like this, the Japanese government recognized that being carried out against one's will meant a compulsory act in 1997.

Later, however, the historical revisionists began to develop the logic that the Comfort Women was not sex slave and they began to deny the coercion of the Comfort Women by the Japanese government and Japanese military shown in the Kono Statement.

Historical revisionists are desperately trying to globalize the false assertions that the Japanese "Comfort Women" became prostitutes of their own accord, that they were well-paid, and that they were free to leave if they choose. However, these revisionists are promptly confronted with official documents directly contradicting their claims and with innumerable actual examples refuting their assertions.

CONCLUSION

Professor Ramseyer, Professor Lee Young-hoon, and their followers of these scholars claim that the Japanese "Comfort Women" was "licensed prostitutes," However, we confirmed that the Japanese "Comfort Women" was not "licensed prostitutes" but "sex slaves" of the Japanese military.

As mentioned above, the "International Treaty on the Prohibition of the Sale of women for the Purpose of Prostitution" which Japan joined in 1925, and the Japanese Criminal Code of the time, also illustrate that Comfort Women were sex slaves.

As stipulated in international treaties, anyone who engages in prostitution by soliciting, luring, or abducting women, whether underage or adult, was punished. In this case, prostitution was not permitted, even if the woman finally consented to prostitution. And any such activities in foreign countries were also punishable. These laws are the same as today.³⁷

35 Documentation like above.

36 140th National Assembly Councillors Moon Kyo Committee No. 5 Remarks 104, <https://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/txt/114015077X00519970327/104>

37 Co-authored by Hosaka Yuji, Collection of Documents Proving Japan's Comfort Women Problem 1, <Comfort Women of the Evidence Sheet of Issues1>, 2018, written in Korean, pp. 262-263.

Japan's domestic law prohibition of the sale of women for the purpose of prostitution at the time was Articles 224 to 226 of the Criminal Code. These were similar to international law. Almost all of the Japanese "Comfort Women" were women who were solicited, induced, or abducted. In international law or Japanese criminal law, if women who were lured abroad or abducted were forced into prostitution, all those who did so became criminals. Neither the Japanese government nor the Japanese military defined the Japanese military "Comfort Women" as "licensed prostitutes." Because the presence of "licensed prostitutes abroad violates the international treaty signed by Japan and the Japanese criminal law, the Japanese authorities abolished all licensed prostitutes abroad because it violated the international treaty and Japanese criminal law.

Even if adult women were targeted, the act of trafficking women through means of fraud, assault, intimidation, and abuse of power was of course crime itself. The Japanese government and the Japanese military selected recruiters in extreme secrecy to lure women by employment fraud and made them "sex slaves" locally. In Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, there have been cases in which the Japanese military forcibly detained foreign women and made them "sex slaves," which means that the Japanese military has violated international treaties severely.

The Japanese government was well aware of the international treaties to which it belonged. So it actually knew well its own violations of the treaties. However, it said that sending women abroad through a "notification of the Ministry of Home Affairs" on February 23, 1938" did not violate the intent of the international treaty on the sale of women for the purpose of prostitution". It said that "the departure of women for the purpose of prostitution" "will be tolerated for the time being when we think about the military situation locally". Because of this wording, we can know that the Ministry of Home Affairs knew well that sending women for the purpose of prostitution abroad was a violation of the international treaty in 1925 and the domestic laws. But Japanese government gave permission by the "notification of the Ministry of Home Affairs" to violate international and domestic laws.

Articles of "International Treaty on the Prohibition of the Sale of women for the Purpose of Prostitution"

Article 1.

Whoever lures by soliciting a minor woman for the purpose of pursuing the lusts of others shall be punished, even if that woman has given her consent, or if a person who lured a minor woman has crossed over to a foreign country to perform each of the acts which are constituent of the above offenses.

Article 2.

Any person who lures an adult woman by fraud for the purpose of pursuing the lusts of others, or by assault, intimidation, abuse of power, or other means of coercion,

shall be punished even if a person has crossed over to a foreign country to perform each of the acts which are the constituents of the above offenses.

In addition, in the "Criminal Decree of Chosun(=Korea)" applied to Chosun by the Japanese government in 1912, the act of sending a woman abroad to make her a "Comfort woman" was a serious crime. The provisions of the Act are as follows.

Article 224 : Any person who kidnaps or abducts a minor shall be punished with imprisonment of not more than 5 years from 3 months to 5 years.

Article 225 : Any person who kidnaps or abducts a person for the purpose of for-profit obscenity or marriage shall be punished with imprisonment of more than one year and not more than 10 years.

Article 226 : Any person who kidnaps or abducts a person for the purpose of deporting him outside the Empire shall be punished with organic imprisonment of not less than two years. The same shall be true of any person who sells a person for the purpose of deporting him outside the Empire or who transfers a prisoner or a prisoner of war outside the Empire.

"Abduction" means "placing others under their own meritocracy by means of assault or intimidation, or such an act," and "kidnap" means "the deception, seduction, or luring of a person away from the conventional living environment and placing a person under the meritocratic control of a 3rd party and thus violating that freedom." Any act of deceiving women in employment fraud and making them "Comfort Women" by the Japanese military constitute "kidnap".

The Japanese government or the Japanese military, which made women "Comfort Women" of the Japanese military, and selected them in the highest secret, were criminals who clearly violated the criminal laws of Korea and Japan and the international treaties of Japan

It is impossible to fully cover the subject of "Comfort Women" in the Japanese Imperial military in this short text. This text was written only to note major errors in historical revisionists' arguments. The fact is that the Japanese government and the Japanese military were always in the background of the Japanese Comfort Women system because the recruiters who became pimps were selected by them. The fact is that contracts signed by the women were not contracts for prostitution but they were forced to work as prostitutes at comfort stations in the Japanese military. And especially many Korean Comfort Women were deceived and had to become Comfort Women forcibly without any contract paper;

For more details, please see "New Pro-Japanese Groups",³⁸ "Forced Migration of 'Comfort Women' by the Japanese Army According to Documented Testimony"³⁹, and "Collection of Documents Proving Japan's Comfort Women Problem 1"⁴⁰.

38 Hosaka Yuji, New Pro-Japanese Groups<신친일파>, 2020, written in Korean.

39 Hosaka Yuji, Forced Migration of 'Comfort Women' by the Japanese Army According to Documented Testimony< Japan Forces forcibly abducted "comfort women" according to documents and testimonies>, 2019, written in Japanese.

40 Hosaka Yuji, Collection of Documents Proving Japan's Comfort Women Problem 1, <Comfort Women of the Evidence Sheet of Issues1>, 2018, written in Korean.

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