

# ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROSTITUTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE 1945

MR.YOHEI MIYAMOTO

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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

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Thesis Advisor Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D

---

Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

.....Dean of the Graduate School  
( Associate Professor Amorn Petsom, Ph.D.)

#### THESIS COMMITTEE

.....Chairman  
(Assistant Professor Theera Nuchpiam, Ph.D.)

.....Thesis advisor  
(Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.)

.....External Examiner  
(Assistant Professor Kitti Prasirtsuk, Ph.D.)

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ทัศนคติของชาวญี่ปุ่นที่มีต่อโสเภณีเป็นผลสืบเนื่องจากระบบชั้นวรรณะก่อนสมัยราชวงศ์เมจิ ทัศนคติเหล่านี้ได้มีอิทธิพลมาจากกองทัพของญี่ปุ่น พันธะระหว่างกองทัพญี่ปุ่นกับโสเภณีตามกล่าวนี้กินความถึงการสร้าง การบำรุงรักษา และบริหารจัดการสถานเรีงรมย์ในนั้นที่ที่กองทัพญี่ปุ่นยึดครอง ซึ่งมีอยู่ทั้งในจีนแผ่นดินใหญ่ คาบสมุทรมลายู และดินแดนอินเดียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้การยึดครองของฮอลแลนด์ หญิงบริการที่กองทัพญี่ปุ่นได้มานั้นมีที่มาต่างกัน ไป คือมีทั้งการตกลงยินยอมของทั้งสองฝ่าย ตลอดไปจนถึงการถูกขู่กรรโชก การทำร้ายร่างกาย โดยฝ่ายจัดหาผู้หญิง หรือทหารญี่ปุ่น จากการศึกษาได้พบว่าทัศนคติของชาวญี่ปุ่นเป็นผลมาจากปัจจัยการใช้หลักเศรษฐศาสตร์มาศึกษาสังคม และระบบโครงสร้างลำดับชั้นที่มาจากยุคโมโคมายา และสืบต่อเนื่องไปจนถึงยุคโทกุกาว่า ซึ่งถือว่าโสเภณีเป็นชนชั้นระดับล่างระบบ โครงสร้างลำดับชั้นของสังคมญี่ปุ่นถือว่าครอบครัวคนจนจะต้องขายลูกสาวตัวเองเพื่อนำเงินมาเลี้ยงดูครอบครัว ซึ่งมีกรณีศึกษาของคาราบุกิซัง ซึ่งเป็นผลจากการใช้หลักเศรษฐศาสตร์มาศึกษาสังคม นำไปใช้กับม่านรูดในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ เกาหลี และจีนแผ่นดินใหญ่ ทัศนคติของชาวญี่ปุ่นต่อโสเภณีเป็นปัจจัยหลักในการเกิดทฤษฎีการบุกิซัง ซึ่งทัศนคติเหล่านี้เป็นเหตุผลหลักในการนำผู้หญิงมาทำงานในสถานเรีงรมย์ที่สร้างโดยทหารญี่ปุ่นตั้งแต่ปี 1932-1945

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Japanese attitudes to prostitution are a result of a hierarchical system rooted before the Meiji period. These attitudes influenced the way the Japanese military looked at issues related to the sexuality of Japanese soldiers in countries or areas occupied by the Japanese military forces from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century to 1945. This involved the construction, maintenance and administration of Comfort Stations in Japanese occupied areas in countries like China, the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies. Additionally, the Japanese military needed to supply women to work in these Comfort Stations. The obtaining of these women was carried out through a number of different approaches ranging from agreed participation to coercion through physical violence by pimps or the Japanese military.

My study has found that the attitudes of Japanese in relation to prostitutes was a product of socio-economic factors and the hierarchical system inherited from the Momoyama period and carried on by the Tokugawa period to control those considered lower class such as prostitutes. The hierarchical structure of Japanese society meant that many poor families needed to sell their daughters to keep the rest of the family alive. This is no more apparent than in the case of the Karayuki-san who, as a result of socio-economic conditions, went to work in brothels in Southeast Asia, Korea or China. The attitudes of Japanese towards prostitution were a major factor in the creation of the Karayuki-san. These attitudes can be seen to be a major reason for the obtaining of women to work in Comfort Stations established by the Japanese military from 1932 to 1945.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 .Background

**First**, I am interested in Japanese attitudes towards prostitutes as a characteristic of Japanese culture. From the point of view of Japanese males in Japan, but also those travelling overseas, who go to brothels in groups or as individuals. These attitudes, as a characteristic of Japanese attitudes towards prostitution, are rooted in the period dating before the Meiji period.

**However**, before the First World War Japanese females were sexually exploited in Southeast Asia. When I read the story of Karayuki-san (Yamazaki, 2007) several years ago, it was very impressive for me and shocking. This is because I thought prostitutes in general were the lowest class in society and discriminated against due to their immoral vocations. It was very shocking for me the number of Japanese females engaged in prostitution in Southeast Asia. The story of Karayuki-san is another example of the Japanese attitude towards prostitution that has been carried through from before the Meiji period. It is characterized by the activities of males who supplied or pimped Karayuki-san into Singapore and Japanese society in general , during the period from around 1870 to 1920.

I did not know who they were or how they lived in Southeast Asian countries. I wanted to explore the historical records of Karayuki-san, which were left in the present day and I analyzed them based on various historical writings. I thought it would be helpful to look at Karayuki-san's situation to have a better understanding of the attitude of Japanese males towards prostitutes in the present day.

**Second**, I have met many prostitutes and their customers in Bangkok.

I did this to better understand how prostitutes and their customers thought and behaved which is extremely important for me to understand the situation of Karayuki-san or "Comfort Women" in Southeast Asia and their customers.

Without researching the life of prostitutes and females who are exploited sexually by Japanese males, I would lack any actual understanding of reality.

At first I thought the practices of Japanese male customers of Thai prostitutes are peculiar cases, and only males over middle age would be customers of Thai prostitutes.

**However**, through my research I found that quite a few Japanese males seek affection from prostitutes even though it is a financial transaction and fake love, and that young Japanese males are commonly customers of Thai prostitutes and treat them like modern style girl friends. Whereas elder Japanese males treated Thai prostitutes as less than equal; like traditional concubines.

During the Karayuki-san period (1870-1920) it was almost impossible for Japanese workers to go back to Japan until they finished working overseas; so many men sought out Karayuki-san to help ease their loneliness. Japanese males were so appreciative of Karayuki-san for her help to relieve their loneliness, they treated Karayuki-san as an equal. This involved not only having sex with Karayuki-san but also for conversations in Japanese and to gain feelings of affection similar to being in Japan.

**Third**, I am interested in the Japanese military's attitude towards prostitution after the Meiji period and during Second World War. This is because this topic is hidden or not taught in Japan and may be lost from Japanese history. This topic cannot be found in any Japanese school text books and is considered a sensitive issue in Japan today.

According to a book named *The Comfort Women*, (Hicks,1995:115), Korean women and Taiwanese women were also sent to Southeast Asia as Comfort Women. For example, 73 Taiwanese females were sent to Sarawak in Malaysia, and many Korean females were sent, or went by themselves to **Southeast Asia** in order to act as Comfort Women for the Japanese military.

When the Siam-Burma railway line was constructed, Korean prostitutes were placed on trains to offer sexual services to the passengers at each stop along the line (Hicks,1995:133). Many scholars still discuss whether comfort women were prostitutes who joined the Japanese military of their own free will or were forced to engage as sexual slaves through violence committed against them or being cheated and deceived.

Of course, it is impossible for me to discern whether testimonies by former Comfort Women who were involved with the Japanese military are accurate or not.

Only by exploring this issue further will I be able to understand the reality about the role of Comfort Women throughout Japanese history.

**Fourth**, it is very difficult to identify who was and who was not a prostitute. When I explored the history of Comfort Women within the Japanese military, some volunteered to become Comfort Women, while some of them were forced into being Comfort Women. The ideology and definition of prostitution or prostitutes between Japan, Southeast Asia and the West are very different. During the war period, many Korean females were engaged in prostitution for the Japanese military, however, they strongly claimed that they were not prostitutes but were coerced and sexually exploited by the Japanese military.

Also, it was surprising for me that there were many females in Southeast Asia who were forced to be Comfort Women during the Pacific War. Many Japanese people are familiar with the story of Korean comfort women during the war period, because the Korean government criticized the Japanese military internationally in the media and at the inter-government level.

The Japanese military exploited Karayuki-san to assist in the rapid expansion of the Empire of Japan. But in 1920 Karayuki-san was prohibited by the Japanese government, and Karayuki-san was forced to withdrawal from public view.

**Fifth**, the Japanese government has been criticized by former comfort women who claimed that they were not prostitutes, but were coerced into it by the Japanese military. Even though they were engaged in prostitution, either by their own free will or with violence, it creates a situation of uncertainty and makes it very difficult to define them as prostitutes.

However, after the 1960s, many women in Thailand are included in the category of prostitute despite not being forced to engage in prostitution. As part of my research I have discovered that many Japanese males think that there are situations and conditions where females sell their bodies but are not professional prostitutes. Also, many Japanese females who engage in prostitution temporarily do not regard themselves as prostitutes, because they are students and office workers with lives apart from accepting money for sex. This way of thinking is also true of their Thai counterparts.

**Sixth**, it is very interesting for me, as a Japanese man in Southeast Asia, to explore the history of Japanese activities during the period of the Empire of Japan.

Many Japanese strongly believe Japan maintains the highest position within Asia due to not only economic power but also its glorious historical background. This is because many books mainly focus on Japan's glorious history or memories of overcoming hardship, but say little about Karayuki-san or the struggles of other Comfort Women.

**However**, most Japanese have never seen books which focus on prostitution. Hane, wrote *Peasants, Rebels, women, and outcasts, and the Underside of modern Japan* (2002), which creates better understanding of the condition of the outcasts in Japan. This subject is not familiar among Japanese people due to the recent prohibition on discussing it in Japanese society. When I was in Osaka, I talked with a man who was from an outcast group. He said the area for outcasts were quite similar in atmosphere and these people were all living in the same apartment building. Also, he explained where these areas were. Even in modern Japan a characteristic of historical confinement and restriction exists. It was a very surprising conversation with a person whom I had never met in my life. This modern day characterization of people as outcasts that is condoned and accepted by some Japanese is not discussed. It is this attitude of restriction and confinement that has come down from before the Meiji Period to the present day. It was also part of the way prostitutes were treated and confined to particular areas as they were regarded as outcasts. Understanding and analyzing Japanese points of view towards lower classes, especially how outcasts (*Eta, Hinin*) are created, will be useful in analyzing Japanese attitudes towards prostitutes or comfort women in Southeast Asia.

**Seventh**, through my research I came to realize that prostitution operations in Thailand are concealed behind legal service industries. The people who operate these businesses do not want to share with me any information but instead actively conceal it. This situation is similar to the Karayuki-san and Comfort Women during the war time. The situation with Comfort women is similar as the Japanese Military tried to hide the way they recruited and used Comfort Women. At the end of World War II, a lot of documents about comfort women were destroyed by the Japanese military.

## **1.2. Area and Scope**

### **1.2.1. Objective of the Study**

1. Analysis of Japanese attitudes to prostitution in Southeast Asia before 1945
2. Analyze historical background of “ karayuki-san” and “ Comfort Women” in Southeast Asia.
3. Analyze the historical background of building Comfort station in China and its application to Southeast Asia during the Pacific War.

### **1.2.2. Hypothesis**

Japanese attitudes towards prostitution in Southeast Asia before 1945 are a result of centuries old ideologies, a Confucian based hierarchical system and attitudes of Japanese people related to their socio-economic history rooted before the Meiji period.

### **1.2.3. Research Methodology:**

Japanese and English literature will be used for this research. These materials include books, academic articles, reports, newspapers, magazines, and information from related websites.

The methodology I will use in my research is compiling the information from many sources in attempt to figure out the facts about Comfort Stations and the Japanese attitude toward prostitution.

I also conducted extensive interviews of my target groups who are Japanese males in Bangkok and Taipei.

### **1.2.4. Scope of study**

This study has traced historically the development of Japanese attitudes towards prostitution before the Meiji period. It has looked into the hierarchical nature of Japanese society, which developed from Confucianism. This nature created a sense of the racial superiority expressed by the West after the First World War. This notion of racial superiority suited Japanese attitudes as it matched the hierarchical understandings that already existed in Japan before the Meiji period.



Through exploring the way Karayuki-san were a result of hierarchical structures in Japan Japanese practices and socio-economic structures that resulted in the delivery of thousands of daughters of poor families to be prostitutes in Southeast Asia from the 1870s to 1920. By covering a broad area of Japanese history this study has looked more deeply into Japanese attitudes towards prostitution and gave greater understandings of the causes of the rise of Comfort Stations and the ways Comfort women were obtained to work in the Comfort Stations.

### **1.3. Contribution of the study**

#### **1.3.1. Significant of study**

This study highlights the Japanese attitudes towards prostitution rooted before the Meiji period which affected the way the military viewed the use of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women in the period from 1932 to 1945. It is these attitudes that dragged both voluntary and forced women into situations where they were sexual slaves. At present the Japanese Government is trying to create good relations with countries where Comfort Women were recruited or forced against their will give sexual services. The understandings gained from this thesis will help develop more knowledge about the events that occurred in the creation of Comfort Women and the attitudes of the Japanese that led to their sexual slavery.

#### **1.3.2. Literature review**

Koyano Atushi provides a lot of information about prostitution from the ancient to the modern period in Japan. Traditionally, Japanese people did not have feelings of shame towards prostitution, like western countries before 1867. However, after 1868, the Japanese government tried to regulate prostitution due to the criticism generated by westerners. Despite this, the Japanese government confined red light districts and forced prostitutes to live in certain areas up to the end of World War II because the Japanese government believed prostitution was necessary in controlling the society. After World War II, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the United States, which occupied Japan from 1945 to 1952, ordered the abandonment of red light districts in Japan. As a result these areas were no longer confined and similar activities were able to spread randomly in cities, which made the border between prostitutes and ordinary women more ambiguous. This book provided valuable information about Japanese attitudes to prostitution and was very helpful to my

thesis topic, which looked at a cultural acceptance of prostitution that has been carried down to the present generation of heterosexual Japanese males.

Shimizu Hiroshi and Hirakawa Hitoshi (1998) looks at the history of the Karayukisan from the beginning of Japanese immigration to Singapore, started by Karayukisan (Japanese prostitutes) ,who used to work in Asian countries. After Karayukisan migrated to Asian countries many Japanese males followed them and they started to operate businesses in goods requested by Karayukisan such as Kimonos, hairdressers, Japanese speaking doctors and Japanese foods. The background of Karayukisan is similar to those of Thai prostitutes in that Karayukisan and Thai prostitutes see prostitution as a way of overcoming their poor socio-economic backgrounds. This book is also useful for my thesis as it contributes to a historical understanding of Japanese male attitudes to prostitution, which is also reflected Japanese male attitudes in the present.

Hata Ikuhiko(1999)describes the stories of comfort women and friction between Japan and its former colonies with regard to how women became comfort women and the difficulty of gaining acknowledgement of this situation by the Japanese in particular. Still now, the Japanese government has not admitted the existence of comfort women, because they believe many of them just worked as prostitutes. In this book, the differences in definitions of comfort women and prostitutes are examined from different historical backgrounds in former Japanese colonies such as Korea and Manchuria. This helps to develop the exploration of Japanese male attitudes from a historical point of view and adds relevance to my thesis topic

Kurahashi Masanao (2010) insists there are two types of comfort women. The first are women who moved to Japanese towns in former Japanese colonies to provide sexual services. The second were women who were forced to be sexual slaves for the Japanese military. He compares the prostitution system before and after Japan lost World War II. He states the abandoning of registered prostitution, after WW II, totally changed the power balance and characteristics of employers and sex workers. Thus, sex workers were not forced to work against their will to repay large debts to their employers. Instead prostitutes became more independent and Again this study broadens the understanding of Japanese males' attitudes to

prostitutes historically and how they are reflected in the interaction of Japanese males with prostitutes in Thailand.

Zhu. Delan. (2005) talks about Taiwanese comfort women who worked in Southeast Asian countries. She also took pictures of Comfort Stations in Taiwan, which were used by the Japanese military, and included the pictures in her book.

Shibuya Tomomi (2004) points out that when scholars study sexuality, they only focus on females and ignore male sexuality in Japan. So, the sexuality of Japanese males have hardly ever been discussed, thereby she analyzed and wrote her book about Japanese male sexuality. I, also, agree with her point of view, because the way of analysis of a feminist point of view is always one sided and focuses on the point of view of females exclusively. Shibuya analyzes Japanese male virginity from the pre-modern period to the present day, which helps provide a more profound analysis of modern Comfort Women. Some joined voluntarily, but were forced, kidnapped or deceived by the Japanese military. He mainly criticizes the Japanese government, and he tried to show evidence the Japanese government were involved in these activities. This book is helpful in showing how Japanese males behaved towards foreign prostitutes, and adds to the historical background of their ideology, by showing the instinct of male sexual desire during war times.

#### **1.4. Definition of Comfort Women**

These are some definitions of Comfort Women and they will be classified according to the opinions of the writers.

##### **Japanese**

I.) Kurahashi Masanao (2010), who is a professor of Aichi Prefectural University, stated that Comfort Women were of two kinds. ( Kurahashi,2010, p.8). Firstly, Comfort Women whose characteristics were those of prostitutes. These Comfort women were living in the Japanese towns in China . These Japanese females called themselves as Gei-gi ( 芸妓 geisha), Shaku-fu( 酌婦 - barmaid) and Jo-kyu ( 女給 waitress), but they were in fact licensed prostitutes. The number of Japanese prostitutes in the Japanese towns was around 15,000 in 1940.

Secondly, Comfort Women whose characteristics could be described as sexual slaves. There were a few cases of Comfort Women being like sexual slaves on the battle fields of China. In Southeast Asia, not many Japanese merchants did businesses, so there were no Japanese Towns like in China. From this it can be assumed that there were Comfort Women who were treated like sexual slaves (Kurahashi, 2010:37, 48).

Through all chapters, I followed Kurahashi's definition because his classification of Comfort Women was more understandable for me. When I read some other definitions, they did not state the differences between ordinary prostitutes and women whose characteristics were more like sexual slaves. From my understanding the prostitutes who followed the military called themselves Comfort Women (従軍慰安婦).

It is necessary to distinguish between those women who worked as prostitutes in war zones and those who were abducted or coerced through violence to act as Comfort Women.

### **Taiwanese**

II.) Dr. Zhu Delan (2005:13), who is a Taiwanese female scholar, stated that "Comfort Women' were women who worked as sex workers for the Japanese military exclusively between the 1930s and the 1940s in Asian countries. In that period, the Japanese government, which enforced state power, was involved in recruiting of women indirectly and directly. In some cases, these women who were recruited were either deceived through the terms of their contracts or were taken away forcibly. The nationalities of these women were Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, Filipino, Malaysian, Indonesian, or Dutch. The number of Comfort Women was estimated to have been over 400,000. The estimates of the numbers of Comfort Women differ from scholar to scholar (Zhu, 2005:13).

### **Korean-Japanese**

III) Dr. Yamashita Yone, who is Korean-Japanese working at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, stated that prostitutes can be considered sexual slaves. Comfort women were recruited on the basis of race/nation and social class; so this discrimination is worse than being labeled a prostitute ( Hata, 1999:351).

### **Japanese dictionary**

IV.) Jirin, a Japanese dictionary, defines “Comfort Woman” as: “a woman who, during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), and the Pacific War (1941-45), was taken compulsorily by the Japanese military and was forced to engage in having sex with their soldiers; most of whom were Korean” (Hata, 1999:365). Hata Ikuhiko stated that “Comfort Women” were those who followed the military to battle fields and engaged in sex with soldiers. The number of comfort women was estimated around 80,000 during these periods (Hata, 1999:365).

### **Japanese**

V.) A Japanese non-fiction writer, Ms. Kamizaka Fuyuko, who has an anti-feminist point of view, stated that Korean women provided sexual services willingly to the Japanese soldiers while Korea was under Japanese occupation (Hata, 1999:355).

### **Japanese**

VI.) Japanese journalist Ms. Sakurai Yoshiko stated that brothels were accepted at that time, so it is not relevant to try to define a “Comfort Woman” as a good or bad thing (Hata, 1999:355).

### **Japanese**

VII.) Japanese novelist, Ms. Sono Ayako, stated that: “Women who were not former Comfort Women would insist that they were (in order to receive government compensation), as it was difficult to distinguish who was and who was not at the time” (Hata, 1999:355).

### **Japanese**

VIII.) Yamazaki Kumiko, who was Vice Professor at the Medical School of the Defense Forces of Japan, stated that she thought sex workers were just physical workers. If a woman did not have a job during a period of war, then she would choose to be a prostitute. She suspected that those who criticized women for being prostitutes during periods of war would also discriminate against prostitutes in peace time (Hata, 1999:355).

### Japanese

XI) Yamazaki Tomoko states: “The difference between “Karayuki-san” and “Comfort Women” was that Karayuki-san were “prostitutes” but not “sexual slaves”. Karayuki-san were women who became prostitutes due to “economic reason”. Karayuki-san could change brothels if they could continue to return their debt. Moreover, they did have some discretion as to whether they serviced customers as sometimes they could reject customers whom they did not like at all (Yamazaki, 2012:102).

### Japanese

X.) Yoshimi Yoshiaki who was a professor at Chuo University in Tokyo, stated: “**the term “Comfort Women” is far from the real meaning.** According to former Dutch comfort women the term is not appropriate as it gives the impression of an act of warmth and compassion, which is completely different from what was happening at that time. The meaning of “comfort” contains an understanding of affection, compassion, warmth or pity. However, these women were exploited sexually by the military during World War II”.

Yoshimi personally thinks the term “Comfort Woman” should be replaced by “military sexual slave”. The term “Comfort Woman” has been circulating for such a long time that other terms are not often used. The term is now broadly understood by the international community to include acts considered to be “military sexual slavery” ( Yoshimi, 1995:10-11).

### American

XI.) Hillary Clinton, a former United States Secretary of State, stated: “All official documents refer to women drafted as prostitutes for the Japanese military during World War II as ‘**enforced sex slaves**’ rather than by the euphemism ‘Comfort Women (chosun.com, July, 12, 2012:Online).

### Korean

XII.) Chin-Sung-Chung, a Sociology professor at Seoul National University, was quoted by Paul H. Kratoska using the term “**military sexual slavery**” as her own definition of the term “Comfort Woman”. This is the term accepted and

used by the United Nations to describe the actions of the Japanese Military and Government at the time.(Chin-Sung-Chung, 2006:303-304).

### **1.5. Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis is divided into 6 chapters as shown below:

**Chapter 1** introduces general information about the thesis, background, hypothesis, research objectives, literature review, research methodology, significance of research, and structure of the thesis.

**Chapter 2** explores the history of prostitution in Japanese Society before and after the Meiji period.

**Chapter 3** surveys Karayuki-san in Southeast Asia from 1870 to 1920.

I will analyze Japan's historic attitudes towards prostitution, and look in to how they were formed and developed. As part of this approach, I will explore the socio-economic background of Karayuki-san. I will also look at the role of the Japanese Government and human traffickers .To do this, it is necessary for me to explore the footprint of Japanese prostitutes and Japanese males in Southeast Asia from the 1880s until the ban on Japanese prostitutes in Singapore in 1920.

**Chapter 4** deals with the historical background of prostitution in Japan and Japanese occupied areas after 1920.

In this chapter, I am going to explore the historical background of the Empire of Japan, which became a non-white member of the Imperialist countries and a member of the big 5 in the League of Nations after 1920 since Japan was on the winning side in the First World War. However, after 1920, female human trafficking was still prevalent due to domestic poverty in Japan caused by such things as famines. After invading China, comfort stations were set up by the military to try to prevent the rape of Chinese women. Exploring the human rights abuses in China, such as the Nanking Massacre in 1937, I will additionally explore the ideas and the history behind the setting up of Comfort Stations throughout Southeast Asia. Also, I will look at **the social and individual** background that led the Japanese military to become brutal towards Asian people not just in Nanking but throughout Asia where ever they invaded.

**Chapter 5** is an overview of the use of Comfort Women in Southeast Asia during Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945.

Before and during the Pacific War, Japanese soldiers sexually abused or raped many women in Japanese occupied territories. To overcome these abuses “Comfort Women” were supplied. The military saw Japanese as superior to other Asian nationalities and had no problems with forcing females to be “Comfort Women”. This kind of cultural belief of superiority can be seen in Japanese heterosexual males and their attitudes to sex workers in Southeast Asia today.

**Chapter 6** provides the research findings and analysis of the previous chapters and observations for further study.



## CHAPTER II

# HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION IN JAPANESE SOCIETY BEFORE THE HEIAN PERIOD TO THE MEIJI PERIOD

The characteristics of prostitution in Japan can be separated into three periods. **First**, before and during the Heian period (794-1191) when emperors and aristocrats did not discriminate against prostitutes as they both enjoyed music together. **Second**, after the Momoyama period (1568 onwards) when the red light districts were contained in certain areas. Also, segregation according to social status was carried out. **Third**, after the Meiji period (1868 onwards), Japan had to deal with the Japanese ideology about prostitution and how it conflicted with that of the West. This section then discusses how the Tokugawa Shogunate segregated and contained 'dirtiness': which were Christianity (ideology), outcasts (poor) and prostitution, from 'ordinary society' to protect its hierarchical system. Although the Meiji restoration was established and then accepted by Western ideology, its government asked the heads of families to watch family members to make sure they obeyed and did not to acquire ideologies against the Empire of Japan. So, the characteristics of prostitution in Japan, rooted before the Edo period, are still similar and seen as a part of leisure (relaxation) for males, and separated from their families and work. Females who could not become good wives or good mothers became prostitutes. They were treated as outcasts but at the same time they played a great role in Japanese society: as they were a necessary evil for Japanese males to comfort themselves.

The following chapters will be an analysis and discussion about the characteristics of Japanese attitudes towards prostitution based on research from this chapter.

