

“Comfort Women”: Breaking silence after decades of shame

Yeonwoo Hannah Son

Senior Division

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The topic of the “comfort women”, sex slaves for the Imperial Japanese Army during World War II, is very special to me. After watching a movie titled *I Can Speak* that sparked my interest in the topic, I spent the summer after my sophomore year volunteering at a museum dedicated to the “comfort women”. The topic particularly struck me as significant because it is about my people—a story about Korean women and their suffering. At the Museum of War and Women’s Rights, I acted as a docent for English-speaking foreigners and led an English translation team for a book published by the museum called *Halmeoni-ui Salm-eul Boda* (*Looking at Grandma’s Life*).

When I found out about the NHD theme for 2020, I immediately thought of the stories of the comfort women that I had previously read. I knew the social boundaries that these brave women had broke to let their stories be known, and I was eager to showcase their courage. In order for Kim Hak-sun, the first “comfort woman” to testify about her experience, to speak out, she had to break through centuries-old ideas that rape victims had to stay quiet out of shame.

I started off my research by trying to get an in-depth understanding of the topic using secondary sources. I read up on a few books available at the small bookstore inside the museum I worked at. I also took advantage of the fact that I was surrounded by experts on the topic at the museum and interviewed two of them. The first person was the director of the museum, Ms. Kim Bok-hee, who was kind enough to not only allow me to record an interview with her but also answered my phone calls whenever I had questions about the topic. The second was Ms. Park Jungae, a committee member at the museum and a researcher at the Northeast Asian History Foundation. She answered my interview questions in an insightful way that both raised the quality of my documentary and increased my knowledge on the subject. I then turned to primary sources, such as video recordings of the comfort women’s testimonies or online copies of

diplomatic treaties. These sources were particularly enlightening because they were pieces of history I could gain knowledge from and incorporate into my project.

Upon much consideration, I decided that a documentary would be the best way for me to tell the story of the comfort women. I chose to start off my documentary by explaining how the international community had no idea about the war crimes inflicted upon these “comfort women” until 1991. I did this to spark curiosity in my audience so that they could wonder what boundary had prevented these women from speaking out for half a century. From there, I unraveled their story, going chronologically from the post-WWII release of the comfort women to the first “comfort woman” testimony to the legacy these women left behind.

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

British Movietone. *JAPANESE CABINET - NO SOUND*. *YouTube*, YouTube, 2015,

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=xbxin5VIAQc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xbxin5VIAQc).

This video shows the Japanese Cabinet holding a meeting in the forties. This helped me understand how the government in Japan looked like around the time period in which the comfort women were released. I use this footage in my documentary while discussing how records of comfort stations were deleted by the Japanese government.

British Pathé. *War In Korea (1950)*. *YouTube*, YouTube, 2014,

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXC6N5owWCM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXC6N5owWCM). This video contains footage of Korea in 1950. This video helped me understand the situation in Seoul around the time the "comfort women" made their way back home. I use this footage in my documentary while explaining how some women went to Korea after being released.

“Chinese and Malayan Girls Taken as Comfort Women for Japanese Troops.” *All That Is Interesting*, [allthatsinteresting.com/comfort-women](http://allthatsinteresting.com/comfort-women). This image shows young Chinese and Malayan girls being taken to comfort stations by Japanese soldiers. This was shown as a visual aid as I explained who the "comfort women" were.

“Civilians and soldiers stood beneath a banner during a demonstration in Seoul in April 1953 against resumption of the Korean peace talks.” *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/world/asia/korean-war-history.html>. This image shows protestors in South Korea in the fifties. I used this image because I needed a photograph that showed the environment the “comfort women” were coming to after they were released and went back home.

“Comfort Women and Prisoners of War with a Chinese Soldier, September 3, 1944.” *The New York Review of Books*, [www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/10/17/bringing-poetry-to-the-](http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/10/17/bringing-poetry-to-the-)

cruel-history-of-comfort-women/. This image shows young "comfort women" sitting next to a few Japanese soldiers. The fear in their eyes is quite evident. This image was useful to show while explaining how horribly mistreated the women were.

