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The “Panpan” Discourse in Christian Circles and Mary Magdalene

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Introduction

Prostitution as a policy for the ‘ preservation of the national policy ’
and the appearance of “ panpan ”

What speaks most eloquently of the sexual circumstances in Japan after the defeat of the war is the appearance of “ panpan ”. “ Panpan ” is a disparaging term which refers to a prostitute catering to the officers and soldiers of the occupation army. The “ panpan ” was brought into being by the national prostitution law which was enforced right after the defeat of the war.

- On August 18th, 1945, the road to prostitution as a national policy, was paved by the new cabinet of Prime Minister Naruhiko Higashikuni. The cabinet had been inaugurated the day before and its function was to deal with postwar problems. On the day of the 18th, the director of the Security Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs sent a telegraph to the director of each prefecture in order to inform them of the necessity of setting up sexual “ comfort ” facilities for the occupation army. Fumimaro Konoe, the Minister of State, considered that it was an urgent necessity to carry out this plan, in order to protect Japanese women from the sexual advances of American soldiers. Thus he called on Nobuyoshi Saka, the Superintendent General of the Metropolitan Police, to take the lead in carrying out this policy. In this way, on August 23rd, under the leadership of the Metropolitan Police Department, the RAA (Recreation and Amusement Association) * 1 was established within the Metropolitan area by an organization of seven service industries.

On August 28th at 9am, the RAA held an inaugural ceremony in the plaza in front of the Imperial Palace. I quote from their “ oath ”. “ And so we unite and go forward as our beliefs lead us. And through the sacrifice of several thousands of “ Okichis of our era ”, build a breakwater to hold back the raging waves and defend and nurture the purity of our race, becoming, as well, an invisible underground pillar at the root of the postwar social order.... We absolutely are not flattering the occupation force. We are not compromising our integrity or selling our souls. We are paying an inescapable courtesy, and serving to fulfill one part of our obligations and to contribute to the security

of our society. We dare to say it loudly: we are but offering ourselves for the defense of the national policy. We reaffirm this. This is our proclamation. ” These sentences show that prostitution as a policy is aimed at the “ defense of the national policy ” . Furthermore, on the afternoon of that day, Prime Minister Higashikuni held a joint news conference with a cabinet press corps and put emphasis on the preservation of the national policy and collective repentance. After this joint news conference, Higashikuni met Toyohiko Kagawa and asked him to “ make an effort to improve people ’ s sense of morality through Christianity, ” for “ morality has declined in wartime ” *2.

Christian circles embarked on postwar reconstruction through the “ National Movement of Collective Repentance ” and the “ Christian Movement to Construct a New Japan ” *3 in response to the advocacy of collective repentance by the “ Prostitution Cabinet ” . Moreover, Christian circles of that time knew of the existence of the RAA from its foundation. The file, “ Kimata Toshi Nikki (Diary) ” *4 in the possession of UCCJ Research Institution on the Mission of the Church confirms this.

The “ comfort ” facilities of the RAA were all closed on March 27th, 1946 due to the spread of venereal diseases among American officers and soldiers. However, the Metropolitan Police Department notified the prostitution industries that their business activity could continue despite the abolition by General Headquarters, of state-regulated prostitution. The contents of the notice indicated that the districts of licensed prostitutes were to be changed into districts of unlicensed prostitutes and permitted the industries to go on with their family businesses by changing the terms, 'a rented room' and 'a prostitute' to 'an entertaining room' and 'an entertainer' (January 12, 1946). In the course of time, the districts where prostitutes gathered were called ‘ Akasen (Red line) districts ’ and the women expelled from RAA and “ comfort ” facilities by the orders of General Headquarters, which was now calling those facilities off limits, scattered as “ streetwalkers ” , prostitutes of Akasen, or “ panpan ” in the areas around military bases. What sort of view did Christian circles have about such women at that time?

The “ panpan ” was called “ a woman of the night ” , “ a woman of darkness ” , “ a woman of the streets ” , “ a woman of loose morals ” , and so on. Among the discourses within Christian circles about “ panpan ” , we can find a metaphorical expression which likens such women to Mary Magdalene. This was not an expression which only the leaders of Christian circles used. In referring to the “ panpan ” , we find an emotional attachment for Mary Magdalene, in the discourses of regular Christians also. Why do they refer to Mary Magdalene? She is never mentioned as a prostitute in the Bible. Moreover, there are sympathetic comparisons not only to Mary Magdalene but also to Mary, the mother of Jesus. S  zuko Shirota was a Christian woman, who lived first as a geisha, then as a “ comfort ” woman for the navy, and as a “ panpan ” in the postwar period. In her autobiography, “ Mary ’ s Song of Praise ” , we see that she understood her life through Mary's phrase, “ his lowly servant ” (Luke 1: 48)*5. The scandal of the extramarital pregnancy of Mary, the mother of Jesus, was regarded as a problem even in the earliest stage of Christian history. Why is it that both Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of Jesus, are associated with “ panpan ” in Japan? What kind of relation is there? In this presentation, I would like to look at features of the “ panpan ” discourse in Christian circles in the postwar period through my interpretation of the image of Mary Magdalene in Japan.

