Mackie, Vera. "One Thousand Wednesdays: Transnational Activism from Seoul to Glendale." *Women's Activism and "Second Wave" Feminism*. By Barbara Molony and Jennifer Nelson. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. 249–272. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474250542.ch-012>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 10:04 UTC.

Copyright © Barbara Molony, Jennifer Nelson and Contributors 2017. Released under a CC BY-NC-ND licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>). You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

One Thousand Wednesdays: Transnational Activism from Seoul to Glendale

Vera Mackie

Introduction

Every Wednesday at lunchtime a group of demonstrators gathers in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul.¹ For over twenty years they have protested against the Japanese military's wartime enforced military prostitution/military sexual slavery system.² To mark the 1,000th demonstration in 2011, a statue was erected on this site. (See also Chapter 9 by Seung-kyung Kim and Na-Young Lee in this volume.) The statue depicts a young woman in Korean ethnic dress seated on a chair, facing the Embassy. Beside her is an empty chair, inviting demonstrators to sit beside her in solidarity. Duplicates of the statue have been installed in the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, in Glendale in suburban Los Angeles, and in Detroit—with others planned.³ Plaques commemorating the women who suffered under this system have also been erected in Manila, New Jersey, New York, and Virginia.⁴

The campaigns for redress have included demonstrations, litigation, a people's tribunal, petitions to the United Nations and the International Commission of Jurists, and petitions to national and local governments asking them to put pressure on the Japanese government for apology and reparations. The movement has also deployed cultural politics, bringing the issue into public discourse through research, collecting testimonies, producing documentaries, and through various forms of artistic representation, not least the recently created statues. The campaign has been a global one, bringing together activists from Europe, Asia, the Pacific, and North America, including diasporic communities.

This is a transnational issue by its very nature, involving the history of military conflict between nations and involving women who were transported across national borders and subjected to militarized sexual violence. It can only be understood through an intersectional analysis which considers gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, racialized positioning, the dynamics of militarism, imperialism and colonialism, and discourses of history and memory.⁵ There has also been a complex interplay of local, regional, transnational, and global concerns. In this essay, I survey activism around

this issue from the late twentieth century to the recent past. Before surveying these activist campaigns, though, I need to provide a brief historical overview.

The military management of sexuality

Japanese military forces were active on the Asian mainland from the late nineteenth century in order to protect Japanese trading interests after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, the annexation of Taiwan in 1895, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, and the annexation of Korea in 1910. In the Manchurian Incident of 1931 some Japanese officers set off explosives on the Manchurian railroad as a pretext for attacking the Chinese. Over the following years the Japanese military gained control of more and more Chinese territory, including the creation of the puppet state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) in 1932, the Nanjing (Nanking) Massacre of 1937, and subsequent war with China. By 1945, the Japanese Army and Navy had captured territory in the Pacific, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Military brothels were set up wherever the military advanced.

From the 1870s, Japanese entrepreneurs had travelled overseas to set up brothels where they profited from the sexual labor of emigrant Japanese women known as “*Karayuki-san*” (literally, “women who go to China”).⁶ In addition, a system of licensed prostitution, similar to that of mainland Japan, was set up in the colonies of Korea and Taiwan. Soldiers, sailors, traders, and laborers had access to these forms of prostitution, as well as to brothels run by locals. Although each of these systems is distinct from the military brothels, many argue that the long decades of involvement in various aspects of the prostitution industry in Japan and neighboring countries facilitated the creation of the military facilities.⁷

There was a continuum of official involvement. Some brothels were directly managed by the military; some were managed by private entrepreneurs but regulated by the military; some were private but catered to soldiers. The first directly military-run brothels were set up in the 1930s.⁸ Military doctors conducted medical inspections and distributed condoms to soldiers, while the Army and Navy issued regulations on the use of the brothels. In colonial and military situations the practices of state-sanctioned licensed prostitution and enforced military prostitution reinforced racialized hierarchies and the conceptual divisions between “us” and “them” which made militarism and colonialism possible.⁹ As in other armed forces, military training fostered aggression with an intimate relationship between masculinity, violence, and sexuality.¹⁰

Perhaps 100,000 women were forced into sexual slavery—some put the figure at 200,000 or more. As far as we know, the majority were from Korea, a Japanese colony from 1910 to 1945, but Japanese women could also be found in the brothels.¹¹ Wherever the Japanese army and navy advanced, they captured and enslaved local women. The military also transported women from one battlefield to another. The question of coercion is a complex one. Some women were captured and enslaved, some were indentured, some were misled into thinking they were being recruited for some other kind of work. Some may have known what they were initially recruited for but were

then forcibly transported from one battlefield to another. Survivors were discovered by the Allied troops throughout Asia and the Pacific toward the end of the war.¹²

Post-Second World War military tribunals

After its surrender, Japan was occupied by the Allies from 1945 to 1952. The Far Eastern Commission set up the International Military Tribunal of the Far East in Tokyo from April 1946 to November 1948. As the Allied troops administered the surrender in different parts of Asia and the Pacific, they interrogated Japanese soldiers and sailors, their combatants, internees, prisoners of war, laborers, and members of local communities. Many of these interrogation records included reference to the Army and Navy setting up the military brothels, asking local leaders to provide women, the kidnapping of local women, or instances of sexual assault.¹³ Sexual enslavement and forced prostitution were barely mentioned during the Tokyo Tribunal, despite extensive knowledge and documentation. Charges were, however, brought against defendants for war crimes committed during the Nanjing invasion under the 1907 Hague Convention IV and the 1929 Geneva Convention. Although there were no prosecutions in Tokyo for the sexual enslavement of women, this issue was mentioned in some of the other regional tribunals.¹⁴ In February 1948, the managers of such facilities received sentences of five to twenty years in the Dutch War Crimes Tribunal in Batavia.¹⁵ They were indicted for forcing European and what were then known as “Eurasian” women into prostitution in the Javanese city of Semarang.¹⁶ Later critics have pointed out that the Dutch tribunals did not address the situation of the many Indonesian women who were enslaved. Although the Tokyo Tribunal did not prosecute the issue, the interrogation records have provided resources for later generations of scholars, activists, and lawyers who have read the documents from a new perspective.

