

## **Report on the Project in Indonesia**

### To date, 41 facilities have been completed

In Indonesia, the Asian Women's Fund has been providing support for a social welfare promotion project for the elderly run by the Indonesian government. The support is part of the Fund's Atonement Project. On March 25, the Fund signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Department of Social Affairs of the Indonesian government and started the Project. The Fund provides aid totaling 380 million yen over ten years while the Indonesian government functions as the entity actually operating the Project and constructs welfare facilities for the elderly. The Project did experience some delays because of the changing political situation in Indonesia. Now, however, the project is making steady progress and 41 facilities have been completed to date in 21 provinces across the country. The construction of the facilities includes setting up beds and other fixtures.

### The Fund visited six facilities on an observation tour this year

From May 29 to June 3 of 2005, Haruki Wada, acting as the deputy to the executive director, along with two members of the Secretariat visited six facilities completed in the provinces of East Java (two facilities), West Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, South Sumatra and the Special Region of Jakarta.

We have conducted tours to visit the completed facilities as required. By June 2005, we had visited a total of 29 of the 41 facilities. Most of the facilities have only recently been constructed within an existing complex of welfare facilities. Qualified social workers and other qualified staff work full time and the environment is in order. The tenants can use the facilities as a permanent residence once they enter them. The facilities provide meals and health check-ups. They also offer a referral service for outpatients and hospitalization. There are also cemeteries for those who pass away at the facilities. In some regions, a shelter for women who are victims of violence exists side by side with the welfare facility for the elderly. The facility functions as a pilot welfare center in the region. Operation following the completion of the facilities is budgeted for by the central government and managed by local governments. It is true that there are problems. The budget is too low and there are disparities between regions.

### Former comfort women in Indonesia

Are former comfort women living in the facilities? Tenants do not have to be a former comfort woman, and for this reason as well as to protect privacy, a close examination

has not been made. However, there are cases in which staff or social workers have secretly told the Fund's director and staff visiting the facilities on tour which tenants are former comfort women. At a facility in a region, we were told that a comfort woman victim had not said anything about her past when she first entered the facility, but that she gradually became accustomed to the life there while the staff provided her with care, made friends with them and started to tell them about her past little by little. Some women also directly tell the executive director and the staff wartime stories when they visit. Others complain to them about the terrible experiences they had. At most facilities they sing for us Japanese songs they learned or were made to learn back then.

### The past development

On November 14, the Minister of Social Affairs of the Indonesian government made the following announcement on the comfort women issue:

"The Indonesian government must protect the dignity of the former comfort women and their families. Also, the compensation issue between Japan and Indonesia has been settled through the peace treaty and other agreements. The project and aid concerning the comfort women issue in Indonesia by the Asian Women's Fund must be implemented through the central government (specifically, the Ministry of Social Affairs). It will not be implemented through other organizations or individuals."

Also, it was believed to be difficult to certify former comfort women victims in Indonesia. Consequently, the Indonesian government adopted the policy of accepting aid for a maintenance project for welfare facilities for the elderly instead of a project for individual former comfort women.

The Fund requested that the facilities be constructed mainly in areas where many comfort women victims live and that preference for tenants be given to victims who voluntarily come forward. The Indonesian government promised to accept the requests and the Memorandum was signed.

The Ministry of Social Affairs has been in charge of the Project since it was launched in 1997. Following decentralization in 2001, the power has been handed over to local governments. Today, each local government requests the central government to construct facilities and the latter conducts a detailed investigation into the request before making a decision on whether to go ahead.

While on tour in Indonesia we saw requests submitted by local governments, stating, "This is an area where there were many comfort women victims," or to which lists of victims were attached. We can see that the purpose of the Fund's Project is being

recognized by society, albeit gradually.

The Fund is currently negotiating with the Indonesian government the plans for the Project for its final year. When the Project completes its final fiscal year it will be time for the Fund to dissolve.



(出所： [http://web.kyoto-inet.or.jp/people/tsuka/map/06/FarEast\\_1941.JPG](http://web.kyoto-inet.or.jp/people/tsuka/map/06/FarEast_1941.JPG))

## **People—History of Record/Memories**

The Asian Women's Fund has been endeavoring to keep the memories of the past on record. Specifically, it operates a project to collect the testimonies of former comfort women. This project will continue.

The following are the testimonies of former comfort women in Taiwan (Chinese Taipei) and Korea which the Fund has already collected. For the purposes of printing, parts of the testimonies are omitted in the editing process to protect the privacy of the women involved.

### **A testimony by a former comfort woman—Taiwan (Chinese Taipei)**

"I spoke of my past for the first time to my husband 50 years after the war. He said to me that he had a hard time during the war, but I, too, had terrible experience."

"At that time, my fiancée had been drafted by the Japanese military and sent to the south. I was helping my father's business at home. One day, the Japanese police called and told me to come because they had a job for me. They said that I would be preparing meals and mending torn clothes for the soldiers. I did not want to go, but the police said that all men and women must come because the country was at war then and that everybody must follow the General National Mobilization Law. So I went to work.

