

[Appendix to the draft Indictment of South Korea]

Brief Report for Psychological Assessment of the Women Victims of Sexual Slavery Committed by the Japanese Military

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This study was to examine the psychological syndrome of the women victims of sexual slavery committed by the Japanese military with psychological test battery. The results will be helpful to identify the psychological trauma of those women and to offer the objective evidence asking for the compensation and prosecution of the perpetrators of these crimes.

Psychological assessment battery was included Bender-Gestalt Test, House-Tree-Person Test, Sentence Completion Test, Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Korean Wechsler Intelligence Scale, and Rorschach Inkblot Test.

The subjects to perform the psychological assessment were 15 women victims dwelling in Seoul, Kyunggi province and Daegu city. The period to administer the test was from 12 February, 1999 to 23 November, 1999.

The results were interpreted and diagnosed by the criteria of 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fourth edition(DSM-IV)'.

To summarize the results of psychological assessment of women victims were as follows;

First, It seems that the most women victims have very low level of self-esteem and pessimistic idea to herself and future. So, they have been suffered severe depression and helplessness.

Second, women victims complained of multiple somatic symptoms as like headache, migraine, back pain, ulcer, hypertension, rheumatism, etc. These symptoms suggested that the health care of women victims were neglected during and after Japanese military sexual slavery.

Third, women victims shows hostility and doubts in interpersonal relationship. These tendency would be disturbed the intimacy to other people, and interfere with the emotional exchange with heterosexual relationship. Thus, it seems to makes them to fall in loneliness and hopelessness.

Fourth, because ego strength of most women subject seems to be markedly decreased, their ability to test reality also weakened or impaired. Thus, they shows formal thought disorder, delusion of traumatic events, difficulty of concentration, memory disturbance, and disorientation.

In the view of integrating these results, the whole number of women victims were diagnosed as Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. To specify the category of diagnosis shows that major depressive disorder, anxiety disorder, somatoform disorder, paranoid personality disorder, histrionic personality disorder, evasive personality disorder, and borderline personality disorder.

Generally, women victim's daily life were markedly diminished interest and participation in significant and meaningful activities e.g., to have a career, marriage, children, or a normal life plan except few persons. The 33% of whole subjects were belong to serious impairment level in overall level of functioning and 53% were correspond to the level of inability to function in almost all areas by Global Assessment of Functioning of DSM-IV.

The most symptoms of women victims would be related with the experiences of Japanese military sexual slavery. Thus, Japanese government or the perpetrators should have responsibility to compensate the sufferings of women victims and to do their best to recover their right to live as layperson.

It is desired that the results of these study will be helpful to solve the psychological, physiological and financial problem of Japanese military sexual slavery.

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The Life of the Korean 'Comfort Women' After the Return to Korea

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1. the Problem: the Fifty-Years' Silence

The so called Korean "Comfort Women" remained silent for fifty years before they came forward to testify for the war atrocities they had suffered from. Why did they remain silent so long? why did it take so long before they could talk? What were the trauma they suffered through their lives after the return? How could they come forward to speak? What are the role of legal institutions in this process? What are they doing these days to restore the collective memories?

This study attempts to answer these questions by revealing the life of the Korean "Comfort Women" after their return to Korea from the perspective of collective memory. More specifically, it consists of two parts, one on the losing, and the other on the recovery of the collective memories.

More specifically, with regard to the losing of the collective memories, it will focus on 1) what were the aftermath immediately after the return? 2) why these women remained silent for the last 50 years, why was it so difficult to tell? Did legal institutions play any role in this process? 3) what were/are the effects of the silence, and 4) how did they try to resolve the pains due to the silence?

With regard to the recovery of collective memory, this study will focus on 1) how they could come forward to testify, more specifically, did legal institutions play any role in this process?

And if so, how? 2) what are the effects of the testimony on their lives, and 3) what did they try to do for the recovery of collective memories?

For this purpose the author conducted in-depth interviews with six Korean "Comfort Women." I also referred to the testimonies of the cases published in the three volumes of collected testimonies (KCWD, 1993, 1997, 1999), when it was needed. The interviews were conducted from

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March to August, 1999. The characteristics of the interviewees are as shown in <Table 1>.