1. What did Christian circles think of the national prostitution law and the setting up of “comfort” facilities for the occupation army?

We have a clue to understanding this in the unpublished diary of Toshi Kimata mentioned above. This problem is taken up first in the entry of August 27th, 1945. “ (. . .) The regular meeting of the ‘ Conference of Wartime Activities ’ chaired by Kagawa was held at 1 pm in the meeting room. . . . The agenda is as given below. (1) The American occupation army and the setting up of red-light districts for its use. (2) Public morals and the chastity of Japanese women. (3) Our attitude toward the American occupation forces. . . . Mr. Suga of the YMCA, Mrs. Kubushiro of the Japan Woman ’ s Christian Temperance Union and suchlike, openly showed the usual pro-American feelings of Youth Conference members. They intend to welcome young American soldiers into YMCA facilities and encourage friendships between the soldiers and young Japanese women. How can we welcome American soldiers while they occupy our nation as victors? ” (The underline in the quoted passage is this writer ’ s.)

The “ Conference of Wartime Activities ” is a subordinate organization of the Wartime Patriotic Association. This organization was mainly supported by Christian corporations such as the YMCA, the YWCA, and the Japan Woman ’ s Christian Temperance Union, which, during wartime, were compelled to belong to the United Church of Christ in Japan by the Religious Corporation Law. The chairperson was Toyohoko Kagawa, and the members were Tamaki Uemura, Giichi Suga, Ochimi Kubushiro, Shizue Hikari, Mitaro Akimoto, Motojiro Sugiyama, and Sadao Tanigawa amongst others. Concerning the third issue of the agenda, “ Our attitude toward the American occupation forces ” , we saw that Giichi Suga, the general secretary of Tokyo YMCA, and Ochimi Kubushiri of the Japan Woman ’ s Christian Temperance Union shared a common ground of pro-American sympathies. It is surprising that the issue of “ The American occupation army and the setting up of red-light districts for its use. ” was brought up for discussion as an official item on the agenda just 4 days after the RAA had been established. Though it is uncertain what they discussed, there is no doubt that the leaders of the United Church of Christ in Japan including the representatives of the YMCA, the YWCA and the Japan Woman ’ s Christian Temperance Union knew of the issue of “ comfort ” facilities for the occupation army at this point.

The diary of the following day, August 28th, vividly reports the meeting between Higashikuni and Kagawa. As I have mentioned above, Higashikuni emphasized the retention of national policy and collective repentance in the joint news conference on August 28th. He stated: “ I think that the military, the government, the people, the whole nation must regret and repent thoroughly. Collective repentance is the first step in the reconstruction of our nation ” *6. The same day, the 13th committee meeting of representative directors of the Wartime Patriotic Association of the United Church of Christ in Japan was held. At the beginning of this meeting, they decided to change their name to “ Postwar Countermeasures Committee ” . They finalized “ Notice No. 14 ” which was to be issued to each Church in the name of Mitsuru Tomita, the Controller General. The notice states that the Churches

must “ regret and repent ” seriously that the “ strength of their patriotism ” was too weak to win the war and now they must “ obey the Imperial will, be intent on the retention of the national policy ” , and endeavor to “ reconstruct the Empire ” *7.

It is also stated in a pamphlet on the subject of the “ National Movement of Collective Repentance ” drawn up by a resolution of the 1st Postwar Countermeasures Committee of the United Church of Christ in Japan (August 31st) that: “ Our awe of and obedience to our Father in Heaven were superficial and our loyalty to His Majesty the Emperor was not sufficient. Our service to our fellow countrymen was negligent. . . . We must be conscious of our responsibility for inviting misfortune on our nation. We are overwhelmed with shame and compunction. We cannot help but express repentance humbly in front of our Father in Heaven and the whole people ” *8. The word “ repentance ” is used rhetorically. The “ collective repentance ” advocated by Higashikuni implies that the military, the government and the people as a body accept moral responsibility for the defeat of the war and repent of this to the Emperor. The United Church of Christ in Japan skillfully adopted this word and expressed repentance to their Father in Heaven, His Majesty the Emperor, and fellow countrymen. And, without questioning who was responsible for the war, it started the “ National Movement of Collective Repentance ” as a part of its mission.

At the end of “ The Diary of Kimata ” , in the entry for August 28th, a matter of note is reported. “ I heard that the side of the American occupation forces disappointed us again and that they openly demanded comfort women, that is, sex partners for American soldiers, from us. So our side will offer the whole mountain of Hakone to them for the setting up of the comfort facilities. It is said that eighty thousand women have already applied for jobs. While applicants for interpreters are short of the fixed number of five hundred, there is an overflow of eighty thousand applicants for comfort women. It is a matter for great regret. ” *9 (The underline in the quoted passage is this writer ’ s).