"I saw many Japanese soldiers. There were some other women like me, too. We got up in the morning, washed our faces and cooked breakfast to feed the soldiers. We washed their clothes and mended torn clothes. Then, at night, we were called and confined to a room...it was a terrible job.

"I was crying all the time. During the day I sewed and washed. It was not bad, but at night, I was dead. I was dead. I felt that I was dead. I wanted to escape, but I had no idea how to get home. Besides, the guards were standing at the gate. If I had tried to escape they would have shot me.

"I was just a child and did not know anything. I didn't even know that I was pregnant. I threw up after I ate and a woman who was working with me told me that I was pregnant. I had a miscarriage in two months. It still makes me cry to think about it. Oh, I'm sorry you have to listen to this terrible story.

"I thought that my fiancée had already died, but many years after the war he suddenly returned. I married him then. I didn't tell my husband though. I didn't say anything to anybody. I couldn't.

"Fifty years later, I learned that there were other women like me. I couldn't keep it a secret any more. I couldn't stand it, so I told my husband. I apologized and asked him for forgiveness. My husband was surprised and said that terrible things had happened to him during the war, but they had also happened to me, too. He forgave me saying that it could not have been helped because it was a war. All the while until then I feared how my husband would react to the story of my past. I was always worried about that, but when I told him I knew how he felt.

"I'm living with my husband now. My knees and body hurt so I can't farm any more. I grow a few vegetables and make these bunches to sell. I'm old and eat only a little bit of rice so this is enough. I don't have money so life is very difficult."

### **A testimony by a former comfort woman—Korea**

#### Her Childhood and Home Environment

She thinks that she was born in 1922, which is different from the birth date recorded on the family register.

She was born to a very poor family in a small village called Janheung-eup Gi-yang in Jeolla Namdo. Her mother became sick and died when she was seven. Her father was bedridden for a long time in a state of apathy, having lost hope. She could not go to school and received no education. Even now she cannot read or write. She cannot read signboards at a train station or telephone numbers, so every time she has to call someone she needs help.

She had a sister who was three years younger. They both helped the neighbors in kitchen work to make a living and support their family.

#### Suddenly, She Was Taken to Tianjin

One afternoon at about four in 1938, the year in which she turned 17, Japanese police came to her home out of nowhere and while threatening her with Japanese swords, forced her to get on the truck. A Japanese detective called Tanaka came and instructed the police. Her father tried to stop them but she was thrown into the back of the truck. On the way to Yeongsanpo, the truck stopped here and there to hunt down young girls until there were as many as 40 of them. In the truck, some 20 soldiers were watching them with guns in their hands. The women were treated like criminals. If they tried to escape they were beaten. They were put together with the seven that had been

captured by the Naju police and at about eleven at night, they were stuffed into a freight train to Tianjin in China from Yeongsanpo Station with ten soldiers on the watch. It took about three days to get to Tianjin, during which time they were given no food or water in the freight car and were forbidden to talk.

#### Forced to Serve as a Military Comfort Woman

In a square in front of Tianjin Station, more than 1,000 young women in *ch'ima-chogori* were gathered. Nobody knew where they would be taken. There were no Chinese people in Tianjin and they were told that they had all left the city when the war began. The women were divided into groups of 15 and sent by truck to the frontline corps about twelve kilometers away. The 15 was divided into two groups of seven and eight. She was in a group of seven. She did not know the name of the place, but she was taken to the deserted private home of a Chinese family. Each woman was given a room as big as two to three tatami mats with a straw mat on the ground. There was no door to their rooms and the women were forced to serve soldiers behind a hanging straw mat. She was a virgin and initially resisted hard and tried to escape. From each room she could hear a woman being beaten and screaming. It was like hell. She was raped and covered with blood. All the women thought about killing themselves out of despair. She learned later that two of them did actually hang themselves.

#### A Traveling Comfort Facility that Moves Together with the Corps

She was given the Japanese name Yoshiko. She had to be checked by an army surgeon for sexually transmitted diseases every week. She ate her meals at the military kitchen with a bowl she took from the deserted home of a Chinese family. Soldiers came every day in groups of 30 to 40. They were at the frontlines, where violent battles were fought for days. She was busiest on Sundays, because soldiers were given a day off. Some of them came at night secretly. One time, a shell burst near her and she was seriously wounded in her leg. She really needed six months to heal but in the fourth month she was forced back into service. Another time, a drunken soldier stabbed her in her right groin with a sword. The wound was serious and she suffered for a month. When the corps moved so did the women. The orders came from the adjutant. (She does not remember Japanese very well, but remembers the word *fukkan* [adjutant].) She wanted to escape, but she did not know the place or the language. The soldiers were always on watch with guns so she was too scared to make the attempt. After the two women committed suicide, the night watch became stricter and the women were watched even in their rooms.

In these circumstances, she lived for four years as a comfort woman.