<Table 3> the Cases

case	age	method of draft	place and duration of sex slavery
1	79 (1922)	19(1941), draft	Jilin, China
2.	74(1925)	cheated for employment	Manchu, China
3.	73(1926)	cheated for employment	1 year and 6 months
4.	73 (1926)	cheated for employment	Burma,
5.	73 (1926)	sold	Hunchun, China, 3 years
6.	76 (1923)	cheated for employment	Kainando Island, China 5 years,

2. The Lives of the Korean Comfort Women' After the Return

3.1 cut-off from their hometowns and uprooted lives

These women returned to Korea with such a difficult process. However, return to the home country did not mean that all problems were resolved. Problems as difficult and complicated were waiting for them. Many of them could not or did not return to their hometowns and lived uprooted lives, and their family ties were broken. In this situation they had severe hardship even in surviving, and they could not live a normal life as a woman.

When they returned, where did they go? If we examine the comfort women who "fortunately" could return, the most distinctive characteristic is that most of them did not return to their hometown. Among the six women interviewed, four did not go back to their hometown, and only two returned to their hometown (Table 3). At that time the society was very much a traditional agricultural one, in which the family and hometown was the foundation of living, and it was difficult even to imagine that a young woman live alone in a city which is not her hometown. Despite this situation, many of the women victims did not go back to their hometown.

Why did they not go back to their hometown? First, some did not want to go back, because

se they did not have close family members there. Second, those whose hometown was in North Korea could not go back even if they wanted to, because most of them arrived at Pusan, southern end of Korea. But the most important thing is that many of them went to some other places, because they did not want to go back to their hometown. Probably they were afraid of encountering someone who might recognize them and their past.

Then what happened to those who returned to their hometown? It was found out that even the two who went back to their hometown did not stay there, but drifted around. Why? Some of them, with their torn body and hurt mind, could not stand their families' pressure to get married who did not know the fact (Case 2). Others were afraid that they might encounter those men whom they had met at the "comfort stations." (case 6) Thus voluntarily or involuntarily these women became "uprooted" people. Their whole network, family ties, friendship, etc., were cut off.

3.2 broken family ties

Those who did not go back to their hometown were cut-off from their families, and even most of those who returned to their hometown could not tell their past stories. In such a situation the family could no longer work as the family and provide a supporting tie to them.

However, in the hard times, people probably miss the affection of the family more. One case brought up abandoned children during the Korean War, when it was difficult even a grownup to survive by herself (Case 1). Another case brought up a son of her niece when he was three years old and live with him, relying on him as her son (Case 2). Why would they have done it? In the former case, she might have done so, probably because she was scared to live alone. However, considering how difficult it is to bring up children, considering how much care and love it needs, and considering that she brought up the abandoned children despite all the difficulties and the care taking, we can see how thirsty they are for the love of the families.

3.3 barely surviving living conditions

Korea in the 1940's was economically in bad condition, and most people's living conditions were terrible, due to the long exploitation of the Japanese colonial rule. Particularly, these comfort women victims were in worst conditions. Those who could not go back to their hometown were miserable like a small boat in the boundless sea. They had to do anything to live on. However, there were very little work they could choose from, since women's socio-economic participation was extremely restricted at that time. The Korean War which broke out in 1950 and continue

d until 1953 made the situation worse. They barely survived, mostly engaged in sex-service industries, personal service work such as house-maid, and/or peddling.

More specifically, some of them worked as maid at eating houses (case 1, case 2, case 4), worked as maid at drinking houses (taverns) (case 2, case 3, case 5), peddled selling matches, cigarettes, clothes, US goods, etc. (case 1, case 3, case 5), worked as a house maid (case 4, case 5), gathered and sold herbs and medical plants (case 6), and one went into a temple (case 5).

3.4 could not live a 'normal' life as a woman

At that time women's socio-economic participation was extremely restricted, and it was considered normal that most women get married, give birth to babies, and live on. However, most of these comfort women victims did not (or could not) get married and/or did not (or could not) give birth to babies like other "normal women." It turned out that three of the six interviewees did not get married. And the few who got married did so to unusually old man (case 3), or to a man who had already got married and had a wife (case 4), or to a man whose wife had deceased and had children to take care of (case 6). Two of these gave birth to babies (case 3 and 4).

Thus to these women it was the greatest *han* and torment (pain) not to be able to live like other "normal women" (case 2). One might ask a question whether it is a good thing to get married in a patriarchal society. However, this question might be relevant to only a few people even today, and totally irrelevant to those women at that time.