“Comfort Women at a Comfort Station.” *YONHAP News*,

[en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20191207002000320](http://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20191207002000320). This image depicts many "comfort women" huddled next to each other in a shabby comfort station. Their terrible living conditions are showcased in this picture. I showed this image while talking about how these women were tortured.

“Comfort Women’: First Known Footage Emerges in South Korea.” *BBC News*, BBC, 10 July

2017, [www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-40552914/comfort-women-first-known-footage-emerges-in-south-korea](http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-40552914/comfort-women-first-known-footage-emerges-in-south-korea). This footage shows "comfort women" standing next to Chinese soldiers. It is the only known footage of "comfort women" during the war, and their fearful expressions and dirty clothes helped me understand the emotional distress these women had gone through. I used this footage in my documentary while giving a general explanation of who the "comfort women" were.

“Comfort Women Sit with Soldiers.” *Salon*,

[www.salon.com/2016/01/17/a\\_guide\\_to\\_the\\_literature\\_of\\_japans\\_comfort\\_women\\_comfort\\_station\\_survivors\\_tell\\_their\\_stories/](http://www.salon.com/2016/01/17/a_guide_to_the_literature_of_japans_comfort_women_comfort_station_survivors_tell_their_stories/). This image depicts "comfort women" with dirt smeared on their faces sitting next to a few Japanese soldiers. This source was used as a visual aid to display the harsh living conditions of the "comfort women".

“Comfort Women Survivor Kim Hak-Soon (Right) Running up to Hug Fellow Victim Kim

Yong-Sil (Left) after the Latter Finished Her 1992 Testimony Regarding the Sexual Enslavement by the Japanese Imperial Military. .” *Hakyoreh*,

[english.hani.co.kr/arti/english\\_edition/e\\_international/885151.html](http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_international/885151.html). This image shows Kim Hak-sun hugging a fellow "comfort woman" upon finding out that they used to live

in the same comfort station. This emotional moment shows the grandmas weeping. This image aids understanding of how emotionally difficult recounting these experiences were for the victims. I used this image while talking about how the "comfort women" came together to fight for justice.

“Comfort Women Survivors Picket Japan’s Embassy in Philippines.” *Nikkei Voice*, [nikkeivoice.ca/comfort-women-survivors-picket-japans-embassy-in-philippines/](http://nikkeivoice.ca/comfort-women-survivors-picket-japans-embassy-in-philippines/). This image depicts former "comfort women" protesting in front of the Japanese embassy in the Philippines. This picture helped me understand that even at an old age these victims are willing to go to extra lengths in order to get a proper apology. This image was used as a visual aid as I explained how the "comfort women" movement involved victims joining forces to create change.

“Chinese and Malayan Comfort Women.” Courthouse News Service, <https://www.courthousenews.com/s-korean-court-dismisses-comfort-women-appeal-against-controversial-deal/>. This image shows “comfort women” that were forcefully taken to be sex slaves by Japanese troops. I used this image while describing who the “comfort women” were.

EBSCulture. *The Eulogy That Became a Testimony*. YouTube, YouTube, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ilt7Mgok8w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ilt7Mgok8w). This video showed testimonies of multiple "comfort women" talking about how they had suffered in the hands of Japanese soldiers. The testimonies this video contained help me understand just how horrible it was for them. Hearing their stories of rape and torture allowed me to understand the intensity of the war crime committed by the Japanese military.

“Former ‘comfort women’ holds up picture of herself.” History, <https://www.history.com/news/comfort-women-japan-military-brothels-korea>. This image depicts a former “comfort women” holding a photograph of herself as a young girl. I used this image when describing how the women were afraid to speak up about their past.

“Girl Captured in Village of Sung Shan Hill.” *University of Regina*,

[www.uregina.ca/arts/perspectives/philip-charrier.html](http://www.uregina.ca/arts/perspectives/philip-charrier.html). The image depicts a young "comfort woman" sitting next to a Chinese soldier who is taking her as a POW. This helped me understand that not only were the "comfort women" suffering at the hands of Japanese soldiers, they were also in constant danger from living in army bases during the war.

“Japanese soldiers in Korea.” History, <https://www.history.com/news/japan-colonization-korea>.