#### Escape from the Corps

Some time in the fall of 1942, she became friends with a man named Kim. He was a Korean interpreter belonging to the military police. She begged him to help her escape from the comfort facility. He agreed. Two other women drafted from Pyongyang decided to escape with her. When the soldiers fell fast asleep the three escaped with Kim guiding them. Nobody was suspicious because he was wearing a military police uniform. Kim sent the three back to Pyongyang and returned to the corps. She lived with friends there until the liberation. She returned home across the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel in 1946 after Korea was liberated.

### **A testimony of a former comfort woman—Korea**

#### Childhood and Home Environment

“I was born in 1924.

“When I was little my parents were selling dress material in the basement of Sam Chung Jeong Department Store in Seoul. Because of their business we knew some Japanese people. The elementary school I went to was Seodaemun Midong National School. My fourth grade teacher was a Japanese woman, whom I still fondly remember.

“When I was about ten I lived in a lumber shop which carried on extensive business in Seoul. I learned Japanese while working there. The daughter of the shopkeeper was a girl named Masako, and she tried hard to teach me *hiragana* and *katakana*. My Japanese name back then was Tomiko. I worked for the shop for about five years, but because of the circumstances with my family I started to work for Sam Chung Jeong Department Store, which was located in Myongdon at that time. I used to commute from my house in Jongno 5-ga to Myongdon. I worked as an elevator girl first but got transferred to the children’s clothing department. I worked for the department store for about two years. After that I started to work for Hoshin Department Store, which was closer to my home.

“Several months later, some time in the spring of 1942, a terrible disaster befell me.”

#### Abducted and Taken to Nanking

“I remember that it was either April or May. I finished work and I approached Pagoda Park on the way home around six in the evening. Just then, somebody suddenly

grabbed me from behind. I was wearing a black skirt and a blue blouse, and had a handbag in my hand. Some men abducted me and pushed me into the back of a truck. I could not understand what had happened, but as I came to I saw four other young women in the truck with me. It stopped at Seoul Station. There were about 100 women gathered at the station square. We were made to get on a train and pushed into cars with guards. We were taken without being told where we were going.

Five days later, the train arrived at Nanking Station. They put us on a boat and down the river we went into the city of Nanking. We were led by soldiers but could not even imagine where we were being taken. Before I knew it we were down to about 50 in number. I don't know what happened to the others.

"We came to a place that looked like a storage facility at a school in the city. Another one hundred or so were gathered there. We were given rice balls as a meal in the facility and made to take up our position. They divided us into groups of about 50. Then we were again put on a truck and driven for about half an hour, to be detained in a building resembling a school in the city. Each of us was placed in a small room."

The place was a comfort facility and she remembers some signboards hanging, but she says she can not remember what was written on them.

#### Life in a Comfort Facility

"I was given a Japanese name at this comfort facility in Nanking."

The soldier in charge of the facility had named her after a heroine of a movie which was popular at that time.

"The first man I served was a sergeant. I resisted, but to no avail. And so my life as a comfort woman began. From Monday to Friday, I served about ten soldiers on average and on weekends I was busy having to serve twice as many.

"Check-ups for sexually transmitted diseases were available, but after a year as a comfort woman many women contracted syphilis. The military surgeon taught us to double the condoms but many women contracted diseases. To prevent us from getting sexually transmitted diseases they gave us a shot called No. 606 and always made us take white pills.

"There was a comfort facility nearby with Japanese women to serve army officers. It looked like a remodeled luxury home which used to be a residence of a Chinese family. One of the women abducted in Seoul was from Suwon. She was suffering from tuberculosis but was forced to serve as a comfort woman. After about five months, she had become emaciated and finally died. Other than the women who died of sickness, I



know more than six who committed suicide out of despair.

“I spent about three and a half years in the comfort facility in Nanking.”

#### From Liberation to Repatriation

“On August 15, I learned on the radio that Japan had lost the war. The town was thrown into an uproar. Before I knew it, the Japanese military had disappeared and several hundred comfort women were left behind.

“After a while, Korean soldiers and civilian male war workers gathered together and began to talk about how to get home. About one hundred men and women among us decided to go home as a group. We made fifty pairs of man and woman as units to work to buy food for each day. It took us a year to finally reach the Korean Peninsula.”

She says that during that year she did not suffer misery and that it was almost a miracle to come back alive. Women wore men’s clothes and everyday they walked around looking like a beggar. She found a job to survive and slowly walked toward her home country. On the way, they were attacked by the Eighth Route army. The men offered the women to the Chinese soldiers and the women had no choice but to serve them (She says that they were the Eighth Route army).

From Nanking to Tai Tang, and from Tai Tang to Haeju in Korean Peninsula, they employed a boat and at long last set sail. However, the boat sank and many lost their lives with their homes right in front of their eyes. She went to Sariwon, which is currently in North Korea, and walked from there to Kaesong. She then took a train and arrived in Seoul.