## **2.1 Characteristics of Japanese style prostitution and others**

### **2.1.1 Religion and prostitution in Japan**

In Japan, the Ise Shrine, which is the most prestigious shrine (Shinto), carries out religious services by and for the royal family of Japan. Historically, it used to have brothels attached for practitioners to attend after religious observations or breaking of periods of abstinence from sex. During the Meiji period (1868-1912), Westerners criticized it as very strange because the shrine and brothels were neighboring. Historically, Shinto, which is Japan's traditional religion, did not think that prostitution was immoral. To Japanese people, shrines used to be a place like a theme park. People went and enjoyed playing and shopping. Still now, many vendors sell many things inside shrines in Japan. As Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), who was a German archaeologist, pointed out; Japanese Buddhism was tolerant to prostitution, because portraits of *Oiran* or a courtesan (high class prostitute) decorated the premises of the Sensou temple, which is one of the most famous Buddhist temples in Tokyo. Dr. Kotani pointed out that the theory of holy prostitutes in Japan tried to hide the history of the involvement of the Japanese Shinto religion in allowing the construction of brothels alongside temples. This holy prostitution served as an entertainment for male worshipers and the continuation of the sex industry (Kotani, 2008:27-28). After visiting the shrine or funeral ceremonies, Japanese males visited brothels to break their temporary abstinence (Nagai, 2008: 117-120).

### **2.1.2 Music and prostitution**

In Eastern Asia, prostitutes played instruments before they had sex with their customers. When Westerners came to Japan, many westerners were impressed with Geishas because of their ability to use musical instruments. Some Japanese people believe that Japanese prostitutes are superior to those of the west. This is because historically, Japanese prostitutes could play instruments and perform traditional dances in front of customers. On the other hand, prostitutes in Western countries have not offered entertainments like the Japanese. However, dancing and playing music along with sexual services, in Japan, originated from China, which used to be much more highly cultured than Japan. Enjoying poetry, music, drinking, and prostitutes are based on the ideology of Taoism, which is one of the major religions

of China. Taoism taught the importance of men and women's relationships, in regard to sex (Koyano, 2008:45).

But, even in East Asia, non-Geisha style prostitutes did not play instrument when they had sex with their customers. This sophisticated culture in Japan led to Geisha or high class hostesses being established (Koyano, 2008:48). However, historically, western prostitutes did not play musical instruments or dance in front of their customers. This is based on the ideology of Christianity. The Christian church claimed that music has aphrodisiac effects and can lead to lewd or ribald behavior; including sex. As a result, Christian churches banned music except for church based activities. Music and dancing inevitably develop into musical plays ( Koyano, 2008:48).

### **2.1.3 Chinese thought and Western thought**

The beginning of the story “Nihon Shoki” or the legend of how Japan was established starts with a description of the sex act between Izanaki (male god) and Izanami (female god). This story is also influenced by Taoism and reflects the movement of the ideology of Taoism into Japan from China. One thought of Taoism is sex (Koyano,2008:45) and the worship of sexual intercourse. Taoism sees everything created by sexual intercourse. The Sun and Moon have intercourse; Heaven and Earth have intercourse. Taoists believe when people know how to have sex correctly they may live forever. One Chinese Emperor, Huang, became a hermit, because he had sex with 2000 females. The Han dynasty (BC202-AD8) Emperor Wu, received the knowledge, which included techniques of sex. The Taoist knowledge he received included control of sexual intercourse to control individuals lives,, sexual ethics, manipulation of the birth processes to determine the sex of children, how to mix aphrodisiacs and how to improve genital organs.

Also, when males have sex, they should not emit their sperm, and then they can have sex several times with as many females as possible. When males have sex, they can absorb energy from the essence of females, through their penis. Males should choose females who feel ecstasy easily because Taoist believe these essences of females have plenty of spiritual energy (Gakken, 1992:118-121).

On the other hand, in Christianity, “sex” itself has been regarded as a “sin”, which originated from the Bible. This way of thinking is totally different from that of

East Asian countries, which are based on Confucianism. An example of Christian ideology is that the Roman Catholic church allows people to have sex for reproduction but has not allowed it for their sexual enjoyment (Okiura, 2006:205). It is said that Christianity requires ethics, but Buddhism and Confucianism do not require it. Also, The Christianity is based on belief in miracles and worship, whereas Buddhism and Confucianism are not religions and don't need a belief system to maintain them (Josephson, 2012:204). According to Fukuzawa Yukichi, Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism are the basis of Japanese ethics (Josephson, 2012:201). Therefore, the contrast in the understandings between Japanese non-religious ethics based on Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism and Christian based morality can be seen to be very different.

## **2.2. History of prostitution in Japan chronology.**

### **2.2.1. The Heian Period to the Momoyama period.**

During the Heian period, Okiura states many prostitutes played and slept with aristocrats. Prostitutes, who could dance, had beautiful faces and good sex skills, were thought as having holy spirits inside their bodies (Okiura,2006:73). Famous prostitutes attracted aristocrats and they danced in front of them as well as offering sexual services, and some of them became the wives or concubines of aristocrats until they died (Okiura, 2006: 79).

Through the Heian period (794-1191), music and dancing played a great role in prostitution in Japan. This was different from Western culture, which at the same time banned music except for religious purposes, and was based on Christianity. Also, high ranking Japanese people had been accepting prostitutes as their wives. These characteristics of Japanese attitudes to prostitutes can be seen in elder statesmen who rendered great services to Japan during the Meiji period (around 1000 years later). They got married to “geishas” and these politicians did not hide them from the public (Okiura,2006:121).

During the Kamakura period (1185-1333), women could hold property and be heirs, which enabled them to amass their own wealth and properties. These properties were separate from their husbands'. However, according to the Shogunate law, women were regarded as property of their husbands or fathers. So, when

women were raped by males other than their husbands, rapist had to pay compensation to their husbands and not the women who had been raped (Stanley, 2012:30).

Until the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, there were no distinction between gifts from boyfriends and payment from receiving money in return for selling sex. This is because there existed a barter exchange system at that time and professional sexual workers gave not only sexual service but also provided highly trained entertainments. So, it is not relevant to call them prostitutes (Goodwin, 2007, quoted from Stanley, 2012:26).

In Japan, Noh plays were established by Zeami 世阿弥 (1363-1443), who was a male Noh choreographer and actor. The actresses who performed in Noh plays were known to engage in prostitution. Afterwards, Kabuki was started by Izumo no Okuni at the beginning of the Edo period (1603-1867). These actresses also engaged in prostitution. These phenomena could also be seen in Western countries at times. For example, when the government in England was established after the Puritan Revolution, all theaters were closed because prostitution was carried out in them (Koyano, 2008:48).

### **2.2.2. Japanese History of international human trafficking (16 century) during the Momoyama period (1582-1598).**

In the middle of the 16 century, Portuguese merchants began to buy Japanese slaves and sold them overseas. According to officials in the Vatican, the selling of Japanese girls to foreign countries was sinful. On the other hand, Japanese Prince, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, during his two invasions of Korea allowed Japanese traffickers to buy or kidnap approximately 60,000 people, which were taken back to Japan. These Korean slaves were tied around the neck and then tied to each other. It is presumed that many of these were Korean women who became prostitutes in Japan. Although Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi was not interested in the miserable situation of Korean slaves in Japan, he was surprised that Japanese peasants were sold and sent overseas. Hideyoshi wanted to establish a peaceful Japanese society, but Japanese males and women (mostly peasants) were bought by foreign traders and put in chains. This was preventing the achievement of Prince Toyotomi's goal of a peaceful

Japan. When people were taken as slaves, by foreign traders and sold overseas Japan was deprived of part of its work force. This not only affected the Japanese economy but endangered the flow of income to the prince as most of the workers were from the agricultural sector of the kingdom. Also, internally Japanese landlords poached each other's workers. The overseas trading of Japanese slaves, according to the Portuguese, was something they could not interfere with because Japanese traffickers were offering Japanese slaves for sale on the open market. Thereby, Portuguese merchants were only taking part in buying in the market, so they would buy Japanese slaves continuously when they were offered by the Japanese slave traders. Accordingly, Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi sent a letter of complaint to the Jesuit vice-provincial about the "Portuguese, Siamese and Cambodians" that conducted slave trade. Also, he asked naively for all Japanese slaves to be freed and sent back to Japan. As a result of this and his failure to achieve his goal he introduced a law to stop the buying and selling of human beings within Japan or to foreign merchants (Stanley, 2012:31-32).

### **2.2.3. Historical background of hierarchical system in Japan (1582 -1867)**

Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) built the hierarchical system in Japan. Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi contributed to and enforced the accepted view and steadiness of the social system. This hierarchy was based on the Chinese hierarchical system, *Shi-no-ko-sho*, (士農工商) or samurai- farmer- artisan-merchant. A farmer was ranked higher than an artisan and merchant, because they were more productive than artisans or merchants (Henshall, 2012:52). Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi's policy was carried on by the Tokugawa government. The Tokugawa policy regulated various levels of society according to class and occupation, as examples. These rules regulated in detail not only of "type and place of work and living, and clothing", but also regulated what the present certain classes should give their off-spring according to age and gender. The regulations included such things as what food they were allowed to eat and where they should build toilets were also regulated by this hierarchical system (Henshall, 2012:56). This was first applied to samurai who had to follow the orders and regulations set up by the Tokugawa government. An example of this was that amongst samurai, as declared

by the Tokugawa order, there were complicated sub-rankings. Then from the Samurai down there was a measured position or place right down to the lowest castes. The lowest castes were the outcasts; they were called Eta (hamlet people) or *Hinin* (non-persons). These hamlet people engage in dirty jobs such as “butchering, leatherwork, and burials”. (Henshall, 2012:56).

#### **2.2.4. Nagasaki**

Nagasaki was the center of foreign trade in Japan during the Tokugawa Shogunate. At the end of the 16 century Europeans and Chinese who deserted from ships stayed in Hirado, Nagasaki. Whilst non-Japanese stayed in Hirado, these foreigners had sexual relationship with Japanese women. In the typhoon season, foreigners were forced to stay in Nagasaki, so they made contracts with parents of Japanese women who then stayed with foreigners for weeks or months. Accordingly, these Japanese women could acquire quite adequate sums of money. Then, these Japanese women could pay for their trousseaux, get married and stop engaging in prostitution. In another example, Japanese women could become concubines or get married.

However, the types of marriages were far from orthodox ones according to western moralities. A Dutch male had two wives and he had a daughter with each. In another example a Chinese male got married to a local Japanese in Nagasaki, and their son became heir to his position as head of a large enterprise. The English male, William Adams (三浦安針), who became a samurai of the first Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, had a Japanese wife on Honshu main Island and a mistress in Hirado (Stanley, 2012:76-77).

In 1640, the Tokugawa Shogunate was afraid of the spread of Christianity from Nagasaki throughout Japan and forced foreign traders to leave Japan and burned their warehouses. This was the start of a period when the West was allowed minimal contact with Japan for trade and so Japanese subjects were not allowed to go overseas (Stanley,2012:77). Afterwards, the only non-Japanese allowed to trade were the Dutch. They, along with their Indonesian and African servants or slaves, were confined to man-made islands called Dejima 出島, which were surrounded by high walls and were guarded with high security. The Dutch were not allowed to associate with Japanese people at all. Also, the Tokugawa Shogunate did not allow

the Dutch to study Japanese customs, history, and language. For a decade following the Dejima's establishment, the Tokugawa Shogunate allowed Japanese prostitutes to enter Dejima. The Tokugawa government allowed only Japanese prostitutes to enter Dejima as it felt pity towards the Dutch and their desire for heterosexual intercourse. When Dutch men went outside Dejima, they went to special houses or tea houses which were attached to temples for foreigners. These males were served Japanese prostitutes. When common Japanese women worked in Dejima, they were allowed to work only in the daytime. When the American, Perry, visited Japan with some fellow Americans for the first time it was under the restrictive conditions existing in Japan in the 1850s, the Japanese officials provided prostitutes in return, as bribes (Stanley,2012:78-79, Hight, 2011: 112-115).

Now, I am going to explore historically why residents of Shimabara or Nagasaki were so poor, thus leading to becoming sources of Karayuki-san (Japanese prostitutes who believed in Catholicism) who went overseas (Southeast Asia).

In Shimabara or Amakusa, there were neither fertile fields nor the scale of fishing that enabled local people to live free from poverty. Shimabara and Amakusa people were mostly Christians and suffered religious persecution and oppression at the hands of ruling Buddhists over the course of the Shimabara Rebellion from 1637 to 1638 and after. Afterwards, the Tokugawa government had a policy to increase the number of people living in these areas but the result was that the population moved beyond their ability to feed themselves due to a failure to increase food production along with population increase. Moreover, due to centuries of influence from Christian thought, Shimabara and Amakusa people did not practice infanticide or abortion widely. In Nagasaki port, which was only allowed to trade with foreign countries, like Holland and China, during the Tokugawa period, children of mixed blood were sold overseas. Even after the Meiji period, selling children continued. After the government carried out its open door policy, the number of mixed race children increased. The Japanese people insulted these mixed blood children and the Japanese authorities allowed these children to live in the Japanese area until they were 10 years old. Afterwards, these children were moved to live in alien areas in Nagasaki. If these children were unwanted or had no status in Japanese society, they were often sold to foreign countries. In 1870, when the Japanese government heard of the story of thirty-five children being sold to China, through public opinion they



prohibited Japanese children from being sold and exported overseas. However, afterwards, despite this legal regulation, selling Japanese children to foreign countries was carried out secretly (Hane, 2002:218-219).

### **2.2.5. State-regulated prostitution during the Edo period**

In the beginning of the Edo period (1603-1867), the Tokugawa shogunate tried to manage prostitutes in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, to maintain public peace and the enforcement of public discipline among the samurai class. They created red light districts and did not allow prostitution outside these areas. At the same time, the Edo Shogunate tried to gather information from the licensed brothels to monitor potential criminals which would threaten the status quo of the Shogunate (Yoshimi, 2009:224).

Yoshihara, which is the famous brothel area in Tokyo today, was established by Mr. Shoji Jinemon. In 1612, he and his business fellows asked the Tokugawa Bakufu (Government) to set up a brothel zone in one place. At that time, Edo town was under construction and Mr. Jinemon thought the building of the city from scratch would give the opportunity to set up the town in an organized fashion, which could also give greater control to the Government. So, many shops or houses were order to move to other places by the Tokugawa Shogunate. In 1617, the Tokugawa Shogunate allowed his petition to construct a brothel area in one particular area of Edo to be granted. Edo Bakufu also thought it was easy to control brothels if the government gathered brothels in one area ( rekishino nazo wo saguru,2011:140).

### **2.2.6. Social System and Brothels**

So, I think that there is a characteristic or attitude among Japanese authorities and Japanese society to segregate certain people or places due to the desire to emphasize the differences between places, such as red light areas, which are obviously different from ordinary places. The aim of this is to segregate society and people into those who are in the outcast category and others into the normal category. Thereby, it is natural for the Japanese government to allow licensed brothels to run their businesses in certain restricted areas. The Characteristic one of a Japanese distinction between dirtiness and cleanliness ( Hane, 2002:149).

Under early Tokugawa policy households were assigned statuses (Mibun ), like shi-no-ko-sho, and were contained to their places in social units within communities. Samurai families were required to form households called “ie”. Peasants were contained in villages (mura) and merchants were restricted to towns. (Hall: 39-49, 1974 quoted from Stanley, 2012:26 ). During the Tokugawa period, Shintos and Buddhists discriminated against *Burakumin* ( the community of outcasts 落民) in Japan. Some shrines did not allow Burakumin to enter the shrines or carry the portable altars. In 1859, a young male outcast tried to enter a Shinto shrine in Asakusa. He was beaten to death. These Burakumin, if allowed to enter Temples, had to sit at the back of the temple away from the rest of the other worshipers at the back of the temple. After death, in Buddhism, people can be given Buddhist names by temples. Outcast Japanese were named with “ignoble names” such as “male beasts” and “female beast” ( Hane, 2002:149).

### **2.2.7. Males attitudes to prostitution during the Edo period**

During the Edo period(1603-1867), at the temple elementary schools throughout Japan, Japanese boys started to study from five to six years old to fourteen years old. Then, they either finished study or studied until eighteen years old. When they finished their study at temple elementary schools, these boys were regarded as mature males. Some of them began to work or get married. At that time, males visited girls at their house during night time to have sex. Also, superiors or elder brothers took boys to brothels, and they chose for them, Japanese prostitutes who liked virgin boys. In general, prostitutes liked young boys who were still virgins. They would listen to what prostitutes wanted to do. Once prostitutes provided sexual services to young boys, they might become regular customers of prostitutes. Especially, sons of land owners or sons of owners of big stores gave a lot of tips to prostitutes (Rekishino nazo wo sauru, 2011:20-21).

In the Edo period (1603-1867), among the merchant class, males who had never experienced sex with females used to be looked down on. According to a humorous Japanese poem, “if males lose their virginity when they get married to wives, they are very stupid”. The thinking at the time was that even if males who have the ability to have sex don’t have sex with females or buy geishas they should be laughed at because they can’t afford to do it. Among the merchant class, the most

supreme sex was to have sex with females in the red light districts. So, if males did not experience paid sex but only with non-professional females, these males used to be looked down on. Moreover, males who have never had sex with females were beyond understanding and problematic as they did not conform to the norm (Shibuya, 2003:46). Another example of male attitudes was that every second year Samuri had to live in Edo and leave their wives in their hometowns. They were not busy, got bored and went to brothels (Nagai, 2008:88-90).

#### **2.2.8. State-regulated prostitution in the Meiji Period (1868-1912)**

After the new government in Japan (the Meiji Restoration) was established, state regulation of prostitution was continued. The red light districts were enclosed by walls and moats in order to prevent prostitutes from escaping to the outside world. However, it was not preventable so the owners of brothels had to hire Yakuza (gangsters) who watched the prostitutes so they could not escape. Some of the prostitutes tried to escape from the enclosed red light districts. By doing that, they were lynched by the police who wanted to set an example to prevent other prostitutes from escaping. Japanese police allowed the brothels to detain prostitutes in their brothels, and if prostitutes escaped from there, it was considered a crime. When prostitutes escaped from the brothels, police were responsible to arrest the escaped prostitutes. When these prostitutes were found, they were punished by either being detained and/or fined. Then these escaped prostitutes were sent back to the brothels where they were stationed. Protecting property rights of brothels was more important than the welfare of the prostitutes (Kurahashi, 2010:88).

However, the state-regulated prostitution in Japan was spotlighted internationally. In June 1872, there was a case, which involved over 200 Chinese indentured servants who escaped from a Peruvian ship named Maria Luz, and asked for help in Yokohama. The lawyer for the coolies argued that these coolies were deceived and became slaves, so the contract between them and the Peruvian company was not legally effective. According to a coolie, the employer agreed to contract him with a high wage, so he boarded the ship in the Southern part of China. The ship was on the way to South America but Chinese males were tortured and treated as slave on the ship (Yoshimi, 2009:226, Kurahashi:2010).The Japanese court declared that the coolies should have their rights to restore, because the

context of the contract between the coolies and the Peruvian company were against public order and morals. As a result, the Peruvian company brought the case to the International court which was mediated by the Tsar of Russia. The Peruvian company claimed that state-registered prostitution in Japan was exactly the same as the slave trade. They added that compared with the situation of the Peruvian company, the situation in Japan was much more severe. At that time, creditors could order debtors to become prostitutes if they could not afford to return their debt and the Japanese government did not ban this system (Yoshimi, 2009:225-227). As a result, in 1872, the Japanese government banned human trafficking, and the authority released women who were forced to be engaged in prostitution. Also, the Japanese government exempted these women from paying back their debts. However, the Japanese government did not want to abolish the prostitution system completely. All Japanese prostitutes, geishas and barmaids were freed even if they had debt to the owners of brothels. Especially in Yoshihara, which is the biggest red light district in Edo and where 3,400 prostitutes worked, was damaged economically. These prostitutes, who were freed, did not know how to earn money except from being prostituted. As a result, they became unlicensed prostitutes or committed suicide. In 1873, the names of licensed brothels changed to “leasing rooms”. The owners of leasing rooms lent the rooms to prostitutes. However, the prostitutes were not working independently and were in practice employed by the brothels. These prostitutes did not have rights to choose customers, did not have right to take holidays, did not have right to go outside freely and did not have right to see people or have private correspondence. Moreover, prostitutes had loans from the brothels, so they could not quit their jobs if they wanted to. In 1900, the Japanese government banned brothels from lending money to prostitutes so, if women wanted to quit prostitution they could do it legally. Unfortunately, prostitutes themselves had to go to police to leave a brothel. In practice, police protected the owners of brothels and handed over women who wanted to quit their jobs back to their owners (Yoshimi,2009:225-227, sobokunagimontankyukai, 2008:129-130).

### **2.2.9. The Development of State Registered prostitution overseas**

Japan exported state regulated prostitution to Taiwan, Korea, China and the Southern islands or Southeast Asia. At first, Japan exported state registered prostitution to Pusan in 1881. The systemic state regulation of prostitution was carried out in Korea under Japanese colonization. At first, Japanese women engaged in prostitution, and after this, Korean women also engaged in prostitution. Prostitutes had to live within the red light district, and they could not go outside without permission. For example, in the headquarters of Aichi prefecture police enforced the following regulations: (Yoshimi, 2009:228) first, prostitutes must get permission to go outside brothels. Second, the brothels should give entertainments to prostitutes, to deter escape from brothels. Third, the owners of the brothels should monitor agitators trying to protest against the Japanese government and brothel owners. (Yoshimi, 2009:228).

In Korea, if prostitutes wanted to quit their jobs, it was much more difficult than in Japan. This was because these Koreans had to go to police controlled by and who only spoke Japanese. So, they had great difficulty communicating with the Police because they did not speak Japanese and therefore quitting their jobs was very difficult (Yoshimi, 2009:228).

The state-regulated prostitution system was accepted by most Japanese people, and most Japanese were not concerned about the situation of women who engaged in prostitution. Women's liberation activists, Christians and Buddhists activists protested against state-registered prostitution in Japan (Yoshimi, 2009:228). There used to be many brothels beside regimental headquarters in major cities in Japan. The majority of the lower middle class people supported the state-registered prostitution system. Thus, state-registered prostitution was indispensable for the lower middle class. According to a newspaper, in the opinion column, a reader wrote that upper-class people could afford to see a geisha every day. On the other hand, lower middle class people could not see a geisha even once in ten years (Yoshimi, 2009:229). So, in 1909, in Wakayama prefecture, the establishment of new state-registered brothels in the prefecture became the main issue at the city assembly. The main issue polarized the community with the upper class opposing the establishment of new state-registered brothels for the lower classes and the lower classes wanting

more registered brothels. As a result, in 1910 many lower class members of the city assembly were elected (Yoshimi, 2009:229).

#### **2.2.10. The position of women under Japanese law in 1898.**

Historically, Japanese culture is misogynistic. According to the civil law of Japan (1898), the fathers of families had the strongest power among all of their family members. He was positioned as the head of the family and he could control all property, marriage of family members, and the adoption of daughters or sons. Only the eldest son could be the successor to the family's property. Wives used to be thought of as incompetent, so husbands could keep concubines and adopt children by concubines into the family. In 1908, adultery was regulated. When wives committed adultery, if husbands sued their wives and secret lovers, these people were punished. However, if husbands carried out adultery, they did not have any problems unless their secret lovers had husbands. Consequently, in Japan, the role of women was to have babies (wives), provide sex (prostitutes), or be minor wives (Yoshimi, 2009:224). The households called "ie" were characteristic of traditional families in Japan and it was very important politically under the Tokugawa shogunate. "ie" worked as a substructure of the military as the head of the family had the responsibility to watch activities of their family members, like generals had responsibility to watch their soldiers. It is said that the Japanese people could not develop the idea of rights; this was due to being subdued by authorities.

In Japan, the ideology of "privacy" was not allowed during the Meiji period as the Ministry of Education and of the Interior regarded "family" as a public place. In other words, each family had obligations to the Meiji government. So, the authorities in Japan began to make regulations, which in effect did not to allow the ideology of privacy itself to develop.

Women had the obligation to become "good wives and good mothers". Although females were not allowed to join political activities at all before World War II, they had great roles in giving birth to babies that were understood in Japanese society to be politically important (Van Wolferen, 2012:83).

A Japanese magazine stated that the real aim of marriage is giving birth to children and continue to maintain family life (Benedict, 1946:185).

Also, half of the babies born were males and they became soldiers and workers to help with Japan's increasing power (Van Wolferen, 2012:83).

Because of the power of males over females in this patriarchal system many women had to engage in prostitution to avoid destitution and poverty.

Then, women who could not play roles in being wives or mothers became prostitutes and provided sexual service to Japanese males. This was also contributing to Japan at that time because they could comfort Japanese soldiers.

## CHAPTER III

### KARAYUKI-SAN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM 1868 TO 1920

This chapter explores the history of “Karayuki-san” who worked overseas as prostitutes from the Meiji Restoration (1867) to the period just after the First World War. The objective of this chapter is to show how Karayukisan-san, who were eager to go to Southeast Asia in order to escape from poverty in their hometowns, were treated by the Japanese pimps who engaged in running prostitution in Southeast Asia and how the Japanese government dealt with prostitution in Japan and overseas. This will be helpful in understanding the methods the Japanese military carried out to acquire females throughout Asian countries during the Pacific War.

Karayukisan-san, who were educated and accordingly culturally Japanese, showed patriotism to Japan and contributed fund to help Japan win Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Despite gaining the same legal status as westerners in the Dutch East Indies, Karayuki-san and the Japanese in Southeast Asia were much poorer than westerners (Goto, 2012, p.8). The superficial glory of their national identity was established at the expense of these individuals’ poor lives.

After the First World War, the Japanese government and the Japanese in Singapore, where westerners criticized Karayukisan-san and Japanese felt ashamed of the Karayukisan, forced Karayuki-san back to Japan or to move to new places. An example of this is Karayuki-san moving to mainland China where Japanese prostitutes were allowed to work without being seen by the Westerners. Based on this analysis, issues of attitudes about Comfort Women, by the Japanese military, will be explored in Chapters four and five.