In short, their intimate relationship, marriage and so on can be considered as "not normal."

Seen in this way their whole life after the return can be considered as aftermath of the "comfort women" experiences.

<Table 4> Comfort Women's Life after the Return

case 1:

-the hometown and the family / the hometown was Buyo but had lived in North Korea / no parent)

-work and income / worked as a maid at eating houses and drinking houses(taverns) / peddled selling matches, cigarette, etc.

- intimate relationship /*not married / *brought up 5 children during the Korean War /

*their registrations were all separated recently

case 2:

- the hometown and the family /*came back to the hometown (Kyongsang Province)
- *had families, but drifted around
- work and income /*worked as a maid at eating houses and drinking houses
- intimate relationship /*not married, *brought up her sister's grandchild and now lives with him

case 3:

- the hometown and the family / *came to Pusan, (the hometown was Pyongyang, North Korea)
 - * had no brothers and sisters in the South
- work and income /*worked as a maid at drinking houses, *peddled selling vegetables, breads, etc.
- intimate relationship /*married when she was 34 with 60 year old man with 4 daughters
- *gave birth to a daughter

case 4:

- the hometown and the family / *came to Inchon(the hometown was Kwangju, Cholla Province)*
no parent, but had lived at her uncle's house has cousins in Kwangju
- work and income /*worked at an eating house for 10 years and *then worked as a housemaid for
or 25 years
- intimate relationship /*lived with a man who later was found to have a wife
- *gave birth to two daughters

case 5:

- the hometown and the family /*came to Cholwon, Kangwondo Province (the hometown was Pyongsang, Kangwondo)*her parents died early had two sisters, among whom one died, and the other deaf
- work and income /*worked as a maid at drinking houses, *peddled, selling clothes, US goods, etc, *worked as a housemaid, *went into a temple
- intimate relationship /*not married *she had a lover, who had to get married to another woman and committed suicide *gave birth to a daughter, but died when she was 7 months old

case 6:

- the hometown and the family /*came back to hometown, Taegu *had parents and 8 brothers and sisters
- work and income /*her husband sold scrap iron, *gathered and sold herbs and medical plants

-intimate relationship /*married to a man who had been already married and had 5 children. *couldn't give birth to a baby due to the 5 children

3. the Trauma and Aftermath: The Effect of the Silence

As discussed above, in a broad sense their whole life itself after the return can be considered as aftermath of the "comfort women" experiences. In a more narrow sense of the term, however, the aftermath refers to those in terms of physical, mental, and human relations aspects. I will omit the issue of aftermath in terms of human relations aspects, since I have already discussed the cut-off from the family ties, friendship relations, and their impossibility to achieve "normal" intimacy, and normal marital relations. Here I will focus on mental aftermaths.

4.1 The First Aftermath: Having Memories But Keeping Silence

What is the first aftermath immediately after the return? Probably the women victims themselves are not aware of it. But to me it seems to be a fear of coming back to real life from a sort of moratorium. By living a life in a Japanese army base in a foreign country, these women were living in a sort of moratorium which is far away from the social relations and discourses of Korea and where social ethics and value judgments are temporarily suspended. When they realized that they were coming back to their previous lives and relationships, they probably have felt fear and anxiety. Even though the life in the comfort stations was painful and humiliating, there were no family members or friends around who would or could do ethical or value judgments on their lives and behaviors. However, now they had to be conscious of the eyes of the people around themselves, which certainly would give them enormous burden and pains.

The fact that many women victims could not come back, gave up coming back, or committed suicide in a returning ship, and even after the return could not go back home, and could not tell the truth even after going back to their hometown, etc, demonstrates the intensity of the pains they went through in this very process.

Thus many women probably have decided not to tell their stories, and did not tell even their families but kept silence. In fact, it turned out that none of the six interviewees told anybody until they reported. This can be considered as the first stage of the relationship between memory and silence of <table 1>, i.e., the stage of having memories but keeping silence.

4.2 The Long-Term Aftermath: Nightmare and Drifting Around

However, as time passes by with repressed memories and kept silence, these women probably felt lots of repression, which probably made the sediments of *han* keeping on piling up. They probably had decided to keep silence in order to soothe or relieve the mental pains and conflict. On the other hand, they probably could forget little by little in a barely surviving living conditions. This can be considered as the second stage of <table 2>.