After about a month, on September 28th, cooperation was officially requested by General Headquarters. It was found to be impossible for the facilities of the RAA alone to satisfy the sexual desire of the hundred thousand officers and soldiers within the Metropolitan area. Hikaru Yosano, a chief clerk of the Preventive Hygiene section in the Metropolitan Hygiene Bureau (at that time), was called by Webster, the surgeon general. Webster asked Yosano to increase the number of brothels. He said that “ the facilities were to be divided into three areas, for officers, for whites, and for blacks ” *10. In any case, “ The Diary of Kimata ” mentioned that such a demand had been openly made by American occupation forces about a month prior to that.

On September 3rd, Kimata referred to this matter again. “ (. . .) In the afternoon, we commenced proceedings of the “ Committee of Activities in Postwar Life ” . (1) Measures to respond to the open demand to our government by the US Army for the setting up of comfort facilities. a) In the Hakone area, sixty million women applied for the job of comfort woman though the quota required is five hundred. In the Atsugi area, three thousand women have now been recruited. In Kanagawa Prefecture, nine million women applied though the quota is three million. I heard that while one third of these women were formerly workers in the night-life business, in jobs such as geishas and barmaids, the rest of them were ordinary girls. The discussion about this matter between Mr. Suga of the YMCA and Mrs. Kubushiro was very heated. It was a conflict between Mr Suga's realism and Mrs Kubushiro's

idealism.” (The underline in the quoted passage is this writer’s). On August 28th, the YMCA and the Japan Woman’s Christian Temperance Union reached agreement about attitudes toward American occupation forces as both of them were pro-American. But it is clear that they were completely divided on “the demand for the setting up of comfort facilities”. From the standpoint of the Japan Woman’s Christian Temperance Union which had been developing a movement to abolish licensed prostitution since the period before the war, setting as its three major objectives, “Peace, Chastity, and Temperance”, it was absolutely impossible “to accept reality”.

While “The Diary of Kimata” doesn’t mention the issues related to the RAA after that, Ochimi Kubushiro, in *Women’s News*, a publication which was revived after the war, simply states as follows: “Adding to the defeat, turning back into a nation of prostitutes and geisha girls as soon as occupation forces land, brings further disgrace upon ourselves. . . . We should clarify our opinion and, without reserve, strive now to construct a chaste nation.”*11. She also remarks: “I deplore the shameful conduct of the ‘women of darkness’ wandering around the town toward the occupation forces. It is deplorable that these women who have, firmly and for a long time, been taught womanly virtues and chastity, should behave in this way”*12. The members of this organization strived to clamp down on “panpans” and send them to rehabilitation facilities, according to their ideal of constructing a moral code of chastity, family happiness and a pure society. Such activities were entrusted to them by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. “The anti-Prostitution Law” (1956) was enacted in due course.

At the same time, in the 1950s, the National Christian Council in Japan (consisting of Japanese Christian denominations and organizations) developed “The Family Life Movement” under the missionary, Irma Highbaugh, who was sent by the International Missionary Council. What Ms. Highbaugh presented to Japanese society as an image of an ideal family, through her ten month long missionary activity, was a democratic family, in which a man and a woman helped each other, and a chaste family based on monogamy, in which a modern lifestyle was adopted with respect to economy, health and hygiene*13. This movement and sending “panpans” to rehabilitation facilities are two sides of the same coin. Promoting such a movement was indispensable for Christian circles in order to reconstruct a Japan based on moral principles and restart internationally as a dignified nation.

2. The ‘Panpan’ Discourse of Christian Circles

(1) The girls lost to shame

Commentaries from Michi Kawai, Tamaki Uemura

Michi Kawai, Tamaki Uemura, Ochimi Kubushiro and other such female leaders were pro-American. They were also ashamed of the existence of “panpan” and their behavior. Furthermore, they cared about the feelings of the American soldiers’ mothers. Michi Kawai, in her autobiography *Sliding Doors*, took up several episodes about GIs in the early days of the occupation illustrating how pleasant those young men were.*14. She mentioned that the soldiers were courteous, well trained and kind to

children and the poor. In particular, they were so polite to old women that they caused them embarrassment. When Kawai warned a black soldier about his bad manners, he accepted her advice.

She described her impression of him: “ I could not help feeling admiration for the attitude of the young soldier. He responded to criticism from a woman of a defeated nation easily and with humility. Such frankness is an enviable trait of Americans and it is worthy of admiration. ” She said to him: “ You should do your best to lead a clean life until you see your mother again. ” On the other hand, when commenting on “ panpan ”, she had this to say; “ they wear too much makeup and look like a hybrid between a clown and a witch ” and “ they eat without stopping like stupid monkeys ”. She blamed them for bringing shame and disgrace to all ordinary women in Japan, through their behavior.