#### **3.1. Definition of Karayuki-San (唐行きさん)**

##### **3.1.1. What is Karayuki-san?**

Yamazaki Tomoko thinks that the relationship of Japanese females with Western society started with Tsuda Umeko, who established Tusdajuku Women’s University in Japan. From there these women were able to study abroad in the United States (Yamazaki, 2012:102)



In contrast, the relationship of Japanese females within Southeast Asian society started from the Karayuki-san, who suffered from poverty and as a result worked as prostitutes throughout Asian countries (Yamazaki, 2012:102).

Many Japanese women started to work as prostitutes in Singapore after 1867 when the Japanese government took on an open door policy (Hata, 2008: 47).

After the Meiji Restoration (1867) to the Taisho period (1912-1926), approximately 100,000 karayuki-san (Japanese prostitutes) went abroad where they went to Siberia, Manchuria, China, Southeast Asia, Korea, India, Africa, Australia and the United States. In 1870, a Japanese woman who got married to a British man started a brothel in Singapore after her husband died. She was trafficking many Japanese women as prostitutes. By 1912, these Japanese prostitutes went to many countries, so their names were called “ Chosen ( Korea) yuki”, “ Siberia yuki” or “ Ameyuki (America) ” according to the countries where they were sent (Hata, 2008, p.47, Warren, 2003, p.82,p.27).

The term “ *Karayukisan*” was first used after 1970 by Ms Yamazaki Tomoko and Ms. Morizaki Kazue as the titles for their books .Before and during world II, these Japanese prostitutes were called 1.“in-bai” (淫売) 2.“jo-ji-gun” (娘子軍) 3.“shou-gi” (娼妓) 4.“sen-gyou-fu” (賤業婦) 5. “bai-shou-fu” (売娼婦) 6. “bu-gyou-fu”(醜業婦).

So, terminology of “ Karayuki-san” was not used in neither report of consulates of Japan nor documents in Japanese. Karayukisan not only included prostitutes but also minor wives in the South Seas. At first, Japanese women in the South Seas started as prostitutes. Later, some of them became minor wives of Chinese, or westerners, and other local males in the South Seas. However, if husbands of Japanese minor wives cut their relationship with them, these Japanese women returned to being prostitutes (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:21-22).

The distribution of Karayuki-san can be measured from the following details of destinations and populations of Karayuki-san. Vladivostok (1,087 ), Batavia (970 ), Shanghai (747), Hong Kong(485), Manila(392), and (over 200, in French Indochina)

(Saigon 192), Sumatra (300-400), Borneo (over 100), Singapore (2,086). The Japanese prostitutes in Singapore appeared from around 1870. According to statistics in Singapore, over 80% of Japanese women living in Singapore were between 10 to

20 years old. Whereas 70% of Japanese men living in Singapore were in their 20s and 30s age group (Warren, 2003, p.87, quoted from the diplomat document of Japan, on 2 July, 1897 quoted from Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:.24-25).

There were many well organized Japanese brothel districts not only in British colonies such as Singapore but also Dutch, French and Spanish colonies. This was well organized by agencies based in Nagasaki, which is where many Karayuki-san's hometowns were located. After the Russo- Japanese War in 1905, the Russian Government expelled Japanese prostitutes from the Empire of Russia. When they returned to Japan many of them could not get along with their neighbors. As a result, many moved to Singapore or other places in order to engage in prostitution again. So, there were many unregistered prostitutes in Singapore than the actual number registered by the authorities in Singapore. Also, according to record from an old ship captain who had lived in Singapore for a long time in 1915, many Japanese sailors visited Japanese brothels in Singapore. There were many Japanese restaurants, tea houses, bars and hotels, which used these disguises for activities of the Karayuki-san, and were actually brothels. Before the influx of Karayukisan to Singapore, prostitutes in Singapore were mainly from France, Central Europe, and Russia. These prostitutes were taken by pimps who were of the same nationality. However, the scale of participation by them was by far less than that of Karayuki-san or Chinese prostitutes in Singapore (Warren, 2003:87).

At the peak of the Karayuki-san, they earned around 1000 million dollars (Yamatani, 1995:330). Nagasaki post office, which is the location of many Karayukisan's home town, received 200,000 yen yearly from Krayuki-san who worked in Southeast Asia (Warren, 2003:63).Amakusa in Nagasaki Prefecture (Kyushu Island, Southern Area of Japan), is famous as the source of Karayuki-san. Some of the prostitutes came back to Amakusa wearing two gold rings.

This was sung about in a song of the Simabara people "Going to the South Seas", which became popular among Simabara people in fishing villages. Earning money in the South Seas (南洋) "*Nanyo*"(Southeast Asia and islands near the equator) used to be an honor in this fishing village. These prostitutes sent money to their parents and built houses for their families in small villages and sent their brothers to school. These women did not want to waste their young days in small towns, so they went to the South Seas (Kurahashi, 2010:196-198,Yamatani,

2005:330, Brown, 2000:7). Many Japanese women were engaged in prostitution in Southeast Asian countries for around 70 to 80 years from around 1867. If engaging in prostitution in Southeast Asian countries was extremely dangerous, these Japanese women would not have wanted to work overseas. Of course, some Japanese prostitutes died in Southeast Asian countries, or stayed there for many reasons. However, almost all Japanese women who were working as prostitutes in Southeast Asia returned to their hometowns in Japan. These Japanese prostitutes earned money, which allowed them to achieve a much better status and living conditions than if they had stayed in Japan. Many former Karayuki-san, who became wealthier due to prostitution in Southeast Asia, got married to Japanese males when they went back to their hometowns. Many Japanese people were envious of them but in their hometowns former Karayuki-san were not criticized in terms of their morality for being ex-prostitutes. Some of the former Karayuki-san wore gold rings or vivid hair ornaments, which local girls saw and felt envious. As a result many followed the path of the Karayuki-san to work in Southeast Asia as Karayuki-san themselves (Kurahashi, 2010: 208-209).

This situation is very similar to Filipino prostitutes who work in Japan today. They go back to the Philippines after they have worked enough to make themselves reasonably independent financially (Kurahashi, 2010:208).

### **3.1.2. Karayuki-san Song ( Shimabara cradle song), “Light and Shadow”**

#### **(1) “Light”**

The cradle song of Simabara, which used to be the most impoverished in Japan, allows the listener to understand the way of thinking of Karayuki-san before 1920. It is hard for Japanese speakers today to understand the Simabara dialect used in this song but Miyazaki Kouhei, who was a local historian in Simabara, translated it into modern Japanese. The context of the song is as follows; “We don’t have anything, including cultivate fields, money and sexual appeal. However, after working overseas, they wear gold rings, their hair style has bonnets. When women work overseas, they can earn money. You don’t know the good economy in Shanghai, Two months work are equal to one year (in Japan). One year is equal to six years. Six years is equal to your whole life. After earning money, you should build your own storehouse! In case, somebody has money, silk kimonos become

ordinary clothes. In case somebody doesn't have money, any old, used kimono is going-out clothes. In this world, if somebody has money, they can do what they want to do. If somebody doesn't like it, it is not necessary for them to go. If somebody wants to get shining gold rings, they should dare to go!" The return of Karayuki-san to their home village with gold rings and silk kimonos is the light referred to in the Shimabara cradle song. (Miyazaki, 2008 :36, Warren, 2003:27).

(2) "Dark"

Miyazaki Kouhei pointed out that people in Shimabara feel closer to Shanghai than Tokyo. So, it is understandable for Karayukisan to work overseas due to transport to Shanghai being easier than to Tokyo (Miyazaki, 2008:38).

Also, if Japanese women went to Shanghai or Souel, they were not required to get passports. (Warren, 2003:83). At that time, when Japanese went to go Shanghai, or Seoul, Japanese marine and immigration police could not watch all the situations, which allowed pimps to traffic women and girls into prostitution. (Warren, 2003:83). This closeness to sea transport led to many situations where Japanese women or girls were lured with promises of jobs as maids or nannies to be smuggled on-board sailing ships, tramp steamers and coal-ships. From here they were trafficked all over Asia as prostitutes. According to the testimony of a Karayuki-san (born 1884) in 1902 she was smuggled aboard a coal-ship where everybody (eighteen or nineteen females) laid down in the dark in the lowest part of the ship (bilge); covered with coal dust, her kimono torn to pieces and in total darkness. During the eight day journey from Japan to Hongkong, she could eat only sea-weed. To hide human trafficking on ships, many methods were used to help transport these women, who had no passports to brothels in Asia. Many were trafficked with the use of sexual assault or beatings once they had been secreted on-board ships.

Some were even raped then murdered and their bodies thrown over-board as a warning to others who may go against the orders of traffickers (Warren, 2002:208-210)

So, metaphor of the dark of a ship's hold and the dark deeds carried out in the ships is the "Dark" mentioned in the Shimabara cradle song.

## **3.2. The historical background of working condition in Southeast Asia**

### **3.2.1. The demand Karayukisan in Southeast Asia**

In 1819, Singapore became a colony of the British Empire. Thomas Stamford Raffles established Singapore as an international trade harbor. As a result, many traders came to Singapore and lived there. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the spread of steam ships, it became easy to transport the products of Southeast Asia. The development of the economy in the colony was due to the production of tin in the middle of the 1800s and the development of the rubber tapping industry. As a result, many Indian and Chinese male immigrant workers came to Singapore and other colonies in South East Asia (Shimizu & Hirakawa:26-27).

Between 1887, the number of Chinese was 86,000. In the 1890's, the number of Chinese in Singapore increased by 230,000 to 360,000 in 1900. The percentage of population of Chinese male in Singapore in 1900 was over 72 %.The increase number of Chinese males contributed to the historical development of Singapore socially and demographically. These male Chinese were escaped from China due to starvation in all part of South China such as Fukien and Kwangtung and in the surge price of rice and overpopulation. Also, Chinese landlords did not want them to stay Chinese males in their lands. Chinese male immigrants in Singapore engaged to work hard for their live livelihood and to returned money to their hometowns. Japanese prostitutes, or Karayuki-san went abroad where they were welcomed in such places; In colonized countries such as in Southeast Asia black slaves were used but after changes to laws relating to slavery, it was found to be cheaper to employ Indian or Chinese labors. Chinese and Indian male workers went to work abroad by themselves. However, there were only men and few women in Chinese and Indian communities, so they often fought and the quality of working was terrible. In that period, only a few Chinese/ Indian women and prostitutes went or worked overseas(Kurahashi, 2010:196-198, Warren,2008:228). Instead of Indian or Chinese women, Japanese prostitutes came to fulfill the sexual desire of the Chinese or Indian men overseas(Kurahashi, 2010:196-198).

These male Chinese and Indian workers were taken to do manual work in the new plantations, mines and building of infrastructure for very low wages and poor living conditions; almost like slave labor. The Japanese prostitutes were

indispensable for these Indian and Chinese workers to comfort them and helped to make their lives more bearable, which in turn helped prevent them from going back their countries (Yamatani, 2005:331). Japanese prostitutes accepted white, Chinese, Malaysians, and any other nationalities, and they knew how to give enjoyment to their customers (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:29, Warren, 2002:208-209).

In 1896, the Japanese government announced it was illegal for Japanese prostitutes to work overseas but didn't enforce the new rules (Hata 2008:50).

Also, many male westerners came to Singapore as merchants and entrepreneurs, officers and men. The number of western females also was less than that of Asians however; they could afford to buy many things. As a result, western males were good customers for Japanese prostitutes. These Japanese prostitutes were bought by sex tourists, foreign traders and sailors of the military and merchant navies (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:26-27). However, at that time, the Victorian era discriminated against other races except whites and was eager to maintain the purity of what they saw as a superior race. So, the sexual relationship between English soldiers and Karayuki-san was undeniably problematic and so some Karayuki-san and English men were unable to marry or even cohabit due to **racial discrimination** (Warren, 2002:308).

### **3.2.2. The change of Japanese diplomacy towards Southeast Asia**

Before the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese people felt that Japan was a part of the backward Asian countries. However, after Japan won the Sino-Japanese War (concluded 1895), the Japanese people felt superior to China. The Japanese people looked down on Southeast Asia and regarded the area as culturally inferior to China (Goto, 2012:4-5). In 1897, the Consul of Singapore, Fujita Toshiro, began to investigate how the Japanese people lived in the Dutch East Indies and how Japan could expand business in the future. He was surprised that the economic power of the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies was very great. Moreover, the number of the Karayuki-san living in the Dutch East Indies was 100 out of 125 Japanese living there. In his memoirs (1932), and report no 52 (1897:90 quoted from Goto, 2012: 119), he stated that the Japanese residents in the Dutch Indies were ruled severely by the Government. They were treated like the Chinese people and whenever Japanese landed in the Dutch East Indies they were taken immediately to the Chinese, who

were the heads of towns, where Japanese were tortured a lot (Goto, 2012:5). The Consul of Singapore, Fujita Toshiro felt this situation was very shameful for Japan as Japan had won the war against China. Also, these Chinese in the Dutch East Indies left China due to poverty, so they were not equal to the Japanese (Goto, 2012:p.5,120). In 1854, in the Dutch East Indies, residents were categorized as (1) Europeans (2) Asian foreigners (3) aboriginals. Later, in 1899, the position of the Japanese was promoted to being equal to European people (Goto, 2012:5).

On the other hand, Japan forced Siam to conclude a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and Siam in 1898. This was based on the theory, in Japan at the time, of Leave Asia (and enter Europe) put forward by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1885)( Goto, 2012, p.5). When Japanese went to countries, like South Africa, they were given the position of an “Honored White”, which gave them superior status to the local indigenous people but not equal to the European colonists. This treating of Japanese as an “honored White” separated them from Western countries. So, it was these two barriers created due to Japanese diplomacy that placed Japan in the position it found itself in Southeast Asia (Goto, 2012:6).

### **3.2.3. Fukuzawa Yukichi and Karayuki-san**

Mr. *Fukuzawa Yukichi* (1834-1901), who established Keio University, was a famous educator and portrayed on the 10,000 yen banknote, insisted that prostitutes are indispensable for men. According to one thesis of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1896), during the Tokugawa Shogunate, the British army wanted to soften the serious frustration of farmer-soldiers in Hong Kong. As a result, the Tokugawa Shogunate sent Japanese prostitutes to Hong Kong and this act alone is attributed with calming the frustration of these soldiers and was said to successfully ease the soldiers homesickness. Also, many prostitutes were sent to Vladivostok in Russia for the same reason. If male workers went abroad, the Japanese government allowed prostitutes to go abroad with them because it was necessary for males to have sex with females. Prostitutes, who worked overseas, did not care about their sufferings, because they also worked as prostitutes in Japan too. Many prostitutes who worked overseas became rich and built houses from their earnings. So, it was good for Japanese prostitutes to work overseas, because they brought their wealth back to Japan. It was not necessary for Japanese people to criticize these prostitutes and the Japanese

government should encourage prostitutes to work overseas freely (Fukuzawa, 1896, quoted in Yamatani,2005:332,Warren,2003:160). These facts point to the ideology at the time of prostitutes “Karayuki-san” being accepted ideologically as a necessary part of Japanese life and an aid to Japanese businesses, which were expanding into East and Southeast Asia.

#### **3.2.4. Japanese pimps in Southeast Asia**

Ioka Iheji(1867-1945), who was a Japanese pimp and selling Japanese prostitutes in the South Seas (Southeast Asia) compiled notes on Karayukisan (Japanese prostitutes) in Shang Hai. Firstly, prostitutes who were working overseas stowed away on ships. Secondly, they had sex with foreign males, so they broke the model of producing soldiers for JapanThirdly, they were ignoring the Empire of Japan. Fourthly, they were nuisances in their hometowns. Fifthly, brothers and parents were ashamed of them. Sixthly, these prostitutes defiled their chastity, which is an immoral act towards their future husbands. Seventhly, prostitutes are inferior to dogs. Eighthly, prostitutes should not think they were common women. Ninthly, they cannot attract men as wives. Tenthly, prostitutes will blame themselves, in the future, for what they did when they were prostitutes. Eleventh, Japanese people scorned Japanese prostitutes as minor wives of westerners. He scorned Japanese prostitutes but he also thought there was a way of recovering from this disgrace for Japanese prostitutes. Firstly, they should save money and give money to their parents and brothers. Also, they should pay as much tax as possible. Secondly, they should be patient. Thirdly, prostitutes should buy farmland or give funds to their parents. Fourthly, they should go back to their hometown and get married to husbands whom their parents liked and they should serve their husbands. Fifthly, prostitutes should get along with people living in the same village and care about others. Then they would be good neighbors. Also, he noted that if people had a lot of money, they could become respectable people as this reduced the number of robberies. Mr. Muraoka Iheiji insisted that selling women was good for Japan. He gathered previous Japanese criminals and they began to be pioneers in the development of the South Seas (now called Southeast Asia). According to Mr. Muraoka Iheji(his own



idea), over 75% of successful persons in the South Seas were former criminals (Yamatani, 2005:335-336).

However, according to Ms. Yamazaki Tomoko's research, Mr. Muraoka Iheji's story was made up and was exaggerated too much. An example of this is that he met Prime Minister Ito Hirofumi, established the Japanese association in Singapore and constructed graves for Karayukisan who died overseas. These activities were carried out by Mr. Niki Tagajiro, who had strong influence among the Japanese prostitutes in Singapore, donated a lot of money to construct graves for Japanese prostitutes in Singapore, and gathered a lot of money from Japanese prostitutes in Singapore and sent it to the Japanese government in order to help carry out Sino- Japanese War in 1895, and Russo-Japanese War in 1905 (Yamazaki, 1975:18-20).

### **3.3. Glory of the Empire of Japan and karayuki-san in Southeast Asia**

#### **3.3.1. Karayuki-san and the Russo-Japanese War**

After victory in the Sino-Japanese war, in 1895, many Japanese prostitutes began to work overseas based on the "militarism, national pride and the patriotic virtue of... Emperor worship and love of country" (Warren, 2003:85). An example of this national pride was during the Russo - Japanese war when a Mr. Muraoka ran brothels in Manila and he had 16 employees. He gathered \$5046 dollars to donate to Japan to help carry out the war. At that time, the salary of a waiter was around 12 dollars per month, so the amount of money he donated was quite a huge amount comparatively. Not only Japanese prostitutes working in Manila but also Japanese prostitutes in Singapore donated a lot of money to the Japanese army. They recognized their identity as Japanese by donating to the Japanese army. These monies were changed into warships or bullets imported from the British Empire (Yamatani, 2005:336-337). At that period of time, the Russo- Japanese war (1904-1905) was occurring, and 900 Japanese prostitutes were living in Singapore. They donated for the Japanese military to carry out the war, and watched and reported to the Japanese military when the Russian vessels passed. Thus, these Japanese prostitutes in Singapore played a great role in the Japanese victory of the Russo-Japanese war ( Hata, 2008:47). According to the Fukuoka daily news in 1906, the largest amount of Japanese export products was Japanese prostitutes, which earned

130,000 yen per year. The second largest amount of product was chickens and eggs which amounted to 120,000 yen per year (Yamatani, 2005:339). In 1907, Japan exported to Singapore approximately \$6,446,000 worth of goods.

Many Japanese people engaged in prostitution in Singapore. They earned around 10,000,000 dollars.( Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:.21). So, we can say that Japanese prostitution in Singapore was much bigger amount than that of Japanese exports to Singapore. The peak of prostitution was during the Russo - Japanese war. The number of prostitutes was said to be around 6,000 in South Sea (南洋).Only in Singapore, the number of Japanese prostitutes was over 600 ( Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:21-22).

### **3.3.2 Equal legal status but huge financial gap**

After the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government exchanged Ambassadors with Western countries. Previously, the Japanese government exchanged only ministers (lower class than ambassador), so this situation proved that Western countries admitted that Japan was equal legally to Western Countries. The Australian government, based on the racist notion of the “Yellow Peril”, was scared of Japan’s expanding power in the Pacific Ocean. Takei Juro, who was living in Java after the Russo-Japanese War for around 25 years, and devoted to the advance to the South policy, wrote in 1912 about the Dutch East Indies. The Netherlands, which had the largest colonies in Southeast Asia did not have enough military power and was more cautious about Japan’s expanding power in Southeast Asia. Since concluding a Consular treaty between Japan and the Netherland in 1908, the Dutch East Indies realized it was inevitable that expansion of the economic power of Japan in the Dutch East Indies also increased Japan’s political power. The Dutch East Indies was cautious about the expansion of Japan’s influence on Javanese society. The Netherlands Government and the government of the Dutch East Indies suspected and local newspapers in the Dutch East Indies also suspected the Japanese. The suspected included Karayuki-san and peddlers, in the Dutch East Indies, and as a result of the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war (Goto,2012:7-8).

The actual living situations of the Japanese people in Southeast Asia were far from being suitable for Japan’s military and economic situation. Those Japanese living in the Dutch East Indies were accorded the same legal status as Western

people. However, despite being legal equality, the Japanese people who were engaged in work such as Karayukisan, agricultural immigrants or workers in simple jobs had an actual situation where their lives were very poor. In this way, their lives were totally different from situation of western people (Goto, 2012:8).

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925-2006), who was an Indonesian writer, described in his book about the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, about Indonesian feelings towards Japanese people living in the Dutch East Indies. The main character of this story, who took a Dutch style education, talked about the Japanese people in the Dutch East Indies. None of his school friends were interested in Japan or the Japanese. His Indonesian friends regarded Japanese as very inferior people. They concluded that Japanese were all either 淫売婦 (Karayuki-san), who were crowded into entertainment districts in Surabaya, operated Japanese style bars, eating houses, barber shops, or worked as peddlers and general goods sellers (Goto,2012:8).

### **3.3.3. Real situation of Karayuki-san business**

All businesses have their competitors and Japanese pimps in Southeast Asia also had their competitors. An article in the Nagasaki Newspaper (25 April, 1911) and used by Kurahashi (2010:148).

According to the Nagasaki Newspaper of 25 April 1911 in 1906, Mr. Tada Kamekichi was slandered and insulted in the Nagasaki newspaper and the Chinzei newspaper dated 27 December 1906 ( Kurahashi, 2010:134).

One of his competitors, a pimp in Ipoh, Perak on the Malay Peninsula, sent a letter to the newspaper alleging immoral deeds by Kamekichi. The Nagasaki Newspaper, on 26, April, 1911 printed these allegations but only mentioned Kamekichi's competitor's disguised name. However, Kurahashi explored the document Nanyo-souran (:116, quoted by Kurahashi, 2010:154) and found his full name and his social background. Mr. Yamada Toyozaburou., who was an owner of a rubber plantation in Tapah, Perak, Malay Peninsula, was famous as a successful Japanese businessman in Japanese society. However, he also ran large scale of brothels. He had thirteen brothels and around 100 Karayuki-san ( Kurahashi, 2010:154). At first, when they met in Southeast Asia, Yamada Yamazaburo could get along with Kamekichi as a younger friend. However, Kamakichi increased his

business, so Yamada Yamazaburo tried to eliminate Kamakichi from the same business as a pimp (Kurahashi, 2010:149).

The source letter of the Nagasaki Newspaper and Chinzei Newspaper on 20, January, 1907 was a letter written by seven Japanese girls aged from six to nineteen from Nagasaki prefecture, including their names. The letter set out the following details.

### **On 15, July, 1910**

The eight girls were deceived by Kamekichi. At first, Tadakichi said to the girls that he would take them to the Korean Peninsula to introduce them to jobs. However, after boarding ship at Nagasaki Shigahara port, guards watched over them all the time, and they did not allow the girls to go back on land, their movements were restricted and they were kept on the ship for over one month.

They were given terrible food that was unfit for animals one time every two days or two times every three days. Sometimes they did not give any food to them. During the night time, they randomly raped these girls, so all of them tried to commit suicide. However, they were watching the girls too strictly, so it was impossible for them to commit suicide. A 22 years old, Ms. Kitaura Fude, did not allow them to rape her and tried to escape from this situation. After she was found by them they violated her. She screamed for help, so members of the pimps group got angry and killed her, and threw her body into the sea and as a result the other girls were scared of them. After they landed on Hong Kong, one of the 27 girls was killed and the other 26 girls were sold to a brothel Harimaya in Singapore. Afterwards, they were sent anywhere separately. Seven girls out of twenty six were sent to work in Ipoh, Perak on the Malay Peninsula. The owners of brothels did not allow them to send letters to Japan. However, the Japanese patriot women's association (JPWA) assisted them to send the letters to newspaper companies where the JPWA asked companies to use letters as source of news. Also, the provided information showed that Tada had some connection with officers in Kobe port (Kurahashi, pp.135-137).

Morizaki Kazue, who wrote "Karayuki-san" in 1976, based her book on information from the Fukuoka Daily Newspaper about conditions for Japanese prostitutes who were lured into working overseas.

When Tada Kamakichi, was sued in court by seven girls the details of what he did became public knowledge. On the way to stay in the Philippines a Ms. Fude did not listen to what Kamekichi said. Thereby, Kamekichi raped her and killed her then threw her into the sea. Through raping of the other girls he was able to get them to follow his orders. Accordingly, two of the girls, Mise and Kimi, used their blood for their signatures. Tada tried to escape from Japan but was arrested in Moji port on the verge of escaping. When Japanese pimps wanted to land overseas, they paid fees to Tada and were then issued certificates to show as evidence of connection with Tada Kamekichi. As a result, Japanese pimps would be guaranteed not to be informed on by anonymous reports to the authorities by other pimps from various countries. Tada Kamakichi supplied (five hundred to six hundred) karayuki-san annually. Overall over one thousand eight hundred Karayukisan were supplied by Tada Kamekichi, which earned him 250,000 yen (Morizaki, 1976, quoted from Kurahashi,2010:144-145).

According to the History of South Seas (Southeast Asia) for 50 years, the Japanese Consul, Fujii, in Singapore succeeded in eliminating pimps. If Tada Kamekichi was still alive, the Karayuki-san business could do well like in previous period. However, after Tanbaya who was the famous pimp died it was only less than one year before Tadakichi died in Siberia. Accordingly, nobody could be skillful pimps like two of them and the Karayuki-san business deteriorated ( June, 1920, the History of South Sea for fifty years, p.152).

