

“If you had a sister” A glimpse into the issue of “Comfort women” and “Jihadi Brides”

Raha Sabet Sarvestany

PhD Candidate in Women’s study center of University of Pune

Abstract: *Trying to do a comparative study about women’s movement in East Asia and Middle East drew my attention to the issue of “Comfort Women”. Engaging with the testimonies, life stories and documentaries about women who are known as “Comfort Women” (some of who are already in their late 60s and 70s) was appealing, profoundly painful and raised several questions. It was easy to make links between the issue of “Comfort Women” and “Jihadi Bride” when I located myself as a researcher from Middle East. This essay is an attempt to understand what are the similarities and difference between the issue of “Jihadi Brides” and “Comfort Women” through their life experiences, testimonies, interviews and documentaries which have been available to me. The subject is significant because both group of women, who are from different culture and chronological period, have been subjected to sexual slavery to “comfort soldiers” at the time of war. This paper provides the definition and back ground of these two historical and legitimized experiences of “Sex slavery” and tries to compare these two issues through two approaches: understanding the male domination that subject women for the male interests in war incident and effort to identify the situation of women and girls who were subjected to sexual slavery in war condition. My hope in this paper is to attract the attention of women to their important role as mother, wife, daughter and sister in contributing to stop civil conflict and war.*

Who are the “Comfort Women”?

The term “Comfort Women” comes from the system that Japanese government operated to imply the sexual needs of Japanese military in World War II. In 1895, the island of Taiwan and in 1910, Korea became the colony of Japan. Both countries were controlled by Japan up to and through the start of WWII. The aim of forming an Asia-Pacific Empire under Japan domination was the reason that Japan began a war from Korea against China. As the Japanese military moved across mainland Asia, Japanese soldiers and officers committed atrocities. In 1937, Japanese military destroyed the city of

Nanking and committed a large scale rape of women and girls. This incident became known as “The Rape of Nanking” and created a protest in the international press. When the reports of the Rape of Nanking reached to Emperor Hirohito, he was shocked by the negative image of the Imperial Army that the incident had created. He asked his Ministers, Counselors and Military Chiefs to find ways to restore the “honor of Japan” and stop the criticism by the international press. The Emperor’s counselors proposed two ideas: first was a reform of the Military Code and second was the creation and systematic extension of “Comfort Station”. Although comfort station had existed since 1932 and Japanese military created the first such stations near some barracks in continental China as licensed prostitution homes but military regulation of comfort station, after the Rape of Nanking, changed them into facilities for sexual slavery (Argibay 2003). Four reasons were mentioned by Argibay (2003) for Japanese government to establish comfort stations. According to Argibay one of the main reasons was the desire to restore the image of the Imperial Army of Japan. Japanese government by confining rape and sexual abuse to military- controlled facilities, hoped to prevent atrocities like the Rape of Nanking or hide them from international press if such atrocities again did occur. The issue of rape also increased anti-Japanese feeling and stimulated resistance in the occupied countries, therefore the second reason for establishing the comfort station was to prevent anti-Japanese feeling among local residents in the occupied territories.

Argibay (2003) stated that the third reason was to keep Japanese military healthy and reduce medical expenses. Because Japanese soldiers were committing rape by chance and on a large scale therefore they often contracted venereal diseases and other illnesses which caused loss of strength and required expensive medical treatment before military to continue their war duties. Japanese military doctors regularly examined women in comfort station to assert their health and reduce the incidence of venereal disease. The fourth reason was to keep the military secret confided to women who were isolated in comfort station. Many of these women had been trafficked from distant countries and didn’t know the local language

therefore couldn't communicate with others; it was as an advantage for Japanese military. The life stories of comfort women suggest that Japanese used several means to recruit women for the comfort station. One such means was deception. The occupied territories (Taiwan and Korea) were very poor because Japan had taken any available production of food and clothing for the war effort, therefore many women and girls were living in poverty and had to work from a very early age to support their families. Recruiters promised them jobs like nurses, waitresses, maids, typists with an enough salary that could help their families. Testimonies show even when recruiters mentioned about comfort stations, they misinterpret (The U.S. Office of War Interrogation Report No.49) the nature of comfort service and women assumed that comfort service consisted of visiting wounded soldiers. There are two testimonies that show how women were recruited: "One day Mr Kim, from Chongup, visited us and said that he could get me a job in a textile factory in Japan. He also offered to find work for a friend of mine. He said that our job would be as weavers and added that we would be paid such and such a month. After the visit he didn't come back. We had almost forgotten about him when he suddenly reappeared and urged me to take the job which was on offer. I needed to earn money, so I went along with him, taking an old friend of mine called Okhui. We were about to leave when a Japanese soldier beckoned our foster father over. He was a military officer with two stars on his lapel and he asked if we were Koreans. The officer retorted that we could have stayed in Korea if we had just wanted money, and led him away, saying 'You must be a spy, come with me'. My friend and I were hustled away by other soldiers. We were led along a back street and came to a place where an open truck was parked. There were about 40 or 50 soldiers on board. They told us to jump on and, when we resisted, they lifted us into the mass of soldiers. After a few minutes the officer who had taken our foster father off returned, and the truck immediately sped off. Suddenly there was a great commotion in the camp and a number of Japanese military men arrived in army trucks. However, this time the order was given: All single girls seventeen years and up were to line up with compound. The selection process continued until ten girls were ordered to step forward. I was one of ten. Through our interpreter, we were told to pack a small bag of belongings and report immediately to the front gate, where the trucks were waiting to take us away. We were not told any details. A total of sixteen girls were then taken from the Ambarawa camps, forced against their will. The truck stopped in front of a large house. Seven girls were told to get out. I was one of them. We were soon to find out what sort of a house we were being