This image depicts Japanese soldiers in Korea during the colonization period. I used this image while narrating about Korea’s colonization.

KBS, *Comfort Woman Victim Sings 'Arirang'*. YouTube, YouTube, 2014,

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=snmNp778JcY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snmNp778JcY). This video shows a former "comfort woman" singing a Korean folk song called "Arirang". She sings the song in tribute to other "comfort women" who had suffered like her. Her emotional and sad rendition of the song implicitly helped me understand how painful the experience must have been for "comfort women" like her. I used this video in my documentary to strike an emotional chord with my audience.

“KCIA Director Kim Jong-pil holds a meeting with Japanese Foreign Affairs Minister Masayoshi

Ohira on Oct. 20, 1962.” Korea Joongang Daily,

[koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=3005725](http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=3005725). This image depicts one of the talks during the process of the 1965 treaty between Korea and Japan. I use this image while mentioning this diplomatic treaty in my documentary.

“Kim Hak-Sun at a Press Conference (August 14, 1991).” *Kyunghyang News*,

[news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?art\\_id=201608142305015](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?art_id=201608142305015). This image shows Kim at a press conference where she tearfully talks about her experience as a "comfort woman". Her tearfulness helped me understand how difficult it was for her to recount her traumatic memories and how courageous the "comfort women" were for

sharing their stories. I used this image in the documentary while discussing Kim's courage.

“Kim Haksun.” *The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund*,

[www.awf.or.jp/e2/survey.html](http://www.awf.or.jp/e2/survey.html).

This photograph is a portrait of Kim Haksun. This image had the simple purpose of helping me visualize how she looked like. I used this image in my documentary to do the same for my audience.

“Korean Comfort Women.” *The New York Review of Books*,

[nybooks.com/daily/2018/10/17/bringing-poetry-to-the-cruel-history-of-comfort-women/](http://nybooks.com/daily/2018/10/17/bringing-poetry-to-the-cruel-history-of-comfort-women/).

This image depicts Korean “comfort women” sitting next to American soldiers who freed them. I used this image in my documentary as I described how the women were freed after WWII’s end.

“Korean ‘comfort women’ testify about their experience.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*,

<https://apjpf.org/2014/12/9/Tessa-Morris-Suzuki/4081/article.html>. This image shows Korean victims testifying about their times as sex slaves. I used this image in my documentary when discussing how victims came forward to testify after Kim’s testimony.

“Korean Liberation Activists Are Released, 1945.” *Wikipedia*,

[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Liberation\\_Day\\_of\\_Korea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Day_of_Korea). This image depicts Koreans celebrating on Liberation Day. This picture helped me understand what a momentous day in Korean history the end of WW2 was. It was the day when the "comfort women" were also freed from the comfort stations. This image helped me understand the celebratory mood of Liberation Day. I used it in my documentary when talking about how the "comfort women" were freed after WW2.

“Korean Mothers with Children.” *Center for Global Education*, [asiasociety.org/education/value-](http://asiasociety.org/education/value-and-meaning-korean-family)

[and-meaning-korean-family](http://asiasociety.org/education/value-and-meaning-korean-family). This 1950s portrait shows Korean mothers with their children. This image helped me understand how the typical Korean woman was



expected to be like and allowed me to realize how difficult it must have been for the "comfort women" who struggled to achieve this standard. I use this image during my interview with Ms. Park as a visual aid to her explanation of Korean societal standards. "Post War Korea." *My Modern Met*, [mymodernmet.com/han-youngsoo-post-war-korea/](http://mymodernmet.com/han-youngsoo-post-war-korea/). This image depicts Seoul in the 1950s. This image helped me visualize how the city looked like during the time of many "comfort women's" returns. I use this image in my documentary to help viewers visualize this as well

SBS News. *A Comfort Woman Testimony Full of Anger and Nerves... Film "Kim Bokdong"*.

*YouTube*, YouTube, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdZQWM5sdOc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdZQWM5sdOc). This footage shows the first-ever testimony from a "comfort woman". Kim's obvious emotional distress (rubbing her face, hesitations, tearfulness) when testifying increasing my understanding of how difficult it must have been for her to gather the courage to speak out. Hearing her experiences also increased my knowledge of what the comfort women went through. I added this footage to my documentary's beginning to help viewers understand the experiences of "comfort women" like Kim.