Throughout the Malay Peninsula, the East Indies, Bangkok, Manila, Saigon and Rangoon, there were Japanese pimps. There were many Japanese brothels in towns (女郎屋町) in these cities or countries. These brothels in these towns were controlled by Japanese pimps like Tadakichi or Tanbaya. Annually, five or six hundred new Karayuki-san were kidnapped from Kuchinozu or Moji and sent to Hongkong or Singapore (June, 1920, the History of South Seas for fifty years, p.155 quoted from kurahashi, 2010:146-147).

The report in the Nagasaki and Chinzei Newspaper surprised police and the courts in Nagasaki prefecture and police arrested Kamekichi. However, there was no evidence that he was guilty of committing crimes and he was released as being innocent. As a result the police and courts in Nagasaki prefecture were able to

acquire knowledge about how Karayuki-san were sent overseas (20 April 1911, Nagasaki Newspaper, quoted from Kurahashi, 2010:155).

Kurahashi's analysis was that the skills of reporters from the Nagasaki Newspaper and Chinzei Newspaper were immature because they did not send reporters to the Malayan peninsula to check if the senders of letter existed. The reporters just blindly believed the written names in the letters which were sent to them. The context of how pimps treated Karayukisan on ship was too accurate and could not be written in such detail without experience on ships with Karayuki-san or pimps. So, this issue raised Japanese public opinion and as a result led to the arrest of Kamekichi and the above court case (Kurahashi, 2010:156).

#### **3.3.4. Japanese prostitutes and Chinese or white people**

Many Japanese prostitutes were bought by westerns, as concubines, for the time the Westerners were working on plantations in Sumatra. Japanese prostitutes were familiar with Westerners and devoted themselves to male westerners who were their partners. When the Western males wanted to separate easily, from their concubines, it was understood that in return of a lot of money the Japanese concubines would part easily. An example of this would be when Western males wanted to get married to white wives an agreed amount of money would allow the partnership to be ended. However, Javanese and Malay concubines did not accept this situation and would not quit their concubine role as easily as Karayuki-san (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:36).

Interestingly, a lot of money was lent to Japanese brothels in Southeast Asia by Chinese high interest loan lenders because running brothels was a lucrative business (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:38). Consequently, it can be said that prostitution in Southeast Asia had a large Chinese influence as a result of the money lending practices of the Chinese. However, prostitutes brought shame on the national dignity of the British Empire and in 1905, the British Empire prohibited English prostitutes from working overseas (Shimizu, 1998:30). During the Victorian era (1837-1901) young, English people travelled to Asia to buy Asian females as prostitutes as they thought Asian women were able to free them of the restrictive nature of the Victorian era. Asian women were more open and fun to talk with unlike

women in Britain or other colonies where the Victorian era's sexually conservative ideology was dominant (Shimizu & Hirakawa, 1998:30).

This seems to be the beginning of what today has turned into sex tourism in Southeast Asia, in the modern period, in countries such as Thailand. Japanese males visit Thailand in groups to be able to gain release from the conservative nature of Japanese society. Many of the girls the Japanese males meet offer them not just sex but a freer lifestyle than in Japan. They also escape from expensive living costs and are freer from moral restraints like wealthy young males from the British Empire.

### **3.3.5. Dropping Value of Japanese prostitutes**

However, after the Great War, Japan could gain a lot of profit by exporting to European countries that had been affected by the war. As a result, the importance of Japanese prostitutes declined sharply. On the other hand, people in European countries were suffering from poverty as a result of the deprivations of the Great War. Despite this, many people living in Southeast Asian countries imagined that Japanese women in Southeast Asia were prostitutes. A wife of a Singapore consul was asked her price by a vendor when she bought fruits after the Russo-Japanese war. In the midst of the Great War, 1916, a number of Japanese prostitutes took secret passages from Moji and Nagasaki ports to earn money overseas. However, the Government Office of Singapore decided they would send Western prostitutes back to their countries. In 1920, the Government Office of Singapore banned brothels, not only in Singapore itself, but also throughout the Malay peninsula. Consequently, the Consul General of Japan in Singapore, Mr. Yamazaki banned karayukisan (Japanese prostitutes) in South East Asia. Japan thought it had become a first-class power in the world, so Japan was ashamed of Japanese prostitutes in Southeast Asia as they were seen to disgrace the Empire of Japan. Many of the prostitutes Japan was ashamed of were spread throughout Southeast Asian countries and many of them died in Southeast Asia (Yamatani, 2005:340-343).

### **3.3.6. The influence of Karayuki-san in Singapore**

“New Japanese village in the South Seas” , which was published in 1919, described in a step-by-step way how Japanese people spread throughout Southeast Asia. At first, Japanese women spread as prostitutes in South East Asia. Afterwards,

many Japanese followed to set up businesses and sell Japanese products to Japanese prostitutes. These Japanese prostitutes demanded Japanese food, Japanese drinks, Japanese cloth, or various Japanese products. As a result, Japanese kimono tailor shops or grocery stores were established. These stores also got local customers, so Japanese products were penetrating local societies. The marketing in the South Seas was not built by large Japanese companies such as Mitsui, but set up by Japanese small and medium-scale enterprises. If there were no Japanese prostitutes in the South Seas, these Japanese small and medium-scale enterprises could not expand their business into the area. Consequently, the number of Japanese people living in different countries in the South Seas increased (Kato, 2002:101-102). Also, “ 50 years in the South Seas” noted. (Nanyo magazine, 1938:144).It was a shameful Japanese business in the South Sea developed due to Japanese prostitutes.

Overall, at first, Japanese girls or women were gathered in Japan by pimps and traders for secret passage to the South Seas. Afterwards, owners of grocery stores, doctors, barbers, tailors, and owners of photo shops came to deal with Japanese prostitutes. Consequently, Japanese Consulates were established. After this, earnings of Japanese prostitutes or pimps were invested in rubber plantations or financed Japan or sent to their hometown. Lastly, the demand of Japanese products increased sharply, so many big Japanese companies started to invest in Singapore.

### **3.3.7. Karayuki in Singapore in 1920**

Ms. Umemori Ishumi, who was the wife of a Japanese office worker in Singapore, wrote a letter in 1920. She was surprised when she saw human traffickers and Karayukisan on the ship when she was bound for Singapore in 1920. After arriving she went to the town where Karayukisan were working. Many Karayukisan were lining up in front of brothels. At the brothels many Japanese prostitutes wore young girl's costumers with two plaits, and wearing thick make up to help hide the fact they were not so young. She thought Indian, Chinese and Malays could not recognize whether the Karayukisan were young or not, so the Karayukisan tried to look very young. These Karayukisan seemed not to be sad. Instead, they seemed to be cheerful and bright. They did not seem to be ashamed even though they had sex with not only Japanese but also foreigners. She expected that these Karayukisan



dreamed of getting a lot of money in Singapore and then going back to Japan and make their brothers and parents happy as well as praised by villagers of their hometowns. She imaged that these Karayukisan were suffering from poverty so, they behaved like this. Also, this was because of their lack of their education. Moreover, she knew that these Karayukisan were proud of themselves, because they worked overseas and thus they contributed to the Japanese economy ( Nishioka, 1997:75-76).

She wrote that many young male workers working in *Gudan* (warehouse in Malay language) also went to brothels in Singapore at night. Many young, Japanese male workers, who took higher education, came to Singapore and were working at rubber plantations. Inside rubber plantations, they had nothing to do and they were bored, so brothel streets attracted them. These young males did not have families as they were single (Nishioka, 1997:76-77).

### **3.3.8. The decline of Karayukisan**

The Dutch West Indies (1913), Singapore (1919), Burma (1921 ), and the Philippines(1929) banned prostitution ( Hata, 2008:50). In 1920, the Vice Consul General of Japan in Singapore, Yamazaki Heikichi, ordered the closing Japanese brothels in Singapore. At that period, there were 1,500 Japanese prostitutes in Singapore. Some of them saved money and invested in rubber plantation and other business in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula. Some of them withdrew money from their businesses and the economy of Singapore and Malaya were damaged ( Nishioka, 1997:75 ). As a result, many prostitutes went back to Japan, married local people, or moved to other places where prostitution was allowed (Hata, 2008:50). Also, Nishioka stated that normally, in plantations in colonies, the number of males was more than that of females. Thus, after 1920 when the law forced the abandonment of prostitution, quite a few former Karayukisan got married to Japanese males or local males, and continued to live in the Malay Peninsula ( Nishioka, 1997:77).

A favorite overseas destination for Many Karayukisan was Southeast Asia until 1918.

However, the Western countries changed their policies towards Chinese and Indian male workers. This is because the demand of work forces declined, so the Western countries started to exclude Chinese and Indian male workers. At the same time, Karayukisan (Japanese prostitutes) was also excluded. Thus, there were only a few Karayukisan to welcome the Japanese military which occupied Southeast Asia in 1941 (Kurahashi, 2010:198). While the Japanese military occupied Southeast Asian countries, some of these ex-prostitutes, who continued to live in Southeast Asia, became pimps or cooperated to set up comfort stations (Hata, 2008:52)

## CHAPTER IV

### **THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PROSTITUTION, IN BOTH JAPAN AND FORMER JAPANESE OCCUPIED AREAS, AFTER 1920.**

At first, chapter four will look at international political relations and the racially motivated discrimination against Japan, by the West, after the First World War. Japanese people were not being accepted as racially equal by the west, but they did not see themselves as equal to the rest of Asia, because Japan felt the rest of Asia was backward. This created today's ambiguous situation and which found its roots in during 1920s to 1941. An example of this is the treaty with Nazi Germany in 1940, which despite being racially discriminatory against Japanese, favoring Aryans, was enthusiastically entered into by Japan.

Next, this chapter will explore the history of the building and managing of Comfort Stations for use by Japanese soldiers. This practice of using Comfort Station was also applied to the battle fields of Southeast Asia for three and half years. The Japanese reputation in the West was tarnished by this practice, and their analysis of Japanese males' attitude towards prostitution.

Historically, prostitutes had been contained with other lower status groups, such as Christians or outcasts. Japanese males considered them to be a necessary evil, outside of their ordinary lives; as mentioned in Chapter two. During this period Koreans living within Japan were treated like outcasts; after the earthquake of 1923 many were killed without reason. The Japanese people ranked Korean females as lower class, thus leading to them being the main source of Comfort Women. In the 1934 famine, daughters of poor Japanese families were also sold into prostitution. The majorities of Japanese were very poor, and had low economic or social power. Contrasted to the Japanese people, the military was enormously powerful. Japan began becoming a leading nation in Asia in the 1930s, as it resisted Western imperial exploitation.

The Japanese believed themselves to be racially superior to all other Asian nations. They developed a ranking system that placed all non-Japanese in a lower class and position, and therefore felt that they could militarily exploit them. Part of

this exploitation involved the redistribution of natural resources in Asian countries to Japanese interests. The colonization of Asian countries based on racial discrimination led to the rights of Asian Comfort Women being ignored and the self-justification of the brutal activities by the Japanese military.

#### **4.1. International political background of Japan from 1920.**

##### **4.1.1. Racial Discrimination of Westerners towards the Japanese**

The Japanese development culturally, politically and socially during the 1920s continued to grow both in Japan and in occupied territories. This was due to increased cooperation with Western imperialist countries and especially the alliance with the British Empire, from 30 January in 1902 to 17, August in 1923.

During the First World War, relatively few Japanese soldiers engaged in combat and did not suffer any damages psychologically or physically. Many western countries were much more affected by the war, and suffered considerable losses. As western countries began to withdrawal from Asian markets, Japan began stepping in and taking over the market share these countries used to have and substituting Japanese made products. As their military and commercial power grew, they began receiving concessions from China and took over their largely German commercial market.

Japan was the only “non-white” signor at the Versailles Peace Conference being considered a victor in the First World War. As a permanent member of the League of Nations, with a seat on the Security Council, Japan advocated for a racial equality clause to be put in the Leagues charter. This was refused by the Americans, British and Australians (Tipton, 2008:95,). This was, in large part, because of the refusal of Australia as they had been carrying out the “White Australia” policy for a few decades, by that time.

Japanese people were further irritated due to the racial discrimination shown by the United States when in 1924, they banned Japanese immigration into the United States. After the 1880s, especially since 1897, when Hawaii became the territory of the United States, many Japanese people immigrated to the United States. By the time of the First World War, in California, there were over 100, 000 Japanese

immigrants, which led to anti-Japanese sentiments due to the large concentration of Japanese immigrants. Due to this policy of racial discrimination, many Japanese people in Japan expressed dissatisfaction towards the United States. Japanese themselves, however, had also treated Korean people as an inferior race. The racial discrimination policy, including discrimination towards non-whites, carried out by the United States made it difficult for Japan to be part of the New World Order established at the Washington Conferences in 1921 (Henshall, 2012:111-112).

After the end of the alliance between the British Empire and Japan, Japan began to send students, working for the Japanese Navy, to the United States and Germany. The especially bright students were sent to Germany after the Nazis took power in 1933, in spite of Germany not being famous for their naval capability. Japan began to pay more and more attention to Nazi Germany and many of the Japanese who went there praised the characteristics of German art, music and medical technology.

Chihaya Masataka (千早正隆), a former Navy Commander who spent time in Germany, said that Nazi Germany provided many Caucasian females for the Japanese elites who were in their 30s and were studying in Germany. They were fascinated by the way these women offered sexual services, and when they returned to Japan, these elites would praise Germany (Handa, 2011:182).

Germany's Nuremberg Laws, enacted in September, 1935, strictly banned plundering and rape of citizens. The main purpose was to prevent Nazis, Aryan Germans, from intercourse with so called "inferior races". An example of this is the Nazis trying to exterminate inferior races, for example Jews at Auschwitz concentration camp (Hata, 1986:232).

According to Richard Grunberger, later Asians, Russians and East Europeans began to be regarded as inferior races. Then people with black hair, or brown eyes became targets for extermination (Grunberger 1971, quoted in Hata, 1986:232).

On the other hand, Japan had planned to release Asian countries from the suppression of Western countries; they did not plan to exterminate the Asian peoples, in this way their thinking was totally opposite to that of the Nazis (Hata, 1986:233).

Despite Japan having a totally opposite ideology to that of Nazi Germany, which had strong racial discrimination towards Japanese, on September 27, 1940 the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy was ratified. As a result of this Pact, during the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies, Germans were not detained in camps, and German women did not have to be Comfort Women like the Dutch women.

## **4.2. Characteristics of Japanese prostitution after the 1920s**

### **4.2.1. Comfort Station during Japanese Military Occupations.**

When the Sino-Japanese War started in 1894, many owners of brothels in Japan started to run brothels in China. Women working as prostitutes on the front line of war could earn higher wages. At that time, the wage of a female factory worker was around 30 yen per month. On the other hand, wages of a prostitute working at the front line of war was around 300 yen, the same as that of Governors or captains of the Japanese military (Matsuki, 2011:220.) This made it not necessary for the Japanese military to coerce many women at this time.

According to Japanese government documents, many soldiers on the front lines gave presents to prostitutes. Some soldiers stole soy beans, rice, sugar or morphine from the Japanese military to give to prostitutes. Often soldiers proposed to prostitutes and many of them got married. On the other hand, some soldiers who were turned down by prostitutes committed suicide. Many soldiers wanted to win prostitutes' favor, and did not exploit them sexually (Matsuki, 2011:33).

The Japanese military suffered from sexual disease epidemics before 1918, so it is likely that one reason Comfort Stations were set up was to help prevent this from happening again. In 1918, Japan dispatched its military to Siberia to intervene in the Russian Revolution. At the same time the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy dispatched their military to Siberia to save the Czechoslovakian army. During the Japanese military's campaign in Siberia, most soldiers did not understand the purpose of being in Siberia. Some of these Japanese soldiers plundered livestock and firewood from Russian farmers or even worse: they raped Russian women which prevented the Japanese military from carrying out their military activities effectively. Of those troops sent to Siberia, according to the statistics gathered between August 1918 to October 1920, the number of soldiers in Siberia

who had sexually transmitted diseases was quite large, an estimated 1109. Presumably, many soldiers hid their infections out of embarrassment, so the actual number could be much higher. At the same period, the number of casualties was an estimated 1399, and wounded 1528. In response to this the head of the Japanese military in Sakhalin allowed soldiers to use the services of prostitutes starting September 1, 1920. Geishas and waitresses were allowed to engage in prostitution only if they took medical services. This practice is likely what began the idea of Comfort Women (Yoshimi, 2009:19-20).

#### **4.2.2. Male sexual attitudes after the period of the 1920s**

After the Meiji period (1868 - 1912), traditional understanding about sexual behavior still existed even though the Meiji government wanted to change it. In the 1920s, in rural areas like some fishing/farm villages, young boys who started to develop their sexual characteristics were forced into experiences with older females.

These females could be their neighbors or distant relatives who were chosen by the members of the community. Sometimes older women would talk to adolescent boys into having sex with them because the boys were adequately sexually mature. After the young boys had their first experience, they joined in groups of young adults who helped organize community activities. These boys were taught the rules of their communities by the older members of the groups. Often these boys began to visit girls at their houses under cover of night. A folklorist, Nakayama Taro, who was born in 1867 stated that men who did not have sex with females were looked down on and were referred to as “the same as an earthworm in a grave”, in other words, the male did not know the real vagina of a female (Shibuya, 2003:46-49). Japanese villages did not throw away their own ideas, but they still continued to keep their sexual ideologies and behaviors, which have their roots before and after the Meiji period.

It is easy to presume that the soldiers from the villages in Japan would visit houses randomly, like they would in Japan. Especially on a battle field, they were stressed and scared of being injured by the many dangers in their lives. The women they were exploiting were the wives, daughters or sisters of their enemies, so these soldiers might justify their activities such as rapes or sexual abuses in battle fields as a part of war.

#### **4.2.3. 1920 of Abolition of Japanese Prostitution Overseas**

In 1896, the Japanese government announced it was illegal for Japanese prostitutes to work overseas but didn't enforce this new law ( Hata,2008p50). The Dutch West Indies (1913), Singapore (1919), Burma (1921),the Philippines(1929) all banned prostitution. As a result, many prostitutes went back to Japan, married local people, or moved to other places where the prostitution was still legal (Hata, 2008, p.50). A favorite overseas destination for many Karayuki-san was Southeast Asia, until 1918, when the Western countries changed their policies towards Chinese and Indian male workers. This occurred because the demand of work forces declined, so the Western countries started to exclude Chinese and Indian male workers, and at the same time Karayuki-san were also being excluded. There were only a few Karayuki-san to welcome the Japanese military, which occupied in Southeast Asia in 1941(Kurahashi, 2010, p.198). While the Japanese military occupied Southeast Asian countries some of these ex-prostitutes, who continued to live in Southeast Asia, became pimps or cooperated in the setting up of comfort stations (Hata 2008:52).

#### **4.2.4. Who Helped and How Karayuki-san Were Helped to be Freed?**

Japanese politicians were not interested in the miserable situation of overseas the Karayuki-san overseas. In Singapore, it was Christian missionaries of the Salvation Army that helped free some Karayuki-san. A Japanese missionary, Mr. Umemori Goyu and his wife, went to red light districts in order to persuade some prostitutes to quit their jobs and customers to stay out of the area. Despite being beaten by gangsters, who were hired by brothel keepers, Mr. Umemori Goyu was able to get some prostitutes to quit their jobs and go back to Japan. A young, right-wing, Japanese nationalist also regarded Karayuki-san in Singapore as deteriorating Japan's national dignity, but his movement could not succeed as brothel keepers acted in unity against his activities (Hane, 2002:224). In 1913, the Japanese consul in Singapore asked for all the Japanese pimps to be expelled ( Hane, 2002:224). At that time Singapore was seen as the place where the West and the East met. So, the Japanese thought if there were many Japanese prostitutes in Singapore, western people would regard Japan as a savage country, and Japan was very sensitive about



judgment from western countries (Hane, 2002:225). Up until the early Twentieth Century colonial authorities accepted prostitution and did not want to make strict policies about it in Singapore. However, public opinion began to change in Singapore, so in 1913, government banned prostitution carried out by white prostitutes ( Hane, 2002:225). As a result, many Karayuki-san moved from Southeast Asia to Japanese occupied areas of Northeast Asia, where Japanese prostitutes were allowed to engage in their business until the end of the World War II (Hane, 2002:225).

According to the pamphlet issued by the army, *Essence of National Defense*, if males became soldiers, they would not worry about poverty at their hometown. The army claimed the main aim was to urgently alleviate farmers from starvation. When the military engaged in war in China, the farm villages also expanded their rural economies. A result of this attitude by the army was that if people complained about poverty, it was regarded as anti-patriotic ( Hane, 2002:119).

#### **4.2.5. Abolition of Licensed Prostitution in China**

In 1928, in Nanking, and in 1929, in Shanghai, the abolition of licensed prostitution was carried out; this was done by Christian Associations. These organizations asked the Japanese Consul in Shanghai to abolish licensed prostitution. As a result the name of prostitutes was changed to hostesses and brothels were given traditional Japanese names like Miyoshikan, Komatsu, or Ooichi, and began to be called salons (Zhu, 2005:92).

In the 1920s, the Governor-General of Taiwan encouraged Japanese and Taiwanese to engage in business activities on Mainland China and Southeast Asia. To aid this effort, the Governor-General of Taiwan allowed Japanese and Taiwanese to go overseas more easily. After the Sino-Japanese war, the number of officials who were military attachés to the Japanese Embassy of Taiwan increased. In Taiwan, restaurants were taken over by the Japanese military to be used as Comfort Stations. These facilities were not well equipped because the establishment of these Comfort Stations was an emergency measure to satisfy the increasing demand by the Japanese military (Zhu, 2005:108-109).

At the time of the first Comfort Stations, Japan was seeking to build an empire and was receiving international criticism. Japan occupied northern China where the military had to suppress protesters in Shanghai who were rioting. At the same time, the Japanese military wanted to deflect international interest in the Japanese invasion of Manchukuo, (1932-45). The first Comfort Stations were established in the period of the Shanghai Incident in 1932, though there is not any official documentation available. In 1929, the Chinese government in Shanghai tried to abolish state-regulated prostitution. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan was reluctant to follow the policy of the Chinese government. So the Foreign Ministry of Japan banned the short term rental of Japanese-style rooms, but owners of restaurants were allowed to operate as brothels in Shanghai. These restaurants became the first Comfort Stations but were still referred to as restaurants. At the end of 1936, there were 102 Japanese prostitutes and 29 Korean prostitutes working in 10 restaurants throughout Shanghai. Seven of the ten were exclusively for the Navy. These seven comfort stations were used by petty officers, and individual citizens were also allowed use of them. Medical specialists checked the Comfort Women thoroughly twice per week to prevent venereal diseases (Yoshimi, 2009:14-16).

### **4.3. Poor Japanese and poor Asians became outcasts**

#### **4.3.1. Economic development in Japan**

When exploring the situation domestically in Japan, industrial production increased five-fold, exports more than tripled, and the whole economy of Japan increased threefold. The technology of Japan developed well and allowed its industries to diversify. Zaibatsu saw a huge amount of profit return, due to its products being used in the First World War. In 1923, Japan experienced the Kanto (Tokyo) Earthquake. In the aftermath of the Kanto Earthquake many Japanese people carried out crimes of hatred on not only left wing people, but also Korean people. The Japanese police and authorities spread a rumor after the earthquake that Koreans put poison in the wells, which led many Japanese to riot afterwards. The resulting fear caused the deaths of tens of thousands of innocent Koreans in Japan. Police and soldiers hunted for suspected Korean agitators but in spite of this racial discrimination, the number of Korean immigrants to Japan increased, rising to over 148,000 Korean immigrants in Japan (Henshall, 2012: 113, Tipton:103).

### **4.3.2. The Famine of 1934 in Japan**

During 24 of the 44 years during the Meiji period (1868-1912), northern prefectures suffered from famine. This was better during the Taisho period (1912-1926), when 4 out of 14 years suffered from famine in Northern Japan. A government report stated the living conditions of 70 to 80% of the people in Aomori prefecture seemed not to be fit for human beings. In Iware prefecture, which is in the northern part of Japan, approximately 450,000 out of 900,000 people nearly starved to death. In 1934, due to the famine, the infant mortality rate in Iware prefecture was 50 %, which was much higher than the national average of 13%. This serious famine in Northern Japan led poor farmers to increase the number of their daughters who were sold into prostitution. These girls sacrificed themselves to save their family members. Even though their parents preferred death to selling their daughters, the daughters wanted to help their parents. As a result a number of girls from the six northern prefectures who went to cities were prostitutes. An estimated 4,521 became prostitutes, 2,196 became Geisha, 5,952 worked in restaurants, and 3,271 in cafés. 17,260 girls went to mills and factories in bigger cities ( Hane, 2002:114-115).

The preference of Japanese males towards prostitutes changed at the beginning of the 1930s. This is because the male customers of prostitutes wanted to spend time with prostitutes who were more like girlfriends. They were not happy with prostitutes who behaved like sexual slaves (Wada, 1935:165 used by Kurahashi, 2010:94-95).

Japan began to get more involved in the war in China after the late 1930s. As a result, Japanese soldiers did not feel uncomfortable about having sex with sexual slaves. After all they also were contained in the military as soldiers ( Kurahashi, 2010:94-95).

### **4.3.3. The Nanking incident**

On December, 13, 1937, the capital of Nationalist China was defeated by the Japanese military (Chang, 1997: IX). The military wanted Nanking to surrender unconditionally. However, the Chinese army did not accept unconditional surrender, so the military carried out massacre on the Chinese.