forced to live in."(Kimura 2003:7-9) In another testimony: "It was the middle of January or perhaps a little later, says the beginning of February 1937. I was 17 years old. I heard girls were being recruited with promises of work in Japan. It was said that a few had been recruited not long before from P'yongch'on where we had lived with my uncle. I wished that at that time I had been able to go with them, but then I suddenly heard a Korean man was in the area again recruiting more girls to work in the Japanese factories. I went to P'yongch'on to meet him and promised him I would go to Japan to work. He gave me the time and the place of my departure and I returned home to ready myself to leave. In those days people were rather simple, and I, having had no education didn't know anything of the world. All I knew – all I thought I knew –was that I was going to work in a factory to earn money. I never dreamed that this could involve danger."(Kimura 2003:11) Another means was purchasing girls and young women from their poor families. There are some evidences that Japanese manager of a comfort station in Burma, purchased the Korean women from their families for 300 to 100 Yen depending on the girls' characters, appearance and ages. Based on the OWI (The U.S. Office of War Interrogation 1944) Report when the Japanese manager bought girls and women, they became his sole property and although there was a contract varied from six months to a year but women couldn't leave the comfort station after fulfilling their contracts. (Argibay 2003) Another means was abduction. Some of the survivors who gave testimony before The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000 for the Trial of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery indicated that they were enslaved through abduction in the Philippines, Malaysia, East Timor, Korea, China, Taiwan and Indonesia. Some women also witness that Japanese army or its recruiters killed family members who tried to defend their women and girls from being taken. Sometimes Japanese army told the head of small villages to collect girls of certain age (usually between 15- 22) and deliver to them. If the women refused, the Japanese threatened to destroy the village, kill the elders and children and commit other violent measures. (Argibay2003) She was in tears when remembered her father: "When the Japanese army reached to our village they killed all men, burned down all the houses and tortured women. They skinned my father in front of my eyes while he was alive. I was only 14 years old when they took me to the comfort station" (Park, 2013). Some evidences also show that if Japanese army suspected that a woman had a relationship with members of the resistance or participating as such, they would took the woman into the facilities for sex slavery. Police forces also contributed by arresting women in the street and

forcing them into comfort station. Women's narratives show that Japanese military employed any form of force or violence to obtain the increasing number of women that needed to "comfort" Japanese army. The issue of "Comfort Women" became widely acknowledged in the 1990s, when these women testified their suffering publicly. "Comfort women" testimonies have attracted the attention of feminists not only in Japan, Korea and other Asian countries, but also beyond such geographical boundaries. Non-feminists, who were interested in war compensation, also have attended to the issue of "Comfort Women". Both feminists and non-feminists have been demanding that the Japanese Government should take responsibility and pay compensation to the women.

Who are the "Jihadi Brides"?

Jacoby (2016) defines "Jihadi Brides" as women who are from West and have recently travelled to Syria to marry a Jihadi fighter and live a domesticated lifestyle in ISIS controlled territory. According to a report by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue in 2015, more than 550 of almost three thousand of Western individuals who have travelled to join ISIS in IRAQ and Syria are women and girls.

The practice, "Sexual Jihad", officially began in 2013 after a Wahhabi authority called for Sunni Muslim women to present themselves for sexual jihad in order to increase the confidence of men fighting in Syria. In another word "Sexual Jihad", means Muslim women perform Jihad through sex. As long as prostitution is not permissible in Islamic texts therefore Shiat legitimized prostitution as "temporary Marriage" and it seems Sunni's temporary marriage is "Sexual Jihad". (Greenfield 2013) Based on the interpretation of Islamic state of Quran and Islamic law, Sharia, Muslim women who are offering up their bodies for sex to comfort militant members of the Islamic State are known as "Jihad Al Nikah", or "jihadi Brides". These women are showing sympathy for the ISIS fighters who are attempting to establish Islamic rule in the Middle East and believe that they have to offer themselves in sexual comforting roles to IS fighters. Some reports state during the fall of Mosul in Iraq in June 2014, IS fighters committed atrocities in cities of north Iraq. The militants seized numerous facilities like international airport, killed policemen and thousands of Christians, Yazidis and other ethnic minorities were massacred. The residences of those cities were buried alive, burnt alive, shot down and women and girls were raped and killed or forced to marry to IS fighters. Where the attention of International press drawn to these brutal behaviors the IS militants issued a

recruitment of sexual Jihad. In its proclamation, IS ordered people to send unmarried women to jihad for sex and threatened all those who failed to obey the Fatwa, "religious edict". A source (Blair 2014) pointed out that the number of Sunni Muslim women who have travelled from several countries (Gulf, Morocco, Tunisia, Europe, Australia and the United States) to join ISIS for the sexual jihad has increased after this Fatwa. There is an interview that shows how IS forced and brain washed Muslim families to hand over their daughters for "Sexual Jihad" after Fatwa.