"Sexual Slavery Victim Holds 'Wednesday Rally' in Front of Japan's Embassy in Washington."

*The Malaysian Times*, [www.themalaysiantimes.com.my/sexual-slavery-victim-holds-wednesday-rally-in-front-of-japans-embassy-in-washington/](http://www.themalaysiantimes.com.my/sexual-slavery-victim-holds-wednesday-rally-in-front-of-japans-embassy-in-washington/). This image depicts "comfort women" protesting in front of the Japanese embassy in Malaysia. The evident anger in their faces allowed me to understand that the victims were still furious about what had happened to them and are eager for justice. I used this image while describing how the women came together to fight for their cause.

"Shigeto Nagano." *Amazon*, [www.amazon.com/Vintage-photo-of-Shigeto-](http://www.amazon.com/Vintage-photo-of-Shigeto-Nagano/dp/B07DWFVZ3X)

[Nagano/dp/B07DWFVZ3X](http://www.amazon.com/Vintage-photo-of-Shigeto-Nagano/dp/B07DWFVZ3X). This image depicts Justice Minister Shigeto Nagano. This picture's simple purpose was to help me visualize how Nagano looked like. I added this picture to my documentary in the part where I discuss how Nagano called the "comfort

women" "public prostitutes".

“South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung Speaks at a Joint News Conference with Japan's Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi in Tokyo on October 8, 1998.” *Council on Foreign Relations*, [www.cfr.org/blog/missed-opportunity-commemorate-positive-moment-korea-japan-relations](http://www.cfr.org/blog/missed-opportunity-commemorate-positive-moment-korea-japan-relations). This image shows the respective leaders of the Korean and Japanese governments, President Kim and Prime Minister Obuchi. This allowed me to understand who was in power during the time that the "comfort women" first became a major political issue. I added this as a visual aid to my documentary as I explain treaty talks between the two governments.

“No. 8473.” *No. 8473*, United Nations, 1965. This treaty shows Korean and Japanese attempts to normalize relations in 1965. Reading this document allowed me to see how the "comfort women" were not mentioned at all. This let me understand how the governments neglected the "comfort women" incident and did not give proper reparations to the victims in 1965. I use a picture of this treaty as a visual aid when explaining it in my documentary.

“Women's Rights Group Holds a Press Conference.” *Open Archives*, [archives.kdemo.or.kr/isad/view/00726811](http://archives.kdemo.or.kr/isad/view/00726811). This image depicts a women's rights group held a press conference. This image allowed me to see how small the groups were in the nineties as most of them were new. I use this image in my documentary while explaining the rise of women's rights groups in the 1990s.

“Young Chinese “comfort women” are pictured sitting with Japanese soldiers during the second world war.” *South Morning China Post*, <https://www.scmp.com/culture/books/article/2116687/chinese-comfort-women-accounts-japans-wartime-sex-slaves-remembered>. This image shows young Chinese “comfort women” huddled together next to Japanese soldiers. I used this image in my documentary along with a narration of how the victims were forced to serve soldiers in comfort stations.

“1<sup>st</sup> March 1948.” History, <https://www.history.com/news/japan-colonization-korea>. This image depicts Korea’s liberation day. I used this image while narrating about how World War II’s end led to Korea’s liberation.

## Secondary Sources

Allen, Paula. "70 years on, the 'Comfort Women' speaking out so the truth won't die." *Amnesty International*, [amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2015/09/70-years-on-comfort-women-speak-out-so-the-truth-wont-die/](https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2015/09/70-years-on-comfort-women-speak-out-so-the-truth-wont-die/). This article discusses how "comfort women" used their voices decades after the incident as they seek justice for the horrors committed to them. I used this article while collecting information of their campaign, such as testimonies and protests.

Brooks, Roy. "When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy Over Apologies and Reparations for Human Justice." *NYU Press*, 1999. This book discusses many international controversies regarding human rights and whether or not the apologies addressed to them were adequate and met with satisfaction. I took information from the parts about the "comfort women" where he explained of why Koreans remain unsatisfied with Japan's apologies regarding the issue.