The discourse of Tamaki Uemura is similar to this. Uemura also cared about the feelings of the parents of soldiers staying in Japan, while describing the “ panpan ” as “ women who cling like leeches ”. In the April 1953 issue of Women ’ s Review, she states: “ Though there may be contemptible people among the foreigners, who are hanging around from impure motives, it is probable at the same time, that innocent virgin boys are being defiled by crafty prostitutes. Anyway, it is dangerous to seduce foreigners, for it gives rise to international problems. ” Moreover, she claims: “ I think our endeavors to protect foreign young men from seduction are making a contribution to promote goodwill between Japan and America. ”

Uemura referred to “ comfort ” facilities right after the defeat of the war, too. Except for “ The Diary of Kimata ”, this is the only comment by a Christian as far as I know. “ We ought to have prohibited women from continuing to work in the night- life business immediately after the foreign army was stationed in Japan. We should have given the impression that Japanese women are sacred and inviolable. British and American men are forced to respect women no matter how low their social standings. Therefore Japanese women could have avoided the danger of being victimized by foreign soldiers if we had acted more wisely. It was a failure of Japan that we showed our weakness through offering the wrong comfort to them based on shallow and short term thinking. If they could not control their sexual desire without such comfort facilities, all Japanese women should have risen to their feet at once, at the risk of their lives, and demanded the expulsion of the foreign soldiers. ” (The underline in the quoted passage is this writer ’ s). But the YWCA and the Japan Woman ’ s Christian Temperance Union, the representatives of Japanese women, didn ’ t, ‘at the risk of their lives’, demand foreign soldiers ’ expulsion. On the contrary, they demanded the expulsion of the “ women of darkness ” from Japanese society.

(2) “ The woman of darkness was sublimated ”

Commentaries from Toyohiko Kagawa, Kanou Yamamoto, Rinzo Shiina

Male leaders of Christian circles, on the other hand, developed a kind of discourse that female leaders didn ’ t deliver. While they could not help looking down on the “ women of darkness ”, they present the image of an exemplary repentant and regenerate “ panpan ”, superimposing onto this the images of Mary Magdalene, the Samaritan woman, and the sinful woman in the Bible.

For example, Toyohiko Kagawa states in the August 1947 issue of Women ’ s Review: “ A woman

reduced to becoming a woman of darkness has many faults. In essence, she is not an independent woman. . . . She has an evil nature which approaches vice with interest. . . . I regard these women as some kind of schizophrenic in this metamorphic society. ” He then introduces a case in which “ a young woman from a small Japanese-style restaurant in Honmoku, Yokohama was awoken by the Gospel of Christ and went back to God ” . He appreciates her as “ a beautiful penitent woman ” , superimposing her image onto that of Mary Magdalene in the Bible, for she came back from the darkness, reformed.

Kanou Yamamoto, a lecturer of the Japan Christian Theological College, uses more religious ideas in his analysis. In the March 1948 issue of *Women ’ s Review*, Yamamoto states: “ There are ‘ panpan ’ and women of darkness in the midst of the Gospel. ” According to him, the Samaritan woman who came to Sychar to draw water is “ a vicious woman who has been married to five men ” and she is “ certainly a ‘ panpan ’ . ” He also decides that the woman caught in the act of committing adultery is “ a woman of darkness ” . Moreover, he presents Mary Magdalene as an instance of a woman of darkness who was sublimated.

The character of Mary Magdalene as reconstructed by Yamamoto is terrible. “ She was a disgusting slave to carnal desire, who for the first part of her life, ruined herself by changing husbands and acting out of instinct and curiosity. She was an incarnation of sexual desire, jumping around, freely following her instincts. It was a feast of youth with its fascination for instinct and sensuality. Her beauty and intelligence fascinated and seduced many young soldiers of the Roman occupation forces. In the colony, under occupation, luscious flowers of numerous romances bloom. . . . According to legend, she is the same woman as the one caught in the act of committing adultery, and the woman who repented and followed Jesus, breaking the jar filled with expensive perfume of nard, pouring it on his feet and wiping them with her tears and hair in preparation for his burial. . . . The woman of darkness was sublimated. ” It is improbable that this description was given by a theologian.

In the same way, Rinzo Shiina wrote a novel, “ Mary Magdalene ” , which depicted her as a regenerate prostitute based on various legends (the February 1954 issue of *Women ’ s Review*). Though “ Mary Magdalene ” , “ the woman caught in adultery ” , and “ the woman who poured perfume on Jesus ’ feet ” are quite distinct characters, both Yamamoto and Shiina attribute all negative episodes of the sexual behavior of women in the Gospel to Mary Magdalene, who is used as a metaphor for the penitent, and as an instance of “ a woman of darkness who was sublimated ” . Moreover, they completely mix up adultery and prostitution. Adultery and prostitution are distinct from each other in the Bible. Adultery is a problem of men and women in a marriage system. A prostitute is outside of the system, so she cannot be accused of adultery.

(3) What redeems women from depravity

Commentaries of The Salvation Army, Tadao Yanaihara, Kozo Abe

In addition to the ambivalent “ panpan ” discourses mentioned above, other discourses which put emphasis on the chastity of man and woman from the viewpoint of Christianity were developed. The remarks of the Salvation Army fall into this category. They were entrusted by the Tokyo Metropolitan

Government with the establishment of an asylum for women called “ Shinsei-Ryo ” in Tachikawa City in early April, 1947. Then, in June, they were entrusted with the establishment of another called “ Nishinari Choko-Ryo ” by the Osaka Prefectural Government. The Salvation Army believed that it was one of their missions to redeem women from depraved situations, and thoroughly took up this problem putting emphasis on the chastity of men and women: “ A decline in the idea of chastity is an obstacle placed in front of the reconstruction of Japan ” . “ Christians practice monogamy without compromise. It is impossible to purify the world and uphold morals between man and woman without Christianity ” *15.