According to Hane & Penez (2013:294), common people, Chinese men, women, and children were killed indiscriminately. During the first month of occupation of Nanking, at least 12,000 citizens were killed; around 20,000 women were raped, and 57,000 were captured and some of them, who had already surrendered, were killed. Eventually, 200,000 civilians and prisoners were estimated to have been killed in and around Nanking ( Hane, 2013:294-295). During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the Japanese soldiers had maintained a relative discipline, and carried out war as respectfully as possible. However, in the Nanking incident, Japanese soldiers committed massacres, rape and plundered excessively, so it seemed that the activities of the soldiers were totally different. Hane thinks soldiers did behave ruthlessly towards citizens because of the individual and group psychological understandings of the Japanese people. This was because, historically, the Japanese people have been obedient to power and authority. On the other hand, they were ruthless in suppressing the weak and powerless people in their hierarchal system (Hane & Penez, 2013:295). Hane and Penez give the example of the samurai concept, of the commoners being disposable and being able to kill them without being held accountable to any authority. This is one example of how the Edo government treated people, high class and low class, unequally ( Hane& Penez, 2013:295). When Japanese males wore the uniform of their military, they thought their activities were unrestricted due to imperial sanction. After the Russian-Japanese war, the government used textbooks, which emphasized teaching young students how the Empire of Japan was sacred and superior to other Asian races. Due to the Japanese education system of brainwashing the young men developed a feeling of superiority. Japanese fell into extreme arrogance ( Hane& Penez, 2013:295). Japan adopted Western science and technology, so Japan successfully joined the membership of imperialist countries, thus leading to the increase in discrimination towards neighboring Asian countries. China, which could not adopt western technology, declined sharply and this led to a situation where the Japanese military could strongly discriminate against China and the Chinese (Hane & Penez, 2013:295). The life of soldiers was very strict and they suffered from strict social rules caused by economic difficulties. These situation made soldiers frustrated and have hostile feelings, which led to the ruthless activities towards the helpless and weak Chinese people. Moreover, young soldiers were treated harshly in a military

that brutalized them. Then, on battle fields, these soldiers carried out brutal behavior with ruthless attitudes. Generally speaking, it was believed that soldiers lost their individual responsibility when they acted in groups. The soldiers had a strong responsibility towards the army. They did not care about ruthless attitudes towards outsiders such as the Chinese when they invaded Nanking. This allowed the Japanese military to carry out inhuman violence towards the Chinese people ( Hane& Perez, 2013:295).

I think these ruthless attitudes of the Japanese soldiers would be the same in situations carrying out military activities and treatment of prostitutes by the Japanese military.

Kurahashi pointed out why the Japanese military carried out brutal activities towards the Chinese people in the mainland China.

Firstly, Sino-Japanese War was beyond the ability of Japan, so the number of soldiers was always short. So, soldiers had to stay at the battle fields for a long time, and they became very exhausted.

Secondly, the Japanese soldiers had to fight against the Chinese guerrillas (1937-45), and they had to kill these guerrillas face to face. The soldiers were not sure whether they were guerrillas or not. If they had any doubts, then they killed them. As a result, the Japanese soldiers killed unarmed Chinese females and children. Characteristics of fighting against guerrillas made the Japanese soldiers extremely exhausted. It was very useful for the Japanese towns in mainland China to prevent the Japanese soldiers from committing riots or resistance. The Japanese military tried to control the Japanese soldiers for 8 years on the battle fields in China.

However, it was impossible to prevent the Japanese soldiers from being engaged in brutal activities towards the Chinese people ( Kurahashi, 2010:48-49).

#### **4.3.4. The Comfort Women in Nanking**

In the aftermath of the massive rapes at Nanking in 1937, the Japanese government reacted strangely against the Western criticism. The government did not suppress or punish soldiers who raped the Chinese. The reaction of the Japanese high command was a plan to build a huge system of underground military Comfort Stations, where thousands of women from all over Asia would work and they would

be placed throughout Asian countries. According to professor Yoshimi Yoshiaki in Japan the Japanese military in China issued an order to build comfort stations to avoid being criticized by America, China and European countries following the rapes in Shanghai and Nanking (Yoshimi, quoted from Chang, 1997:52).

However, whether exaggerated or not, Hata, in his book “The Nanking Massacre” (2009) realized that the writer of the book “The Rape of Nanking” (1997), Iris Chang, was a kind of agitator who took advantage of the war criminals of Japan. Many Chinese people supported her for her patriotic agitation but also for her academic achievement. Hata attended a meeting at Princeton University in 1997, where the chairperson was a professor from Princeton University in the United States. Many listeners shouted that what he talked about in his research about the Nanking Massacre was inaccurate. Hata calculated that Japanese soldiers killed around 40,000 Chinese people. However, another Japanese scholar, Kasahara, estimated the victims of Japanese soldiers would be from 100,000 to slightly less than 200,000. The difference in the figures between the two Japanese scholars were very large, so Chinese audience got angry and shouted to show their disagreement with the results of Hata’s research. He could not explain more at the conference because it seemed to be far from an academic way of discussion.

This was because the meeting at Princeton in 1997 was supported by the Alliance of the Victims of the Nanking Massacre) formed by Chinese-Americans. Around eighty percent of the audience were Chinese Americans, so Hata felt the atmosphere of the conference seemed to be weird (Hata, 1986, pp.248-249). Chang did her research from Chinese in Nanking about rapes, it seemed to be extremely shocking for Western people as they are not familiar with this topic. However, Orville Shell, who was a Professor of California, wrote a review in the New York Times on 14 December, 1997, quoted from Chang’s interview of one person. According to that interview, the Japanese soldiers forced Chinese people to have intercourse with family members such as fathers with daughters. This created an uncertainty about the factual detail of the interviewee and whether they were recounting events that had either never happened or they heard about second or third hand. From my experience of interviews with Japanese customers of Thai prostitutes, they talked of various things, which were far from academic. Therefore I

am not sure whether these interviews contained reliable information or not. Some people want to make stories for fun or to get the interest for listeners. Shell used Chang's work to support his point of view that Chang's work was possibly unconfirmed rumours or reporting of third-hand reports.

Hata concluded that (1986, p.252) Iris Chang wrote well and even Professor Shell from California believed that an interview based on one Chinese person could not have academic reliability. She refused to correct historical mistakes by Japanese publishers, so her work could not be published in Japan. The Subtitle of the "Rape of Nanking" is "The Forgotten HOLOCAUST of World War II", so even Japanese scholars who support the occurrence of massacres could not agree with her opinion because her reports of the HOLOCAUST by the Japanese military was too exaggerated (Hata, 1986:252).

Dr. Takigawa Masajiro, who was a lawyer engaged in the trials of war criminals in Tokyo, wrote of his experiences in Nanking in 1938. He heard the story, from a Chinese puller, that almost all Chinese women in Nanking were raped by the Japanese soldiers (Hata, 1986, p.202). Some generals thought that it was impossible to prevent rape on the battle field. According to Japanese Martial Law, if a person committed rape, he would be punished severely. So, Chinese women raped by the Japanese soldiers were killed and set on fire in order to hide the crimes (Hata, 1986:202).

As discussed previously the Japanese government and military looked down on local indigenous people, so it was from this position of feeling superior they were able to force local people to engage as Comfort Women. This situation can be seen from the Burakumin (Eta Hinin) were confined to a certain areas if they did not follow the restriction which was banned by the Edo government, Brakumin were killed. Similarly, in the Edo period, Japanese people did not care about going to brothels as part of their daily lives. However, at the same time, Japanese people did think about the situation of Japanese prostitutes suffering in miserable situations. Burakumin and prostitutes in Japanese society were regarded as a part of the Japanese social structure.

In other words, Japanese people did not have a sense of human rights like people living in the world today. Thereby, traditional Japanese ideology, Hane and Penez claim (2013:295), was that the Japanese people were insular and had a parochial way of thinking towards prostitution. This led the Japanese military to exploit females sexually in Southeast Asia as outcasts and prostitutes.

#### **4.4. Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere**

##### **4.4. 1.The relationship between Japan and Southeast Asia.**

The change of Japanese attitudes, whether part of Asia or of the West can be seen from the dark side of Fukuzawa Yukichi's( 1835-1901) thinking. He is a famous Japanese scholar who advocated Japan's westernization and not to be a member of Asian countries. Fukuzawa stated that the improvement of the "Japanese race" should be based on the Victorian thinking, which claimed the white race is superior to other races. Fukuzawa advocated that the Japanese people should make their bodies bigger through diet such as eating meat, should be educated in a Victorian way and adopt Victorian moral standards. Moreover, Fukuzawa also suggested that Japanese should get married to westerners to make the Japanese race better ( Stars, 2011:26). Based on Fukuzawa's Eugenics based thoughts, the Japanese were required to improve the Japanese race and to control inferior Asian races. This ideology became a standard part of the Japanese ideology when it became a fascist country. The Empire of Japan established 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' as a 'utopian' empire for Japan ( Stars, 2011:27-28).

Fukuzawa believed that the endpoint and highpoint of civilization was Western civilization. Also, the Meiji government policy was based on the "civilization and enlightenment" ideology. In other words, Westernization or modernization, based on the ideas of Francois Guizot (1828). Fukuzawa believed that Japan had a role to help Asian countries from a dark and backward situation because Japan has already accomplished modernization and Westernization (Stars, 2011, p.28).



Moreover, if any Asian country resisted modernization then Japan could attack the government in Asian countries (Stars, 2011:28). Darwinian based racist ideology ranked people or cultures as inferior or developed. When Japan defeat China, in 1895, Fukuzawa thought Japan surpassed China, which was the symbol of backwardness (Stars, 2011:29).

In fact, already in 1885, Fukuzawa Yukichi advocated that Japan should cut relationships with Asian countries and become a member of Western countries, “proposal to quit Asia” (脱亜論)(Stars:29-30). As a result, Japan began to get involved in contradictive situation because Japan is a part of Asia culturally, geographically and traditionally but Japans contemporary and western ideas created a split personality, which endures till the present. On one hand, Japan regarded itself as part of Western modernization and strived for an “attitude towards modernity” but on the other had a national identity conflict. This was shaped by Fukuzawa Yukichi and whether he expected the Japanese military, based on this ambiguous identity, whether Asians or western, would invade Asian countries violently is unknown. Yukichi still was a major force, ideologically, in developing Japans attitudes and the creation of a split personality where Japan’s colonial aspirations mirrored their desire to modernize along western lines (Stars, 2011: 29-30).

Pearl S.Buck, who is the author of “The House of Earth”(1935), analyzed that the objective of racial discrimination was to judge superiority of people and ranking according to skin color, thus leading to justification of controlling people by exploitation. In other words, just as racial discrimination tried to justify and to control non-whites in the United States so Japan used this ideology to try to control parts of Asia, which also matched their economic aspirations to modernise (1942, Asian Magazine February, Ma, 2000:202).

The imagine of Southeast Asia for the Japanese people was created by a Japanese school text book (1918-1932) titled “letter from Track Island”. The style of this teaching material used the letter from an uncle to his nephew. An uncle said in the letter, “ Dojin, (土人) indigenous or local people were still undeveloped, the character of aboriginals are very calm, and tamed us well, and Japan built many schools, so children can speak Japanese well”. The word “dojin” is equal to

“ barbarian” and this expressions was exactly the way of thinking of the Japanese people to South Pacific Islanders (Goto, 2012:12).

In 1940, Muto Akira, Adjutant General states that the role of the Japanese was to release Asian people from suppression of White imperialism (Kawata, 2012:217). However, the Japanese military secretly admitted that the characteristics of the Japanese governing Indonesia would be exploitation of such thing as oil due to the lack of the power of Japan (Kawata, 2012:218).

The American view and the Japanese view were similar at that time. Racial discrimination was a necessary evil to control society for those people with vested interested in the main stream. Even though Japan would try to eliminate discrimination, the objective was to exploit people economically like the United States. However, Japan could not comfort soldiers by allowing them to take leave like the United States. Soldiers were forced to stay on battle fields until they died, and comfort themselves sexually, so they did not have any choice except to go to Comfort station in Southeast Asia.

#### **4.4.2. Japanese comfort women following the Japanese military**

**Keiko**, which was the professional name as a prostitute in Japan, was born in Japan in 1916. She was the oldest daughter of 11 brothers of a poor farming family in Kita-Kyusu. In 1933, when she was seventeen years old, she became a prostitute in order to return debt (20 yen) for her family. However, after three years, when she was twenty years old, her debt had risen to 69 yen. One of her regular customers, a Japanese soldier, returned her all debt. As a result, she could be free from engaging in prostitution. Many people recommended her to go back to her hometown, however, she knew herself that she could not have a future life in her hometown. She did not have any skills except prostitution. One of brothel owners suggested that “ now (1933), engaging in prostitution in Manchuria or China can pay much better money than in Japan. Why don’t you go? Many people are scared to go overseas, but you have already been in an awful situation. It is not necessary for you to worry about being in a further miserable situation. Providing sexual service to soldiers in the battle field is the only way for you as a Japanese female to contribute to the Emperor of Japan.” So, she decided to engage in word as a comfort woman. She also

thought if she went to China, she might see her regular customer who worked in China as a soldier. She moved throughout China for seven years accompanying the Japanese military according to where they had battles. On 6<sup>th</sup>, December, 1941, she arrived in Cam Ranh Bay near Saigon, French Indochina. On 8<sup>th</sup> December 1941, the Pacific War against the United States started. Yamazaki Tomoko (Yamazaki, 2012:109-111) concluded that the Japanese military organized comfort stations in Southeast Asia before it started the Pacific War against the United States.

## CHAPTER V

### COMFORT WOMEN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA DURING JAPANESE OCCUPATION FROM 1941 TO 1945

At first, I will talk about Japanese military activities, regarding Comfort Women in Southeast Asia after 1941. Then, I will explore the definition of Comfort Woman and the difficulties it raises in relation to who could have been considered Comfort Women at this time. The definition of Comfort Women is a very difficult to define (Onuma, 2007.p.30). Under the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia, the number of Comfort Women can't be identified. Under the control of the Japanese military, they were classed as a kind of "sexual slave" (Kurahashi, 2010:37).

Japanese pimps recruited comfort women, often by force, from Korea, Taiwan and Japan. These women, as well as the women locally, were forced to serve as Comfort Women for the Japanese military.

Comfort Women were treated like sexual slaves in Southeast Asia unlike ordinary prostitutes in mainland China (Kurahashi, 2010:48). According to comfort station regulations, Comfort Women were referred to as hostesses and the stations were set up for soldiers. According to recorded regulations, outside operating hours, a permit was required for comfort women to leave, and they were not allowed to have sex outside the station. Also, comfort women had to undergo medical checks by army medical personnel regularly. The Manila district general decided the location of the station building and the rate of pay and working hours, which were until midnight for comfort women (Yoshimi:491-562, 1992 quoted from Ueda,2000:241-242). The customers of Comfort Women were young males from Japan, Korea and Taiwan who were also forced to be in the battle fields in Southeast Asia against their will. They were forced to kill people and have sex with Comfort Women systematically as a member of the Japanese military. In Southeast Asia there were not so many Japanese people, so it is presumed that the characteristics of Comfort Women were those of sexual slaves.

## 5.1. Japanese military and comfort station in Southeast Asia

### 5.1.1. The background of the Pacific War in Southeast Asia since 1941

The Pacific War began at A.M. 2:15, on 8<sup>th</sup>, December, 1941. The Japanese Army, Takumi detached force, landed on Kotabaru on the British **Malay Peninsula**. At 3:19 AM, the Japanese military began to attack Pearl Harbor. The Pacific War was first started against the British Empire (Yoshida, 2011:9). The Japanese Army paid more attention to occupying the Malay Peninsula and Singapore than to occupying the Philippines. So, the best transportation vessels were used by the Japanese military in Malaya and Singapore while old ships were used in the Philippines (Yoshida, 2011:54). On 15, February, 1942, the Japanese military occupied Singapore (Hayashi, 1995:28). On 2 January, 1942, the Japanese Army occupied Manila, and the US Army and the Filipino Army retreated to the Bataan Peninsula, where they resisted the Japanese military. In April, 1942, the Japanese military occupied the Bataan Peninsula. During this time, the Japanese military occupied Borneo, the Celebes and Sumatra. In March 1942 the Japanese Army occupied Java and Rangoon (Yoshida, 2011:55). At the beginning of the Pacific War, **around 400,000 Japanese soldiers** were gathered to carry out war in Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands. The number of Japanese soldiers increased to **1,000,000** by the end of the Pacific War (Hata, 2008:103). In a speech given in February, 1992, **the former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, stated that 100-200 Japanese soldiers lined up to take sexual services at Comfort Stations within one month of the Japanese occupation in Singapore**. So Hata's hypothesis is that there were fewer rapes in Singapore, especially in comparison to incidents like the Nanking Massacre. (Hata, 2008:112,115).

A Java Newspaper, funded by Asahi Newspaper, reported that even if healthy Comfort Women were gathered, almost all Comfort Women got sexually transmitted diseases, so it was impossible to gather healthy Comfort Women. On 11, September, 1944, a Java Newspaper reported that 70% of Japanese people got sexual diseases.

In Burma, military doctor (Dr. Kamei), informed the Japanese soldiers of the diseases plaguing the Comfort Women, but was ignored and the soldiers visited the Comfort Stations anyway. ( Hata, 2008:114-115).

### 5.1.2. Daily lives of soldiers in the Military Camps

Many Japanese soldiers took Japanese novels with them to the battle fields. Hino Ashihei and Yoshikawa Eiji were favorite novelists for the Japanese soldiers. These novelists experienced certain situations on battle fields and they also understood the actual feeling of family members waiting for soldiers. These family members did not expect that these soldiers plundered the battle fields, committed crimes or died. Many Japanese people hoped these soldiers would carry out their obligations and then return to Japan. The context of these books was based on the morality of Japanese soldiers' heroism and sacrifices (Kobayashi, 2007, p.144). Hino Ashihei talked later, in a book he wrote, (1982) about the censorship by the Japanese government. According to Hino Ashihei, authors could not write about massacres, rapes and plundering on battle fields. Writers could not write about the dark sides of battle fields, tactics of battles, and names of military units. Also, writers were requested to write about the Chinese in a way that made the Japanese soldiers think hatefully about the Chinese (Kobayashi, 2007:142).

The period of War was too long, so older professional soldiers, who were recruited to battle fields two or three times became apathetic. As a result, some of them were allowed to go back to Japan in order to take a rest. Prime Minister, Tojo Hideki supported this, because his main purpose was to have babies as future soldiers for Japan. However, it was far from being carried out (Yoshimi, 2009:70). Former **Japanese Prime Minister, Nakasone Yasuhiro** (中曾根康弘) at the age of 23 was a lieutenant junior grade who controlled 3,000 soldiers in Borneo in January, 1942, stated as follows:

The number of soldiers was 3,000, so they began to rape local females or **indulged in gambling**. So, I set up comfort stations for them and they used the comfort stations so much they seemed to be potatoes in bowls (Yoshimi, 2009:72). During the War period, like Comfort Women, the movement of the Japanese soldiers was also limited because there were spies. When the Japanese soldiers wanted to go outside, they could leave camp only after 12:00 PM and had to go in groups of two or more. Also, soldiers were not allowed to visit civilians' houses (Matsuki, 2011:34). In the battle front of Burma, Japanese soldiers and Comfort Women joined sports activities, enjoyed picnics, parties, and dinners (Matsuki, 2011:35).

On the other hand, the Japanese soldiers were suffering from being in serious situations.

According to the testimonies of former Japanese soldiers on NHK TV, August, 2007, the military power of Japan and the Allied Forces was totally different. So, many Japanese soldiers were killed without fighting. Some starved to death, some of them committed suicide and injured or sick soldiers were killed by the other Japanese soldiers in order for them not to be taken prisoner by the Allied Forces. According to Suzuki Einosuke, who was a survivor of Iou Island, said that 60% of the soldiers committed suicide and 10% of them were killed by the other Japanese soldiers in order not to be prisoner by the United States (Yoshida, 2011:148).

Nakauchi Isao (中内功), who was the establisher of Diei shopping mall, stated that he was scared of the soldier sleeping beside him. Whenever he was afraid of being killed he slept. In fact, Japanese soldiers attacked each other to get food or human meat. Nakauchi Isao stated that Kenpei, the secret police, were allowed to shoot soldiers who engaged in cannibalism (Yoshida, 2011:151). In Guadalcanal, in February, 1943, the Japanese military dispatched 31,000 soldiers, but 20,800 people died (Iida, 2010:40). The Japanese military was afraid of letting the Japanese people know about their defeat in the battle of Guadalcanal, so they did not allow survivors to go back to Japan (Iida, 2010:40,42).

In Burma after May, 1943, they began to engage in Comfort Women for a moment in Pegu. When they moved to the front line of battle of Imphal ( May, 1944 to July 1944), they could not be offered sexual service any more. Japanese soldiers were starving to death, so they had to eat frogs, snakes, grasses, and then human flesh (Yamazaki, 2013:113).

I found a blog, dated 2010, written by a Japanese man (Inotoku.2010: online) who became a soldier when he was 15 years old. The boys who were born from 1925 to 1929 could become soldiers when they turned 15 years of age. The boys went to military camps where older soldiers scorned them, saying “you are stupid to come here voluntarily”. This boy dreamed of becoming a soldier because his school education taught him that the Japanese are clever and the Chinese were stupid. Additionally, becoming a soldier was a way to escape from poverty.

When he was in the military camp, they could not use Western terms, which were used before the Pacific War. For example, shirts, pants, cover and pocket could not be used; instead of this, only Japanese vocabularies were allowed to be used.

Soldiers had to wake up 6 AM. Within 3-5 minutes, they had to fold their futons, put on their clothes, and go outside. Otherwise, they would be slapped by higher ranking soldiers. When they got back from military practice to the camps, if the belongings of a soldier were messy, the soldier would be hit with wooden guns and until they fell down. Slapping was used as a lighter punishment. If a soldier did not hold his gun properly, the soldier would be made to hold their guns for one hour. When they felt dizzy, they had to keep holding their guns to protect themselves.

Many bullying acts were carried out. Soldiers were forced to punch each other or stand on their hands beside desks and many were hit with belts.

As a result, lower ranking soldiers would put their spit or dandruff in the higher ranking soldier's miso soups. When the higher ranking soldiers would eat these foods, the younger lower rank soldiers would throw up their hands and shout "Banzai!".

Another form of bullying was when older soldiers ordered younger soldiers to hold pillars and sing like Cicadas. Also, older soldiers would order younger soldiers to call other people like geishas. They would have to call out "you want to enjoy yourself with me?" or "Come here Oniisan (lad)!"

When soldiers took public baths, young soldiers were ordered to wash the elder soldier's bodies. When young males went back to the datuisho (dressing room) they sometimes found their belongings were missing. At these times some of the younger soldiers would pretend to be finished bathing by wiping their faces with towels and leaving the bath-house, so they would not have to wash the bodies of the older soldiers.

Some elder soldiers made it their hobby to bully the younger soldiers. However, higher ranking soldiers would not stop this as they thought that bullying was a way of creating stronger soldiers. Also, in the battle fields, young males had to rely on elder soldiers, because they were experienced and efficient. He thought that military camps were very uneducated and were filled with craziness.



### **5.1.3. How and Why Comfort Stations Were Built in Southeast Asia?**

Comfort Stations had major effects on areas occupied by the Japanese during and after WWII.

The Japanese experience from Karayuki-san was that they could pass on important military information. This was also true of non-Japanese prostitutes who could get information from Japanese soldiers and pass it to Japan's enemies. When Japanese males bought prostitutes (comfort women) in Southeast Asia western people's attitudes labeled Japanese as barbarians whose ethics are based on uncivilized and non-Christian religion.

At first soldiers used pre-established red light districts in Chinese cities. Many Japanese females were engaged in prostitution, in Chinese cities or Japanese town throughout in China, in order to earn a better income than in Japan. Japanese soldiers paid these prostitutes in return for their sexual services. (Yamazaki, 2012:105).

As the soldiers became closer to the battle fields, the possibility of dangerous situations would increase. The battle fields were mostly in village areas, so there were little or no brothels. Although the soldiers demanded prostitutes, not many wanted to work there because of the dangerous situations. Despite the danger, some Korean and Taiwanese prostitutes went closer to the battlefields and engaged in prostitution with the Japanese soldiers (Yamazaki, 2012:106).

The Japanese military did not have an issue with Korean or Taiwanese prostitutes working near the front lines. But due to the lack of women willing to risk the dangerous battlefield areas, Japanese soldiers resorted to raping local women. (Yamazaki, 2012:106)

After December 1936, the battle fields in China began becoming more dangerous and the Japanese prostitutes became more hesitant to work near the front lines. As a result the Japanese military and human traffickers had to change their recruitment strategy for Comfort Women. The military and pimps deceived Korean and Taiwanese women into working on battle fields. The Japanese language, which was forced to be learnt in Korea and Taiwan, was used while drafting Comfort Women from these countries. These women could not understand Japanese perfectly, so it

was easier for the Japanese military and pimps to send these foreign women to battle fields than Japanese women (Yamazaki, 2012:108).

Yamazaki concluded that the Japanese military and pimps forced the women in Southeast Asia to become Comfort Women. The Japanese military thought the tanned skin women of Southeast Asia were uneducated and incapable of communicating with each other, so there was no problem in abducting them to serve as Comfort Women (Yamazaki, 2012:108).

The few Japanese Comfort Women who were available in Southeast Asia, and were very precious to Japanese men in the region, were allocated mainly to generals, while local Southeast Asian women were allocated to the soldiers (Yamazaki, 2012, :107). The allocation of Comfort Women was differentiated by rank within the military. High ranking officers were given Japanese or Western women, low ranking officers were given Chinese or Korean, while common soldiers were allowed use of the local Southeast Asians (Kurasawa :219, quoted in O' Herne, 1999).

According to Hata Ikuhiko, the Japanese generals who had experience in the Sino- Japanese War, highly regarded the importance of being supported by the local people in order to carry out the war. These generals paid attention to the maintenance military morals in order to prevent the soldiers from getting involved in rapes. However it was impossible for the military to completely prevent rapes on the battle fields. According to a memorandum by a Mr. Kanamori on May 2, 1942, the number of rapes carried out by the soldiers in Southeast Asia, an estimated 237, was a little bit fewer than in China. In the Philippines when there were rapes, the head of the military punished the soldiers severely, so the number of rapes committed decreased sharply (Hata, 2008:110).

In one instance a Japanese Major raped the wife of Malay in Kuala Lumpur, and he stole five watches. In Joho, a soldier deceived a local princess, stole a camera and raped her. In Rabaru, the head of a military encampment, raped a daughter of a tribal chief, and as a result the local population got very angry and attacked the military encampments. These events reinforced the military's belief that Comfort Stations were necessary to help maintain the soldiers morals and decrease the occurrences of sexual crimes committed by them (Hata, 2008:110-112).