As the silence became longer, it might have been likely that the memories of individual women became blurred. Also the issue of the "comfort women" did not rise up as a social problem, but beginning to disappear from the collective memories.

However, the long silence brought them various forms of aftermath. These can be divided into internal aftermath and external aftermath. The internal aftermath, for example, appeared in the form of dreaming a nightmare and sleepwalking, moving to another place while sleeping without knowing it (case 2), shunning the world and people (case 5), and in an extreme case, attempting a suicide (case 5).

External aftermath appeared mostly in the form of disgust against men (case 1, case 3), distrust toward the human being, and in the phenomena of not taking roots in the hometown but drifting around (case 2, case 6).

In a sense it is a miracle that they could stand the long fifty years silence and could survive without getting mad.

<Table 5> Trauma and Aftermath of the Comfort Women

case 1:

-physical aftermath /*had an operation on uterus with blood discharging

* seven others who were with her died with similar symptoms (they "had a rotten uterus").

- mental aftermath /(another victim--did not eat, did not talk, but just smoked)

*disgust against men shudder (is horrified) at the mere thought of men

- problems in relationship /*could not live a normal woman's life: did not get married and did not give birth to a child *the children whom she brought up left her when grown up

case 2:

-physical aftermath /*her side seared with a hot iron

- mental aftermath/*had a nightmare *ran out of the home and drifted around not to get married
- problems in relationship/*could not live a normal woman's life: did not get married and did not give birth to a child

case 3:

- physical aftermath /*her shoulder twisted and protruded out due to the kicking
- *has a bent back *has a hearing problem due to hitting
- mental aftermath /*disgust against men
- problems in relationship /*did get married, but to an old man of 60 when she was 34: she was cheated.

case 4:

- physical aftermath /*has a weak bladder and frequency of urination *has a arthritis
- mental aftermath/
- problems in relationship/*lived with a man who later was found to have a wife
- *gave birth to two daughters

case 5:

- physical aftermath /*has no single healthy part of the body *had 7 operations
- *has a hearing problem, her eardrum was destroyed due to the hitting
- mental aftermath /*committed suicide six times *always think "why is my fate so rugged and unfortunate?"
- problems in relationship /*avoids the people and the world *wanted to get into a temple and stay there

case 6:

- physical aftermath /*was hit by the sword *had an operation due to cholelithiasis (had gallstones)
- mental aftermath/*drifted around because she could not live well *says "my life was destroyed since I had the comfort women experiences"
- problems in relationship/*did get married, but to a widower *could not give birth to her own baby, taking care of the five children of her husband.smoked)

4.3 Solving the Torment (Pains) Coming From Silence

Then what was it that made these women endure through all these pains and torment? In other words, how did they try to solve and how could they solve the torment coming from silence

ce?

Some tried to solve the problem by relying on personal measures such as using alcohol, cigarettes, etc, and getting drunk and crying out (case 3, case 6). Some others relied on personal but more positive measures such as getting acquainted with and talking with neighbors and friends (case 4, case 6), making family relations by bringing up orphans or relative children (case 1, case 2). Still others tried to forget pains by relying on prayers (case 4) or commitment to religion (case 5), or commitment to work (table 5).

After making the testimonies, many of them found out that making the testimony itself was the mechanism solving the pains. Taking parts in KCWD movements or Wednesday demonstrations before the Japanese Embassy also seems to be helpful in solving the problem of pain.

<Table 6> Their Ways of Resolving the Stresses and Pains

measures	negative	positive
Personal	---smoking, drinking, crying	talking to neighbors and friends
religious	---praying,	devoting oneself to a religion
social	making testimonies	taking parts in KCWD movements, Wednesday demonstrations in front of Japanese Embassy.

4. the Silence: Why So Difficult to Tell?

As mentioned above these women victims remained silent for the last fifty years, despite their great sufferings and torment such as trauma, suicide attempt, etc.. Why was it so difficult to tell? What are the factors which made them keep silence? Though there might be diverse background factors for this, three of them seem to be particularly important. They are: the living conditions, cultural factors, and language and identity factors.