Tadao Yanaiharu, a Christian of the nonchurch movement, emphasized that it is necessary to teach “ why we must prize chastity ” in order to prevent depravity, and states that “ chastity is to realize that a human body is a temple of the Holy Spirit and is inseparable from one ’ s person. ” Therefore, he continues: “ Sexual misconduct (by which the writer means 'selling one's body for sex' (editor ’ s / translator's note)) is different from selling labor, for it is the commercialization of the human body itself.

It means nothing other than abandoning one's freedom as a human being. ” Quoting Matt. 5: 28, he notes that “ anyone who looks at someone to satisfy their sexual desire commits sexual misconduct and abandons purity, even if it occurs within marriage. ” He says that “ there is respect for the person at the center of the idea of chastity ” and “ committing sexual misconduct is an insult to the human person ” . Thus, according to him, it is important to restore productivity and improve asylums through social services, but implanting the idea of person into people ’ s minds is more important. He concludes that the spread of Christianity which, among all religions, defines the idea of person most clearly, is needed. Perhaps this view offers one of the bases for Christian arguments against prostitution. However, the Salvation Army which advocates the chastity of men and women, and the nonchurch movement which advocates the personalism of sex, both preserve Christian patriarchy, in the expression of their views.

An author who takes a different view from the two discourses mentioned above is Kozo Abe. Abe had various careers. He was an activist in the peace movement, a pastor, a professor, and the Mayor of Tachikawa. He was the first person to use the expression, “ Japan's Mary Magdalene ” . In the July 1948 issue of “ Women ’ s Review ” , Abe states: “ While workers live by selling only their work as a commodity, Mary and others live by selling their bodies as a commodity. Therefore, we may call them working women in the broad sense. ” I think this discourse's relevance to today's theory of sex work is worth noticing.

Abe insists that it is necessary first to firmly preserve the freedom and dignity of human beings in order that they can protect themselves from the danger of depravity; “ whereas the release and redemption of Mary Magdalene, and many other women in Japan from the actual danger of falling into the situations of lumpenproletariat, is the work of politics supported by religion or religion combined with politics . . . ” Thus, he continues: “ When politics is not supported by religion, it loses love for human beings and strays into the egoistic maneuvering of partisan politics. When religion is not combined with politics, it abandons kindness to human beings and lapses into a backwater of self-righteous isolation. ”

(4) Are these women of a different kind?

Commentaries of Haroko Oota and Fumiko Niki

Next I will introduce the essays of two women that were written from an unbiased viewpoint which describe, without invention or criticism, the women's actual living conditions. Haroko Oota's report concerns Tachikawa, a town where a U.S. military base was stationed. Haruko Oota was a member of the "Christian Peace Association" and a student of Tokyo Women's Christian University *16. She approaches the subject of the inhuman living conditions of "panpans" at their journey's end, with an open mind. She states: "We can never easily conclude that what motivated them to fall is their vanity or curiosity. When I heard that most of the streetwalkers in Tachikawa were daughter of poor farmers in the Tohoku Region etc., I realized that this problem could not be solved by simply advocating 'Yankee Go Home', and I left for home." And she mentions: "Only when they talked about family affection, could I see the cheerful expression of a tender girl or mother in their hardened emotionless faces. Then I felt anew that they were all our sisters who belonged to the same nation. Their living conditions are really inhuman."

Fumiko Niki, was a policewoman (working in the Sanitation Subsection of the Public Peace Section of the Metropolitan Police Department) *17. Niki too listens openly to what the women taken to Yoshiwara Hospital say, and gives her impressions as follows: "What kind of woman is a woman of darkness? Are these women of a different kind that lose sense, mentality and even emotion, as people are wont to say? ... I suppose that, however warped they are, they would become friendly if we were to search for their essential nature, and establish true contact and good communication with them as fellow human beings." She concludes this note as follows: "I wonder whether there is actually a sinless person among us who can throw a stone at them. ... I think it is necessary for us to embrace them with deeper affection." What these two commentators share is an attitude that tries to find a common humanity between themselves and the "panpan" and which doesn't look down on them from paternalistic heights. The response of the "panpans" to their open truthfulness is to open their hearts slightly too.

(5) "Japan's Mary Magdalene" Commentary of Fumio Fukatsu

The year Abe used the expression, "Japan's Mary Magdalene", was 1948. After that, this expression was taken up by Fumio Fukatsu, who established in 1958 an asylum for women, "Izumi-Ryo", in Tokyo and in 1965 a long-term accommodation for women, "Kanita Women's Colony", in Tateyama* 18. Fukatsu too conflates the figure of Mary Magdalene with that of the redeemed "sinful woman" of the Gospels. The Pope at the end of the 6th century, Gregory 1st (590-604) was the first to identify Mary Magdalene with the sinful woman. Since then Mary Magdalene has been identified with the nameless "sinful women" in the Gospel, and the image of Mary as "a penitent prostitute" has been passed down from generation to generation. This image was combined with that of the "panpan" in Japan after the defeat of the war.