#### **5.1.4. Why did the Japanese Military Believe Comfort Women Were Necessary in Southeast Asia?**

At the time, the Japanese military believed that making Comfort Stations was extremely important to the war effort. They believed the presence of Comfort Women would reduce or prevent sexual violence against local people by their soldiers (Tanaka, 2003:28). There was a superstition that sex before battle helped to keep soldiers safe from wounds (Hicks, 1995:6). Additionally the military hoped that they would help prevent sexually transmitted diseases (Hicks, 1995:7). The first comfort station was set up in Shanghai in 1932 and reported rape in the area was reduced afterwards. (Hicks, 1995:19). However, not all reports stated that Comfort Women achieved this intended result. Tanaka refers to an admission by a Japanese General, who was responsible for initiating the Comfort Women system, who stated that sexual violence still occurred even with the presence of Comfort Women (Hicks, 1995:28).

Another purpose of Comfort Stations was to help the Japanese military keep its secrets. If soldiers and generals visited local brothels, local prostitutes might learn and disclose military secrets to their enemies. So in Singapore, the local headquarters of the Japanese military, generals were banned from using local brothels. Military secret police investigated the generals who visited brothels regularly, as well as the prostitutes. The military believed using Japanese prostitutes would protect their secrets, however, Japanese prostitutes were too few in number so many local prostitutes were hired (Yoshimi, 2009:55-56).

Before and after the Meiji period, the Japanese attitude towards social hierarchy remained very similar. The Japanese people have been keeping the status quo according to the already established hierarchy of society. In family or in personal relations, Japanese people act properly according to age, generations, sex, and action based on each person's social class.

Whether higher or lower, if anyone acted outside of their social limitations, they were punished. As long as people stayed in their proper place, they would be protected. However, when Japan occupied other countries this method of social hierarchy was resented because of Japanese arrogance.

Japanese soldiers believed they gave positions to Asian people, even though a lower position, it was assumed it would be comfortable for lower class people. The

Japanese believe that they are the only Asian people can fit and accept proper social stations. This belief is a “genuine product” of Japanese attitudes and thinking (Benedict, 1954:95-96).

## **5.2. Comfort Women in Southeast Asia during World War Two**

### **5.2.1. The Japanese policy of comfort women**

A writer, Yamazaki Tomoko, who wrote the book “**Karayuki-san**”, compared “Karayuki-san” and “Comfort Women” as follows:

“Comfort Women appeared with the expansion and invasion of Asian countries by the Japanese military. Yamazaki Tomoko stated that Comfort Women, who were restricted from their everyday activities and lives did not exist during the Meiji and Taisho period. Yamazaki stated that the period of comfort stations that had comfort women was started in Shanghai from 1932 and ended in 15, August, 1945. The period of the systematic use of comfort women existed for twelve or thirteen years. Karayukisan existed from around 1870 to around 1920, which is approximately 50 years, so the period of time of Karayukisan was much longer than the history of comfort women” (Yamazaki, 2012:102-105).

Japan declared war on the Allies in December 1941, and the military occupation of Southeast Asia began. The military had already planned to build comfort stations throughout Southeast Asia, and began after the Japanese declarations of war. (Yoshimi, 2009:59). The penalty for rape was seven years imprisonment, but despite this severe punishment, many soldiers in China committed the crime anyway (Totani, 2008:120).

To try and prevent rape the military set up comfort stations in each occupied territory. Kanamori Stuzo, the Army Section Manager of Medical Services, visited Dutch Borneo in 1941, and in July, reported the situation to his superiors as follows: “It is necessary for the Japanese soldiers to create relationships with local Indonesian women. So, the Japanese soldiers should pay careful attention to what they talk about.”

The Indonesian population was largely Muslim and possessed strong sexual morality, despite their polygamist beliefs. So it was important for soldiers to not rape the local women to help prevent unnecessary conflict with the local population. In

spite of their morality, many Indonesian women were driven into prostitution by poverty. As venereal disease became a problem, the military began ordering the building of Comfort Stations. Kanamori Stuzo believed that preventing rapes was important to reduce potential conflicts within the occupied territories between indigenous people and the foreign soldiers. He also encouraged the construction of Comfort Stations by local villages as a way to reduce the spread of venereal diseases (Yoshimi, 2009:59).

### **5.2.2 .The number of Comfort Women**

Still now, it is impossible to estimate exactly how many Comfort Women were gathered in Comfort stations by the Japanese army. For example it is not possible to estimate exactly the percentage of Korean Comfort Women and how many of these Comfort Women did not come back from battle fields. There are no documents giving the exact number of comfort women, but there has been work done by scholars regarding this, and they have made informed estimates. The table below is a collection of data published by scholars that gives an estimation of what happened at that time and how Comfort Women were used by the Japanese military. Manager of medical section of Shanghai, Dr. Kanahara Setsuzo, wrote his memorandum. **“One Comfort Woman was allocated to One Hundred soldiers”**

From this estimate, a soldier went to a Comfort Station once per month, and a Comfort Woman had sex with five soldiers per day, and took 10 days leaves per month.

**Table 1 The estimate of scholars**

Name of Scholar	Year Published	The Number of Soldiers	Parameter	Turnover Rate: Quit or Died	The Number of Comfort Women
Hata Ikuhiko (秦郁彦)	1993	3,000,000	One Comfort woman Per 50 soldiers (60,000)	1.5	90,000
Yoshimi Yoshiaki (吉見義明)	1995	3,000,000	One Comfort woman Per 100 soldiers (30,000)	1.5	45,000
			One comfort women Per 30 soldiers (100,000)	2	200,000
Su Zhiliang (蘇智良)	1999	3,000,000	One Comfort women per 30 soldiers (100,000)	3.5	360,000
				4	410,000
Hata Ikuhiko (秦郁彦)	1999	2,500,000	One comfort Women Per 150 soldiers (16,666)	1.5	20,000

(The Asian Women's Fund (AWF): online)

**Table 2 The estimate of Comfort Stations and Comfort Women in Southeast Asia.**

Area	Period of time	Comfort Station	Comfort Women	Source
Malay	July 1942		194	Yoshimi
Singapore	1943	20	300 (k,j,c,n)	
Burma	August 1942		k700	Yoshimi
Myitkyina	1944	3	k42 C 21	Yoshimi
Mandalay	1943	9		
Yunnan	1944		40+	
South Celebes	1945	27	N281	Yoshimi
Ambon	1944		150	
Timor	1944		K50	Yoshimi
Wahsire	1944		36 (j,k,n)	Holland Gov.
Manila	1943	21	1,183	Yoshimi
Panay	1942	2	N 33	
Davao	1944	6	150	Sasaki
Rabaul	1943	20	300 (J,K,T,I)	Matuda
Guam	1944	3	45 (J,K,CH)	Shimizu

J= Japanese, K= Korean, C=Chinese, N=Natives, T= Taiwanese, I= Indonesian,  
 CH= Chamorro  
 (Hata, 2008:111)

In February, 1943, the number of Sekkyaku-fu (接客婦) or Comfort Women in Manila for lower class officers and soldiers was 1064, spread out across seventeen Comfort Stations. The number of comfort Women for generals was over 119 and spread across four Comfort Stations. (Ueda, 2000:.241-242). On 1 October, 1944, a Japanese soldier serving in Manila estimated that the number of Japanese and Korean Comfort Women in Manila was around 360, and the number of Filipino Comfort Women was around 400. It can be said that within one and half years, there was a 40% decrease of Comfort Women in Manila. This 40% consisted of Comfort Women who had to leave their job due to sexual diseases or death. It was almost impossible for Comfort Women to quit their jobs except due to serious illness or death (Ueda, 2000: 245-246).

According to Colonel Oyama Masagoro, Filipino women were gathered to work as Comfort Women, then Korean women were brought and then Japanese women to also work as Comfort Women. Particularly Amakusa women were brought from Japan. These women were controlled by brothel owners for the use by the Japanese military. When 15 lines of Comfort Women were assembled, one of the lines could contain 150 Comfort Women (Ueda, 2000:244).

After the Japanese military lost at Guadal Canal, in December 1942, the soldiers were sent to Manila. One of these soldiers stated he had sex with many Comfort Women in Manila and only stopped when he ran out of money. He did this to try and feel as if he was still alive, after going through battlefield experiences. He stated that to stay one night with a Korean Comfort Woman cost 3.5 Yen, a Japanese Comfort Woman 5.5 Yen, a Spanish Filipino 11 Yen and an American Filipino 13 Yen. At other times Comfort Women were used by soldiers traveling through Manila on their way to fight in Papua New Guinea (Ueda, 2000:245).

### **5.3. Comparison of Comfort stations in Southeast Asia**

There were many Comfort Stations all over Southeast Asia, including Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and Guam.

The existence of these stations has been verified as follows.



### 5.3.1. The Philippines: Comfort Station

The book “ *Sexual management and sexual violence by the Japanese military in the Philippines from 1941 to 1945* “ used references about the Pacific war in the Philippines, and included some information about China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia from the Library of Defense Forces of Japan. The documents were not in proper chronological order or perfectly written and some were classified as military secrets. Even though they were shown in public, some of the documents were later retracted and others were redacted for the privacy of the people involved.(Takeda, 2008:3).

Using the above resource I am going to further explore the Japanese military’s account of events during the Pacific War and the occupation of the Philippines. According to the research of Yoshimi in Manila there were seventeen Comfort Stations for infantry soldiers and an estimated 1064 Comfort Women. The Army Logistics department was tasked with controlling restaurants, hotels and Comfort Stations. The scale of Comfort Stations was determined according to the size of the military unit and which branch of the military the unit belonged to (Ueda, 2000:241-242).

On 12, May, 1942, the first Comfort Station in the Philippines was established in Iloilo City. **Twenty-four Comfort women were sent from Taiwan** to the Iloilo local office. (diary of Special group at Iloilo local office quoted from Takeda, 2008:16). In July, 1942 Comfort Stations were opened in: Butuan City on Mindanao Island, and Cagayan on Luzon Island. When the Comfort Station was opened in Butuan, there were three women working at the station. (Takeda, 2008, quoted from diary of Colonel Yamaguchi, on 16, June, 1942). The 35<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Army stationed at Butuan in June of 1942 stated in their official military diary that the rules for use of Comfort Stations were different according to the rank of the soldiers. (Takeda, 2008 )

**1<sup>st</sup>.**) Each rank of soldier was allowed use of Comfort Stations during specific hours of each day. Soldiers were scheduled from 13:00-17:00, Petty Officers from 17:00-20:00 and Generals from 20:00-On.

2<sup>nd</sup>.) The fee for each rank was also different: soldiers were charged more than petty officers, and generals were charged the most.

3<sup>rd</sup>.) Each unit was allocated specific dates regarding the use of Comfort Stations and when soldiers went, they were required to go with their unit. Fridays were considered public holidays at the Comfort Stations. (Takeda, 2008:19)

Soldiers who wanted to go to Comfort Stations had to take a document of admission and they had to go with two or more fellow soldiers. Soldiers wore simple costumes and took a sword with them (Takeda, 2008:22-24). According to a diary of the 35th Infantry Battalion, in Dansalan, soldiers were allowed to go outside after 12:00 noon and they were to be accompanied by two or more others. The soldiers were not allowed to visit any civilian houses in the Philippines and could only go within a limited area. (Takeda, 2008:29)

According to the diary of Colonel Yamaguchi, on 16, June, 1942, when soldiers visited the Comfort Stations, they were served fruits, coffee and Japanese noodles. (Takeda, 2008:20). According to the diary of a guard of Masbate Island, on 7 July, 1942,

- (1). When soldiers want to have sex with a Comfort Woman, they have to take a number plate with them and keep order and pay a fee to a Comfort Woman.
- (2) Soldiers have to follow rules and don't bother other people.
- (3) Soldiers have to receive condoms from comfort women and use them, which leads to prevention of sexually transmitted diseases.
- (4) Soldiers should not make unnecessary conversations with comfort women who may pass on military information to spies.
- (5) Soldiers can't drink alcohol at comfort stations.
- (6) Soldiers should not be drunk and use violence towards comfort women.
- (7) Every Saturday comfort stations will be closed due to medical checking of comfort women. (Takeda, 2008:24).

At the Comfort Station in Iloilo on Panay Island, Comfort Women who contracted sexually transmitted diseases were not allowed to continue working. Comfort Women were allowed to take a walk between 8:00am and 10:00am, otherwise they were not allowed to go outside without permission. Soldiers could take the women

outside, but only if they got permission from the head of the station. (diary of Iloilo on 22, November, 1942 quoted from Takeda 2008:34).

**Only soldiers were allowed to be customers of Comfort Stations; however the number of non-soldier personnel using the station increased sharply.** (Takeda 2008:34) This is because high ranking generals would wear personal costumes when visiting Comfort Stations. This made it very difficult for the operators to distinguish customers whether the customers were soldiers or not. Some non-soldiers gave food and Sake as a gift to soldiers, and some soldiers offered opportunities for the use of Comfort Stations to non-soldiers. This was a violation of station policy that states Comfort Women were for the use of only military personnel. (29, January, 1943, Chief of Staff, Watari quoted from Takeda, 2008:37).

### **5.3.2. Comfort Women in Burma**

There are no official records about Comfort Women in Burma. However, according to the local population, there were Burmese comfort women during WWII. It is estimated that around 17 Korean and 15 Cantonese women were posted to the Comfort Stations throughout Burma (Morikawa 2000:314-327).

Burmese women are described as being better off economically than those in other countries and Burma was more welcoming of Japanese occupation seeing it as liberation from colonial rule. There were around 3000 comfort women in Burma, mostly Korean. At Burmese Comfort Stations the women were allowed to refuse clients, especially if they were drunk, and the workload was lighter than in other countries. Women received half the fee of the stations and at least one station was provided with quality food and care, perhaps because of the help of a certain Colonel Maruyama, who had a reputation for love of women and food. He spent much of his time with Comfort Women and ensured they were well fed and cared for, even more so than his troops (Hicks, 1995:95-99). Many Japanese soldiers had local wives in Burma. There were over 3000 children of these marriages. At this time polygamy was allowed in Japan, and the Burmese women knew their husbands had wives back home. Burmese wives said that during their marriage their living standards were better. They also reported that though they were at first afraid of the soldiers, they turned out to be kind husbands. One Captain recommended his troops marry local people as this was helpful if situations became dangerous. Families of the local

wives could help if soldiers got into trouble, especially if they were kind to their wives' relatives. Sometimes these relationships were strategic, designed to help the military gain intelligence about Burma (Hicks, 1995: 95-99, Morikawa, 2000:314-333).

### **5.3.3. Thai-Myanmar line**

According to Mr. Harada Sadato, who was engaged in the Japanese Army before the battle of Imphal, the number of soldiers and war supplies increased and were transported by train with Indian females and military officers. During the day time it was possible for trains to be attacked by fighter aircraft, so much of the transportation took place during the night time. In one instance Mr. Harada observed four or five coaches carrying Japanese women, and several other coaches were filled with Chinese and Korean women. He concluded these women were being transported to provide special services at Comfort Stations throughout the region. He stated that he had no opportunity to talk with Japanese females at that time, and when he had been able to talk with Japanese women, they had varying dialects. He was wondered how many women would make it back to their countries (Quoted from Juttaikai Statement in Yoshikawa, 2011, p.287).

Mr. Corner wrote this statement about the Thai-Myanmar rail line In April, 1944: "Singaporeans (Shonan Island) were frightened. In Indonesia, the Japanese military abducted and carried Indonesian people on trucks to ships. The Japanese military hoped these Indonesian people would join as workers in order to build the Thai-Myanmar rail line. The age and gender of people were not to be considered. Only people who ran swiftly could escape abduction by the military. They planned to take them to Thailand. On the way to Thailand, the ship went to Singapore. During the two week voyage, dead Indonesians were thrown over the side of the ship. When Indonesian females were young, these women were forced to serve as Comfort Women at the military barracks in Singapore. Singaporeans heard the women cry for help in their native language. Many dead bodies were left in the centre of Singapore, making apparent the decline of the military's power April, 1944" (Corner, 1981:162-164).

The Japanese military saw it as vital to the war effort to capture Burma and cut off the supply link between China and the West using the Burma Road. After taking

Burma, construction on the Siam-Burma railway began; a railway that would be named 'The Burma Death Railway'. It earned this nickname because one-fifth of the Allied prisoners of war, and one-third of the drafted Asian civilians who worked on its construction died in the process. It is said that the first train to travel the Siam-Burma railway was a prostitute train. A Comfort Station was established on the Thai end of the railway at the beginning of its construction, and was staffed with Korean Comfort Women. Due to the difficult terrain it was being built over, construction was slow and the line was not completed until late 1943. Upon completion, six or seven Korean Comfort Women were taken up and down the full length of the railway, and made to service soldiers at the newly constructed Comfort Stations along the way. The train would stop for one night at each station, and each station had about 60 soldiers each. Reports later indicated that the number of tickets issued exceeded the number of soldiers present along the line, so many soldiers must have made more than one visit.

(Hicks,1997:113).

#### **5.3.4. Indonesia: Comfort Station**

In the beginning of the occupation period in Java, there were a few private brothels, and they were mainly private establishments. The military began building Comfort Stations in Java in 1943, the late establishments were due to the fact that there were only 10,000 soldiers in Java at the time. According to a foreign public report, generals, other high ranking officials and successful entrepreneurs, prefer concubines to visiting brothels. This matched the desire by the European prostitutes in Java to be concubines rather than prostitutes to the Japanese. Other Japanese in the area at the time viewed Java as a paradise, after seeing how many of their fellow countrymen had obtained concubines there (Hata, 2006:113).

According to a Java Newspaper published 1<sup>st</sup>&2<sup>nd</sup> February. 1943, even after establishing these Comfort Stations, some soldiers visited the local brothels, preferring them for their price, and the thrill of the experience. This was a breach in the military's policy regarding soldiers and the use of Comfort Stations. (Hata, 2008:114)

In 1943 the military built 9 or 10 Comfort Stations in Pontianak, Borneo. (Totani, 2008:176). After constructing the stations, they requested Taiwanese Comfort

Women from the Minister of the Army. They sent fifty comfort women, and later the Taiwanese Army, which was controlled by Vice-Admiral Ando Toshiyoshi, asked to the Ministry of Japan to dispatch more Comfort Women. This was because there was a shortage of Comfort Women and some women were unable to work. These requests were written in secret using coded telegrams. (Yoshimi, 2009:63-64). Three Comfort Stations were allocated to the navy, five or six were for citizens and one for high class officers. Japanese secret police would kidnap young women on the streets, examine them for disease, and finally force them into the comfort stations. These Indonesian and Dutch women were forced to have sex with military personnel. The military ordered the chiefs of the Portuguese Timor to provide comfort women, if they did not want to send any women, the military would order them to send their own daughters. The military attacked the Moa islands off Timor, because members of the secret police were killed there. In revenge for their deaths, 100 local people were killed and 25 women detained to become comfort women for the 25 soldiers stationed there for 8 months (Totani, 2008:176).

### **5.3.5. A Dutch Comfort Woman**

Jan O'Herne was born in 1923 in Java in Dutch East India. She had a happy childhood but on 1, March 1942, when she was nineteen years old, the Japanese military invaded Indonesia. On 7 March, 1942, the Dutch surrendered to the Japanese, This ended the Dutch occupation of Indonesia for over three hundred years. When soldiers came and took Dutch residents in Indonesia, her grandfather, who was French, was not taken to the army barracks. Germans were not taken by the Japanese either. Afterwards, she, her mother, and her two sisters were detained by the military at Ambarawa in Java (Cover of book, O' Herne, 1999, p.50-52). Along with thousands of other Dutch women and children, her family had to stay in a dirty and small spaced army barracks. Japanese soldiers tried to confiscate their jewelry, however, women hid their jewelry (O' Herne, 1999, p.53-56). These women would have their names called every day and the soldiers taught them how to bow in a Japanese style, or they would be made to work in a camp (O' Herne, 1999:..57-58). On February 26, 1944, when she was 21 years old, a truck arrived at the camp and all the girls 17 years or older were made to line-up in the court. Ten girls, including Jan

O'Herne, were selected by Japanese officers (O' Herne, 1999:81-83). Seven of them, including O'Herne, were taken to a comfort station (O' Herne, 1999:88). On the first night, when they took customers, they were raped by Japanese soldiers and they lost their virginity (O'Herne,1999, p.105). Two Dutch women were replaced voluntarily, two sixteen year old women, because the two of them were too young and the women felt pity for them. Also, the two women who volunteered did not want to starve to death until the war ended, so they accepted to work at a comfort station (O' Herne, 1999:106). During day time, Dutch comfort women could rest. However, at comfort stations, Japanese were always beside them. All the time O'Herne tried to protect against Japanese customers in order not to be easily raped. So the office of the Comfort Station warned O'Herne, if she continued, she would be sent to a Comfort Station in town where Indonesian comfort women worked the whole day for Japanese soldiers (O'Herne, 1999:112-113).

When a military doctor came to this comfort station, Jan O' Herne complained about her situation, because she thought being forced to be a prostitute was a violation of the Genève Treaty, however, that doctor just raped her (O'Herne, 1999:114-115).. A Japanese general, who was stationed in Java temporarily and a friend of O' Herne' s sister visited O'Herne every day for two weeks. He bought overnight tickets in order that she would not be raped by other Japanese generals. For this he was scorned by other generals, and after two weeks, he left Java (O' Herne, 2008:117-121). After this O'Herne got pregnant. She was forced to have a miscarriage by the Japanese, despite being against her Catholic beliefs (O' Herne, 2008:123-125). After at least three months a high ranking general came to her comfort station and he got angry about the Dutch Comfort Women Station. Later, when O' Herne met over 100 Dutch women, she realized that they were forced to be comfort women by the Japanese military (O' Herne, 2008:127-129). The Japanese military warned the former Dutch comfort women if they disclosed the stories of Comfort Stations, they and their family members would be killed ( O' Herne, 2008:129). Afterwards, when a soldier intruded into a woman's house, and tried to rape a woman, he was scolded seriously by his superior in front of Dutch prisoners, and he was forced to be shot in his mouth. O' Herne was wondering why the standards of the Japanese were totally different (O' Herne, 2008:135-136).

Dutch people were released from camps on the same date as Japan was defeated in the war, on 15, August, 1945 (O' Herne, 2008:142).

### **5.3.6. Comfort women in Kuala Lumpur**

In Kuala Lumpur, an agent of the Japanese military recruited 14 Japanese Comfort Women. Six Chinese houses were taken over for use as Comfort Stations. It appeared that the Japanese military did not care about the property of local people. In a report of the Allied Powers, the power interrogated twenty Korean women and two agents who were spouses. According to their information, on 10 July, 1942, 793 Korean Comfort Women and 90 agents and family members sailed for Singapore from Korea by a Korean ship. These comfort women were gathered by agencies in Korea. This was because the headquarters of the Korean military suggested that comfort women be gathered. However, in fact, according to the Koreans' testimony, the agents presumed that the Japanese military in Indonesia asked for the comfort women to be sent to Southeast Asia. Also, two Taiwanese women who intended to be comfort women boarded the same Korean ship (Yoshimi, 2009:63-64).

The Japanese military ordered Mr. Katuki Hisaji, a Japanese man whose father-in-law ran a comfort station in Nanking, and another agent, Mr. Inoue kikuo, to recruit comfort women in Shanghai for Singapore. These comfort women were quickly stationed throughout Singapore. According to Mr. Inoue, they were acting under the orders of the headquarters of the Japanese military in China (Yoshimi, 2009: 64).

In many cases, the Japanese pimps recruited Comfort Women through deception. So, after World War II, many former Comfort Women criticized the Japanese military regime. I think that even if the Japanese military did not recruit comfort women with deception directly; they expected the pimps to do so for them. Thus, the Japanese government has some guilt, because they did not stop the criminal activities of pimps.



### 5.3.7. The Malay Peninsula: Comfort station

At the beginning of World War II, on 2 January, 1942, three Japanese generals were dispatched to recruit Thai prostitutes. They built comfort stations in Hajai and Shingora in Thailand. On 19 December, 1941, the Japanese military built a comfort station in the northern area of Malaya. There were Malay, Indians, and Chinese and Korean comfort women in northern Malaya at the time. On 15 January 1942, Singapore was occupied by Japan. *Shonan-Nippow*, which was published by the Japanese military, advertised for comfort women aged from 17 to 28. The Raffles hotel was the centre of this recruitment. So it was understandable that the generals of the Japanese military engaged in recruiting comfort women directly, because the Raffles hotel was the residence of the Japanese high ranking generals (Hayashi, 2000:354-356).

### 5.3.8. Comfort Women in Southeast Asia from Taiwan

A Taiwanese female, who was born in Kaohsiung in 1924, in the middle of the Japanese “Imperialization Policy”, could speak Japanese. In 1943, when she was 19 years old, a Japanese female and male visited her. They held a seminar to explain about a well paying job: nursing the injured soldiers in Southeast Asia. At that time, nurses were called “angels in white” and this was regarded as an honorable job in Japan. Sixteen women joined this seminar, but some of them could not read Japanese or Chinese writing, and the two recruiters told them it was not necessary for them to read. After a few days, these Taiwanese females were taken to Celebes Island, Makassar city, which was close to Borneo. However, they were not taken to hospitals in order to take care of the injured soldiers. When some of them, who could read Chinese characters arrived at a building they cried and screamed. The plate on the building was written as 兵隊慰安所 or Comfort Station. Sixteen Taiwanese women protested against the Japanese soldiers, they did not answer at all. These Taiwanese females, who could speak Chinese and Japanese, could not make themselves understood in the local language in Southeast Asia.

Eventually, the Taiwanese females, who were forced to sexually serve soldiers had to work from morning to night and were contained in a small room. They could not escape from this South Sea island, where they could not even survive if they did. A Japanese female ordered them to take 35 customers every day. A Japanese customer,

who was a captain of an aviation corps, was kind to her and used his wage in order for her not to have sex with other customers. When Japan was defeated in the war she went back to Taiwan but she could not tell her real story to her parents. She could not tell that the Japanese had deceived her and forced her to be a comfort woman. (Yamazaki, 2012:116-118).