After the end of the occupation in 1952, Japan paid reparations to some former combatant nations and provided development assistance to several neighboring countries. In these agreements, there was no further reflection on the question of what crimes had or had not been prosecuted in the various tribunals in the immediate post-Second World War years. The President of the Philippines pardoned Japanese war criminals and their Philippine collaborators in 1953.¹⁷ Relations with Indonesia were normalized in 1958, with war debts deemed to be settled at this time. In 1965, Japan and South Korea signed the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK). Under the normalization treaty the grants and loans provided at this time foreclosed any future claims against the Japanese government. When relations were normalized with the People’s Republic of China in 1972, the Chinese government also waived claims for reparations.¹⁸

Private trauma and public discourse

While commentators often refer to the decades of “silence,” there was in fact widespread knowledge of the wartime system in Japan and in the territories occupied by Japan. The encounters in the military “brothels” lived on in the memories of the

military personnel and the enslaved women, not to mention all of the officers, doctors, bureaucrats, and entrepreneurs who facilitated the system. Early postwar memoirs and literary works also mention the system and, as noted above, ample evidence appeared in interrogation reports prepared for various military tribunals. Several books on the issue appeared in the Japanese language in the 1970s.¹⁹

Nonetheless, a changed understanding of the issue of militarized sexual violence was necessary before this issue could become the subject of international human rights discourse. The feminist movements of the 1970s and beyond were vital to this changed understanding, as were coalitions between feminists in different countries in the Asian region. In the case of South Korea, the democratization movement of the 1980s also opened up spaces for discussion.²⁰ In the early post-Second World War years, the existence of military "brothels" was not really problematized and the question of coercion was rarely raised. By the late twentieth century, however, feminist commentators were talking about the issue in terms of a "war crime" and a "crime against humanity."²¹

From the 1970s, feminists from South Korea and Japan collaborated in protests against contemporary forms of prostitution, in particular the purchase of sexual services by Japanese tourists travelling to Korea. More recently, they have connected this issue with the provision of sexual services for the US military stationed in South Korea and Japan.²² In order to put these contemporary issues into historical perspective, they also explored the history of enforced military prostitution/sexual slavery.²³ In April 1988 at the International Conference on Women and Tourism at Jeju-do in South Korea, Yun Chung-ok of Ewha University presented a paper on the wartime system. In January 1989, women staged a demonstration in Seoul, protesting plans to send a Korean representative to the funeral of Emperor Hirohito (1926–89), for they ultimately held the wartime Emperor responsible for the actions of the Japanese military. In May 1990, when President Roh Tae Woo was planning a state visit to Japan, women's organizations wrote to him demanding that he raise the issue with the Japanese government. At a state banquet in honor of Roh's visit, Emperor Akihito expressed regret for the suffering of Koreans under Japanese colonial rule. At this stage the official Japanese government position was that military brothels had been privately run. Korean women's organizations wrote to Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki prior to his visit to South Korea in October 1990, demanding an admission, an apology, and compensation.

The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery (Han'guk Chöngsindae munje taech'aek hyöbüihoe) was founded in November 1990 as an umbrella group for several dozen feminist organizations in South Korea. It was also allied with feminist groups in Japan, Taiwan, Burma, the Philippines, and North Korea. The Council has been at the forefront of research on the issue and in campaigns for redress for Korean survivors. In Japan, the Asian Women's Association (Ajia no onnatachi no kai) and the Violence Against Women in War Network Japan (Sensō to josei e no bōryoku Nihon nettowāku/VAWW-Net-Japan) have been important.²⁴ In the early stages of campaigns on this issue, it tended to be framed as an issue between the Japanese state and its former colony of Korea. As more and more women from other countries came forward, though, it could no longer be framed as a bilateral issue between Korea and Japan. The issue was also complicated by the division of the Korean peninsula into North and South.

Until the 1990s, very few individual survivors had provided public testimony of their experiences. A Japanese woman, Mihara Yoshie (1921–93), published an autobiography under the pseudonym “Shirota Suzuko” in 1971, and she was interviewed on a radio program in Japan in 1986. In 1979, filmmaker Yamatani Tetsuo made a documentary and published a book about a Korean survivor, Pae Pong-gi (1915–91), who lived out the post-Second World War years in Okinawa.²⁵ In August 1991, a Korean survivor, Kim Haksun (1924–97), held a press conference to tell of her wartime experiences. She was soon joined by other survivors from Korea. Jan Ruff O’Herne, a Dutch woman now residing in Australia, came forward in 1992 and published her autobiography in 1994. Maria Rosa Henson (1927–97) from the Philippines also came forward in 1992 and published her autobiography in 1996. By 1993 in South Korea, 103 women had identified themselves as survivors of the enforced military prostitution/military sexual slavery system, and it was reported that there were 123 survivors in North Korea too. In 1992, Taiwanese survivor Huang A-Tao told her story. In Taiwan a total of fifty-eight women came forward, with only three surviving in early 2016. In the Philippines there were an estimated seventy survivors in early 2016.²⁶

On March 4, 1992, the Korean Council submitted a petition to the UN Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) requesting that it investigate atrocities committed against women during the Second World War and pressure the Japanese government to pay reparations. The UNHRC placed the issue on the agenda for its August 1992 meeting. The UNHRC’s Subcommission for the Protection of Minorities described the system as a “crime against humanity that violated the human rights of Asian women and the international agreement against forced labor that Japan signed in 1932.”²⁷ The movement also wanted the South Korean government to put pressure on the Japanese government for redress.

In the meantime, nongovernmental organizations conducted a fundraising campaign to support the survivors. The South Korean government of President Kim Young-sam (1927–2015) chose not to bring claims against the Japanese government, but passed a special bill in August 1993 to support the survivors. Each survivor was to be paid a one-off payment of five million *won* (about US\$6,250 at that time) and monthly support of 250,000 *won*.²⁸ In Taiwan, the government pays monthly social welfare payments and medical insurance for the survivors and provides financial support for the Taipei Women’s Rescue Foundation.

The Japanese government’s response

The initial response of the Japanese government was to deny direct military involvement. In January 1992, however, historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki went public with documents he had found in official archives. The “Taiwan Army Telegram 602,” March 12, 1942, contains the following passage.

In regard to the Secret Telegram of Army No 63, we’ve been asked by the Southern Army General Command to dispatch as soon as possible 50 native comfort women to “Borneo.” On the basis of Secret Telegram of Army No 623, we request travel

permits for the 3 operators named below [names deleted by Japanese authorities], who have been investigated and selected by the military police.²⁹

In all, Yoshimi revealed six documents from the military archives which incriminated the Japanese government. After the release of these documents in 1992, the Japanese government initially issued a statement by then Chief Cabinet Secretary Kōno Yōhei, known as the "Kōno statement," which admitted government involvement. The government investigated the issue and released a report in 1993, which acknowledged that there had been military "comfort stations" in "Japan, China, the Philippines, Indonesia, the then Malaya, Thailand, the then Burma, the then New Guinea, Hong Kong, Macao and the then French Indochina."³⁰

With respect to compensation, the Japanese government stuck to its position that all claims for reparation had been settled in the treaties signed from the 1950s to the 1970s. Rather than acknowledge responsibility by providing compensation or reparations, it facilitated the creation of a private organization generally known as the "Asian Women's Fund" (the full title is the Asian Women's Friendship and Peace People's Foundation/ Josei no tame no Ajia Heiwa Kokumin Kikin). The Fund sought donations from private individuals, and in July 1996 it announced it would pay US\$18,500 each to around 300 survivors in Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines.³¹ This has been a bone of contention among the survivors and their supporters in several countries, with many seeing the money as tainted. In Indonesia, for example, the funds were used by the government to set up nursing homes for the survivors rather than being disbursed to individuals.³²

In 1996, UN Special Rapporteur, Radhika Coomaraswamy, described the system as "military sexual slavery" and recommended that the Japanese government pay compensation. This prompted another wave of denials from members of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and other public figures on the political right.³³ Although there were fears that Prime Minister Abe Shinzō (the LDP incumbent in 2016) would retract the Kōno Statement, for the moment the Kōno Statement still stands. Abe's statement on the seventieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 2015 stopped short of repudiating the Kōno Statement, although this statement has been criticized as historically inaccurate in other ways.³⁴

Litigation and international political pressure

In December 1991, Kim Haksun was part of a class action against the government of Japan sponsored by the Association of Pacific War Victims and Bereaved Families. A separate suit was filed by four women at the Shimonoseki branch of the Yamaguchi District Court. In the late 1990s, sixteen women from Yu County in China sued the Japanese state for compensation and an apology, supported by a team of Japanese and Chinese lawyers. Their claims were denied due to the statute of limitations and to the individuals' lack of standing to sue the state.³⁵ In August 1999, nine Taiwanese women brought a suit in the Tokyo District Court, which turned down the case. Appeals were subsequently lost in the Tokyo High Court in February 2004 and the Tokyo Supreme

Court in February 2005.³⁶ Another case was brought in the United States in September 2000 by eighteen survivors. The US court system allows litigation where human rights abuses have occurred, even if the events did not occur in the United States.³⁷ This case went as far the Supreme Court, but was unsuccessful.