However, what Fukatsu means by “regeneration and repentance” is different from the others. Fukatsu formed a plan to build a colony, thinking as follows: “We must build a place for a peaceful life where the weak can live as they are without being trampled on by the strong.” Fukatsu's convictions were strengthened through an encounter with Suzuko Shiota (see below). And he realized Shiota's hope in the course of time. Her hope was as follows: “I want to build a village where we can live purely, assisting each other as long as we live, because we are weak in mind and body.”

(6) ‘Even this lowly servant’ Commentary of Suzuko Shiota

I will now examine the self-image of Suzuko Shiota. Shiota, though she is spoken of as “Japan's Mary Magdalene”, has herself a stronger feeling of intimacy toward Mary, the mother of Jesus. Her use of the phrase “even this lowly servant...” taken from Mary's famous “Song of Praise (The Magnificat)” formed the core of her faith. She also confessed that “I was a sinful woman just like sinful Mary Magdalene”. In her thought, the mother of Jesus, “a sinful woman”, and Mary Magdalene are integrated and accepted. But in reality, Shiota tends to connect more with Mary, the mother of Jesus.

Usually, Mary, the mother of Jesus is thought of as “the Virgin” and “the Holy Mother” and is set in the exact opposite position to Mary Magdalene, who is seen in the light of the “prostitute” legend. On the other hand, there is “an extramarital pregnancy” tradition with Mary which parallels the “prostitute” legend of Mary Magdalene. The phrase “for he has remembered me, his lowly servant” (Luke 1: 48) was mentioned by Shiota twice in her confession of faith. To be accurate, this is how the passage reads in the original: “for he has remembered the lowliness of his servant”. The Greek word “tapeinosis” translated as “lowliness” means “to lower (be lowered in) one's status, position, and circumstance” / “humility” / “humbleness”. According to Jane Schaberg's argument introduced in Satoko Yamaguchi's essay, “Re-interpretation of ‘the Virgin Birth’ Narratives”, Mary's “Song of Praise (The Magnificat)” suggests that Mary suffered from sexual assault or sexual violence *19.

If that is the case, it is understandable that Shiota identifies with Mary, the mother of Jesus, who is on the other side of Mary Magdalene. Since Judea in the 1st century BCE was incorporated into the Roman Empire as a province under direct Roman control, its political situation was “under occupation” of the Roman Army. Sexual violence against women was a frequent occurrence there. I suppose that Shiota feels Mary's agony (shame) at her extramarital pregnancy as if it were her own. Shiota started living in Kanita Women's Colony in 1965 and first confessed her experiences as “a comfort woman” to Fukatsu in 1984, 40 years after the end of the war.

“Now, 40 years after the end of the war, no voice is raised from anywhere in Japan. ... Though soldiers and private citizens are enshrined in every place, the girls who were compelled to prostitute themselves in China, Southeast Asia, the South Sea Islands, and the Aleutian Islands, who were repeatedly exploited and eventually expelled when they became burdensome, are not. They wandered through a wilderness. Unable to find food in freezing fields and mountains, they became food for

stray dogs or wolves. Their bones, left out in the open, finally turned to dust. There were comfort facilities wherever the army was stationed.

The price of a coupon for a soldier was 50 sen or 1 yen. The soldiers waited in line. Since we had to have sex with them without taking time to wash, we suffered the agonies of death. I can't tell you how many times I wanted to choke the soldiers with both my hands. I went half insane then. . . . If I die, my body will be thrown into a hole in the jungle. No-one will inform my parents of my death. I saw with my own eyes the Hell of women. . . . Please put up a memorial tower. I am the only one who can say it.

No one speaks about such a shameful thing, even if they are still alive to. " *20. There are correspondences between Shiota's testimony "Cry of a Stone" and Mary's "Song of Praise".

The answer of Fukatsu to this is as follows: "We should not set up a monument to the loyal dead. If we set it up, they would be loyal retainers. . . . If we deify comfort women, we glorify this disgraceful affair. It will lead to a justification of their sacrifices and a vindication of the perpetrators" *21. In August 1986, Fukatsu erected a rough-hewn stone monument, on a hill, on which six characters "噫 従軍慰安婦 (Alas! Comfort Women)" were engraved. Still now this monument stubbornly refuses to deify "comfort women" and conveys a resolution to never again use "sex" in the name of Emperor to placate an invading army.

3. By way of conclusion

In his book, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*, Mike Molasky pays attention to a gender metaphor which was weaved from discourses in the occupation period after the war. Molasky features a book, *The Chastity of Japan: Journals of Women Raped by Foreign Troops*, published in 1953 and comments that this title and subtitle "cast the nation as a woman whose purity is threatened by foreign male occupiers." In particular a drawing on the back cover of a naked woman crouching on the ground stretching out her arms so as to ward off invisible assailants "convey (s) the sense of vulnerability and humiliation which, the title reminds us, confronted the entire nation under foreign occupation. By appropriating the specter of violence against innocent women, and representing their suffering as shared national experience, the title and cover illustration mask a distinctively 'male' sense of humiliation at Japan's defeat" *22.