**The Government and the People Together Face the Responsibilities of War --Crystallized in the Fund's Project**  
**As told by Director Yasuaki Onuma**



Photograph by *The Asahi Shimbun*

This July marked the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Asian Women's Fund. The Fund has already announced that it will be dissolved in March 2007. The two years until the dissolution will be spent on continuing with its project, recording and disseminating information, and planning for the period after the dissolution. As one of its activities, the Fund held a symposium entitled *Looking back to the Past, Thinking for the Future* in July, where it asked Japan and the international community for opinions about the historical initiative taken by the Fund. We asked Asian Women's Fund Director Yasuaki Onuma, who has been fully dedicated to organizing the symposium, about the past ten years and how the Fund's intention and reality were understood. We also asked about his feelings concerning his ten years with the Fund.

--What do you think the Fund has achieved or been unable to achieve for the past ten years?

● **A duty to communicate to people all over the world and the future generation**

Mr Onuma: For the past ten years, the Fund has delivered a letter of apology from the prime minister, an atonement fund and the regrets of the Japanese people as well as medical and welfare support project funds from the government to each of the victims of the comfort women system. We stood close to the victims both mentally and physically. This has been difficult, but very important. But what has been missing is sufficient communication about the Fund's intentions and what it has actually done. This has not been communicated either to the people of Japan or to the victims, people and citizens

of different countries and regions, including Korea. An image has taken root of the Fund as a tool for the Japanese government to evade its responsibility. This image was formed when the Fund was launched.

To communicate the philosophy of the Fund and what it puts into practice to our contemporaries around the world in a way that is easy to understand, and to pass this on to future generations so that this mistaken image can be rectified—these always have been and will be important duties of the Fund.

--One of the major pillars of the Fund was that both the government and the people would tackle the comfort women issue as a historical problem in this project. We understand that you have always seen this as Japan's postwar responsibility. Could you talk about this in relation to the Fund and the government, and people and the media?

Mr. Onuma: This is a very serious problem for me. The way to take responsibility for the war in my opinion was not for the prime minister to simply apologize or for the government to pay state compensation. Certainly, such things are important and must be done by the government, but they are not the only things. Each Japanese person, as a member of the country must accept what their fathers and grandfathers have done and think about how he himself will compensate the victims. I have consistently argued that it is a question for each Japanese person living after the war to answer.

The Asian Women's Fund made it possible, albeit in an inadequate form, to deliver a letter of apology from the prime minister, an official letter signed by the representative of the country to each victim. Also, the medical and welfare support project, which was much bigger in amount in comparison with a similar fund in Germany and really had significant meaning, was paid, according to the victims' wishes, in cash. In addition, the people participated in the form of contributing to the atonement fund. What's more, the contributors not only simply paid money but also send letters and words of sincere apology, accepting the comfort women issue as a problem of their own. The Fund has been communicating the feelings of apology and atonement of the people of Japan as a mediator for ten years. In this sense, the cooperation between the government and the people to face the postwar responsibility has crystallized as the Fund.

- **The postwar responsibility of the government and each Japanese person has not been properly understood**

Regrettably though, I don't think that my idea has been fully understood by the government. Neither can I say that it has been shared faithfully even within the Fund, let

alone by the media in general, who never reported it accurately. In other words, the Asian Women's Fund was taken in a negative manner as a private fund, a form of taking over the responsibility that should originally be assumed by the government, and a phony. It is undeniable that I failed or lacked ability in communicating my ideas to society. I have no choice but to admit frankly that my ideas have not been fully realized or understood over the past ten years.

When we founded the Fund ten years ago, I had already been involved in a civil movement and was thinking about getting out of it. The civil movement for the postwar responsibility to which I was most devoted over the longest period was the movement for the repatriation of the Koreans who had been left behind in Sakhalin after the war.<sup>1</sup> At that time, the movement had just seen a success. Under the Murayama Administration, the Koreans who had been left behind in Sakhalin were repatriated and permanent residency was granted. Frankly, I wanted to be spared working on the comfort women issue after all the work I had done in the repatriation movement. I actually regretted my involvement in the comfort women issue numerous times. However, the Fund was a vehicle by which I could put my ideas into practice. It enabled me to crystallize my thinking about postwar responsibility and though it was extremely inadequate, the government and the people acted in unison. We managed to deliver messages of atonement of the Japanese people to 364 victims in a three-nation region. It would be too much to ask for more. This is how I really feel.

--Compared with the solution to the repatriation and permanent residence issue of the Koreans left behind in Sakhalin, progress was made in the initiative taken at the government and the people's level on the comfort women issue, wasn't it? There was a clear apology, namely the atonement and the letter from the prime minister to the victims themselves. It was the first time for the people and the government to work together, and it only happened 50 years after the war...