Democratic Congressional Representative Mike Honda from California submitted a nonbinding resolution to the Congressional Committee on Foreign Relations on January 12, 2007. The resolution called on the government of Japan to formally apologize and accept historical responsibility “in a clear and unequivocal manner for ... the coercion of young women into military sexual slavery.” The House Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and the Global Environment held a public hearing where Korean survivors Yi Yong-su and Kim Kun-ja and Dutch-Australian Jan Ruff O’Herne testified. The US House of Representatives approved House Resolution 121 in July 2007. Similar resolutions have been passed in the Netherlands, Canada, and the European Parliament. There was a similar campaign in Australia, with a few local governments passing resolutions, but none at the national government level.³⁸ In each of these places, diasporic communities played an important role. In parallel with these transnational campaigns, local activities in support of the survivors continued in each country.

The House of Sharing

In South Korea, Buddhist organizations and other NGOs conducted fundraising campaigns to support the survivors. From 1992, a group of elderly survivors shared a rented house in Seoul, known as the “House of Sharing” (the Korean name “Nanum-ũ Jip” literally means “our house”). The House of Sharing moved to the suburbs of Seoul in 1995. As well as housing the survivors, the complex also includes a museum, a gallery of paintings by the survivors, and memorial statues to those who have passed away.³⁹ The survivors and their supporters participate in the weekly Wednesday demonstration outside the Japanese Embassy in Seoul (discussed below). Similar support activities are carried out for survivors in other countries, although there are no doubt countless others who have not come forward with their stories of wartime abuse.⁴⁰

The Wednesday demonstration

In January 1992, Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi visited South Korea. On Wednesday, January 8, 1992, Kim Haksun, other survivors, and their supporters gathered in front of the Japanese Embassy in downtown Seoul. They demanded that the Japanese government make an official apology and provide compensation, chanting “Apologize!” “Punish!” “Compensate!” There has been a “Wednesday demonstration” every week since then. Survivors and their supporters hold placards in Japanese, Korean, or English. The elderly survivors sit on portable stools, facing the Japanese Embassy, flanked by their younger supporters. When international supporters visit Seoul, they often join in the demonstrations.⁴¹ Demonstrations are

carried out in other places, too, such as demonstrations in front of the Japanese Embassy in Manila on the occasion of the Japanese Emperor's visit in 2016. Taiwanese survivors and their supporters have demonstrated outside the Japanese representative office, the "Interchange Association" in Taipei.⁴²

The demonstrations have a performative effect in the sense developed in Judith Butler's writings. Butler adapted the notion of performativity from Austin's linguistic speech act theory. Performative sentences are those that do something: make a promise, sentence someone, or perform a marriage, for example. Through the repeated iteration of performative acts, "sex," "gender," and other social categories are produced. Here I argue that the repeated iteration of the act of demonstrating in public space produces the citizenship of the elderly survivors.⁴³ Through their embodied presence in public space, the survivors are asserting their citizenship in the modern South Korean nation-state. Their first assertion of citizenship was in coming out publicly to tell their stories of wartime abuse and to charge both the South Korean government and the Japanese government to do something about their situation. The first actions—holding press conferences and contributing their testimonies to various publications—were about bringing their stories into public discourse. In their weekly attendance at the Wednesday demonstrations, they are making their demands visible in a literally public space on a Seoul street. Their placards in Korean, Japanese, and English show that they are addressing multiple audiences: the South Korean government and the South Korean public, the Japanese government and the Japanese public, and an international community which often communicates in the English language.

The Women's Tribunal

The movement for redress has also been supported by research. As noted above, the first books on the issue appeared in Japanese in the 1970s. A team in South Korea has been collecting survivor testimonies since 1993.⁴⁴ The Korean Council's collection of survivor testimonials from 1993 was translated into English in 1995.⁴⁵

At an Asian Women's Solidarity Conference in Seoul in 1998, members of VAWW-Net Japan proposed holding a People's Tribunal.⁴⁶ The South Korean team conducting research for the Tribunal was formed in April 1999, with similar teams based in other countries.⁴⁷ Preparations for the Tribunal took two-and-a-half years and involved preparatory meetings in Seoul, Tokyo, Shanghai, Manila, and Taipei, with a judges' meeting in The Hague. North and South Korean teams cooperated in preparing a joint indictment, which also included mention of ethnically Korean survivors living in China and Japan. Survivors from the newly independent nation of East Timor also participated.⁴⁸ The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery was held in Tokyo during December 8–12, 2000. This was a people's tribunal with no legal force, but which followed international legal protocols. The judges had experience in the International Criminal Court in The Hague, professional lawyers prosecuted the case, and *amici curiae* ("friends of the court") presented defenses on behalf of the Japanese government, which did not participate in the hearing. Sixty four survivors attended—from South Korea, North

Korea, the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, the Philippines, the Netherlands, Indonesia, East Timor, and Japan. Twenty survivors testified (some by video). Expert witnesses and former military personnel also testified.⁴⁹ The Tribunal indicted the Emperor of Japan, ten high military officials, and the Japanese government for crimes against humanity.

The Women's Tribunal drew on the papers of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo Tribunal, 1946–48) and other research carried out by historians, lawyers, and activists in several countries. The judgment was handed down one year later in December 2001. The findings were that the Japanese Emperor, the Japanese government, and the other accused individuals were liable for criminal responsibility for crimes against humanity committed through the system of sexual slavery.⁵⁰

The move for the Women's Tribunal was led by activists in Japan, but they worked in collaboration with teams from the countries whose nationals were represented at the Tribunal. Kim Puja, one of the organizers, has commented on this.

The efforts of all those involved serve, I believe, as a model of how the power of women and citizenry can create a tribunal for the investigation and prosecution of war crimes. Moreover, as the result of a cooperative alliance between women from both perpetrator and victimized countries, the realization of the Tribunal offers one model for a form of feminism that transcends national borders. By foregrounding the concepts of *gender* and *people's* justice, this historic event also contributed to the development of international law, which has traditionally been male dominant and Eurocentric in orientation (and had therefore neglected the crime of the "comfort women" system).⁵¹

In the absence of any official legal redress, the Wednesday demonstrations and other campaigns continued.