Moreover, Molasky ascertains that this book, disguised as actual notes written by "panpans" in person, is in fact written by a male editor. He also shows that another book, *The Female Floodwall*, published in 1957 was written, at the time by a male journalist though it was published in the name of Kimiko Tanaka, an RAA prostitute. In actual fact, these books are filled with obscene descriptions and they eroticize rape. Their writing styles are very similar to that of male pornography. Molasky summarizes these "works of men's occupation fiction written by, and mainly for, (heterosexual) male readers" as follows: "....they deploy women's sexual subjugation to construct a gendered national allegory of the occupation era, thereby ensuring that Japanese men are included among those victimized by the foreign occupiers....women's stories about the occupation largely eschew such nationalistic perspectives on the era" *23.

Is it possible to read such a gender metaphor in "panpan" discourses in Christian circles? We can

find evidence of it in the discourses of male Christians who describe an exemplary repentant and regenerate “panpan” based on the “Mary Magdalene - prostitute legend”. But in Christianity, the religious metaphor, “a woman = a sinner / a repentant”, is used far more frequently than the gender metaphor, “a woman = a loser / Japan”. The latter is a tradition derived from the Hebrew Bible. The Israelite prophets who appeared in the midst of the fall of their nation all correspondently and sincerely accepted the fact of the fall as the result of Jahweh’s judgment. They also share the same basis that uses the metaphor of a woman as, “an unfaithful wife, a woman of adultery, a prostitute” and so on, to describe sin or depravity. While they use a man as a symbol of God, they use a woman and her sex as a symbol of evil and infidelity*24. In Christianity, following such a tradition, the “panpan” is caught in the duality of the gender metaphor and the religious metaphor.

Between the setting up of “comfort” facilities for occupation forces under Government orders and the Christian duty to uplift national morality, Christian circles had no means of “redeeming” “panpans” regarded as “a symbol of corruption” besides regulation and institutionalization. As a result of being implicated in the “Prostitution Cabinet” just after the war’s end and finding a means of survival in the request to uplift morality, the Church continued, without pausing to examine its own wartime history. Suzuko Shirota’s “Cry of a Stone” which was heard for the first time 40 years after the end of the war, from Kanita Women’s Colony, is a vehement denial of the gender metaphor appropriated by the Japanese nation. Not the cry of a stone, but of a living woman not content to be imprisoned in the role of a regenerate by a religious metaphor.

(This presentation was based on my essay “The ‘Panpan’ Discourse of Christian Circles and Mary Magdalene” included in 『占領と性(Occupation and Sex)』 published in May 2007, Impact 出版会Publisher. For more information, see this book.)

Notes

*1 For more information on the record of the RAA from its establishment to its abolition, see 坂口雄造 Yuzo Sakaguchi ed., 『R・A・A 協会沿革史』 The Historical Development of RAA, 1949. In this book, we can see portrait photos of RAA officers, read about the circumstances under which the RAA was begun, statements, prospectuses. We can also see related facilities such as recreation facilities, beer halls, cabarets and hospitals, and registers of the staff in detail.

*2 東久邇稔彦 Naruhiko Higashikuni, 『東久邇日記 日本激動期の秘録』 The Diary of Higashikuni the record of a tempestuous period in Japan, 徳間書店Tokuma Shoten, 1968, 224.

*3 “The National Movement of Collective Repentance” of The United Church of Christ in Japan was a missionary activity intended for women, youth, farm villages, and factory workers. Using religious tracts, prepared for specific occasions, it was developed in response to Higashikuni’s advocacy of collective repentance. This movement continued for six months from September 1945. “The Christian Movement to Construct a New Japan” was a missionary activity which, under the slogan of “Christ to the whole of Japan”, was promoted to redeem “three million souls” by all organizations of United Church of Christ in Japan. It continued for three years from June 1946. In this movement, missions to

the masses were developed in cities, farm villages, and fishing villages under the leadership of the direction department of the United Church of Christ in Japan centering on Toyohiko Kagawa.

*4 The file of “ Kimata Toshi Nikki ” is a document copied in the 1950 ' s by Kunio Kato with the aim of using it as a source to compile historical materials on the United Church of Christ in Japan. Kato extracted and copied passages relevant to the United Church of Christ in Japan from the diary of Toshi Kimata (Director of the Research Department of the United Church of Christ in Japan in wartime). This document is dated discontinuously from the 14th August 1945 to the 8th May 1946 without page numbers. The original copy of this diary is lost.

*5 城田すず子 Suzuko Shiota, 『マリアの讃歌』 Mary ' s Song of Praise, 日本基督教団出版局, 1971, 170 (『愛と肉の告白 Confession of Love and Body』 is the title of the 1st edition, 桜桃社1962, 214-215).

*6 『朝日新聞 Asahi』 dated the 30th August, 1945, front-page news.