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<sup>1</sup> The Koreans left behind in Sakhalin after the war: This is a repatriation issue involving people taken from the Korean peninsula while it was under Japanese colonial rule. They were left behind in the USSR and Sakhalin after the war, during which the Japanese government had exploited them for labor. With the support of the civil movement a lawsuit was started for repatriation in 1975, and became a political issue. In 1994, the coalition government comprising the Liberal Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party of Japan and New Party Sakigake established the Government Party's Project of the Problems of the Postwar 50 Years concerning the issues to be dealt with in postwar Japan. In March 1996, an agreement was reached on the

twelve points including the problem of the Koreans left behind in Sakhalin, the Asian Women's Fund's activities on the comfort women issue and the issue of the disposal of abandoned chemical weapons in China. Following the agreement, the government made progress with its activities on repatriation. At the 2005 Japan-Korea Foreign Ministers Meeting, Japan stated that it would continue to support repatriation and permanent residence.

● **The Fund was able to attract participation from a large number of people, but repulsion towards it crushed the victims**

Mr. Onuma: In terms of public participation, many more people than in the case of Sakhalin contributed to the atonement fund. Most of all, an enormous number of letters and messages of sincere apology were sent to the Atonement Project for the comfort women. This clearly was a more advanced and superior outcome compared with the Sakhalin case. That is without question. The prime minister's apology was the same.

However, the most important question to me is how the victims felt. On that point, I have more regrets about the comfort women issue than about the repatriation issue. In the case of Korea, the situation is such that the victims have no choice but to hide the fact that they have received the Fund's project. I cannot feel that the victims are satisfied in their own way. In the case of Sakhalin, the construction of apartments and hospitals were covered by the budget of the Japanese government. In monetary terms, more was spent than in the case of the comfort women. And most of all, the victims are satisfied. Of course, they cannot be one hundred percent satisfied. I am not confident if they are half or even one fifth satisfied. However, the Koreans left behind in Sakhalin at least feel as members of society fair and square that they received material and psychological compensation from the Japanese government. They appreciate us Japanese who aided the movement and feel grateful. This honestly makes a philistine like me happy.

The comfort women issue was enormous in scale; I mean as a problem. That's why the people participated in more of a major way and the letter of apology from the prime minister could be delivered. However, the larger the problem, the stronger the resistance becomes. The strong resistance crushed the feelings of satisfaction of the victims. As I have said repeatedly, NGOs and the media turned into authorities and suppressed the honest feelings of the victims. The big problem lay there. In this sense, when I think about how the victims themselves feel I have no sense of accomplishment.

--We are now seeing a swing back to a position in which the facts of the comfort women issue and the atonement for the damage itself are viewed negatively by Korean society and the Japanese media.

● **Movements and coverage based on a shallow sense of justice and moralism.**

Mr. Onuma: This feeling is connected to me feeling incompetent in making things clear to the media and others. The concepts about postwar responsibility which I along with Mr. Hiroshi Tanaka, Ms. Aiko Utsumi and Mr. Kenichi Takagi have been advocating since the 1970s were extremely simplified. They were expressed in media coverage as extreme moralism and movements connected with simplified feminism. I suspect that a shallow sense of justice typical of the social department of such and such newspaper was largely responsible for creating this situation. Such extremely empty statements as “with our heads infinitely down” and others of that ilk were repeatedly reported by the media as if they represented the people who admitted postwar responsibility. They formed a certain image. Such statements are so hypocritical and empty that they failed to reach the hearts of ordinary people. The nationalistic argument asking how many more apologies do Korea and China want when Japan has already apologized in its own way, appeals to the sensitivity of ordinary people in a straightforward manner. As a result, the achievements we had steadily accumulated from 1970s to 1990s at great pains have been lost in the past ten years. I truly regret this point.

The people who insisted on taking the postwar responsibility and paying compensation were extremely moralistic and could not communicate in the language of most ordinary men, women and young people. I think this is why we got swept off our feet. This extremely moralistic position was reported in the media coverage with a bare and shallow sense of justice, which incurred antipathy if anything. I think we must look at ourselves on this point.

--The symposium in July was a great PR opportunity to let the people of Japan know what the Fund had done, its philosophy and areas needing more work.

Mr. Onuma: I felt that I had to make an example of the importance of PR, something I had been telling people about for ten years. Results were achieved by holding the symposium with *The Asahi Shimbun*, a major newspaper. I was very happy about that. Of course, we would have lost something as is normal when we do something. However, I expect that people would acknowledge that it was good to have held it from a broad perspective.

--Some of the problems and issues could be shared with the media and the participants...

Mr. Onuma: Yes. A major symposium was held and an article on it was carried in the *The Asahi Shimbun*. In terms of impact, I think it was significant. Also, I had extensive discussions with the reporters from the newspaper in the process of preparing the coverage. I was able to have them rectify what has so far been the conventional wisdom among journalists by asking them to mention the project in the Netherlands, which was not included in the original article, and explaining the attitude of the Korean victims toward the Fund. This meant a lot as well.

--Domestic and international guests were invited to the symposium. How do you feel about their assessment of the Fund?