### **5.3.9. A Korean Comfort woman had customers who were Korean and engaged in the Japanese military as soldiers in Southeast Asia.**

A Korean female, who was born in Southern Korea in 1924, had a wealthy landlord father. In 1940, the Governor-General of Korea ordered Korean people to change their names to Japanese style; her father did not follow this order. However, in 1941, the Japanese government ordered Koreans to provide copper dishes for making weapons for the Japanese military. Her father hid all of his copper, so he was arrested and detained. Her family asked for the release of her father, but the police refused the request. As a result, a headman of the ward, who was the middleman between the Governor-general of Korea and the Korean people, suggested that the police had got angry right now, so if she worked at a factory in Japan, the Japanese military would praise her and her father would be released ( Yamazaki, 2012:119-120). After she went to Shimonoseki in Japan, many Korean females were gathered in a barracks. Then, these Korean women were taken to China or Southeast Asia by ship and whenever they arrived at a port, some of them would be unloaded from the ship and forced to become Comfort Women (Yamazaki, 2012:120-121).

She herself was not raped on ship, but when she arrived at Semarang, Dutch East Indies, she was investigated sexually then raped by Japanese soldiers and generals. She worked from seven in the morning to eight at night. She felt pain every day, so a doctor injected her with opium. On Saturdays or Sundays, many soldiers would come to have sex with her. At that time, she injected opium five times a day, so she became almost unconscious. She could be patient because some of her customers were Koreans and they said to her that Japan would be defeated soon (Yamazaki, 2012:121-122).

When the Pacific war finished, the Japanese generals planned to kill Comfort Women. They felt that it was very dishonest and shameful if news of how the Japanese military took Comfort Women became known. However, a Japanese

soldier told this plan to Korean soldiers, so they could let the allied forces know it. Thus, these Korean males prevented Comfort Women from being killed by the Japanese military. Only 9 out of 23 Korean Comfort Women returned to Korea (Yamazaki, 2012:122-123).

#### **5.4. Japanese soldiers as “military slaves”**

##### **5.4.1. The Characteristics of the Japanese Military**

Young Japanese males also were forced to be soldiers as being soldiers was compulsory in Japanese society. They did not want to be soldiers, but if they refused to be soldiers, they would be imprisoned and branded as public enemies. Also, when they went into battle, they were ordered to kill the local civilians by their superiors. If they refused to follow orders, they themselves would be killed. They had no choice and could not follow their own ethics (Yamazaki, 2012:142).

Yoshida Yutaka noted in “*The Soldiers of the Emperor of Japan and Nanking Massacre*” that apart from preventing sexually transmitted diseases, the Japanese military had to provide comfort women to control young men in the military. After the *Taisho* Democracy, which was named after the Japanese Imperial era, the ideology of the Japanese nation changed dramatically. Many countries were influenced by the ideology of democracy and liberalism and people were shocked by the Russian Revolution. Traditional Confucian ideas were weakening. Due to the Russian Revolution, proletariats (poor people like peasants) gained awareness of the idea of fundamental human rights. From the end of the *Taisho* era to the beginning of the *Showa* era (1926-1989), farmers in Japan were part of a labor movement. Meanwhile, the Communist Party of Japan increased its power. Accordingly, the headquarters of the Japanese military recognized that it was no longer possible to control soldiers using techniques based on traditional Japanese morals and norms. As a result, the Japanese military tightened the regulations and the soldiers were under increased surveillance. After the Sino- Japanese War (1937-1945), a number of Japanese men were mobilized as soldiers, so it began to become more and more difficult for high class officials of the Japanese military to control these large numbers effectively. Many lower class soldiers hated military life, and criticized and scorned their superiors. A number of soldiers began to resist their higher officers, and disorder and crimes increased. Many Japanese thought that the Japanese military

should overlook illegal activities by the soldiers towards people living in the occupied areas in order to reduce soldier resistance and unhappiness. Many Japanese thought that the behavior of young Japanese soldiers should be tolerated as they would likely die young. People believed it was necessary for the soldiers to have an outlet for excess energy to stabilize their state of mind before battle (Yoshimi, 2009:209-211). According to *The 11<sup>th</sup> Signal Corps* written by Kubomura Masaharu (in Yoshimi, 2009:222-224), if soldiers did not see women for the fifty days they performed military activities overseas, they became depressed. He concluded that it was necessary for men to see prostitutes on the front lines. The Japanese soldiers thought that comfort stations were as necessary as “public toilets”. According to *The Memory of the Sunda Islands of Indonesia* written by Kawabata Iwao (in Yoshimi, 2009:222-224), a company commander on a Sunda island of Indonesia himself ordered his generals to visit a comfort station. “Going to a comfort station is equal to knowing Sunda Islands itself”. Many soldiers wanted to have sex with prostitutes before they died in battle. Moreover, many Japanese men thought that if men had not experienced sex with women, these “cherry boys” were not real men. This view has changed little throughout Japanese history (Yoshimi, 2009:222-224).

Thus, setting up comfort stations was seen as a necessary evil. However, some soldiers or high officers chose not to use comfort stations because it went against their own personal ethics (Yoshimi, 2009:209-211).

In my opinion, the Japanese military perception, towards comfort women, looks like a logical continuation of prostitution within Japan in peacetime. To Japanese people and the military, prostitution was acceptable. Also, the aim to protect local women in the occupied areas was very reasonable. At that time, many civilians were killed by the occupying soldiers, so comfort stations may have helped reduce the evil of rape in addition to killings. Even though many soldiers had high standards of morality, they faced death in the battle field. It is perhaps understandable that these soldiers performed sexual misdeeds due to the possible deprivation of their future lives. It might be impossible for the military to prevent rape in the occupied areas, but, if the comfort stations were set up, the number of victims of sexual deeds would decrease. Thus, the comfort system was a useful way, the military thought, to decrease the number of rapes.

Especially, comfort stations were set up in former western colonies in Southeast Asia. Building comfort stations was shameful when viewed from the viewpoint of western ideology. However, Japan did not care about its reputation in the eyes western countries as the Japanese ideology is as follows: If you win, you are in the right, but if you lose, you are in the wrong.

## CHAPTER VI

### ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This thesis discusses Japanese attitudes towards prostitution both in Japan and in Southeast Asia before 1945. It attempts to analyze Japanese prostitutes and customers both in Japan and in former Japanese occupied areas in Southeast Asia. The history of prostitution in Japan is one showing the seeking of enjoyment through sex, which is totally opposite to the western ideology that sex is a sin. This Japanese attitude can be traced back to roughly 1,000 years ago. Thus, when analyzing the characteristics of the Japanese attitudes towards prostitution in Southeast Asia, historically from 1870 to 1945, it will be required to explore the characteristics of Japanese history from before and after the Heian period until before the Meiji period. I hope to prove that “Japanese attitudes towards prostitution in Southeast Asia before 1945 are a result of factors related to their socio-economic history rooted before and during the Meiji period”. Also, it will analyze and compare the historical background of Japanese interactions in Southeast Asia; how the Japanese military governed each occupied area and how the Japanese reacted politically in Japan or in Southeast Asia as issues of compensation for the Comfort Women were raised.

#### **6.1. Analysis of Japanese hierarchical system and ranking by racial discrimination and exploitation: relationship between Japan, Westerners, and Southeast Asia.**

Japanese attitudes towards prostitution in Southeast Asia are a result of a hierarchical system rooted before the Meiji period.

The Tokugawa Shogunate established a hierarchy system. This hierarchy was based on the Chinese hierarchy system, *Shi-no-ko-sho*, (士農工商) or samurai- farmer-artisan- merchant (Henshall, 2012:52).

The Tokugawa policy regulated various levels of society according to class and occupation. These rules regulated in detail not only “type and place of work and living, and clothing”, but also regulated what presents certain classes should give their off-spring according to age and gender and what food they were allowed to eat, even down to where they should build toilets (Henshall, 2012:56).

After the Open Door Policy to foreign countries, the Japanese people began to judge rankings in terms of the way Japan was compared to other countries.

An extreme case was the change of Japanese attitudes on whether to be part of Asia or the West can be seen from the dark side of Fukuzawa Yukichi's (1835-1901) thinking. Fukuzawa stated that the improvement of the "Japanese race" should be based on Victorian (European) thinking, which claimed the white race is superior to other races. Fukuzawa suggested that Japanese should get married to westerners to make the Japanese race better (Stars, 2011:26). This ideology became a standard part of Japanese ideology when it became a fascist country ( Stars, 2011:27-28).

However, after Japan became a powerful country, it began to advocate that the main purpose of Japan's carrying out the Pacific war was to release backward Asian countries from being exploited by Western countries.

The ideology of the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" was advocated by Japan, and people in colonies of Japan like Taiwan and Korea were treated as citizens of Japan. Japanese tried to assimilate these people as subjects of the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere". Also, people in occupied areas of Japan in Southeast Asia were forced to learn Japanese and bow in the direction of Japan.

There were Few Japanese Comfort Women in Southeast Asia, who were very precious for the Japanese males and they were allocated to the generals. The number of Japanese soldiers was a hundred times more than generals, so local Southeast Asian women were allocated to the soldiers (Yamazaki, 2012:107). The use of comfort women in Southeast Asia was determined according to their nationalities; high ranked officers (Japanese and westerners), lower ranked officers (Chinese and Koreans) and soldiers (local females in Southeast Asia) (Kurasawa:219,quoted in O' Herne, 1999).

During the Japanese military occupation of the Dutch East Indies, Dutch women were forced to be Comfort Women; however, the period was only three months. After the Japanese military banned the use of Dutch women as Comfort Women, a Japanese soldier abused a western woman sexually. As a result he was ordered by his superior to commit suicide in front of Western prisoners. However, I have never read of this kind of punishment by the Japanese military even though the Japanese military carried out severe punishment for sexual crimes against Asian

women in the overseas battle fields. From this point, I can see the fact that the Japanese position as they saw European people as higher than Asians and needed to show this attitude to the European prisoners.

Japanese also thought that with more advanced technology the West could carry out war more effectively. This reinforced the racially determined attitudes of the Japanese military who would be afraid of being avenged by the Westerners in the case of Japan being defeated in the war against the West. On the other hand, the Japanese military believed blindly that they would not be avenged by Asian countries due to their backwardness.

After World War II, The Japanese government states that due to the treaty of San Francisco (Treaty of Peace with Japan), on September 8, 1951, Japan does not have the obligation to compensate occupied territories as a government (Onuma, 200, :35).

Here, analysis will be carried out into how the Japanese treated Dutch and Asians in Southeast Asia during the Pacific war and how the Dutch and Southeast Asians were compensated differently after World War II.

However, the Japanese government offered 10 million dollars "voluntarily" to the Government of the Netherlands "in order to express sincere remorse and regrets for the irreparable pain suffered by the Dutch Nationals". It was an absolutely different political solution when compared to the issue of Asian Comfort Women. Thus, it can be seen that the Japanese government regarded Westerners as being in a higher position than Asian people, and could not resist Western pressure as a loser of World War II.

Still now, the political relationship between Japan and Korea has been unstable due to the issue of Korean Comfort Women.

However, in Southeast Asia, Japan provided huge donations, and the Governments of Southeast Asia themselves don't cause problems in order to develop their economies, and keep friendship with the Japanese government since 1945.

## **6.2. Containment strategy to keep the status quo inherited from the Momoyama Period to 1945, in Southeast Asia: Japanese soldiers and Comfort Women.**

Japanese were keeping the status quo properly according to hierarchy in Japanese society. In family or personal relations, Japanese people acted properly



according to age, generations or sex and actions were based on each person's social class. Also, in the army and in government these hierarchies were separated carefully. Whether higher or lower, if Japanese tried to assert their rights over their limited rights, they would be punished. Only if Japanese stayed in their proper place, they would be protected (Benedict, 1954:95-96).

The Tokugawa Shogunate had to deal with riots carried out by Christians from 1637 to 1638 (the Shimabara Rebellion). Afterwards, the Tokugawa Shogunate made a plan for this area to increase the population until it was beyond the ability of the people to feed themselves. Also, the people in Shimabara and Amakusa could not practice infanticide or abortion due to their religion, which was based on Catholic Christianity.

As a result of this containment policy Karayuki-san were mainly from Shimabara and Amakusa in Nagasaki prefecture, so the poverty rooted in the Edo period sent many Japanese prostitutes into Southeast Asia from the 1870s to 1920. Therefore, the policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate towards Christians in Shimabara and Amakusa shows the evidence of this policy working effectively even after the Meiji period, like a curse from the Tokugawa Shogunate. Hence, many young females, who were Catholic Christians, were forced to work in Southeast Asia like outcastes in the Edo period that had nothing to do with the glory of Japan after the Meiji period.

When Japan occupied other countries during war periods, the characteristics of the Japanese method, based on hierarchy, was resented because of Japanese arrogance. Japanese soldiers believed they gave hierarchical positions to Asian people, even though a lower position and it was assumed it would be comfortable for lower class people. It is impossible for Asian people, except the Japanese, to fit into the accepted proper stations. This way of thinking is a "genuine product" of Japanese attitudes and thinking (Benedict, 1954:95-96).

Also, there were many rules on how to use comfort stations during war periods. Soldiers had to go to comfort stations in groups. So, soldiers did not have the right to refuse to go to Comfort stations because visiting Comfort Stations regularly was systematically introduced as a group activity for soldiers.

Therefore I can say that Japanese soldiers were like "military slaves" because they could not escape or refuse to have sex with comfort women, or did not have

opportunities to have sexual services or communication with females expect for comfort women on battle fields. Moreover, even if comfort women were abused sexually, they could not help Comfort Women escape, which would lead them to be punished or sometimes killed.

If the prostitutes escaped from red light districts before and after the Meiji period until the end of World War II, these prostitutes were taken back to the brothel by police. This situation could also be seen in Comfort Stations in Southeast Asia from 1941 to 1945 during the Pacific War period. Containing women was extremely important for the Japanese military to carry out war in the areas where there were no big Japanese towns like Southeast Asia. This was not the case in mainland China where the Imperial Japanese Army had been in control from the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and many Japanese people moved there to set up businesses.

In Southeast Asia, there were no Japanese towns or brothels. So, the Japanese military were forced to be in the middle of their enemies' former colonies. Thereby, the Japanese military did not want to leak their secrets. Their experience during the Russo-Japanese War, when Karayuki-san reported the movement of Russian ships through Singapore to the Japanese Consulate. It, meant they did not want soldiers or officers visiting uncontrolled and uncontained prostitutes or brothels. Their fear was that secrets would be leaked by soldiers or officers to prostitutes who would then pass information to enemies.

Karayuki-san, who were educated in Japanese morality, contributed to the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War financially and provided information for the Japanese military.

### **6.3. “Comfort Women” types (1) prostitutes (2) sexual slaves**

The existence and the situation of Comfort Women are described differently according to the nationalities or ideologies of writers. Kurahashi Masanao (2010), who is a professor of Aichi Prefectural University, stated that comfort women were of two kinds. ( Kurahashi,2010, p.8). Firstly, Comfort Women whose characteristics were those of prostitutes, in fact they were prostitutes in the Japanese sense in that they were licensed prostitutes.

Secondly, Comfort Women whose characteristics could be described as sexual slaves. There were a few cases of Comfort Women being like sexual slaves on battle fields in China.

On the other hand, in Southeast Asia, not many Japanese merchants did businesses, so there were no Japanese Towns like in China. From this it can be assumed that there were Comfort Women who were treated like sexual slaves (Kurahashi, 2010:37:48). Through all chapters, I followed Kurahashi's definition of Comfort Women. It was understandable for me to classify who were Comfort Women by his definition. When I read some definitions, some of them did not talk about differences between ordinary prostitutes and women whose characteristics were like sexual slaves. From my understanding those prostitutes who follow the military called themselves Comfort Women. It is necessary to distinguish between those women who worked as prostitutes in war zones and those who were abducted or coerced through violence to act as Comfort Women.

Yoshimi Yoshiaki (1995:10-11), who is a professor of Chuo University in Tokyo, stated the terminology of "Comfort Women" is far from the real meaning. According to former Dutch Comfort Women, the term "Comfort Women" is not appropriate as it gives the impression of an act of warmth and compassion, which is completely different from what was happening at that time. The meaning of "comfort" contains an understanding of "affection", "compassion", "warmth" and "pity". However, these women were exploited sexually by the Japanese Army during World War II. Yoshimi personally thinks the terminology of "comfort women" should be replaced by "military sexual slavery". However, nowadays, the terminology of "comfort women" has been circulating and other terminologies are not used very often as the terminology "Comfort Women" is understood broadly in the international community to include acts considered to be "military sexual slavery" (Yoshimi, 1995:10-11).

#### **6.4. History of Japanese Human Trafficking from the Momoyama period (1582-1600) until 1945: Japanese attitudes to prostitution in Southeast Asia change due to increased economic power.**

Japanese Prince, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, during his two invasions of Korea allowed Japanese traffickers to buy or kidnap approximately 60,000 people, who were taken back to Japan. He was not interested whether Korean women became prostitutes or not. However, when he knew Japanese peasants were sold and sent overseas, he was surprised. Toyotomi Hideyoshi wanted to establish a peaceful Japanese society, but Japanese men and women (mostly peasants) were bought by foreign traders and put in chains. When people were taken as slaves by foreign traders, and sold overseas, Japan was deprived of part of its work force. This not only affected the Japanese economy but endangered the flow of income to the Prince as most of the workers were from the agricultural sector of the economy. Also, internally Japanese landlords poached each other's workers. The overseas trade of Japanese as slaves, according to the Portuguese, was something they could not interfere with because Japanese traffickers were offering Japanese slaves for sale. Portuguese merchants were only taking part in buying on the market and they would buy Japanese slaves when they were offered by the Japanese traders. Prince Toyotomi Hideyoshi sent a letter of complaint to the Jesuit Vice-Provincial about the "Portuguese, Siamese and Cambodians" that bought Japanese slaves.

During the Edo period Nagasaki port was only allowed to trade with foreign countries like Holland and China. During the Edo period children of mixed blood were sold overseas, this continued even after the Meiji period. After the government carried out its open door policy the number of mixed race children increased. The Japanese people would not accept and insulted these mixed blood children. The authorities allowed these children to live in the Japanese areas of town until they were 10 years old.

The selling of children overseas continued until 1870, when the government learned of 35 children being sold to China. Due to the pressure of public opinion, the government prohibited the selling of children to be exported overseas. In spite of the new legal regulations, children continued to be sold and exported in secret (Hane, 2002:218-219).

Human trafficking still continued, in secret, into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In 1906, after the Sino-Japanese war, a pimp said to some girls that he would take them to the Korean Peninsula to give them jobs. After the girls boarded the ship in Nagasaki, their movements were restricted and watched by guards all the time. The guards would not allow the women to leave the ship, and held them for a period of one month. During this time they were being fed food that was not even fit for animals and that was if they were being fed at all; and some of the girls were raped in the night.

Due to Japan being on the winning side of the WWI, it was being recognized internationally as one of the most powerful countries in the world. In spite of all this success, Japan banned Karayuki-san from working in Southeast Asia out of shame and as a result of Western pressure. Although even in 1934 the selling of women domestically was not unusual within the Empire of Japan.

Serious famine in Northern Japan led to an increase in the number of poor farmer's daughters being sold into prostitution. Even though their parents would rather have died than have to sell their daughters, these girls would sacrifice themselves to save their families ( Hane, 2002:114-115).

Japanese people did not have a sense of human rights as people living today. Traditional Japanese ideology, Hane and Penez claim (2013:295), was that the Japanese people were insular and had a parochial way of thinking towards prostitution. With this mindset the military allowed the abuse and exploitation of women in Southeast Asia, viewing them as inferior.

Despite Japan's opposing racially biased ideology to that of Nazi Germany, which strongly discriminated against the Japanese, on September 27, 1940, the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy was ratified.

In Southeast Asia, during the Pacific war, the number of Comfort Women was far short of the number required. As a result, pimps and the Japanese military deceived Korean and Taiwanese females into working on battle fields (Yamazaki, 2012:108).

### **6.5. What is the Difference between Comfort Stations in China and in Southeast Asia?**

There were already brothels in China before the Japanese arrived. Before the first Comfort Station was established, Japanese style brothels had been in operation in pre-existing red light districts. Comfort Stations in China were mainly set up in these pre-existing red light districts, and were staffed voluntarily by women who were sold into prostitution or saw it as a way out of poverty. Within China, Comfort Women were mainly Japanese, Korean, Chinese or Taiwanese and were treated more like girlfriends or second wives than as prostitutes or sexual slaves.

Comfort Stations in Southeast Asia were set up as the Japanese occupation advanced through the region. In addition, many Comfort Women were made to follow the soldiers as they moved between battles. In some cases, specifically on the Siam-Burma Railway, women were transported as sexual slaves, being moved to and from many Comfort Stations during short periods of time. The treatment of the local Southeast Asian women by the soldiers was harsh. Due to the geographic distance between Japan and Korea and the battle fields of Southeast Asia, the racial demographics of Comfort Women in Southeast Asia was much more diverse than in China, and the Comfort Stations relied heavily on the recruitment of local women to serve as Comfort Women for the soldiers.

The different styles of how a Comfort Station was operated varied from country to country. For example in Singapore the Japanese style of Comfort Station was used from the very beginning of the occupation. But in countries like Burma and Indonesia Comfort Women acted more like second wives, or concubines, rather than ordinary prostitutes. In these countries it was encouraged for the soldiers to carry on relationships or marry these local, this policy helped to reduce the amount of sexual crime or abuse on the local women.

Another major difference between the Comfort Stations of China, and those of Southeast Asia, is the way in which women were recruited to work in them. In China, Comfort Stations were staffed mostly by women who had already worked as prostitutes and went willingly to the Comfort Stations. Whereas in Southeast Asia the recruitment technique for Comfort Women was an elaborate and organized deception; in some cases it was violent coercion. Many Comfort Women who were brought in from Korea or Taiwan were told they were receiving jobs as nurses, or

other aid position to the soldiers. Only when they arrived at the Comfort Station they would discover the truth. Whether the women were local Southeast Asians, or recruited from other countries, the recruitment process was harsh and often violent. In Southeast Asia, the local women were coerced into the Comfort Station through the threatening of their families, or their own, safety. Or they were simply rounded up and forced into service by the occupying soldiers.

## **6.6. Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is obvious that Japanese attitudes towards prostitution in Southeast Asia before 1945 are a result of centuries old ideologies, a Confucian based hierarchical system and attitudes of Japanese people related to their socio-economic history rooted before the Meiji period.

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## **Appendix**



## **Appendix A**

### **Reactions to Comfort women in Former Japanese occupied areas in Southeast Asia and Japan after World War Two.**

I am going to explore reactions to comfort women in each country in Southeast Asia after 1945, as a result of the Japanese defeat in the Pacific War. The definition of comfort women is a very difficult one to define ( Onuma, 2007.p.30). Under the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia, the number of Comfort Women can't be identified. As under the control of the Japanese military, they were classed as a kind of “ sexual slave’ (Kurahashi, 2010:37).

Then, reactions to Comfort women in Former Japanese colonies in Southeast Asia and Japan after World War Two will be explored by way of analysis and comparison.

The Japanese government states that due to the treaty of San Francisco (Treaty of Peace with Japan), on September 8, in 1951, Japan does not have obligation to compensate as a government (Onuma, 200:35).

Despite this, on January 11, 1992, documents disclosed in the Asahi newspaper revealed evidence of comfort women and totally changed the Japanese stance in terms of responsibility towards compensation to individual persons. Murayama and Kono's official comments were the core of Japanese diplomacy towards an apology to Comfort Women.

#### **7.1 Reactions to Comfort women in Southeast Asia after the war. Comparative Study**

##### **7.1. 1 the reactions of the Japanese politicians towards Comfort Women**

Yoshimi Yoshiaki, Professor of Chuo University, a famous scholar of Comfort Women, disclosed the documental evidence of comfort women in the Asahi newspaper **on January 11, 1992** in Japan; which was carried out by the Japanese military during World War Two. The news reported that the Japanese military built up comfort stations, recruited Comfort Women and surveyed Comfort Women (Yoshimi, 2009, p.5, Onuma, 2007:2).

**On January, 12, 1992**, the Chief Cabinet Secretary, **Kato Kouichi**(November 5, 1991-December 12, 1992) **admitted the fact that the Japanese military were involved in comfort stations.** Then, on January, 17 he released the official comment to apologize for the involvement of them(Yoshimi, 2009:5).

(<http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/taisen/kato.html>) ( Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan)

When I read Kato Kouichi's Official Comment, in the Japanese language, the meaning is very different. Kato Comment did not describe it as the "Japanese military" but "the Japanese government". Also, Kato Kouichi commented on the Japanese Government's role in the setting up of Comfort stations, regulating people who were recruited as Comfort Women, building comfort station and expanding them, managing and administering Comfort Stations, organizing sanitation for Comfort Women and Comfort stations and issuing identity cards.

On January, 17<sup>th</sup> 1992, at a Japanese- Korean summit, Prime Minister, Miyazawa Kiichi apologized in public repeatedly towards Korean people who got angry(Yoshimi, 2009:5).

After hearing from some former Korean comfort women (not open to the public) and analyzing some documents, the Japanese government admitted six points. The existence of comfort women was not openly discussed until the Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei (December 12, 1992- August 9, 1993) released the official comment on October 4, 1993 about the Japanese occupation.

First, the Japanese government admitted that [establishing, management of comfort stations was requested by the Japanese military, and transportation of comfort women directly or **indirectly.**]

Second, the recruitment [of comfort women was carried out in **many cases** by pimps requested by the Japanese military with both [persuasion and coercion]. Also, [**in some cases Kanpei (Provost Guards, secret police) engaged in recruiting activities directly.**]

Third, the life of comfort women in comfort stations was [terrible and oppressive under **the coercive conditions**]

Fourth, [recruitment], transportation and management of Comfort women from the Korean Peninsula was carried out by [deceiving them with honeyed words, by pressure, and in general against their will]

Fifth, the issues of comfort women are [ the Japanese army spoiled the honor and dignity of many women **under the involvement of the Japanese military at that time**]

Sixthly, the Japanese government **gave an apology and through self-examination** [ from its heart to these former comfort women. (The Chief Cabinet Secretary; Kono Yohei , the official comment on October 4, 1993 quoted from Yoshimi,2009:.6, Matsuki, 2011:39).