*7 日本基督教団宣教研究所教団史料編纂室編 The Historiographical Office of UCCJ Research Institution on the Mission of the Church ed., 『日本基督教団史資料集』 Collection of historical materials of the United Church of Christ in Japan, vol. 3, 1998, pp36-37.

*8 Ibid., p.40.

*9 I assume that, ‘ eighty thousand women have already applied ’ is a gross exaggeration. According to 『神奈川県警察史』 The History of Kanagawa Prefectural Police, the Public Peace Section of the Police Department worked with all its strength to deal with this problem, for there were no organizations under the RAA in Kanagawa Prefecture. But it was very difficult for them to set up recreation facilities, because they could not get “ comfort ” women, and there were no buildings, or supplies. However, since the Yokosuka area of the prefecture had escaped war damage, “ about 400 women there were gathered in haste and were divided between several places such as a former accommodation place for naval workers to wait for the landing of the occupation army ” (p.346). I think that this is closer to the facts and that the “ sixty million women ” recorded in his diary of September 3rd is also an exaggeration.

*10 与謝野光 Hikaru Yosano, 「敗戦秘話・『占領軍慰安』備忘録」 “ Unknown Episode of the Defeat of the War A memorandum of the ‘ Comfort of Occupation Army ’ ” 『新潮45』 Shincho 45, vol.9, No.5, May 1990, pp.132-134.

*11 久布白落実 Ochimi Kubushiro, 「婦人新報の再刊に当りて」 “ On the re-publication of Women ' s News ”, 『婦人新報』 Women ' s News, No.554, December 1945, p.3.

*12 「風紀対策に関する意見書」 “ A proposal on measures of public morals ”, 『婦人新報』 Women ' s News, No.563, November 1946, p.4.

*13 The Articles related to “ The Family Life Movement ” under Irma Highbaugh were intermittently reported in 『協調時報』 Kyochojiho published by National Christian Council in Japan, from No.3 (March 1950) to No.78 (June 1956).

*14 河井道 Michi Kawai, 『スライディング・ドア』 (Japanese translation of Kawai ' s autobiography in English, Sliding Doors translated by 中村妙子 Taeko Nakamura), 恵泉女学園 Keisen Jogakuen, 1995, pp.143-153.

*15 「基督教と性道德 身は淫行をなさんが為に非ず」 『ときのかゝ』 “ Christianity and Sexual

Morality ” in Battle Cry, the 1st September, 1948.

*16 太田春子 Haruko Oota, 「『日本の貞操』は本当です 蝕まれてゆく人間性 基地立川の悲惨」, “ ‘ Japanese chastity is true ’ . Humanity is spoiled. Misery of the military base town, Tachikawa ” , 『キリスト者平和の友』 Christian Peace Association Heiwanotomo, No.23, the 20th July, 1953. Idem., 「立川の街娼と語る」 “ Talk with the streetwalkers in Tachikawa ” 『福音と世界』 Gospel and World, September 1953, pp.46-49.

*17 二木富美子 Fumiko Niki, 「職場の報告 婦人警察官の手記」 “ Report on the Workplace; The notes of a Policewoman ” 『婦人公論』 Women ’ s Review, April 1947, pp.62-63.

*18 On the reference to ‘ Mary Magdalene ’ , see 深津文雄 Fumio Fukatsu, 『いと小さく貧しき者にコロニーへの道』 For the least important and poor one The road to the colony, 日本基督教団出版局, 1969, pp.187, 205, 354.

*19 See Jane Schaberg, The Illegitimacy of Jesus. A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives, San Francisco, 1987, pp.97- 101 introduced by 山口里子 Satoko Yamaguchi, “ Re-interpretation of ‘ the Virgin Birth ’ Narratives ” in 『福音と世界』 Gospel and World , December 2002.

*20 「石のさけび」 “ Cry of a stone ” in 『かにた便』 Kanita News, No.39, June 1985, p.8.

*21 「鎮魂のうた」 “ Requiem ” in 『かにた便』 Kanita News, No.41, December 1985, p.4104; 「鎮魂のうた2」 “ Requiem 2 ” in 『かにた便』 Kanita News, No.42, March 1986, pp.4204- 4205. Fukatsu had written a serial essay titled 「鎮魂のうた」 “ Requiem ” in eight installments with relation to 「石のさけび」 “ Cry of a stone ” .

*22 Michael S. Molasky, 『占領の記憶 / 記憶の占領 戦後沖縄・日本とアメリカ』 The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory, 青土社, 2006, 229.

*23 *ibid.*, 294-250.

*24 On this issue, see 荒井英子 Eiko Arai, 「神の裁きの言葉と性暴力 預言者の性表現をジェンダーの視点から問い直す」 『日本フェミニスト神学・宣教センター通信』 “ Questioning ‘ Word of God ’ s Judgment and Sexual Violence: Reconsidering the Sexual Expressions of the Prophets from a Gender Perspective ” , Center for Feminist Theology and Ministry in Japan Newsletter, No.7, 2001.2.

(Translated by Kaoru Yoshitani and native checked by Alison Gray)