Mr. Onuma: An overwhelming majority said that they really liked the symposium, including the expert meeting held the day before, and that they had learned a lot. Especially at the open forum, Ms. Chizuko Ueno was the only one among the attendants who had studied the comfort women issue in a particularly thorough manner. We asked the attendants to go through many documents prior to the symposium. Then we had them participate in the expert meeting and take part in the presentation of the report and discussion. I think they learned a lot about the comfort women issue as well as the past ten years of the Fund. I hope that we will continue to hold this kind of symposium so that more people will have better understanding.

--What sort of things do you think are necessary for conveying the facts, especially to young people about the comfort women issue and getting them to think?

Mr. Onuma: Japan-Korea Student Forum which has been run by Mr. Yokota (Yozo Yokota, a member of the Advisory Committee) and Professor Lee Won-Woong (Kwandong University, Korea)—if we can successfully incorporate the media in this and invite well-known scholars, journalists, authors and business people in addition to the students it will be great for the students. It will also add a stronger social appeal, and I expect this will create a lot of synergy. The forum can be held once this year and once next year so I think it is important to work on that point.

--The contributors must be most interested in the future initiative, especially the service following the dissolution for the former comfort women. How is the Fund going to cope with such issues? What is it going to talk about with the government?

● **The maintenance service will continue as an important duty**

Mr. Onuma: Based on my understanding as one of the directors, the negotiations with the government have continued since the completion of the Atonement Project. This is to continue providing some kind of care while the victims are still alive. I think we must stick to this policy going forward.

Specifically, in the Philippines, expansion and construction of facilities for the elderly are in progress in the form of grassroots cooperation through a grant for the purpose of human security<sup>2</sup>, following the completion of the Atonement Project for the comfort women. For Korea and Taiwan (Chinese Taipei) as well, psychological support for the remaining years of the victims will naturally be continued as long as the Fund exists, which is until March 2007. It is an important duty.<sup>3</sup> The directors and members of the Advisory Committee hope that the Fund's duties will be taken over by some kind of organization after its dissolution. They think that it is desirable for this support to continue, even if on a small scale. I understand that they are making efforts in that direction.

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<sup>2</sup> Grassroots cooperation through a grant for the purpose of human security: In a report on the completion of the Project written by the Ministry of Social Development of the Philippine government, which functioned as the liaison for the Atonement Project in the Philippines, a request was made following the completion of the Project for the construction of medical facilities for the elderly, which can be used by elderly comfort women victims. It was one of the proposals for the future. In response to the request, the Japanese government continued with aid for the elderly, which it had provided as grassroots cooperation through a grant for the purpose of human security. This is a part of the Fund's maintenance project following the completion of the Atonement Project in the Philippines which ended in September 2002. Here is the project outline, which consists of three points:

- 1) Plan for the expansion and completion of the welfare facility for the elderly in Quezon City in the Manila metropolitan area
- 2) Plan for the expansion of facilities for underprivileged elderly women
- 3) Plan for the expansion and completion of examination rooms for the elderly within Philippine General Hospital.

The Japanese government intends to continue with the initiative to enrich the welfare services for the elderly in the Philippines from 2007. The Fund will dissolve in 2007.

<sup>3</sup> For Korea and Taiwan (Chinese Taipei), the Fund has been and currently is endeavoring not to



terminate exchange with the comfort women. It has been visiting them or calling them by phone since the completion of the Atonement Project. However, we cannot say that this is sufficient for meeting demand.

## **An International Symposium**

### **Looking back to the Past, Thinking for the Future —Postwar Responsibilities of the Government, Media and NGOs and the Future of Japan's Future**

Host: Asian Women's Fund

Sponsor: *The Asahi Shimbun*

Date: Sunday, July 17, 2005; 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Venues: U Thant International Conference Hall and Elizabeth Rose Conference Hall, United Nations University, Tokyo

Panelists: Irie Akira (Professor, Harvard University, History), Chizuko Ueno (Professor, University of Tokyo, Women's Studies and the Theory of Gender), Frank Elbe (Former German Ambassador to Japan), Onuma Yasuaki (Professor, University of Tokyo, International Law and Director of Asian Women's Fund), and Ge Jiangxion (Professor, Fudan University, China, History of Japan-China Relations)

Moderator: Funabashi Yoichi, Columnist for *The Asahi Shimbun*



Summer this year marked the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II and the tenth anniversary of the Fund. The international symposium was held to learn from Japan's modern and recent history, including negative aspects of the past as well as the many processes of compensation and reconciliation in other countries. Other objectives of the symposium were to discuss the future based on what we have learned and to share it with Japanese citizens. Applications from people wishing to participate far exceeded the quota. With the number of participants exceeding 400, the success of the symposium was such that a venue was added to

which the proceedings were relayed onto monitors.

At the symposium, the government, NGOs and the media were frequently identified as the bearers of public interest today and in the future. Such issues as “comfort women,” Japan’s responsibility for the war, including colonization, and its postwar responsibilities were re-examined in terms of the initiatives that had been taken, the policies, the activities and coverage by such entities.