Cad. "U.S. Sides with Japan vs. Comfort Women." *Off Our Backs*, vol. 31, no. 6, 2001, pp. 3-3., [www.jstor.org/stable/20836875](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20836875). This article is from a peer-reviewed journal that explains how the international community responded to the "comfort women" issue. It helped me understand how the issue expanded beyond simply Asia, and how countries with tightly-bound relationships to Korea and Japan were involved in discussions of resolving the problem.

Deungjanmit Studio. "Arirang Uriminyo: 25 string Gayageum Performance." *Youtube*, [youtube.com/watch?v=kOIP6bizEwk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kOIP6bizEwk). This song is an instrumental version of the song "Arirang", a traditional Korean folk song that is heavily associated with the "comfort women" issue. The song signifies a sense of longing. I used it as background music for the documentary.

Erstein, Kali, et al. "JAPAN: Comfort Women Demand Justice." *Off Our Backs*, vol. 36, no. 4,

2006, pp. 3–3. This article, which was published in a peer-reviewed journal, discussed how victims joined together with women's rights activists to demand an apology and reparations from the Japanese government. This article taught me the complications, such as the politics of war crimes, that are preventing the former "comfort women" from getting the justice they want.

*Halmeoni-ui Salm-Eul Boda (Looking at Grandma's Life)*. The Museum of War and Women's Rights, 2019. This book recounts the lives of former "comfort women", from the time they lived in comfort stations all the way up to their deaths. From this book, I was able to learn how their experiences in comfort stations affected them their entire lives, and how painful living with the trauma was for them. This, in turn, allowed me to understand why they wanted justice so badly. The stories also explained why the victims were so afraid to speak out and the societal attitude of Korea in the fifties, sixties, and seventies.

“Japan apologizes on Korea Sex Issue.” *The New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1992. This newspaper clipping provided a report at the time about Japan's formal apology regarding the issue. This newspaper clipping was used in my documentary as I narrate about how Japan made its first formal apology in 1992.

Kim, Donghee. Personal Interview. 17 January 2020. During this interview, Kim Donghee, the director of the Museum of War and Women's Rights, briefly explains the timeline of Kim Haksun's testimony. She allowed me to understand how South Korea's liberal democratization in 1987 led to Kim's testimony and the rise of feminist activism in Korea in the nineties. I also used her interview as part of my documentary.

Kim, Ji Young. “Escaping the Vicious Cycle: Symbolic Politics and History Disputes Between South Korea and Japan.” *Asian Perspective*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2014, pp. 31–60. [www.jstor.org/stable/42704853](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704853). This article discusses the history of disputes between the South Korean and Japanese government. This source provided me on the history of the

government's interactions regarding the "comfort women" issue such as apologies, meetings, etc.

Kuki, Sonya. "The Burden of History: The Issue of 'Comfort Women' and What Japan Must Do to Move Forward." *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2013, pp. 245–256. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/24461685](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24461685). This source discussed the history of the "comfort women" in depth and provided me information about the political tensions between Japan and Korea. I included information from this source about the 1965 treaty between Korea and Japan.

"Number of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women." *The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund*, [www.awf.or.jp/e1/facts-07.html](http://www.awf.or.jp/e1/facts-07.html). This article provided facts and statistics regarding the "comfort women" I could use in my documentary, such as the estimated number of "comfort women" and percentage of the victims that were from Korea and China.

Park, Cheol Hee. *Expanding Spirals of South Korea-Japan Conflict*. Atlantic Council, 2019, pp. 4–7, *Strategic Estrangement Between South Korea and Japan as a Barrier to Trilateral Cooperation*, [www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20930.5](http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20930.5). This article discussed various forms of forced labor of Koreans by the Japanese government, including the "comfort women." This source allowed me to understand how the government forced victims into labor.

Park, Jungae. Personal Interview. 18 January 2020. During this interview, Park Jungae, a researcher at the Northeast Asian History Foundation, explains Korean mindsets towards women and sex, and how older generations emphasize the importance of chastity. This helped me understand exactly why the victims felt too ashamed to speak up and how wide this boundary of shame was. She also explains the effect Kim's testimony and the "comfort women" movement had on society. This allowed me to understand the legacy the movement left behind and how it changed the way Koreans viewed activism. I also used her interview as part of my documentary.