The Peace Monument in Seoul

To mark the 1,000th Wednesday demonstration on December 14, 2010, a commemorative statue was erected on the site of the demonstrations. The statue depicts a young woman in bobbed hair and Korean ethnic dress seated on a chair, facing the Embassy, with an empty chair beside her. On the platform beside the statue is a plaque with inscriptions in Korean, Japanese, and English. The English inscription reads:

December 14, 2011 marks the 1,000th Wednesday demonstration for the solution of Japanese military sexual slavery issue after its first rally on January 8, 1992 in front of the Japanese Embassy. This peace monument stands to commemorate the spirit and the deep history of the Wednesday demonstration.

The figure depicted in the bronze statue wears Korean ethnic dress (*hanbok*, or *ch'ima chŏgori*); her hair is bobbed, suggesting that she is a young unmarried woman; her fists are clenched on her lap; and she has bare feet. She does not smile but stares

FIGURE 12.1. The Peace Memorial, Seoul, February 2013.

Source: Photograph by the author (Vera Mackie).

steadfastly ahead. A small bird is perched on one shoulder. Behind her, at pavement level, is a mosaic, suggesting the shadow of an old woman. The mosaic also includes a butterfly. The statue and its “shadow” suggest the different stages of life of the survivor—the young woman before her ordeal, and the old woman who refuses to forget. The bird is an icon of peace and of escape, while the butterfly has spiritual connotations. The empty seat suggests those who are missing, but also provides a site for a performative participation in the installation, as demonstrators or visitors have their photographs taken beside the seated young woman.

The statue does not simply commemorate the sufferings of the thousands and thousands of women who were subjected to militarized sexual violence. It also commemorates the determination of those demonstrators and supporters who keep the issue alive. Placed at the very site where these demonstrations have now occurred for over twenty years, the statue is a form of petition to the Japanese government and its diplomatic representatives. The face of the statue is composed, steadfastly staring at the Japanese Embassy, an avatar for the elderly demonstrators.

When I visited Seoul in February 2013, I spent a quiet Tuesday afternoon taking photographs of the statue *in situ*, and came back the next day to observe the Wednesday

demonstration. February is the coldest time of the year in Seoul. It had been snowing in the few days before and there was still some snow on the ground. Supporters had dressed the statue in a warm winter coat, woolen hat with ear muffs, a scarf, a long red, embroidered winter skirt and socks. On the seat next to the statue were cute stuffed toys—a teddy bear and a puppy. Behind her there was a row of cheerful yellow potted plants. By dressing the statue in protection against the cold, the supporters were symbolically expressing their concern for the *halmōni*, the “grandmothers” who have survived. Perhaps this also symbolizes care for the spirits of the countless women who did not survive.

The Japanese Embassy is like a red brick fortress, protected from the street by a fence. The small windows facing the street have blinds, so that there is no glimpse inside the building. In front of the Embassy are several police buses. By the time the demonstration started on this Wednesday, two busloads of police were in the street, the number of police roughly matching the number of demonstrators. Participants in the demonstration were a mix of young and old, male and female. Journalists, photographers, and other media representatives joined the crowd. After the lunchtime demonstration, another demonstration commenced, a march with placards commenting on other current political issues. Behind the site of the Wednesday demonstration there was a series of panels commenting on other contentious issues, such as the Dokdo/Takeshima islands which are under dispute between Japan and South Korea. The statue has been reproduced in other sites, such as the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in another part of Seoul.

The War and Women's Human Rights Museum

The War and Women's Human Rights Museum was opened in May 2012, and was designed by Wise Architecture.⁵² It is hidden away in a cul-de-sac west of the city center, in a residential neighborhood surrounded by houses, schools, churches, and shops. The building is a house which has been renovated and extended, and is therefore in proportion to the surrounding houses. The building is clad in charcoal-colored bricks. Unobtrusive signs and plaques in Korean and English indicate that this is The War and Women's Human Rights Museum. These plaques and signs use a butterfly as the logo of the museum.⁵³

One enters from a small door at street level. After purchasing tickets and picking up an audio guide, the tour starts downstairs. A small dark room recreates the feeling of the prison-like conditions the women were subjected to in the wartime brothels. Testimonies are replayed and visuals are projected onto the walls of the room. Visitors then walk upstairs to the next level. The walls of the staircase are lined with photographs and messages from the survivors. There is a balcony whose outside wall is made of the same charcoal bricks used in the construction of the external walls of the museum. The names and photographs of women who have passed away are affixed to the bricks. The open lattice of the brickwork allows visitors to look out at the surrounding residential area, reconnecting the museum with the city.

The next stage is a historical exhibit, where wall panels explain the history of the enforced military prostitution/military sexual slavery system. In this area, there is

a reproduction of the bronze statue that sits across from the Japanese Embassy in central Seoul. The statue is more or less the same as the one in central Seoul, but without the plaque or the mosaic of the shadowy older woman. This statue, too, has an empty seat beside it. The statue faces a video screen which runs footage of the Wednesday demonstrations, a virtual suggestion of the location and context of the original statue. The statue in central Seoul needs a plaque to provide basic information. Here, the museum as a whole provides historical context on the wartime enforced military prostitution/military sexual slavery system, the campaigns for redress, the Wednesday demonstrations, and the commemorative statue.

The museum can be seen as one element of the Korean Council's advocacy for redress. In Tokyo, the Women's Active Museum for War and Peace performs a similar function. The Women's Active Museum for War and Peace is in the buildings of the Waseda Hōshien, alongside several Christian civil society organizations. The Museum and the Asia-Japan Women's Resource Centre build on the work of the late feminist journalist and activist, Matsui Yayori (1934–2002), and the Asian Women's Association which she cofounded.

In Shanghai, two professors at Shanghai Normal University, Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, maintain the Chinese "Comfort Women" Research Center. In Shanghai there is an extant building which once housed a so-called comfort station. It is currently a residential building, but many, like Su Zhiliang, would like to see it transformed into a memorial.⁵⁴ In December 2015, a memorial was established in Nanjing, called the Nanjing Liji Lane Former Comfort Station Exhibition Hall.⁵⁵ A memorial has been dedicated in Taipei, and the museum opening is planned for December 2016, under the auspices of the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation.⁵⁶ These parallel activities underline that the movement for redress is a transnational one, with ongoing campaigns wherever survivors and their supporters can be found. As we have seen, and will explore further below, diasporic communities have also been prompted to action, including Korean residents in Japan, Korean Australians, Korean Americans, and other Asian Americans.

Glendale, California

Another replica of the peace monument has been erected in Glendale, California. The statue, chair, and platform are identical to the original installation in Seoul, but the words on the plaque are slightly different. There is a caption, "I was a sex slave of the Japanese military," and an explanation of the iconography of the statue (the meanings of the shadow of the old woman, the bird, and the butterfly). The text of the plaque is in English only, and differs in significant ways from the plaque attached to the original statue in Seoul.

Peace Monument

In memory of more than 200,000 Asian and Dutch women who were removed from their homes to Korea, China, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand,

Vietnam, Malaysia, East Timor and Indonesia to be coerced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Armed Forces of Japan between 1932 and 1945.

And in celebration of “Comfort Women Day” by the City of Glendale on July 30, 2012, and of passing the House Resolution 121 by the United States Congress on July 30, 2007, urging the Japanese government to accept historical responsibility for these crimes. It is our sincere hope that these unconscionable violations of human rights shall never recur.

July 30, 2013

While the plaque by the statue in Seoul has text in Japanese, Korean, and English, the Glendale plaque is only in English. The original Seoul statue commemorates the activism of those who participate in the Wednesday demonstration, while the plaque on the Glendale statue commemorates the “more than 200,000 Asian and Dutch women who were removed from their homes to Korea, China, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, East Timor and Indonesia to be coerced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Armed Forces of Japan between 1932 and 1945.” The reference to “Asian and Dutch women” is curious. The Dutch women are identified by nationality, while “Asian” seems to refer to an ethnic category which transcends any one national identification. Nevertheless, this wording is an acknowledgment that it was not only Korean women who were abused under this system. Indeed, because of the shifting geopolitics in the region after the end of the Second World War and successive waves of decolonization, pinning down the nationality of any individual can be complex, depending on whether one is referring to colonial regimes before and after 1945, the period of Japanese occupation, or the postcolonial nation-states.⁵⁷

The plaque refers to the local situation in Glendale, where Asian American and Asian diasporic communities had led the campaign for an acknowledgment of the issue, and which led to the announcement of “Comfort Women Day” by the City of Glendale on July 30, 2012. The plaque also acknowledges House Resolution 121 passed by the US Congress on July 30, 2007.

The Glendale statue is in a park, in front of the local community center and public library. In other parts of the park are benches and tables, suitable for family picnics. When I visited there in May 2014, it was a sunny spring day. The bright sunlight cast the features of the statue into relief. As in Seoul, supporters had offered colorful potted plants. There was no need, however, for the affective touches of scarves and warm clothing seen on the Seoul statue on a cold winter day.

In Glendale, the addressee of the young woman’s petition is less clear. She is no longer clearly addressing the Japanese government through her accusatory gaze at the Japanese Embassy. Is she addressing the local Glendale community, the wider US public, or an international Anglophone community?

Other Asian American communities have installed commemorative plaques, often outside local community centers, as noted above. Another replica of the Seoul Peace Monument has been installed in Detroit, and a memorial is planned in San Francisco. Internationally, there is a commemorative plaque in Manila and one memorial in Chiba, outside Tokyo.⁵⁸

FIGURE 12.2. The Peace Memorial, Glendale, May 2014.

Source: Photograph by the author (Vera Mackie).

The Glendale statue has brought controversy, with Japanese denialists putting pressure on the local government for the removal of the statue. A similar controversy has been seen in Strathfield, in the western suburbs of Sydney. Members of the Korean-Australian community were initially successful in convincing Strathfield Council to approve a memorial to the so-called comfort women. After pressure from conservative denialists from Japan, however, Strathfield decided not to go ahead.⁵⁹ These controversies demonstrate that it is not only the survivors and their supporters who have forged transnational links. The conservative denialists also operate across national borders.

The geopolitics of protest and response

Another recent iteration of the Peace Memorial in Seoul is in a park some remove from the city center. In this version, the statue of a young woman in Korean ethnic dress is joined by the statue of a young woman in Chinese ethnic dress, sculpted by a Chinese artist, Pan Yiqun, and supported by a Chinese American filmmaker, Leo Shi Young.⁶⁰ There is another chair set aside for future visitors and the potential for future statues to be added. This perhaps suggests that the original statue was being read as referring specifically to the Korean women, rather than a more universal figure of a

young woman. This instability is apparent in the different descriptions attached to the different statues, as noted above.

The juxtaposition of the Chinese and Korean statues is in one sense a demonstration of transnational solidarity, staged at a strategic moment just before Prime Minister Abe Shinzō's official visit with South Korean President Park Geun-hye in October 2015. It could also be argued, however, that the two statues were "re-nationalized" as Korean and Chinese, united in opposition to Japan.

In December 2015, two months after Abe's meeting with Park, the South Korean and Japanese governments issued a joint communiqué. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Kishida Fumio, stated that the prime minister, Abe Shinzō, "expresses anew his most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women." Kishida stated that the Japanese government would provide the South Korean government with funds for the establishment of a fund for the care of the survivors and that "this issue is resolved finally and irreversibly." The statement was met with hostility by the South Korean survivors, who felt they should have been consulted before any government-to-government agreement was reached, a basic principle of restorative justice. The South Korean Foreign Minister, Yun Byōngse, confirmed that the issue is "resolved finally and irreversibly" and that the ROK and Japan would "refrain from accusing or criticizing each other regarding this issue in the international community." The statue was not mentioned in the Japanese statement, but the South Korean statement included an acknowledgment that "the Government of Japan is concerned about the statue built in front of the Embassy of Japan in Seoul" and that the South Korean government would "strive to solve this issue in an agreeable manner through taking measures such as consulting with related organizations about possible ways of addressing this issue."⁶¹ (See Chapter 9 by Kim and Lee in this volume.) The agreement also returned the issue to a bilateral one between Japan and South Korea. In August 2016, the Japanese government transferred the funds to the South Korean government's Reconciliation and Healing Foundation.⁶² Twelve South Korean survivors initiated a suit against their government, claiming compensation for the government's handling of the issue.⁶³ Survivors from other countries have demanded similar recognition. It was clear, however, that the Japan-ROK joint communique was a matter of geopolitics, an attempt to forge a closer alliance between the governments of the United States, Japan, and South Korea against China.

Conclusions

The issue of enforced military prostitution/sexual slavery has moved from a matter of private memory and trauma to a matter of international human rights discourse. The movement for redress for survivors of the system has become a transnational campaign involving activists from Europe, Asia, the Pacific, Australasia, and North America. The survivors and their supporters have used every conceivable form of activism, from localized support groups and targeted demonstrations at strategic sites to addressing the machinery of global governance.

There have been tensions between nationalist and feminist concerns, and tensions, at times, between those of former perpetrator and victim nations. Nevertheless, transnational solidarity has been achieved in such activities as the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery in 2000 and ongoing campaigns. Politics is carried out in an iterative interweaving of activities at the local, regional, transnational, and global levels.

These campaigns have also stretched the meaning of politics and activism, deploying the cultural politics of art, museums, and memorialization; the embodied politics of demonstrating, testifying, and witnessing; the affective politics of care for the survivors and symbolic care for the bronze statues; the more conventional politics of petitions to local and national governments and the machinery of the United Nations; and litigation in local and national courts. These conventional forms of petition and litigation were supplemented by the people's tribunal.

Research has been vital to these campaigns, carried out by academics, activists, and lawyers who have reread existing documents, sought hitherto unknown evidence, and interviewed survivors and perpetrators. Questions of culture and knowledge have been particularly important in these campaigns, for nothing less than an epistemological revolution was necessary in order to understand that the system which was unquestioned in wartime (even by many Allied soldiers who came in contact with the survivors) should now be seen as a gross violation of human rights.

In order to shed light on a system which involved hundreds of thousands of soldiers, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, doctors, civilians, and enslaved women across Asia and the Pacific, it has been necessary to forge a redress movement of similar (or even wider) geographical scope, involving activists, researchers, lawyers, and their supporters from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They have come from the former colonizing power and the former colonies and occupied territories, and have crossed the (former Cold War) divides of capitalism and communism.

The recent forms of memorialization discussed in this article do not simply document and memorialize suffering. Rather, they put on record the long decades of activism and affirm the dignity of the survivors.