4.1 the broken family ties and barely surviving living conditions

First, it should be pointed out that they had no choice but to remain silent, because they had no opportunity to tell. As mentioned above, most of these women had nobody to tell the story, since they could or did not go back to their hometown, and were cut-off from their families and friends and most of their relationships were cut off (case 1, 3). Others who went back to their hometown and had an opportunity to tell the story, could not tell the story even to their own families due to their chastity ideology (case 2, 6). And some others said their relatives gave the

in pressure not to tell the story, even when they reported and registered as the comfort women victims at the government (case 4).

Also, the burden of daily living was too heavy for them to even think about it. At that time Korea was just emancipated from the Japanese colonial rule and Korea as a nation-state was not even built. Furthermore, the Korean War which lasted for three years from 1950 to 1953 destroyed even the little left. In this situation institutional support system for these women victims, such as financial support, counseling, etc., at the government level, were unthinkable at that time, and there were no other relief system available.

Particularly, the Korean War, which lasted for three years and brought about a horrible living conditions of terrible destruction, death, pains, and trauma and another cutoff from their hometown and families, probably had an effect of making their past memories get attenuated and blurred or fade away. This is so because the past pains have a tendency to fade away from the memories when the present pains are too much for them.

4.2 cultural factors---chastity ideology and anti-Japanese Sentiments

And even if they had an opportunity to tell, they could not tell even their own families, due to chastity ideology. This was so because the label of the "comfort women" in a patriarchal society was fatal to their lives as women. One of the interviewees said that (even after the reporting) people "looked at her as if they were looking at leper" (case 6). Some others said that they did not tell, since they thought they might be alienated from their significant others such as the families and friends.

Also in Korea at that time, not long after the Japanese colonial rule, anti-Japanese sentiment among the people was strong. And these women, even though they were the victims of the Japanese military, could not tell their stories, since they had fears that they might be accused of having cooperated with the Japanese military.

4.3 Language and Identity Factors: The Confusion of Identity and Difficulty of Linguistic Expression

In addition to chastity ideology and anti-Japanese sentiments, language and identity factors which made them difficult to express their experiences into words can also be considered important. They knew they had been victimized seriously, but they had difficulty in defining this victim

mization. They were not sure whether it was a rape or a prostitution or something else, and they did not have the right words to describe their experiences. As is now well known, before the word "sexual harassment" or "wife battering" was found, women who were victimized with these, could not define the victimization as "sexual harassment" or "wife battering", and thus could not take an appropriate measure according to it. Furthermore, at that time the social atmosphere was such that people were hiding their victimizations and it was not a time for them to come forward and speak.

This difficulty of linguistic expression has a lot to do with their confusion of identity. At first they probably had thought that they were raped, but later they might have thought that they were not different from prostitutes. Sometimes they might have thought that they were Korean victims who had been forcibly drafted under the colonial rule, but other times they might have thought that they were Japanese patriots serving the "Japanese Imperial Army", identifying themselves with the Japanese military, due to the Japanese indoctrination education. Due to this confusion of identity they probably had more difficulty in defining their victimizations. Thus they were more likely to have concealed their identity and kept silence (cf. Figure 2).

There are times you do not express yourself into words even though you know something and have the right words for it. There are other times you cannot express yourself even though you want to express yourself, because you do not have the right words. Both of these two situations seem to work in the cases of the comfort women. On the one hand, they could not talk about their victimizations even though they knew about it, due to their chastity ideology and anti-Japanese sentiments, etc.. On the other they could not express themselves even though they wanted to, since they did not and could find the right words to describe their experiences. Thus when the KCWD or women's studies developed feminist discourse and advocated their positions, their words began to pour out like the flood (Shim, 1998).

5. From Silence to Testimony: How Could They Come to Speak?

5.1 The Momentum for Reporting

How could they get over the long silence, come forward, and report and make testimony? Let's first see how they came to report.. The reporting can be classified roughly into two categories according to who the reporting subject is: that is, voluntary reporting by the victims themselves and other people's reporting on behalf of the victims. And voluntary reporting can be further

classified by the reason of reporting.

First, those who reported voluntarily are case 1, 2, and 4. Case 1 had been trying to reveal the presence and victimization of the comfort women from early times. She reported as soon as she watched Kim Hak-Soon, the first Comfort Women reporter, testifying on television. Case 2 reported after she heard of the reporting of comfort women through her adopted grandson who saw the advertisement in the street and told her. Case 4 reported after she encountered a newspaper report about Yoshida Seiji (who was an author of "I dragged Korean people this way"), was overwhelmed with tears and decided to report.

Among those who reported voluntarily there are some who reported due to their poor living conditions. For example, case 6 said that she decided to report, because it was "too hard for her to live." She reported with a hope that once she reports, her living conditions will get better, since she will get paid with a lump sum of money along with a monthly stipend.

There are other cases who did not report themselves, but other people reported on their behalf. For example, in case 3, even though her daughter opposed her reporting, her landlady who, residing in the same house, knew about her past, reported for her. Her landlady could do so, since she told her stories. But she did not remember the fact that she told her stories. In case 5, who lived alone in the mountains, county welfare officials who visited her for other reasons and thought it strange for a woman to live alone in the mountains, asked why and found out her past and reported for her.

5.2 Motivations and Process of Testimony: How Could They Come to Speak?

Then let us reconstruct the process of reporting and testimony according to the four stages of the relationship between memory/forgetting and talk/silence suggested in Table 1.

The first stage is a stage trying to keep silence even though the victim has a clear memory). She remembers her life at the comfort stations, feels discontented about Japan, her poor parents, her country, and the patriarchal society, but she has no channel to let it out. Also she did not want to let it out even if she had a channel, since in that case her past at the comfort stations will be revealed. Thus she keeps on concealing.

The next stage is a stage trying to forget while keeping silence. She tries to conceal her past identity as a comfort woman and hopes to live as a "normal" woman, that is, get married and

d give birth to children, etc. However, she encounters with the reality which does not fit with her hope or expectations.

The third stage is a stage of giving up and resigning. While giving up and keeping silence for a long time, the memory might also get gradually blurred. As shown in case 3 (in this case her landlady reported for her), a victim could talk about the past, but could forget about her own talking.

The last stage is a stage of speaking out and restoring the memory again. With the emergence of the KCWD, feminist discourse and nationalist discourse, they report and make testimony and restore their memory. These processes can be summarized as the following Table 7.

7. The Effects of Speaking: the New Life and the New Trauma

Now these comfort women have come forward to speak, then what are the effects of speaking? I will discuss them in three aspects, material and economic aspects, mental aspects, and social, relational aspects.

7.1 Improved Living Conditions

After reporting, the first change is that their living conditions have been bettered. As has been mentioned above, with the legislation and enactment of the Special Act to Support Comfort Women Victims, the Department of Health and Welfare began to receive the reporting, register and subsidize the supporting stipend. Thus those who revealed their identity and reported increased, reaching 155 in January 1998 and 199 in April 2000 (Table 8). The subsidy of the government includes a lump sum of five million Won (1993), a monthly stipend of 500,000 Won, and other (Table 8). Since these women were suffering from severe hardship in surviving, it can be easily surmised that many of them reported to resolve their living conditions.

In this regard it is a pity to mention that comfort women victims have an excessive attachment to money. Even though they got paid with the lump sum of money from the government, they find it hard to reject the secret allurements of the Asian People's Fund of Japan (Japan's civil fund for comfort women victims). The KCWD asks them not to receive the money, since receiving the money means an exemption of Japanese government from the responsibilities of war crimes and the restitution for the damages. Furthermore, it might leave no other way to demand Ja

panese government's apology and efforts to reveal the truth, punish those responsible and retribute for the damages among others. They promise that they would not receive the money, but they actually receive or want to receive the money behind the scene. This phenomenon can also be considered as an effect of victimization. More specifically, they do so because they suffered too much from economic hardship, which in turn was because they were the comfort women victims. Or they had no alternative restitution but to pursue a material one.

7.2 Mental Effects: Talking, Restoration of Memory and New Trauma

Among the mental effects, the most important one is that of recovering the memory by speaking. This can be considered as the Stage 4 of Table 7.

However, the mental effects of speaking seem to appear in various forms according to who you are. For example, some comfort women victims said that they "felt better and relieved, having poured out everything," or "having no sediments left" (Case 5). On the other hand, others said that they felt "uneasy, suffering from pains in the heart, or having a headache," after making public testimonies (Case 4). Particularly, case 2 who had been suffering from a nightmare while having kept silence, said that the nightmare which had been attenuated for a while, came back after the reporting and testimonies. This clearly shows that the memory was recovered vividly after speaking.