At the beginning of the symposium, the former prime minister and president of the Fund Murayama Tomiichi addressed the participants on behalf of the Fund and mentioned the so-called *Murayama Danwa*\*, which he had published to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the war. He pointed out that the policy explained in it had not yet been adequately implemented in the ten years since publication and stressed the importance of making continuous efforts so that his objectives would reach the hearts of the people in neighboring countries.

The moderator, Mr. Funabashi, introduced each of the panelists who made announcements each of about ten minutes’ duration, before convening a panel discussion. Summaries of what each panelist said in the discussion, as published in *the Asahi Shimbun* on July 31, are given below.

\*An informal talk that (then) Prime Minister Murayama published on August 15, 1995 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the Pacific War. In the formal talk, he admitted that Japan made the wrong decision concerning national policy, endangered the people of Japan in the war, and caused enormous damage and pain for many countries, especially the people of other Asian countries, through colonization and invasion. He expressed heartfelt regret and offered a sincere apology.

\*Photos and summaries of what the individuals said hereafter (pp. 6-7): Courtesy of *the Asahi Shimbun*

**IRIE Akira—Establish a Clear Vision for the Future in a World of Drastic Changes**



When speaking of the past, one must have a solid plan for the future. With respect to reconciliation with China, Korea and other countries, we must seek a common vision for the future and attempt to share the past within such a framework.

The keys to solving the problem lie with Japan's vision 60 years ago after we were defeated in World War II. One was pacifism, which triumphed over militarism, and which crystallized as Japan's Peace Constitution. The other was internationalism which had overcome ultra-nationalism and Japan's decision to exercise diplomacy based on the decisions made by the United Nations. Japan's postwar environment depended on being able to realize such a vision to a certain extent.

Unfortunately, however, reconciliation with neighboring countries and former colonies has not been completed. There is also confusion about how to establish a vision for the future.

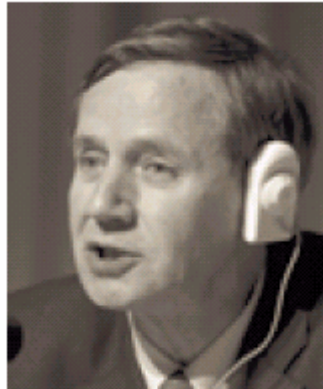
One of the reasons for this is the drastic changes in Japan and in the world. What is lying behind the changes over the last three decades since the 1970s is the fact that movements outside the national framework are occurring. In addition to the problems of religion, international terrorism and ethnicity, other factors such as the activities of multi-national companies, NGOs and the media, are becoming important.

What sort of vision will we establish in the changing world? It is necessary to revisit 1945 and recognize again what pacifism and internationalism are. We protect the Peace Constitution and clarify our attitude toward the problems surrounding the Yasukuni Shrine. It is essential to clearly state that Japan continues to stand on peace based on our self-assessment of militarism.

It is one of the ways internationalism can realize the East Asian Community, in which the countries have relations as equals and have mutual economic dependence. Building a system of

cooperation not with military force but with the power of culture and economy—in such an environment it will be possible to guide ourselves to mutually understand one another about the past and how we view our history.

**Frank ELBE—The Reconciliation Process Begins with Domestic Effort**



Under the Cold War regime, reconciliation between Poland and Germany was considered impossible and the two countries made very little progress in that regard. However, Poland became a free country in 1989, thereby accelerating the reconciliation process. What lay behind the success were conversations and important principles. In 1995, Catholic bishops from both countries made the following announcement: We remember all of the injustices perpetrated during the world war. Only the truth will free us—the truth which is no more and no less than what it is and which hides nothing.

Reconciliation is a process that requires a partnership between the wrongdoer and the victim. However, that process starts first in your country. It becomes possible only when society is ready and has the ability to start action itself based on its sense of morality.

We must ask ourselves what kind of country we want to be. Before we can be forgiven for the crimes committed by the Nazis and compensate for them, we must take responsibility for the events that actually occurred, remember them and make an effort to construct a democratic society.

It was important to personally show neighboring countries that they did not have to regard Germany as a menace. It was more important than the compensation that Germany had paid since the 1950s and that totaled approximately 62 billion dollars.

In German's history, Auschwitz cannot be sidestepped and we do not try to sidestep it, either. When you accept responsibility for the past, society becomes free again and the country regains its dignity. It has become possible for Germany to undertake a meaningful role in the political

arena. Furthermore, the process of reconciliation contributes to the peace of the communities involved. I believe that reconciliation will establish political stability, economic prosperity and friendly relations with neighboring countries.

### **UENO Chizuko—Compensation by the Private Sector Obscured the Parties Responsible**



I participated in this symposium because I felt that the time has come for us to judge historically the role of the Asian Women's Fund.