On 7<sup>th</sup> , January, 2013, Prime Minister, Abe Shinzo stated at Diet, Kono official comment was not declared at Miyazawa Cabinet but just commented as the Chief Cabinet Secretary. Under the Abe cabinet, Prime Minister Abe himself will not comment to revise Kono comment.

In 2007 the first Abe Sinzo cabinet declared, in a statement, that they could not find any evidence; **which proved the Army or government officials engaged in taking females compulsorily as Comfort Women**

(<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/politics/news/20120821-OYT1T01135.htm> )

Before he became Prime Minister again, he wanted to change the comment which admitted Japanese army engaged in taking females compulsorily as Comfort Women. However, in terms of diplomatic, Prime Minister Abe will not do it. He wants historians to investigate it( Yomiuri newspaper, February 1, 2013). According to Kono Yohei official comment, it can be translated that recruiting comfort women and setting up comfort station were mainly agencies, not the Japanese military, so this point is problematic. In the Asahi newspaper on May 7, 1994, the Justice Minister of Hata Cabinet, Nagano Kamon , claimed that “ the story of Nanking Massacre was made up, and these women who work at that time were only prostitutes, so it doesn't mean that it discriminate against Korean women or sex workers”. Consequently, he was forced to resign his position ( 7, September, 1994 Asahi Newspaper quoted from Yoshimi :2009).

In 1994, Murayama Tomiichi's Cabinet was established. Prime Minister Murayama thought that succeeding cabinets would not pay attention to the issues of

Comfort Women. On 14, June, 1995, Chief Secretary of Cabinet, Igarashi Koza released the public comment.

Based on a statement by the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, Kono Yohei, [the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) for national atonement, for the former comfort women was set up on 19, July, 1995.

This fund offered financial support to (1)Korean, (2) Taiwanese ( no Chinese), (3) Filipino and (4) Dutch comfort women(<http://www.awf.or.jp/index.html>).

On 31 August, 1994, Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi apologized by using “ heartfelt apology and remorse” to former comfort woman individually on behalf of all Japanese( Oomuma, 2007:187, <http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/netherlands-00.html>)

However, the Chinese government thought that former Comfort Women had right to ask the Japanese Government for compensation individually. On the other hand, in 1972, the Japan-China Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Mao Zedong relinquished the right of compensation to China. If the Chinese government asked it to Japan, thereby worsening the political situation in China. As a result, the Chinese government did not want Japan to do it (Oonuma, 2007, p.33). Indonesian Government also did neither recognize who was former comfort women nor compensate them( Onuma, 2007:33).

In January, 1996, Hashimoto Ryutaro Cabinet was established. He wrote and signed letters which apprized how Japan exploited Comfort Women sexually. Prime Minister, Obuchi Keizo, Mori Yoshiro, Koizumi Junichiro also signed it and sent them to the former Comfort Women. (<http://www.awf.or.jp/6/statement-12.html>). In 2001, the Prime Minister of Japan, Koizumi Junichiro, delivered a statement, on behalf of the Japanese people, to former comfort women that the Japanese Army committed the act of forcing women to become Comfort Women. This act, by the armed forces, degraded the honor and dignity of females who experienced much suffering as comfort women. (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/taisen/letter.html>). Similarly, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 2012 the Mayor of Osaka, Lawyer Hashimoto Toru stated that there was no evidence that comfort women were coerced or forcibly taken by the Japanese Army.

The Mayor, Hashimoto Toru stated that it is necessary not only for Japan but for Korea to show evidence of comfort women (21, August, 2012, Yomiuri Newspaper)

Due to the politics of defining a Comfort Woman or whether women were forced to act as Comfort Women it is very difficult to distinguish who was forced to be or who voluntarily became Comfort Women. Similarly, defining ordinary females or prostitutes who work voluntarily as prostitutes or comfort women who were forced to work as Comfort Women is very subjective. Those claiming to be Comfort Women can change their comments according to their current social, economic or mental situations. This creates a situation where those who may have been abused sexually beyond our understanding are left in a continuing situation where their lives are still painful.

## **7. 2. The reaction of foreign countries**

### **7.2.1 .Counterargument against the Japanese crimes during WWII**

Prostitution was not banned in Japan until 1956, so until that time, Japanese people used to think that prostitution was just another job. Before World War II, both Japanese and Korean women became prostitutes to support their families.

It is necessary to analyze whether the Japanese military engaged exclusively in state-registered comfort system. Many Japanese people say that every country had comfort stations during wartime, and the Japanese military should not be singled out for criticism. During the US occupation of Japan (1945-1952), the US soldiers raped Japanese citizens and the US army ordered the Japanese government to set up comfort stations. In Tripoli, Africa, the British commanders were allowed to run brothels. These brothels were separated, into sections for white generals, white lower class captains, white soldiers, and non-white soldiers. Tripoli used to be a colony of Italy, so when the British took over they used the same prostitutes. In Delhi, India, there were brothels with white prostitutes. These were for British generals, and some of the prostitutes were wives of generals (Yoshimi, 2009:202).

In the case of Russia, after the USSR military joined the war against Japan, and invaded Northern China, Manchukuo, USSR soldiers raped the Japanese

women. So, the Japanese authority offered to set up comfort stations in order to prevent rapes which were carried out by the USSR soldiers (Yoshimi, 2009: 206-207).

The German military and Schozstaffel troops had comfort stations. The headquarters of the German military ordered the setting up of many comfort stations in places where they occupied. During the Great War, the German military had many soldiers suffering from sexually transmitted diseases, so they wanted to prevent the same problems in World War II. The number of comfort stations in 1942 was estimated at five hundred. The German military carried out medical checks twice per week. While Germany occupied France and the Netherlands, the German soldiers used the local brothels. However, in the Eastern Europe [[[where were occupied by Germany, women drafted were forced to choose whether to become prostitutes or workers (Yoshimi, 2009:207-208).

It was difficult for the United Kingdom and the United States to maintain prostitution, because public opinion in these countries was against prostitution. Women especially did not approve of soldiers using the services of prostitutes. Instead of having military-run brothels, the United States Army and the United Kingdom army allowed soldiers to have sex with local women and see private prostitutes. Also, some of the 260,000 American and 440,000 British female soldiers had sex with male soldiers. Also, American soldiers could take leave after 6 months of service. These soldiers went to Australia for rest and recreation leave and many had love affairs with Australian women, married Australian women, or saw Australian prostitutes ( Hata, 2008:147).

These are a few of the counter-arguments raised about the activities of foreign governments and the military's use of comfort stations by non-Japanese during World War I and World War II.

### **7.2.2 The case of the official viewpoint of the Philippines concerning comfort women**

By the end of 1991, after the Filipino feminist activists came back from the international conference on comfort women in Korea, they asked the Philippine government to investigate comfort women during World War II. In 1992, the human right committee of President Corazon C. Aquino (1986-92) ordered Professor

Ricardo Jose to investigate comfort women in the Philippines. In his report on June 23 in 1992 Dr. Ricardo concluded that Philippine women were not exploited sexually by the Japanese military during the World War II. However, the Philippine women were raped by the Japanese soldiers, which was rare. Also, there were brothels. Dr. Jose used evidence as follows;

First, under the President Jose Paciano Laurel administration under the Japanese occupation, Dr. Jose could not find the evidence of the Japanese sexual exploitation by the Japanese military.

Second, there was not enough evidence of comfort women on the records of war criminals during World War II.

Third, it was hard to find the evidence of comfort women in the Philippines on anti- Japanese guerrilla pamphlets.

Fourth, it was very hard to find articles on comfort women in the Philippines. Also, Dr. Jose concluded that the Jose Paciano Laurel administration played a great role in reducing the tension between the Japanese military and Filipinos. He stated that if the Japanese military continued to carry out rapes on Philippine women, these Philippine guerrillas revenged the misdeeds of the Japanese soldiers. Thus, the Philippine government decided on an official version, that they would not ask the Japanese government to apologize and repay for what they carried out in the Philippines during World War II. However, after the official version, many Philippine women came out as former comfort women. These former Filipino comfort women seriously criticized Dr. Jose, because he denied there was evidence of Filipino comfort women during World War II. The Japanese lawyer, Mr. Takagi, the head of NGO, and people connected to the Catholic Church went to the Philippines to investigate the research on comfort women during World War II. 18 Filipino comfort women accused the Japanese government of sexual crimes in the Tokyo District Court. According to the letter of complaint by the Pilipino comfort women, almost all women were kidnapped by the Japanese military, then raped, and detained against their will. These crimes were not carried out by groups of soldiers, but individually. Thus, in the cases of the Philippines, they were not forced to be prostitutes, but there were incidents of rape. During World War II, in Manila, the pimps used to run the brothels and the Japanese military controlled comfort stations. Many Philippine comfort women used to work at these brothels. However, it was

very rare that former comfort women would come out and admit that they used to be comfort women. It can be assumed that these comfort women kept quiet because it was their own choice that they worked in this profession. (Hata, 2008:312-314).

### 7.2.3 The Philippines after 1996

At first, Women NGO in the Philippines opposed to accept compensation from the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan for the former comfort women. If former Comfort women in the Philippines received it, and then it will prevent former Comfort Women from taking compensation from the Japanese government. However, after January, 1996, some former Philippine comfort women talked with members of the Asian Women's Fund (AWF), that they had decided to take compensation from that fund (Onuma, 2007, p.44). The Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan put advertisement in newspapers in English and Tagalong, and invited application requests for former Comfort Women.

- (1) Application requests for former Comfort Women were judged by officers of the Ministry of Justice of the Philippines. Then, these officers judged applicants as former Comfort Women.
- (2) When Applicants were regarded as former Comfort Women, the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan paid 3,200,000 Yen to former Comfort Women.
- (3) The Government of the Philippines dispatched social workers to former Comfort Women, and these costs were spent by the Japanese Government ( Onuma, 2007:45-46).

The Philippines are consisted of many islands, so there are many former Comfort Women dispersed in its archipelagoes. It was very difficult for officers of the Philippines to see individually and judge them as victims. Also, after acknowledging them as Comfort Women, it was very difficult for officers of the Philippines to carry out medical/welfare support to them ( Onuma, 2007:46).

Maria Rosa Henson, who was the first person to confess as a Comfort Woman, decided to receive compensation from the Japanese Government and Japanese people. On 14, August, 1996, the letter from, Prime Minister, Hashimoto Ryutaro was handed over by the Japanese Ambassador of the Philippines Yushita. Ms. Henson was satisfied with the letter from the Prime



Minister (Omuma, 2007:47). Afterwards, following the six years, activities of compensation was carried out in the Philippines. Then, In 2002, September, these activities has been completed ( Onuma, 2007:48).

#### **7.2.4. The case of the official viewpoint concerning the comfort women in Indonesia**

In 1992, the Indonesian mass media reported on comfort women. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia noted that they did not pay attention to the negative issues concerning comfort women in Indonesia. Also, they did not want to request compensation from the Japanese government as repayment for World War II.

As a result, main mass media followed the Indonesian government view point. This is because the Indonesian government thought that the Japanese government and the Indonesian government tied the compensation agreement, so legal issues had already been resolved in 1958. Moreover, the Japanese government is the supporter of the biggest Official Developing Aid (ODA), so the Indonesian government did not want to harm friendship between Indonesia and Japan. However, the Japanese NGO visited Indonesia and the local NGO started to investigate the women who were sexually tortured by the Japanese military during World War II. Also, the local NGO planned to ask the Japanese government to compensate them for sexual abuse during World War II. Consequently, **over 17,000 people came and registered as victims of the sexual exploitation by the Japanese military. By March 1996, over 22,000 women had registered as victims of the Japanese military.** However, it was unclear whether these women were comfort women or the victims of rapes during World War II. It was impossible for the Indonesian government to solve this problem.

Accordingly, **the Japanese government and the Indonesian government reached an agreement in November 1996**, that the Japanese government would financially support the running of businesses for elderly comfort women's welfare. This support will cost Japan approximately 38 million yen over the course of a decade. Despite this, former comfort women and NGOs are not happy with this solution (Hata, 2008:314-315).

As the Japanese government and the Indonesian government has already reached an agreement, in November 1996; in December 1996, the Indonesian government stated that the business of compensation from the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan for former comfort women should not be given as compensation for comfort woman individually but should be used for supporting facilities for elderly people. The member of the Asian Women' Fund ( AWF) of Japan for the former comfort women were against the policy of the Indonesian government, because it was not sure these facilities were used for former comfort women exclusively. However, the Japanese government accepted the policy of the Indonesian government.

In March 1997, the Indonesian government promised to the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan that the facilities would built in areas where many former Comfort Women still existed. Also, when the Indonesian women wanted to become residents in these areas, the Indonesian government promised the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan that the right of priority should be given to former Comfort Women ( Onuma, 2007:72).

However, when a Professor of Tokyo University, and one of the members who established the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan, Onuma Yasuaki, was interviewed about residents of facilities , he stated that except for three women, he could not recognize Comfort Women. The officers of the Indonesian government did not interview Indonesian women whether they were former Comfort Women or not. He explained that comfort women and their family members did not want to be recognized as comfort women because this was against Javanese culture ( Onuma, 2007:74).

#### **7.2.4.The case of the official viewpoints concerning Malaysia and Singapore and their comfort women**

From spring 1992, the local newspaper started to report on comfort women and comfort stations in Malaysia and Singapore. Eight people were identified as former comfort women during the Japanese occupation. However, the Singapore and the Malaysian government were not eager to deal with this problem. Instead, these governments tried to stop the movement of the NGOs. So, the Japanese government was not asked for compensation for the comfort women. (Hata, 2009:317).

### 7.2.5. The Dutch East Indies

According to the report of the document of the Netherlands (1994), before mid 1943, many poor Dutch women used to work in brothels. Some of them became concubines of the leaders of the Japanese military or civilians in Indonesia. However, after the notification of the Japanese military, foreigners including Dutch were forced to stay in the concentration camps under the administration of the Japanese military.

Europeans who were mixed with Indonesians were excluded. In the Dutch Indies, over 150,000 Dutch people were detained in the concentration camps; of which 20,000 were women (Hata, 2009:216). So, many Dutch prostitutes were also detained in the concentration camps. Accordingly, the treatment of Dutch prostitutes was worse in the camps. The Japanese military decided that Dutch women should not be forced to become comfort women. When no.16 Japanese military, Office of the

Staff Legal Affairs did not allow forced recruitment of the Dutch comfort women. They were required to get agreements with their signatures. So, the will of the Dutch women was essential to their recruitment. However, despite the orders of no16 Japanese military office of the Staff Legal Affairs, some units did not follow these rules, such as in the “*Shirouma* incident” (Hata,2009:217-219). *Shirouma* means “white horses” in Japanese. During the World War II under the Japanese occupation in Indonesia, Dutch women (including mixed races) used to be known as white horses( Hata, 2009:.217). I wrote a story of a Dutch Comfort Woman, Jan Ruff-O’herne who was detained in Ambarawa Camp in Indonesia, in chapter 5. A Dutch woman, who stayed in Halmaher Camp, was forced to be a Comfort Woman. She was threatened by the Japanese military if she escaped from Comfort station, her family members would be injured. She stated that the Japanese soldiers selected favorite women on the pictures, and then bought tickets and forced Dutch women to serve sexual service. She did not receive money when she had sex with her customers. Like Jan Ruff-O’herne, she was released from comfort station three months later (Hata, 2009:217).

After World War II, at the Dutch military court, more than 6 Japanese soldiers who committed sexual crimes were sentenced to severe punishment (Hata, 2009:218).

The note of Captain, Okada Shozo, stated as follows;

Major general Kumazaki Kiyoji accepted permission from the Secretary of Semarang in Java island, Miyano, to set up Comfort Station. Then, Captain Ikeda Shozo and Captain Okubo Asao ordered lieutenant commander Okada Keji to take charge of running the comfort stations. Lieutenant commander Okada Keji did not engage in choosing comfort women by himself (Hata, 2009:220). Lieutenant commander Okada Keji, himself thought he would listen to what Dutch Comfort Women wanted to do when he saw these women for the first time. So, he reported to the general staff that “Dutch Comfort Women are so cheerful, so I am worrying about them committing suicide with Japanese soldiers”. This situation was far from the “*Shirouma* incident” in 1944. According to the trial report, the Japanese military could not recruit Dutch Comfort Women because a leader of a camp resisted against the Japanese military (Hata, 2009:220). After the Pacific War, before Okubo Asao was summoned from the Dutch Military Court, on 17 January, he committed suicide in Sendai. Okada Keiji was sentenced to the death penalty because he was ordered by his two superiors and took charge of Comfort station as his duty (Hata, 2009:220).

The Dutch Trial admitted that 25 out of 35 were forced to become comfort women.

According to the report of Dutch Comfort Women in 1994, at least 65 women out of 200-300 Dutch women in the Dutch Indies were regarded as the victims of this crime. Despite this, according to a Japanese criminal who committed crimes against comfort women in Indonesia, some Dutch comfort women got along with the Japanese military. After the end of World War II, they suddenly changed their behavior. He presumed that the Dutch women did this so they could maintain face and pride. All in all, the Sumatran comfort station ran for just two months. This is because

Japanese military decided to close this comfort station. The Dutch government was exclusively interested in the cases of Dutch victims. However, there was one exception, when over 1000 local people were killed as anti-Japanese activists in

Southern Borneo, *Ponchanaku Incident* in 1944. In this story, it was disclosed that Indonesian women, who were Japanese concubines, were forced to become comfort women. Thirteen members of the Navy's secret police were sentenced to be guilty, three out of thirteen were sentenced to the death penalty (Hata, 2009:221). However, a head of camp in Kanjiri, Yamaji Tadashi, stopped the plan to recruit 150 comfort women at the expense of his job on Celebes island in Indonesia (Hata, 2009:220-221 & Kato:202, 211-212).

Although Japan regarded that Japan had already solved the war problem with the Netherlands based on the treaty of San Francisco (Treaty of Peace with Japan), in September 8, in 1951, article fourteen states that "the Allied Powers waive all reparations and claims towards the Japanese Government individually and as a nation

However, in the Netherlands, there were strong anti-Japanese feelings, because they had not been compensated by the Japanese Government.

However, the Japanese government offered "10 million dollars voluntarily" to the Government of the Netherlands "in order to express sincere remorse and regrets for the irreparable pain suffered by the Dutch Nationals." (<http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/netherlands-00.html>).

According to a preacher, Mr. Kato Ryoichi, the single Japanese soldiers stationed in Indonesia, had children with local women. The number of children was estimated at approximately 15,000. Many Japanese-Indonesian children were left in Indonesia, however, many of them did not see their fathers again after the Japanese men went back to Japan. In the Netherlands, there are two organizations (*Sakura* and *Jin*). **During the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies, people who had Dutch nationality were detained in camps according to sex. However, people who were mixed Dutch and Indonesian did not have to stay in camps. Some of them became wives of the Japanese soldiers.**

These Japanese/Dutch- Indonesian children were sent back to the Netherlands. However, they were discriminated against because they were mixed with Japanese (Kato, 2002:214-216).

### 7.2.6 The Foundation of Japanese Honorary Debts (JES)

In 1990, the Foundation of Japanese Honorary Debts (JES) was established in the Netherlands. JES (1990) demanded that the Japanese Government should pay compensation individually around 20,000 dollars (Onuma, 2007:67, <http://www.awf.or.jp/e-guidemap.htm> ).

In August, 1998, the executive committee in the Netherlands informed the Newspapers and other media, about how to apply for compensation carried out by the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) of Japan for the former comfort women. (Onuma, 2007, :68).

75 Dutch women were recognized as comfort women. A Dutch wife was forced to be a lover of a Japanese general in Indonesia. Another woman of 13 years of age was forced to be a lover of Japanese general and delivered a baby as a result. Four Dutch boys were abused sexually by Japanese generals, and they were also classified as “Comfort Women”. So, it is by no means a “narrow definition” or a “wide definition”

(<http://mainichi.jp/opinion/news/20121218k0000m070096000c.html?inb=ra>).

The executive committee in the Netherlands asked the Japanese Government to send former Dutch Comfort Women a letter; which was previously sent from the Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Accordingly, the Japanese government accepted the demand of the executive committee in the Netherlands , thus leading to being welcomed by former Dutch Comfort Women( Onuma, 2007:68)

### 7.2.7. Comparison between war period and peaceful period

As pointed out by Hall (2001.pp.121-136) the movement of Japanese tourists into South East Asia in the 1980s was due to a number of factors.

Firstly, the desire by the Japanese Government to overcome resentment, festering in South East Asian countries, as a result of the Second World War. This was achieved through foreign policy, which used development aid to help improve relations with South East Asian countries. Part of this development aid was used to build infrastructure making tourism easier for, in this case, Japanese nationals.

Secondly, the movement of large Japanese businesses and manufacturing to South East Asian countries to take advantage of the low labor and resources costs.

Thirdly, the recognition of the increasing cross-border relationships of businesses in Japan's export based economy and the dependency of both Japan and countries in South East Asia on each other. This led to large amounts of aid from the Japanese government and investment by Japanese businesses. As part of this the development, directly or indirectly, of tourism based infrastructures or businesses assisted Japanese tourists to access countries in South East Asia more easily.

Fourthly, countries in South East Asia needed tourism income to balance their terms of trade with Japan so movement of Japanese and other foreign tourists to destinations in South East Asia was made easier.

Lastly, and tied in with all of these activities was the demand by Japanese workers for tourism related leisure and wider choices in destinations led to the opening up of South East Asia to tourism by Japanese workers ( Hall, 2001:121-136).

### **7.3 Comparison of attitudes of Japanese soldiers in the Philippines during the Pacific War**

#### **7.3.1 Japanese male tourists in the 1970s.**

It was said that approximately 80 % of 1 million Japanese male tourists in foreign countries would buy local prostitutes annually during the late 1970s. Thailand and the Philippines were the main countries to offer prostitution to Japanese male travelers in Southeast Asia. In the 1970s, Japan became the wealthiest country in Asia, so Japanese were the largest customers of prostitutes in Asian countries. In that period, Japanese male business men were referred to as "economic animals" in East Asia due to their hard line business practices. Added to this were the terms for Japanese male businessmen, who were eager to buy local women in Asia, such as "Sex imperialists" or "Sex animals" in countries where the atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers during World War II were still open sores ( Kaplan & Dubro, 2003, p.235 ). Many loud and drunk Japanese men, would walk down the streets of countries, like the Philippines, holding prostitutes but unaware of the still harbored hostility against Japanese due to Japan's ruthless military occupation during World War II. Paying for sex in this region, by Japanese males, made people increase their hatred of Japanese as they saw it as another invasion or

occupation of their country and an attack on their women by Japanese “sex animals” or “sex imperialists”.(Kaplan & Dubro, 2003:235).

### **7.3.2 Comfort satiation for Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War and leisure clubs for Japanese tourists in the Philippines in the 1970s.**

Mr. Sasagawa Ryouich, who was the owner of the Japan Motorboat Racing

Organization and a millionaire, used to be the cellmate, at Sugamo Prison, of Kodama Yoshio (a famous Yakuza and fixer). Both these men were class A war criminals who were put in prison for their activities during World War II. Ryouich Sasagawa was a personal friend with the Philippines President Marcos. In 1979, Mr Ryoichi Sasagawa established the World Safari club. The purpose in establishing this club was that he planned to build a paradise of prostitution only for Japanese tourists and sex tourists, so he tried to develop Lubang Island in the Philippines. The advertisements for the Safari Club seemed to offer enjoyment of the natural resources of Lubang island such as swimming, hunting, diving, nudist areas and women as “private companions”. As a result, church and women’s groups criticized his plan as seeming to be setting up a huge outdoor brothel. As a result, of the pressure exerted by these groups, in 1981 Sasagawa cancelled this plan (Kaplan &Dubro, 2003, p.236).

I think that Sasagawa’s idea is exactly the same concept as Comfort Stations in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation in World War II. Japanese workers have also been supported by their companies in that they were offered “hostesses” as rewards for things such as being top salesmen. The case of Casio offering not only a banquet in a Manila hotel but also “hostesses” to a group of two hundred salesmen points to support of the sex industry not only in the Philippines but also Southeast Asian countries (Kaplan &Dubro, 2003, pp.236-237).

It can be seen that Japanese males’ sexual behavior overseas and in particular Southeast Asia, in modern times are apparently the same as that of the 1970s and during the Pacific war which was rooted in the period before and after the Meiji period. The characteristics of Japanese males has not changed at all through the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War.



This evidence can be supported by letters, which were censored and partly deleted by the kenpei (secret police) ( Takeda, p.211-214 ). Following is part of what was deleted from part of the letters. The first letter was from a person living in Bagunban district in Manila to a Japanese person who lived in Isaku, Kagoshima prefecture in Japan

I.[ Japanese males coming to Manila drink expensive alcohols, buy women and enjoy dancing. They are not only civilians but also soldiers. They seemed to come to Manila as if they were playing in Manila, so I sometimes want to scold them. When I see walking males around midnight, they are Japanese] (6, May, 1943, censored and deleted part of letter by secret police quoted from Takeda, 2008, pp.211-212 ).

II. A Japanese male working at Taiwan electricity from Sanmariserino, in Manila To Taijun in Taiwan

Today, Manila is not such an interesting place for Japanese living in Manila unlike before. [It is necessary for Japanese males who construct buildings in Manila to enjoy comfort stations. The Japanese military have designated restaurants and cafes for use by military personnel but non-military Japanese males are also allowed to go there unrestricted. However, Japanese civilians in Manila have more money and stroke the cheeks of women with their money, so soldiers cannot compete financially and are not cheered by women. As a result of this the military does not allow Japanese civilian to come to comfort stations in Manila ( 12, May, 1943, censored and deleted part of letter by secret police quoted from Takeda, 2008, pp.213-214).

## **Biography**

Yohei Miyamoto was born on November 24, 1967 in Yamaguchi Prefecture in Japan. He received B.A from faculty of Business administration, Aoyama Gakuwin University in Tokyo in March, 1992.

He worked as social studies teacher from 1998 to 2000, and from 2003 to 2004 in Yamaguchi prefecture. He taught Japanese, World histories, geography, social studies with students aged from 12 to 18 years old. He also managed class activities, and understands how to manage teenagers.

Then, he engaged in tourist interpreter in Kyoto. In 2010 he began studying for his Masters degree in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand.