

# Notes

## 1 A Question of History

1. In this book, Chinese, Japanese and Korean names are presented family names first, followed by given names.
2. Despite his government's attempt to minimize its responsibility for Asian victims of the war, he denied the speculation that his government would revise the Kono Statement in his statement on 14 March 2014 (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2014a).
3. As will be explained later, the value of Yoshida's memoir as the evidence of forced recruitment of women by Japanese authorities has long been questioned by historians, including feminist and left-wing historians. They have argued, nonetheless, that even though Yoshida's memoir is deemed to be historically unreliable, other evidence can show the forced and slave-like nature of the 'comfort women' system. See Note 15.
4. For example, see Prime Minister Abe's comment in September 2014 (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2014d). The Japanese government also officially requested that the 1996 *Coomaraswamy Report*, which acknowledged the legal responsibility of the Japanese government, be revised accordingly (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2014e).
5. The term 'comfort women' itself is one of the foci of discussion of this issue. Many women reject the title of 'comfort women', as this implies that they volunteered to provide 'sexual service', although, they argue, this was not the case. These victims/survivors and those who support them request the term 'sexual slavery' to be used, in order to differentiate those 'comfort women' who were forced to have sex with soldiers from voluntary military prostitutes. However, while we should respect these women's rejection of the name, as will be discussed later, the distinction between those who were 'forced' and 'not forced' is problematic. Therefore, and to mark the historical specificity of this system, I will continue to employ the term 'comfort women' in this book. However, I use the term with quotation marks out of respect for their discontent, and try to avoid referring to an individual woman as a 'comfort woman'. Indeed, Soh (2008) discusses the dynamism and complexity of naming the women and how this naming frames the 'comfort women' issue for a particular political objective.
6. Senda started to write on the 'comfort women' in journals from the 1960s onwards (Oh, 2001:15).
7. These studies and other literature on 'comfort women' before the 1990s will be discussed later in this chapter more in detail.
8. There is still huge disagreement between feminist activists, left-wing historians and international communities on the one hand and the Japanese government on the other hand, as to how central the Japanese government was in organizing the system. The Japanese government admitted its involvement, but always stressed that it only played secondary roles in the operation of the system, such as ensuring the security in comfort stations, or helping private businesses to set up comfort stations. The major discrepancy lies in the differing understanding of the involvement of Japanese authorities in 'recruiting' and the meaning of coercion. The Japanese government and right-wing politicians and critics argue that

as no document proves that coercion was used by the Japanese authority to take women, the 'comfort women' system does not pose any problem. Feminists and left-wing scholars maintain that whether coercion was used in recruitment is of secondary importance, but how women were drafted, imprisoned and forced to have sex with soldiers is the central problem of the system.

9. The last atonement money was given out in May 2002 and the Asian Women's Fund dissolved at the end of March 2007 with the completion of its projects in Indonesia (AWF, 2007).
10. Here, violence against women is divided into three categories: (1) violence in the family, (2) violence in the community, and (3) violence by the State; the 'comfort women' issue is referred to in (3).
11. For example, UN (1995b).
12. In October 2013, Japanese newspapers reported that in 2012, the Noda government of Japan was about to make an agreement with the South Korean government under the President Yee Myung Bak considering an official apology and humanitarian support to these women. However, the dissolution of the Lower Parliament and the subsequent government change after the 2012 General Election cancelled this political negotiation (Hakoda, 2013a; 2013b).
13. For example, *Japanese Prisoner of War Interrogation Report*, No.49 (01/10/1945) by United States Office of War Information, Psychological Warfare Team Attached to US Army Forces India-Burma Theater, *Psychological Warfare Interrogation Bulletin*, No. 2 (11/30/1944) by South-East Asia Translation and Interrogation Center, and *Interrogation Report* by the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section. All translated into Japanese and published in Yoshimi (ed.) (1992).
14. Howard (1995: 7).
15. In his memoir, he testified that he was involved in forced 'recruitment' of the women in Jeju Island in Korea. Not only the revisionists, but also feminist and left-wing critics later concluded that Yoshida's testimony cannot be used as the evidence of coerced 'recruitment' of Korean 'comfort women'. However, they also maintain that this does not mean that there was no forced recruitment in Korea (Yoshimi, 1997a: 26–7).
16. The findings of research were published in *Quarterly Journal: The Report on War Responsibility (Kikan Senso Sekinin)* and were presented as a report, which was submitted to the relevant UN bodies, such as the UN Human Rights Committee in 1994. This was eventually published as *Collaborative Research: Japanese Military Comfort Women (Kyodo Kenkyu: Nihongun Ianfu)* in 1995 (Yoshimi and Hayashi, eds., 1995: iii; The Center, 2014).
17. A few examples of these published in the early 1990s in Japan include: The Korean Council *et al.* (1993), which presents testimonies of nineteen women originally published in Korean; The Executive Committee (1993) is based on testimonies made in the public hearing that took place in Tokyo in 1992, and ICJ (1994) presents testimonies of 'comfort women' victims and former soldiers that the International Commission of Jurists met during its mission in 1993. Two edited books *Kyoto 'Oshietekudasai'* (1993) and *Jyugun Ianfu 110 Ban* (1992) provide soldiers' accounts of 'comfort women'.
18. See Chapter 5, Note 10.
19. Discussion concerning school history textbooks will be presented in more detail later in this chapter.
20. Critics who made such comments include: Fujioka Nobukatsu, a professor at Tokyo University; Nishio Kanji, a scholar in German literature; Hata Ikuhiko, a

retired professor in military history in Japan; and Kobayashi Yoshinori, a popular graphic novelist.

21. In these textbooks, the 'comfort women' system is not mentioned at all. The sale of the general market version of these textbooks and other publications of these authors was said to have been very successful, and copies of these books were piled high in major bookstores when I was in Japan in April 2000. Tohan Bestseller Archive 2001 shows that one of the mass market textbooks published by the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform ranked in the 16th position overall, and 7th in the non-fiction section. The history and citizenship textbooks written by the group were approved in 2001 to be used in the following academic year. However, in 2002, only around 0.04 per cent of all junior high school students were actually using this history book in their classrooms. (Uesugi: 2002: 2).
22. Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 provides detailed information on which history and citizenship studies textbooks each local educational authority adopts (Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, 2014).
23. *Japan Society for Textbook Reform* (2014).
24. For example, see Ienaga (ed.) (1996).
25. Despite its name, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan is a conservative party that often shows ultra-nationalist characteristics.
26. The name originates from Nishijima Tateo, a journalist, calling the discussion started in 1995 between Kato Norihiro and Takahashi Tetsuya 'the debate on historical subjects' (Nishijima, 1997).
27. Some of these examples include: Matsuo (1997: 4), Nishino (1997a: 72), Matsui, Yoshiko (1997:2) Ogoshi and Takahashi (1997: 133), Takahashi (1998a: 52–3).
28. A similar comment is made by Prescila Bartonico (Senso Giseisha, 1997: 103).
29. Four from North Korea, eleven from South Korea, and one from Japan.
30. Both testimonies are from North Korea.
31. In the English translation it states a red-hot iron bar instead of wood (The Korean Council, *et al.*, 1995: 85).
32. In commenting on a similar testimony from North Korea, Yoshimi also questions the authenticity of such a testimonial narrative making reference to multiple beheadings as this is not realistic or possible (Yoshimi, 1997b: 73).
33. She also dismisses the claim that Japanese are uniquely a dangerous people Chang (1997: 220).
34. Also see Entenmann (1998) and Inokuchi and Nozaki (1999) for similar comments.
35. For example, Honda Katsuichi had written on atrocities of the Japanese military in China throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and Fujiwara Akira published *Nanking no Nihongun* (*The Japanese Army in Nanking*) in 1990 (Yoshida, 1999: 258).

## 2 The Struggle Against Ultra-Nationalism and the Entrapment of Orientalism

1. Similarly, Ikeda Eriko argues that Japan has a long history of (regulated) prostitution dating back to the twelfth century, where men are allowed to pay for prostitutes (Ikeda, 2000: 132–3).
2. She uses the term sexual 'ideology' to mean the system that was imposed by the state or society to exploit and oppress women. I will refer to the idea of ideology following Althusser later in this book, and he uses the term quite differently from how it is employed by Ogoshi; I will use the term 'norm', when possible, for Ogoshi's work to avoid confusion.

3. See also Ogoshi, Minamoto and Yamashita (1990), Ogoshi and Minamoto (1994). In these examples of their work, how the development of Buddhism in Japan would have been influenced by social and economic changes is not much discussed.
4. Also see Obinata (1992), Hayakawa (1998) and Fujino (2001).
5. See also Ogoshi (1996: 202).
6. However, she also make reference to women who became victimizers (Ogoshi, 2000b: 296).
7. However, she also points out the impact of specific gender relations introduced during modernization in Japan as the source of women's oppression. For example, see Ogoshi (1996; 1997b).
8. See, for example, Kobayashi (1997) and Hata (1999).
9. For example, recently Kawada (2014) stated that, apart from Japan, it was only Nazi Germany that had an extended system of military comfort stations. It is explained that comfort stations were developed by the Japanese military because the government lacked the resource to send soldiers back for regular holidays, and comfort stations were considered the most economic and efficient alternative. However, that fact that the Allied Forces in Asia and Africa also had military prostitution, which they controlled to a limited extent, albeit not directly, is not mentioned. At the same time, however, during the past decade studies that provide comparative analysis between the 'comfort women' system and state and military licensed prostitution in other countries have become more noticeable (Tanaka, 2008; Nagahara, 2014)
10. See also Note 9.
11. Ikeda also argues that the system of state-regulated prostitution started in the seventeenth century.
12. Kim a Korean-Japanese feminist, who was another leading feminist to help with the organisation of the Tribunal and worked closely with Matsui, however, disagrees with Yun's comment (Kim, P., 2008).
13. It has been reported how Japanese residents in the US (recent migrants to the US from Japan) have been under the influence of Japanese ultra-nationalism; see Koyama (2014a; 2014b).

### 3 Modernity, Evil and Violence

1. Some of the more recent discussion include Takahashi (2010).
2. Shibata Toshiko points out that 'Enlightened rationality' is also revived in Arendt's discussion (1997: 253).

### 4 The Origin of the 'Comfort Women' System

1. However, as will be mentioned later, the relation between race and sexuality was not so explicit in Foucault's published work.
2. Though some genital examination of soldiers was performed prior to the 1864 CD Acts, it became ineffective as the officers were reluctant to inflict such a 'humiliating' operation on other men (Enloe, 2000: 56).
3. The towns ultimately covered were Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Aldershot, Colchester, Shorncliffe, the Curragh, Cork, Queenstown (1864), Windsor (1866), Canterbury, Dover, Gravesend, Maidstone, Winchester and Southampton (1869) (Hyam, 1991: 63).

4. Levine also explains that the indigenous men and women too became mistrustful of the British after 1857 (Levine, 1994: 584).
5. Levine argues that it was not only the sexuality of (native) prostitutes that was controlled and regulated, but also that of black British soldiers (1998: 109).
6. Order of Liberating Prostitutes (1872) and Regulation on Prostitution Control (1900) are the examples that include the provision of ostensible freedom to leave the job (Fujime, 1998: 90–1).
7. While Garon acknowledges that the Muromachi Shogunate formally accepted prostitution as a trade and started to levy tax on it, he also distinguishes the modern system developed after the Meiji Restoration from indigenous practices of prostitution (Garon, 1997: 90).
8. While the presence of outcasts had been acknowledged for a long time, it was the Tokugawa government that classified them officially at the bottom of the class hierarchy. They were discriminated against in their place of residence, profession, marriage, and all other aspects of life. In 1871, under the Meiji government, they were ‘liberated’ and integrated into the commoners’ class, and were supposed to be treated equally with other commoners. However, the discrimination continued and still exists today.
9. Hayakawa explains that in the middle of the Edo Era some contracts of fixed-term service (*nenkibokosei*), such as those that bound prostitutes, developed into slave-like arrangements, and this partly became the source of criticism of prostitution during the Meiji Restoration (Hayakawa, 1998: 189–90).
10. However, Obinata suggests that more general political reform of the time was behind the issue of the Ordinance and Fujino also supports this argument (Obinata, 1992: 282; Fujino, 2001: 11).
11. Entertaining women were those who received special training in singing, musical instruments and dancing and entertained customers at dinners and drinking sessions. They were considered different from prostitutes, though sometimes they offered sexual services as well.

## 5 Reading the Testimonies

1. Lives recounted in many testimonies are often a combination of the two.
2. For example, when the ‘atonement money’ was provided, the Philippine government was responsible for officially identifying ‘comfort women’ victims. They defined ‘comfort women’ victims as those who were kept imprisoned in one place for a certain period of time, excluding victims of mass rape. This view was also reflected in the Indictment and claim for reparation prepared by the delegate for the WIWCT in Tokyo, as victims of the ‘comfort women’ system (sexual slavery) and mass rape were distinguished. However, both groups of women have equally been treated as victims of wartime sexual violence in the Philippines and supported by various organizations (WAM: 2013: 48; WIWCT, 2000a).
3. It is, of course, quite possible that these are the questions that victim-survivors were repeatedly asked to answer.
4. This is also suggested in The Executive Committee (1993: 31) and WIWCT (2000a: 21.4).
5. Mass rapes in Mapanique only became widely known after a local person contacted a radio station in 1996 after listening to an interview with one of the ‘comfort women’ (Okano, 2000: 271).

6. Her testimony also appears in the Indictment by Indonesian Delegates of Women's International War Crimes Tribunal, but the narrative is slightly different (WIWCT, 2000b: 8–9).
7. Among twelve known former 'comfort women', only Rosalind Saw came out as a 'comfort woman' publicly (WIWCT, 2000c). Her testimony here is reported by Mary Chin from the Malaysia Women's Action Society.
8. In traditional East Asian cultures, babies were considered to be a year old when they were born. Therefore, when they were taken, Korean, Chinese and Taiwanese women could have been one or two years younger than the age that they claimed.
9. Some of these examples include: Kawada listening to Bae Bong-gi, a Korean resident in Japan who lived in Okinawa in Japan (Kawada, 1994), and Morikawa, mentioned here.
10. For example, in the first archival research, after consulting 2,000 out of 10,000 memoirs and journals in the library collection, they found that comfort stations and/or 'comfort women' were mentioned in 133 war memoirs and diaries (The Center, 1994a: 58). They also conducted the third archival research study in 2009 and consulted about 2,000 out of 4,000 war diaries and memoirs published after 1994. About 500 of them make reference to 'comfort women' and comfort stations (The Center, 2009: 55).
11. Her testimony published by the Korean Council clearly states this point (The Korean Council, 1995: 33).
12. The discussion of Hata Ikuhiko and Kobayashi Yoshinori has been mainly focused on here, partly because they have been influential figures in the Japanese mass media; Hata, a former civil servant turned history professor, and Kobayashi, a popular *manga* artist who publishes a best-selling series entitled (*Shin*) *Gomanism Sengen (The New Statement of Arrogance)*. Moreover, they engage with documents and testimonies in fair detail, though often in a problematic manner, and raise important issues, such as the contradictions in women's testimonies, which were not widely discussed by the supporters of 'comfort women'.
13. Yang (1997) also highlights the obsession with the truth in the discussion of 'comfort women' in South Korea.
14. Yoshimi also criticizes the revisionists for distorting historical facts (Yoshimi, 1997d: 53).
15. For example, see Kawada (1995: 6).
16. For example, see Yoshimi (1996: 22–3).
17. Similar comments are made in Yamashita (1996) and Kim, P. (1998; 2001).
18. However, some feminist scholars and activists argued that criticism by certain Japanese academics and activists that the redress movement in South Korea had been influenced by nationalism not respecting individual women, cannot be warranted. For example, Kim, P. (2008) and Yun (2013) emphasize how South Korean feminists in the redress movement, in association with the Korean Council, have offered support to victim-survivors at an individual level over many years, while they pressed the Korean government to develop a legal framework to provide social welfare to these women. They maintain that it was (Japanese) activists who supported the Asian Women's Fund that planted mistrust between feminists and victim-survivors, by providing misleading information to victim-survivors.

19. Kim also indicated, however, that their coming from a respectable family and having been virgins was often stressed in women's testimonies during the Tribunal, and that hardly any licensed prostitutes came forward as 'comfort women' even in countries where Japanese licensed prostitution had been introduced, before and during the war (Kim, P., 2001).

## 6 Listening to Women's Voices

1. Following Sandra Harding, 'method' is used here to refer to three aspects of research: 'method', 'methodology', and 'epistemology' (Harding, 1987a: 2).
2. While feminist research studies have given emphasis to qualitative research methods, feminists also became aware that the polarization of qualitative vs quantitative actually results in reinforcing the gender binarism they aim to challenge. Instead of probing a single and concrete feminist method, feminists are now more concerned with developing research methodology incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research: see Graham (1983: 136); Maynard (1994: 11–14); Kelly et al., (1992), Wolf (1996: 25). Most feminists have turned away from a search for a single feminist methodology: see Gottfried (1996: 3); Stanley and Wise (1993: 188).
3. A similar point is raised in Finch (1984) and Wolf (1996).
4. For example, in later work, Hartsock stressed the importance of difference and heterogeneity in understanding social change (Hartsock, 1996; Hekman, 1997: 350). For further discussions, see *Signs*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1997).
5. For example, Patricia Hill Collins rejects the idea that all visions are equal (relative), and both Harding and Hartsock are critical towards postmodernism (relativism) as it results in absolute relativism, or is helpless in bringing about social changes (Hekman, 1997: 352–4).
6. Yun Chung-ok repeatedly commented that she started to investigate the issue as she wondered for a long time why her school friends who were drafted never came back; for example Scene 26, in the film *Murmuring* and in an interview (Yun and Ogoshi, 1998: 36–7).
7. However, Dori Laub also suggested in his discussion of listening to the Holocaust testimonies that without too much knowledge (about contextual information) listeners can better engage with what the survivor has to say and can understand both 'the survivor's truth' and 'historical truth' with a completely new perspective (Laub, 1992a: 61–2).
8. Two volumes of collections of testimonial narratives of Korean victim-survivors were published in Japan 2006 and 2010, based on the translation of interviews of women conducted by the Korean Council. They are different from other collections of testimonies in a sense that they provide some background information on the process of interview and commentaries on the lives of these women by interviewees/researchers. Editors also emphasize that the aim of these collections is to engage with individual stories of 'comfort women' victim-survivors (rather than reducing these testimonies as mere examples of victimization) (WAM, 2006b; 2010b).
9. Many feminists have argued that the emotion of researchers such as empathy and compassion as well as anger is vital in expanding their insight into realities of women (who experienced sexual violence) (Stanko, 1997: 79; Ahn, 1999: 80). Recently, affect has been given a particular attention as central to feminist politics; see Hemmings (2012) and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).

10. Also, although experiences of sexual enslavement as 'comfort women' are diverse, as suggested in the previous chapters, women from similar cultural and national backgrounds often went through comparable experiences.
11. Kurasawa Aiko points this out in the commentary on the Japanese translation of Ruff-O'Herne's autobiography (Kurasawa, 1999: 217–18). A similar issue is raised in Schaffer and Smith (2004: 145).
12. Ahn argues that this claim of male natural sexual desire has indeed been used to legitimize sexual oppression of women and the construction of comfort stations (Ahn, 1999: 177).
13. Comments made during my interview with Dr Yuasa Ken in July 1997.
14. See Note 8.
15. For example, Yi Ok-pun and Yi Sun-ok in *The Korean Council* (1995: 99, 119).
16. According to an accompanying booklet to the film *Habitual Sadness (Nanumu no Ie II / Najen Moksori 2)*, she was sent to the police station because she was suspected of having an anti-Japanese attitude (Pandora, 1998: 5).

## 7 Representation and Its Limits

1. Indeed, pain and suffering have increasingly been considered as the basis of epistemic authority (Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2002: 129; Skeggs, 2000: 29). This has further developed into the body of study on affect, in particular in feminism (Pedwell and Whitehead, 2012).
2. He still seemed to hold this view when he gave masterclass lectures in February 2012 at Birkbeck, University of London.
3. Recall the scene in which Jewish women are sent to Auschwitz by mistake, where they are ushered into a shower room. Contrary to the audience's anticipation, it turns out that this shower spray is not gas but water and these women narrowly escape execution. In the following sequences, their children also manage to flee from being left behind in Auschwitz, saved by Oskar Schindler by a hair's breadth. However, in most cases, such things did not actually happen (Bartov, 1996: 171). Furthermore, survivors such as Primo Levi repeatedly wrote that the hardest fact to accept in the concentration camp was that the persecutors were ordinary men, not evil (Levi, 1989: 167–9). Also, see Todorov (1996: 121–40).
4. It is claimed that Spielberg declared his film as a document (Avisar, 1997: 49). This can be interpreted as his commitment to some form of realism.
5. This is a story of a family of Italian Jew Guido, Italian gentile wife Dora, and their son Giosué, who were deported to a concentration camp, where Guido explains to Giosué that they are playing a (survival) game to win a tank. For example, see Wootton (1998) (in particular, the fourth question to Benigni from the audience), French (1999), Romney (1999) and Cartwright (1999). On the negative reception in the US and beyond, see Viano (1999: 47–53) and Gilman (2000: 293–4).
6. In his reply to a question in the interview, Wootton (1998).
7. Also, see Note 3.
8. Art Spiegelman's *Maus* develops around the story not only of the survival of his father, but also the relationship between his father and the mother during and after the war.
9. LaCapra (1998: 142). However, it is worth noting that LaCapra is not necessarily accepting laughter in general in representing the Holocaust; see also pp.174–6.
10. See Spielberg's comment Note 4.



11. The film is dominated by a black screen which is occasionally interrupted by images of figures falling from the Twin Towers and also shows a short footage of the World Trade Centre collapsing.
12. Examples of such canonization include; Clendinnen (1999: 176–80); Felman's discussion of *Shoah*, Felman (1992: 204–83); Anton Kaes' (1992) appraisal of *Shoah* in contrast to Hans-Jürgen Syberberg's *Hitler – a Film from Germany*. Also, in Japan, *Shoah* is highly appreciated by intellectuals and rarely comes in for criticism. See Ukai and Takahashi (1995) and *Gendai Shiso, Special Issue: Shoah*, 23 (7) (1995).
13. Byun Young-joo, a female film director from South Korea, started to film the lives of Korean victim-survivors living in a shared house in Seoul in 1994, after she regularly visited them over a year. She came to know about 'comfort women' after she met a woman working as a prostitute to pay for her mother's medical problems, which had been caused by her experiences of having been a 'comfort woman' victim. Her first film *The Murmuring (Nanumu no Ie I / Nazen Moksori I)* (1995) shows these women's decision to come forward to testify to their experiences, and their standing protest in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul every Wednesday, demanding an official apology from the Japanese government. It also portrays their lives in the House of Sharing (*Nanumu no Ie*). Since the first film, the House of Sharing had moved to a suburb of Seoul, and one of the women, Kang Duk-kyung, was diagnosed with cancer. *Habitual Sadness* was filmed on Kang's request to record her until her approaching death and shows how women managed themselves in their new accommodation, coping with the fear of losing Kang. *My Own Breathing* is the last of the series, consisting of interviews with victim-survivors both in and outside the House of Sharing.
14. See Spivak (1988b; 1993; 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; and 1999).
15. It is often pointed out that Rigoberta Menchú is an example of the (practice of) subaltern agency. See Ota (2000), Spivak (1996c: 292), Salazar (1991), Sommer (1991), Beverly (1992), Kaplan (1992), Carr (1994).
16. Note the similarity between Stoll's argument and those of the revisionists in Japan that attempt to refute testimonies of 'comfort women' victims.
17. LaCapra also mentions this episode and claims that it is when testimonies offer other than purely 'documentary knowledge' that they become more important. However, he also admits historians have not figured out 'an acceptable way of "using" testimonies' (LaCapra, 2001: 87, 110).

## 8 Women's Agency: From Social Stigma to Survivor-Activists

1. Also note the example of Song Shin-do, which will be discussed later in this chapter.
2. See Chapter 9.
3. In addition to other women who attempted to talk about their experience mentioned earlier in the chapter, women such as Kang Duk-kyung (The Korean Council, 1995: 184) and Anastasia Cortes (ICJ, 1994: 77) also said that they had written down their experience before the campaign to redress victim-survivors of the 'comfort women' system started.
4. These details about her biography can be found in her testimonies in Nishino (1993), 'Jyosei no Jinken' Iinkai (1994), YosonNet (1995), Zainichi (1997; 2007), Appendix in WIWCT (2000d) and WAM (2006b).