First, when the Fund was founded, the parties involved made a political choice to “solve a part of the issue concerning postwar compensation while they were able” under the coalition administration. I have to admit that political realism was correct. It was criticized for being a cloak of invisibility to exempt the state from providing compensation. Today, however, we have a situation where reactionary textbooks appear. If the Fund had not been established then, there would have been very little possibility of establishing it at another time.

Second, there are the political results. With respect to whether the government has officially apologized, I would like to respect the fact that the directors of the Fund made as much effort as possible within their limits, including the sending of letters of apology signed by successive prime ministers.

Third, there is the nature of the compensation. A nation should provide compensation for the crimes it commits. When the private sector takes over the role, the location of responsibility becomes obscured. As a result, more than half of the certified victims in Korea refused to accept the compensation. Although the results were not intended, the Fund is politically responsible for the discord and confusion it has caused.

The Japanese government should introduce special legislation regarding the war reparations to offer an official apology, provide state compensation and do nothing else. In today's political

situation, however, there is little hope of this ever occurring.

The problem of the “comfort women” has not been concluded. Above all, the serious issues involving China and North Korea remain unresolved.

The problem of “comfort women” achieved three international results: 1) It established an awareness that the sexual assault of women in an armed conflict constitutes a crime; 2) The possibility that the principle of individual compensation in lawsuits may lead to a new development in international law; and 3) The creation of international solidarity among NGOs at various levels.

### **GE Jiangxion—For the Youth in China, the War Issues Have Not Yet Been Resolved**



I was born at the end of 1945, the year in which the war ended. I have witnessed the remains of the homes once burnt by Japanese servicemen and scars of war. I have been told by my parents' generation about how my home was burnt and how women were raped and killed.

At elementary school, I was taught that China must maintain a friendly relationship with Japan. They taught me that some of the militarists started the war and that the Japanese people and the Japanese servicemen who committed crimes in China were all victims of war.

However, in recent few years, problems have been re-emerging between China and Japan. I am particularly concerned about the ideas of the Chinese younger generation. Why do the people who represent the next generation think that the war has left many scars in China?

The problems of war have been basically resolved at the state level, but evidently, not so at the level of individuals, especially among young people. It is natural for the young to react as they would to the wrong opinion or behavior of some irresponsible Japanese politicians.

I think that it is important for us to put an end to the past and welcome the future together.

The process of ethnic reconciliation in South Africa is a lesson for us. The victims of apartheid indicted the wrongdoers and made them understand what they had done. But their purpose was

to achieve real reconciliation. In Japan, the Hanaoka Case was settled with the wrongdoer establishing a fund, which I think was a good result.

China may become a great power with influence over international society in the future. At the same time, it has to recognize the important role that Japan plays in the world.

### **ONUMA Yasuaki—Is the Media Responsible for Korea’s Criticism?**



I have acted based upon my belief that the government and the people together should provide compensation for the mistakes in the past. Under the Murayama Cabinet, we barely managed to obtain a letter of apology addressed to the former “comfort women” signed by the prime minister and establish a government medical and welfare project. I decided to contribute to the fund because I thought that nothing more could be done. The contributors all shared a sense of crisis and agreed that there was little time remaining for the aging victims and that they would soon no longer be with us while state compensation was being sought.

The action by the Fund stirred very harsh social resentment in Korea against Japan and I think that the Fund should take responsibility for the results. On the other hand, I question whether the Japanese media and the world media are responsible for having portrayed the Korean NGO’s comments just in every way.

Unlike unilateral coverage by the media, the former “comfort women” with whom we contacted personally were old and led extremely severe lives tormented by discrimination, and most of them said that they wanted money and an apology from the prime minister.

In Korea, a very influential NGO insisted, hand in hand with the media, that the important thing is for the victims to regain their dignity as human beings and that they must not accept money. This extremely moralistic stance placed heavy social and psychological pressure on the victims. The Fund physically supported the victims with compensation and through the medical and welfare project, and helped ease any mental burden on the victims with a letter of apology from



the prime minister and messages of regret from many contributors. Meanwhile, the NGOs and the media who were responsible for the psychological pressure on the victims by formulating the public opinion that said that these people could live without food should search their conscience. Although they did what they did out of good will, it had a very cruel aspect.

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In addition to the aforesaid panelists, the following attended the specialist conference held the day before the symposium: Arima Makiko (Former Japanese Representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and Director of the Fund), Lee Won-Woong (Professor, Kanto University, from Korea), Chunghee Sarah Soh (Associate Professor, San Francisco State University, from the United States), Song Zhiyong (Vice President, Institute of Japan Studies, Nankai University, from China), Tanaka Akihiko (Professor, University of Tokyo), Margarita Hamer (Former Chair, Project Implementation Committee in the Netherlands or PICN), Yokota Yozo (Professor, Chuo University, Senior Advisor to the Rector of United Nations University and Member of Sub-commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights), and Wada Haruki (Professor Emeritus, University of Tokyo and Director of the Fund). Four of these participants, Arima, Lee, Soh and Hamer, spoke at the venue of the symposium.