Notes

- 1 This chapter draws on research conducted for Australian Research Council Future Fellowship Project FT0992328 "From Human Rights to Human Security: Changing Paradigms for Dealing with Inequality in the Asia-Pacific Region."
- 2 There is no one accepted term for this system. I prefer to avoid the euphemism "comfort station," except in quoted material. I refer to "enforced military prostitution" in order to emphasize the institutionalized nature of this system, but respect the choice of others to refer to "military sexual slavery." There is no one satisfactory way of describing the women who were subject to this form of sexual violence and exploitation. To refer to the women as "sex slaves" is sensational and dehumanizing. In many cases, I will refer to the women as "survivors," or use other phrases depending on the context. Korean and diasporic Korean activists often refer to the now elderly women as *halmŏni* (grandmother). In Korea, as in

- many other societies, it is customary in some situations to refer to individuals with kinship terms appropriate to their age, rather than personal names. Thus, individuals may be referred to as brother, sister, aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather, and so on, depending on their age. When the elderly Korean survivors are referred to as *halmöni*, this is a term of respect, which places the women in a familial relationship with their supporters. The term *halmöni* is used to refer to the women in the third person as well as a term of address, thus circumventing the use of terms such as “former comfort woman,” or “former sex slave,” which are offensive, and which circumscribe the identities of the women, as if their wartime experience were the only relevant part of their personal histories. Similar terminology (equivalent to “grandmother”) is used in Taiwan (*Ah Mah*) and the Philippines (*Lola*). The term *halmöni* is sometimes heard in the English language in this context, and the transliteration *harumoni* in Japanese. Chunghee Sarah Soh, “The Korean ‘Comfort Women’ Movement for Redress,” *Asian Survey* 36, 12 (1996): 1226–40; Chunghee Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Dai-Sil Kim-Gibson, “They Are Our Grandmas,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5, 1 (1997): 255–74; Sheng-mei Ma, “Grandmothers’ Voices,” in *Silent Scars: History of Sexual Slavery by the Japanese Military*, ed. Graceia Lai, Wu Hui-ling, and Yu Ju-fen; trans. Sheng-mei Ma (Taipei: Shang Zhou Chuban, 2005), 12.
- 3 The Glendale monument was donated by the Korean American Forum of California. “Fullerton Council Approves ‘Comfort Women’ Resolution,” *Rafu Shimpo*, August 24, 2014. Available at <http://www.rafu.com/2014/08/fullerton-council-approves-comfort-women-resolution/>, accessed October 24, 2015. Recently, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors has announced plans for a memorial. “Korean-Chinese Coalition Plans SF Comfort Women Memorial,” *The Korea Times*, November 6, 2015. Available at <http://www.koreatimesus.com/korean-chinese-coalition-plans-sf-comfort-women-memorial/>, accessed November 8, 2015. Another memorial was planned in the western suburbs of Sydney, Australia, but plans were shelved after controversy. “Strathfield Council Knocks Back Plan to Build a Comfort Women Statue Proposed by Korean Community,” *Daily Telegraph*, August 14, 2015. Available at <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/newslocal/inner-west/strathfield-council-knocks-back-plan-to-build-a-comfort-women-statue-proposed-by-korean-community/story-fngr8h4f-1227480838923>, accessed November 8, 2015.
 - 4 Antonio Olivo, “Memorial to WWII Comfort Women is Dedicated in Fairfax County,” *The Washington Post*, May 31, 2014. Available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/memorial-to-wwii-comfort-women-dedicated-in-fairfax-county/2014/05/30/730a1248-e684-11e3-a86b-362fd5443d19_story.html, accessed October 24, 2015; Choe Sang-Hun, “Statues Placed in South Korea Honor ‘Comfort Women’ Enslaved for Japan’s Troops,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2015. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/29/world/asia/south-korea-statues-honor-war-time-comfort-women-japan.html?_r=1, accessed November 12, 2015. See also “Comfort Women Monuments.” Available at http://peace.maripo.com/p_comfort_women.htm, accessed November 12, 2015.
 - 5 On intersectionality, see Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, 6 (1991): 1241–99.
 - 6 Bill Mihalopoulos, *Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration and Nation Building* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011).

- 7 Hyunah Yang, "Revisiting the Issue of Korean 'Military Comfort Women': The Question of Truth and Positionality," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5, 1 (Spring 1997): 59.
- 8 Mark Driscoll, "Seeds and (Nest) Eggs of Empire: Sexology Manuals/Manual Sexology," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2008), 191–225.
- 9 Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 111; Vera Mackie and Miyume Tanji, "Militarised Sexualities in East Asia," in *The Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia*, ed. Mark McLelland and Vera Mackie (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), 60–73.
- 10 Masahiro Suzuki, "Sensō ni okeru dansei sekushuariti" [Men's sexuality during wartime], in *Nihon no otoko wa doko kara kite doku e iku?* [Where have Japanese men come from? Where are they going?], ed. Haruo Asai, Satoru Itō, and Yukihiro Murase (Tokyo: Jūgatsusha, 2001): 98–111.
- 11 See, however, a recent book which mentions 400,000 women, "at least half of whom were Chinese." Peipei Qiu with Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 6.
- 12 Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002); Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, trans. Suzanne O'Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Soh, *The Comfort Women*; Vera Mackie, "Gender, Geopolitics and Gaps in the Records: Women Glimpsed in the Military Archives," in *Sources and Methods in Histories of Colonialism: Approaching the Imperial Archive*, ed. Kirsty Reid and Fiona Paisley (Oxford: Routledge, in press).
- 13 United States Office of War Information, Japanese Prisoner of War Interrogation Report No 49, Psychological Warfare Team attached to US Army Forces India-Burma Theater, United States National Archives Collection, RG 208, Box 226, 1944; Summary of Examination of Jose Augusto Gomes, June 25, 1946. NAA, C10/7, 8392; Summary of Examination of Francisco Tilman de Ataide, June 29, 1946. NAA, C10/7, 8385. See also Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "You Don't Want to Know about the Girls? The 'Comfort Women,' the Japanese Military and Allied Forces in the Asia-Pacific War," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 13, 31 (2015). Available at http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tessa-Morris_Suzuki/4352/article.html, accessed November 8, 2015.
- 14 Nicola Henry, "Memory of an Injustice: The 'Comfort Women' and the Legacy of the Tokyo Trial," *Asian Studies Review* 37, 3 (2013): 362–80.
- 15 Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women*, 76; William Bradley Horton, "Comfort Women," in *The Encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War*, ed. Peter Post (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 184–96.
- 16 As Robert Cribb points out, the attribution of ethnicity and nationality was complex in the Dutch East Indies: "The term 'Dutch' in this context is ambiguous. The Netherlands Indies used a legal system of racial classification which divided the population into 'Europeans,' 'Natives' and 'Foreign Orientals.' The system depended mainly on the paternal line of descent, meaning that some 'Europeans' had a high proportion of indigenous ancestry and some 'Natives' had significant European ancestry. It was also possible for Natives and Foreign Orientals to be legally assimilated to European status. During the occupation, however, the Japanese authorities had generally been influenced in their treatment of people by their physical appearance, rather than their official ethnic status." Robert Cribb, "Avoiding Clemency: The Trial and Transfer of Japanese War Criminals in Indonesia: 1946–1949," *Japanese Studies* 31,