Masakazu, Shirana and Ando Kyoko. "The Comfort Women were Prostitutes': Repercussions of remarks by the Japanese Consul General in Atlanta." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, <https://apjpf.org/2018/04/Shirana-Ando.html>. This article discusses how the Japanese government often did not acknowledge that "comfort women" were taken against their will. I discuss such topics in my documentary and how this angered many Koreans and supporters of the victims.

Seo, Akwi. "Toward Postcolonial Feminist Subjectivity: Korean Women's Redress Movement for 'Comfort Women.'" *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, edited by Julia C. Bullock et al., University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2018, pp. 230–250. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv3zp07j.21](http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv3zp07j.21). This article discusses the activism in Korea for the resolution of the "comfort women" issue and why there is a lot of political buzz surrounding the subject despite Japan's apology. I used this article for information on the history of Sino-Korean relations regarding the issue.

Shapiro, Michael. "Secret Shame." *The New York Times*, 10 Sept. 1995. This article discusses the testimony given by Kim Hak-sun. This article allowed me to understand what the American perspective was regarding this issue. I quickly learned that Americans seemed to support the "comfort women" receiving justice from the American government. I used a screenshot of this article in my documentary while discussing the international response of Kim's testimony.

Shin, Hyeon-hee. "'Comfort Women': Living, Harrowing Mark on History." *The Korean Herald*, 17 Aug. 2014. This newspaper article discusses Kim Haksun's historic first testimony. I used information on this article while writing my narration for the part about how Kim made her first testimony about her experience as a victim to the public.

Soh, Chunghee Sarah. "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress." *Asian Survey*, vol. 36, no. 12, 1996, pp. 1226–1240., doi:10.2307/2645577. This article talks of the "comfort women" movement and how it related to Korean sexism. This article allowed

me to understand how the response towards "comfort women" and their silence was directly due to societal beliefs that women had to be "pure" and should not come into sexual contact with men that were not their husbands.

Ward, Thomas J. "The Comfort Women Controversy – Lesson from Taiwan." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, [apjjf.org/2018/08/Ward.html](http://apjjf.org/2018/08/Ward.html). This article discusses the Taiwanese "comfort women" issue. This source opened my eyes to the "comfort women" issue in countries other than Korea (although most of them were Korean) and allowed me to learn of the similar struggles they faced. Reading this article also helped me understand what the women went through at comfort stations according to the words of Taiwanese victims.

Yamaguchi, Tomomi. "The 'History Wars' and the 'Comfort Women' Issue: Revisionism and the Right-Wing Contemporary Japan and the U.S." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, [apjjf.org/2020/6/Yamaguchi.html](http://apjjf.org/2020/6/Yamaguchi.html). This article discusses the ideologies and beliefs of the Japanese right wing. Reading this source allowed me to understand the opinions of those who claim that the "comfort women" was fabricated and the victims were actually prostitutes. From this source, I was able to know that the nationalist mindset that causes some right-wing Japanese to believe that the "comfort women" incident is partly false.

Yeong-ae, Yamashita, and Sarah Kovner. "Nationalism in Korean Women's Studies: Addressing the Nationalist Discourses Surrounding the 'Comfort Women' Issue." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement*, no. 15, 1998, pp. 52–77. This article, which was published in a peer-reviewed journal, discusses the "comfort women" issue in the context of nationalism. This article helped me understand how the push for justice from Korea and the denial of the incident from Japan were reflections of nationalist attitudes from both countries. It taught me the complicated politics surrounding the "comfort women" issue.

Yoon, Mi-hyang. *25 Years of Wednesdays*. Justice for the "Comfort Women", 2019. This book discusses the 'Wednesday protests', which are protests that have happened in front of the



Japanese embassy in South Korea for the past 25 years. Reading about these "comfort women"-related protests allowed me to understand the motivation these victims and other activists have to fight for justice. Reading this book allowed me to understand how badly these protestors want an apology from Japan and the challenges they face in getting it.