These comfort women victims, after speaking and rediscovering their identity as comfort women victims, reveal various forms of interpretation and adaptation. Some shows regrets for unfilled wishes, others show giving up and resignation toward the world, still others show sublimation beyond all these desires. For example, case 2 said that she still wanted to "get married and give birth to a child," even though she is too old to give birth to a child. Case 5 said that she does "not want to get born again," showing that she has no regrets toward this world. She said that she "just wants to pass away without much fuss. Case 6 also said that she had "no dreams or no hopes," and want to "die without causing any shame".

However, there are a few who shows a sublimation which goes beyond these desires and even resignations. Case 5 said that she "wanted to help the poor boys and girls who do not have parents so that they would not get into the same difficulties she went through," because she lived such a rugged life since her parents passed away when she was young. This is one of the least expected reactions considering their experiences and hardships they went through. On the co

ntrary they probably might reached a philosophic ripeness after all those sufferings and hardships.

In this regard it can be said that the comfort women victims have been and is still suffering from various aftermath and in this sense this is not a problem of the past, but of the present.

7.3 Relational, Social Effects: Activities for Restoration of Collective Memories

These mental effects of speaking such as "feeling better and relieved" seem to work as a moment for beginning a new life, by confirming the dignity of human beings and by forming a new identity, etc.

In terms of human relations aspects, both positive and negative effects are found. As for the positive effects, the reporting and speaking provide a moment to form a new human relationship and a new network. Particularly, the comfort women victims find themselves worth living with the relationship with the KCWD, make intimate human relationship by getting acquainted with other comfort women victims.

At the same time, however, negative effects are also found. Important among them are their mental pains and conflict as their families came to know their past through the reporting procedures and testimonies. Also some of the comfort women victims began to compare their severity of the forcible draft processes and the lives at the comfort stations, and claimed that "I am different from other comfort women victims and I am the real victim". This is really a sad story, trying to classify among the victims, even though all of them are victims. This can also be considered as an aftermath of the comfort women victimization.

With the repetition of the testimonies, we also see a change in the content of the testimonies. This might be due to several factors. First, it could be an unintentional distortion due to a blurring of the memory since a long time has passed. Second, it could be an intentional distortion or exaggeration, knowing what is an appealing way of speaking, or the so called "the right answer." Third, it could reflect a change in the mood and/or the situation of the interviewee in relation with KCWD or Japan. Fourth, it could reflect an approach of the interviewer or the researcher, i.e., whether a rapport between the interviewer and interviewee has been established or not. Altogether, these problems can also be considered as an aftermath of the victimization.

Considering the social effects of speaking, the experience of reporting and making testimonies

es seem to work as a turning-point for beginning a new life, by forming a new identity for the m. Particularly, there are many who decided to dedicate the rest of their lives to the restoration of the collective memories with regard to the comfort women victimization. They became very actively involved to resolve these issues. And they are enthusiastic in these works. For example, case 1 has been busy making testimonies, saying that she is "crazy making testimonies after reporting." Also there are many who have participated in the "Wednesday Demonstration Before the Japanese Embassy" without absence.

Thus it can be said that they are undergoing a big change in consciousness with the reporting and testimonies. Most of them show positive effects, even though some show negative effects such as suffering from the pains again or changing the content of their testimonies. Among these all, the most fortunate is that most of them recover their self-esteem and dignity of human beings.

8. Concluding Remarks

This paper dealt with the issue of the life of the comfort women victims' after their return to Korea. Particularly, it focused on the following questions: what are the pains and aftermath the fifty years silence has brought to them, why they kept silence so long, how did they come to break the silence and report, and what are the effects of speaking. In summary, it can be said that their whole life after the return can be considered as aftermath of the "comfort women" experiences. Considering the fact that they are still suffering from the aftermath even after the reporting and testimonies, it can certainly be said that this issue of the comfort women victimization is not a problem of the past, but a problem of the present.

The testimonies of the comfort women victims has a strong power of restoring the collective memories and of making historians rewrite history. This power comes from the very fact that they not only suffered from extreme victimization, but also had to keep silence for about fifty years. This is the power of truth, which neither political power nor military force can suppress. This we could see in the testimonies of the comfort women victims.

The fifty years' silence could be broken through a 10 years' efforts of the KCWD and the resulting implementation of government policy toward the comfort women survivors. Through this we can find out that legal institutions and measures are important in restoring collective memories. But it can also be pointed out that civil movement, especially women's movement were essen

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tial in doing it.