- 2 (2011): 156–62; see also Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California, 2002). In English-language newspaper reports on the discovery of survivors of the enforced military prostitution system in Indonesia and Timor at the end of the Second World War, the term "Eurasian" is used for those of mixed descent. See Mackie, "Gender, Geopolitics and Gaps in the Records."
- 17 "Jap. [sic] Prisoners Pardoned," *Canberra Times*, July 7, 1953; Ronron Calunso, "Relatives of Philippine Leader Quirino Recall 1953 Act of Forgiveness Toward Japan," *Japan Times*, April 21, 2015. Available at www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/04/21/national/history/relatives-philippine-leader-quirino-recall-1953-act-forgiveness-toward-japan#Vq0cQa88ah8, accessed January 31, 2016.
 - 18 Katharine McGregor, "Emotions and Activism for Former So-called 'Comfort Women' of the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies," *Women's Studies International Forum* 54 (2016): 67–78; Lucy Hornby, "China's 'Comfort Women,'" *Financial Times*, March 20, 2015. Available at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/b44ae604-cdc1-11e4-8760-00144feab7de.html#axzz3rR25UkHS>, accessed November 14, 2015.
 - 19 As Erik Ropers has noted, these were not obscure titles: many were mass market paperback books. Heinz-Erik Ropers, "Mutable History: Japanese Language Historiographies of Wartime Korean Enforced Labor and Enforced Military Prostitution, 1965–2008," unpublished PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2011, 150; Tomita Kunihiko, ed., *Senjō Ianfu* [Battlefield Comfort Women] (Tokyo: Fujii Shobō, 1953); Shiota Suzuko, *Mariya no Sanka* [Maria's Hymn] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyō Shuppankyoku, 1971); Senda Kakō, *Jūgun Ianfu: "Koe naki onna" Hachiman nin no kokuhatsu* [Military Comfort Women: The Grievances of 80,000 Voiceless Women] (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1973); Hirota Kazuko, *Shōgen kiroku jūgun ianfu, kangofu: Senjō ni ikita onna no dōkoku* [Testimonies and Records of Military Comfort Women and Nurses: Lamentations of Women Who Went to the Battlefield] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1975); Il-Myon Kim, *Tennō no Guntai to Chōsenjin Ianfu* [The Emperor's Army and Korean Comfort Women] (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1976); Yamatani Tetsuo, *Okinawa no Harumoni: Dai Nihon Baishun Shi* [An Old Woman in Okinawa: A History of Prostitution in Greater Japan] (Tokyo: Banseisha, 1979). On early post-Second World War knowledge of the system, see Kanō Mikiyo, "The Problem with the 'Comfort Women Problem,'" *Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* 24, 2 (1993): 42; Eleanor Kerkham, "Pleading for the Body: Tamura Taijirō's 1947 Korean Comfort Woman Story, Biography of a Prostitute," in *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, ed. Marlene J. Mayo, Thomas J. Rimer, and H. Eleanor Kerkham (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).
 - 20 Vera Mackie, "Sexual Violence, Silence, and Human Rights Discourse: The Emergence of the Military Prostitution Issue," in *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, ed. Anne-Marie Hilsdon, Martha Macintyre, Vera Mackie, and Maila Stevens (London: Routledge, 2000); Vera Mackie, "In Search of Innocence: Feminist Historians Debate the Legacy of Wartime Japan," *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, 47 (2005): 207–17; Jungmin Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China: Remembering the Comfort Women and the Nanjing Massacre," *New Political Science* 30, 3 (2008): 369–92; Ropers, "Mutable History."

- 21 The terms "crime against humanity" and "crime against peace" were used in the judgments in the Nuremberg Trials. These terms were not used in the Tokyo Tribunal.
- 22 Katherine H. S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in US-Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); "Military Prostitution and the US Military in Asia," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (2009); Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Jin-Kyung Lee, *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work and Migrant Labor in South Korea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
- 23 The following discussion draws on Mackie, "Sexual Violence, Silence, and Human Rights Discourse"; and Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women' Movement for Redress."
- 24 Yang, "Revisiting the Issue of Korean 'Military Comfort Women.'" Both the Asian Women's Association and VAWW-Net-Japan have had name changes since then.
- 25 Shirota, *Mariya no Sanka*; Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 198; Yamatani, *Okinawa no harumoni*; Ropers, "Mutable Histories," 194.
- 26 Yang, "Revisiting the Issue of Korean 'Military Comfort Women,'" 68, n. 2; Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman: Slave of Destiny* (Manila: Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism, 1996); Jan Ruff O'Herne, *Fifty Years of Silence* (Sydney: Editions Tom Thompson, 1994); Graceia Lai et al., *Silent Scars*; Floyd Whaley, "In Philippines, World War II's Lesser-Known Sex Slaves Speak Out," *The New York Times*, January 29, 2016. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/30/world/asia/japan-philippines-comfort-women-emperor-akihito.html?_r=0, accessed January 31, 2016.
- 27 Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women' Movement for Redress," 1235.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 1236.
- 29 "Taiwan Army Telegram 602," March 12, 1942, translated and excerpted in Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, Carmen Argibay, Christine Chinkin, and Willy Mutunga, "The Judgement of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal for the Trial of Japan's Military Sexual Slavery," Case No PT-2000-1-T, The Hague, December 4, 2001 (corrected January 31, 2002), 25. Available at <http://www1.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan/english/womenstribunal2000/Judgement.pdf>, accessed June 7, 2014.
- 30 McDonald et al., "The Judgement," 29–30.
- 31 Chungmoo Choi. "Guest Editor's Introduction," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5, 1 (1997): vi.
- 32 On the Asian Women's Fund and associated controversies, see Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 44; *Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund*. Available at <http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/indonesia-00.html>, accessed November 15, 2015.
- 33 Radhika Coomaraswamy, "Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Japan on the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery in Wartime," UN. Doc.E/CN.4/1996/53/Add.1, January 4, 1996.
- 34 For criticism of the Abe Statement, see Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Abe's WWII Statement Fails History 101," *East Asia Forum*, August 18, 2015. Available at <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2015/08/18/abes-wwii-statement-fails-history-101/>, accessed November 29, 2015.
- 35 Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress," 1233; Hornby, "China's 'Comfort Women.'"
- 36 Lai et al., *Silent Scars*, 107.
- 37 US Alien Tort Claims Act, Paragraph 1350 of Title 28 of the Code of Laws of the United States of America (United States Code), Office of the Law Revision Counsel