5. In the first stage at the Tokyo District Court, the injuries that she suffered over seven years of her experience of sexual slavery were recognized, and in the Tokyo High Court, the Japanese state's responsibility for violating international law was also partly recognized.
6. An article that Bae Bong-gi, a former military 'comfort woman', was granted a special permission to stay in Japan appeared in the newspapers in October 1975 (Kawada, 1994: 11).
7. However, Kawada explained how Bae acquired a close relationship with a Korean-Japanese Kim Hyun-ok towards the end of her life (Kawada, 1994: 299–300).
8. This point is also raised in Noda (2000: 3–4). Park also sings similar improvised songs in *Habitual Sadness*.
9. The last part of the second sentence here reads in the Japanese translation: 'they say that civilians recruited women on their own initiative' (implying no involvement of the Japanese government); The Korean Council (1993: 240).
10. As discussed in Chapter 5, in her testimonial narrative published by the Korean Council, this point is not stressed (1995: 41–9).
11. This broad definition of 'coercion' was also maintained in the indictment prepared by Korea at the WIWCT in December (WIWCT 2000d: 13, no. 23). This broader definition of 'coercion' is what is currently supported by feminists, other activists and historians in the redress movement, including in Japan.
12. Soh also describes the initial bewilderment of the researchers who listened to the life story of Kil Won-ok, whose testimonial narrative was subsequently included in the volume published in 2004. Kil, who was a trained *kisaeng*, was sold to brothels and went to comfort stations in China to make money (Soh, 2008: 103). Since her testimony was published, she actively participated in the redress movement, travelling globally, including the visit to the European Parliament to testify at the Public Hearing, and to European countries. WAM (2010b), a collection of testimonial narratives of Korean victim-survivors, subsequently included the Japanese translation of her narrative. I attended one of these meetings organized in London by Amnesty International in 2007, but her complex life story did/does not seem to appear in more widely available materials in the public domain.
13. NFT (1998).
14. Fujime points out, however, that in the Hiroshima branch of The *Buraku* Liberation League that helped Zendo move back to Japan in 1973 and supported her integration into life in Japan until her death three years later, her ordeal was clearly recognized not only as the result of the discrimination against *Burakumin*, but also against women (2015: 105).
15. Norma Field noticed in the WIWCT that Ruff-O'Herne testified that Batavia was like utopia before the Japanese invasion, and pointed out that her testimonies can illuminate how the complex history of colonialization intersects with the 'comfort women' system and the debate surrounding it (Field and Takahashi, 2001: 211).
16. Juanita Jamot and Gertrude Balisalisa also mentioned the similar impact that Henson's testimony had on them (ICJ, 1994: 68, 75).
17. The comment was made by Michael Allen at the Korean Studies Conference, SOAS, 7 April 2001.
18. Zheng Shunyi is her Chinese name, and her Korean name is Jung Su-jae.

19. Although she highly respects the individuality of each woman she met, Kim-Gibson also states in her film that, because she feels the power of the women's narratives as 'a common experience', it became unimportant for her to track exactly who said what (Kim-Gibson, 1999: 10).

## **9 Bearing Witness to Unshareable Pain**

1. See for example, see Ahn (1999: 44); Yang (1997: 52); Stetz (2001: 93).
2. Also, see Chapters 4 and 5.
3. However, many of these films are produced in Japan and are mainly targeted at a Japanese (and other Asian) audience.
4. See Chapter 7 for how his exhibition in Japan in 2012 was suddenly cancelled by the organizer.

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## Films

- 11'09"01* (2002) directed by Alejandro Gonzalez Iñárritu
- 50 Years of Silence* (1994) directed by Ned Lander
- Gai Shanxi and Her Sisters* (2007) directed by Ban Zhongyi
- Habitual Sadness (Nanumu no Ie II /Nazen Moksori 2)* (1997) directed by Byun Young-joo
- Hitoridemo Yarutteba: Zainichi no motoianfu, Song Shin-do san no Shogen* (1993) directed by Zainichi no "'Ianfu'" Saiban wo Sasaeru Kai
- Karayuki-san, The Making of a Prostitute* (1973) directed by Imamura Shohei
- The Last Days* (1998) directed by James Moll, Los Angeles: Universal Studios
- Life is Beautiful* (1999) directed by Roberto Benigni, Los Angeles: Disney
- The Murmuring (Nanumu no Ie I /Nazen Moksori 1)* (1995) directed by Byun Young-joo
- My Own Breathing* (1999) directed by Byun Young-joo
- Okinawan Halmoni (An Old Lady in Okinawa): The Testimony of a Comfort Woman* (1979) directed by Yamatani Tetsuo
- Orenokokoro wa Maketeinai* (2007) directed by Ahn H. R.
- Schindler's List* (1993) directed by Steven Spielberg, Los Angeles: Universal Studios
- Shoah* (1989) directed by Claude Lanzmann
- Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (2000) directed by Dai-sil Kim-Gibson
- Where's Grandma Zheng's Homeland?* (1999), directed by Ban Zhongyi

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