- of the US House of Representatives, 1983: "The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action by an alien for a tort only, committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States."
- 38 Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 66–8; Anna Song, 'The Task of an Activist: 'Imagined Communities' and the 'Comfort Women' Campaigns in Australia, *Asian Studies Review* 37, 3 (2013): 381–95.
 - 39 See "House of Sharing," n.d. Available at <http://nanum.org/eng/index.html>, accessed November 29, 2015.
 - 40 Survivors in the Philippines are supported by Lilas Pilipinas (League of Filipino Grandmothers) and Friends of Lolas; see "Friends of Lolas." Available at <http://labanforthelolas.blogspot.com.au/>, accessed November 30, 2015; "Lolas' House," *IMDiversity*, October 20, 2012. Available at <http://imdiversity.com/villages/asian/lolas-house-women-living-with-war/>, accessed November 30, 2015. Survivors in Taiwan are supported by the Taiwan Women's Rescue Foundation; see Laurie Underwood, "Painful Memories," *Taiwan Today*, October 1, 1995. Available at <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=152&ctNode=2198&mp=9>, accessed December 6, 2015. For activities in support of the Indonesian survivors, see McGregor, "Emotions and Activism"; for support of Chinese survivors, see Hornby, "China's 'Comfort Women.'"
 - 41 Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women' Movement for Redress," 1235; Kim Tae-ick, "Former 'Comfort Women' hold 1,000th Protest at Japanese Embassy," *Chosun Ilbo* [*Chosun Daily*], December 14, 2011. Available at http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/12/14/2011121401645.html, accessed November 9, 2015. Kim reports that they skipped a protest only once, during the Kobe earthquake of 1995, and that they marked the Fukushima disaster of March 2011 by holding their protest in silence.
 - 42 Ronron Calunsod, "Former 'Comfort Women,' Leftists Protest Growing Philippines–Japan Military Ties," *Japan Times*, June 30, 2015. Available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/06/30/national/wartime-sex-victims-leftists-protest-growing-philippines-japan-military-ties/#.Vltqb6K4o7A>, accessed November 30, 2015; "Former Sex Slaves Protest in Manila during Emperor Visit," *CCTV America*. Available at https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=gZx_K7rOdoY, accessed January 31, 2016; Lai et al., *Silent Scars*, 100.
 - 43 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990); *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993); John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). See also Vera Mackie and Carolyn S. Stevens. "Globalisation and Body Politics," *Asian Studies Review* 33, 3 (2009): 263.
 - 44 Yang Hyunah, "'Finding the Map of Memory': Testimony of the Military Sexual Slavery Survivors," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 16, 1 (Spring 2008): 82.
 - 45 Keith Howard, ed., *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women* (London: Cassell, 1995), translated by Young Joo Lee. For other collections of testimonies and documents, see Dai Sil Kim–Gibson, *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (Parkersburg, IA: Mid–Prairie Books, 1999); Sangmie Choi Schellstede, ed., *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 2000); Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun Ianfu Shiryōshū* [Collection of Documents on Military Comfort Women] (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1992); Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun Ianfu* [Comfort Women] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995); Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*; Lai et al., *Silent Scars*.

- 46 This form of People's Tribunal can be traced back to Bertrand Russell and Jean Paul Sartre's People's Tribunal on the Vietnam War in 1967.
- 47 Yang, "Finding the Map of Memory," 84. The twenty to thirty volunteers were mainly university students from the Seoul area.
- 48 Kim Puja, "Global Civil Society Remakes History: 'The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000,'" translated by Hideko Mitsui, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9, 3 (2001): 616.
- 49 Kim, "Global Civil Society Remakes History," 612. A one-day public hearing was also held at the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice in New York on December 11, where fifteen survivors of militarized sexual violence from around the world testified.
- 50 McDonald et al., "The Judgement."
- 51 Kim, "Global Civil Society Remakes History," 614.
- 52 The project team at Wise Architecture included Sook Hee Chun, Young Chul Jang, Bokki Lee, Jiyoung Park, Kuhyeon Kwon, and Aram Yun. "Seoul House Becomes Museum Highlighting the Plight of Second World War 'Comfort Women,'" *Dezeen Magazine*, March 20, 2015. Available at <http://www.dezeen.com/2015/03/20/wise-architecture-museum-comfort-women-second-world-war-victims-seoul-south-korea/>, accessed January 31, 2016.
- 53 The butterfly is regularly used as a logo for political campaigns on this issue. See the "Butterfly Fund," established by the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in support of victims of sexual violence. Information available at https://www.womenandwar.net/contents/general/general.nx?page_str_menu=2405, accessed January 31, 2016.
- 54 Hornby, "China's 'Comfort Women'"; Peipei Qiu et al., *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's Sex Slaves*.
- 55 "Memorial for 'Comfort Women' opens in Nanjing," *Xinhuanet*, December 2, 2015. Available at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/photo/2015-12/02/c_134874809.htm, accessed July 15, 2016.
- 56 Muta Kazue, "Taipei Fujō Enjō Kikin Hōmon Repōto: Taiwan Ianfu to Josei no Kinken Hakubutsukan Ōpun o mae ni" ["Report on Visit to Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation: Before the Opening of the Museum"], *Women's Action Network*. Available at <http://wan.or.jp/article/show/3776>, accessed December 6, 2015.
- 57 These shifting regimes before and after 1945 are another reason why it has been so difficult to document the enforced military prostitution system. Some Dutch war trial records, for example, are still closed. In what are present-day Indonesia and Timor-Leste, administration has shifted between the Dutch East Indies, Portuguese Timor, the Japanese Occupation, the Australian-administered period of surrender, reversion to Dutch and Portuguese control, the independent nation-state of Indonesia (including West Timor), Indonesian-Occupied East Timor, and the independent nation-state of Timor-Leste. For the difficulties of tracing the fates of individual women through these different administrative regimes, see Mackie, "Gender, Geopolitics and Gaps in the Records."
- 58 Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 197–201.
- 59 "Extraordinary Council Meeting—Comfort Women Statue," August 2015. Available at <https://www.strathfield.nsw.gov.au/council/council-and-committee-meetings/council-meetings-2/extraordinary-council-meeting-comfort-women-statue/>, accessed December 1, 2015. There was further controversy in August 2016 when a community group planned to display a replica of the Seoul statue in the local Korean Community Hall. (The War and Women's Human Rights Museum sells replicas of various sizes.)

- Lisa Visentin, "WWII Peace Statue in Canterbury-Bankstown Divides Community Groups," *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 1, 2016. Available at <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/wwii-peace-statue-in-canterburybankstown-divides-community-groups-20160801-gqi99s.html>, accessed September 16, 2016. In September 2016, it was reported that the German city of Freiburg had canceled plans to erect a statue after pressure from their sister city in Japan. "German City Drops Plan to Install First 'Comfort Women' Statue in Europe," *Japan Times*, September 22, 2016). Available at http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/09/22/national/german-city-drops-plan-install-first-comfort-women-statue-europe/#.V_m2cpN97LE, accessed October 9, 2016.
- 60 Choe, "Statues Placed in South Korea Honor 'Comfort Women' Enslaved for Japan's Troops." In November 2016 a replica was installed at Shanghai Normal University.
 - 61 WSJ Staff, "Full Text: Japan-South Korea Statement on 'Comfort Women,'" *Wall Street Journal*, December 28, 2015. Available at <http://blogs.wsj.com/japanrealtime/2015/12/28/full-text-japan-south-korea-statement-on-comfort-women/>, accessed January 31, 2016.
 - 62 "Japan Completes Transfer of ¥1 billion to South Korean 'Comfort Women' Fund," *Japan Times*, September 1, 2016. Available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/09/01/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-completes-transfer-%C2%A51-billion-south-korean-comfort-women-fund/#.V9tOoLV1U7A>, accessed September 16, 2016.
 - 63 "Ex-Wartime 'Comfort Women' Sue S. Korea over Deal with Japan," *Asahi Shimbun*, August 31, 2016. Available at <http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201608310052.html>, accessed September 16, 2016.