A young Syrian girl said: "We were a happy family but when my father lost his job as a farmer after war, our life completely changed. We had argues and lots of problems with each other. My father told me: "it is Jihad. Any time you let mujahedin sleep with you, you gain more deeds and your sins go away, and then when you die, you will die as a martyr and will also go straight to heaven. He talked about how all of this was considered jihad" (Official TV, 2014).

Another girl revealed: "While I was taking a shower, a man came in and he was about over the age of 50 and he was wearing nothing but normal clothes...he started to come close to me in the bathroom but he didn't care ... the room was small and I was screaming and yelling...so he grabbed me by the hair and took me to the room. I was screaming, yelling my father could hear me but never hesitated to do anything or come to take the man away from me. He (man) did what he did, unstrapped and at the same time another man came. The first one was not even done yet and another one came into the room" (Official TV, 2014). She continued that she lost consciousness and finally fell ill after she was raped repeatedly. She explained that she was saved by Syrian soldiers after she called for help at a check point while on her way to a "sexual jihad" with her mother later on. (Blair, 2014) Through news and reports, it becomes clear that apart of Fatwa IS has applied different ways to collect women and girls for "Sexual jihad": Some reports indicate that IS fighters have been going door to door in several cities of Iraq and Syria, entering houses, killing the men and raping the women. In some cases they kidnapped women and girls and forced them into "Sexual jihad". In Kurdistan when Yazidi women refused to serve as "Sexual jihad", IS fighters murdered almost 150 of Yazidi women, including pregnant women. (Based on the Iraqi Ministry of Human Rights announce on December 2014).

Another way that IS fighters have used is to cite Quran and say that it is permissible for Muslim women to give up their bodies to militants so the jihadists can continue the jihad because it increase "the confidence of fighters" and such women will get a place in Paradise. The extremists of IS

claimed that “Jihad Al-Nikah”, or sex for warriors involving extramarital relations with numerous partners, is a legitimate form of holy war since it “gives comfort to fighters”. meanwhile, posters also appeared on city walls in cities which captured by IS, reading in Arabic: “We call upon the people of this county to bring their unmarried girls so they can fulfill their duty in sex jihad for their warrior brothers in the city and anyone who will not appear will feel the full force of the sharia, Islamic law, upon him.” IS also claimed a girl can be married at the age of nine based on Islamic law. IS fighters based on their understanding of Quran have applied a different approach to treat non- Muslim and Muslim women. “A 12-year-old Yazidi rape victim said in an interview that her attacker maintained that raping her was not sinful because the Quran condones and encourages attacking non-Muslim women” (Spencer 2015). Reports show that Christian women, Yazidis and moderate Sunni opponents of the IS regime are kidnapped and forced to sexual slavery in brothels which runs by Al Khansaa Brigade. IS repeatedly raped “infidel” (non- Muslim women) but for Muslim women, to get round Islamic laws which forbid adultery, they performed “temporary Marriage”. Therefore Muslim women spend a week with their new “spouse” before they are “divorced” by a clergy and “married” to another fighter for another week (Spencer2015).

There are documents which suggest IS sell the Yazidi and Christian women who have abducted in different age. IS released a video on November 2015 to show an IS “sex slave market” where fighters can choose among different Yazidi girls who were priced according to their physical features and age. The older one has the lower price. Hundreds and possibly thousands of women have been forced to “marry” or given as “gift” to IS fighters and many held as sexual slaves as young as 14 years old since 2013.

Subjecting women for the male interests in war incident

Similarities in aim, reasons for legitimizing prostitution and means to force women to “Sex slavery” between Japanese government and Islamic state, are the indications to argue how these two patriarchal systems subjected women for their own interests at the time of war. Japanese government legitimized prostitution under the name of military-controlled facilities and Islamic State under the name of religious Islamic law, and both authorities declared this practice for “giving comfort to fighters” and “increasing the confidence of fighters” during war time. The reason that these

two power structures initiated war was to conquest territories and to spread geographical and political empire. Japanese government had an aim to create Asia-Pacific Empire under Japan domination, and IS has the aim to create an Islamic rule in Middle East. Both male dominated ideologies operated any kind of facilities which could expedite their aim. Both political bodies emphasized on accountability of sexual needs of soldiers and officers at the time of war, and both structural powers recruited, abducted, deceived, mislead, brain washed, purchased and forced women to “comfort” fighters. These two power structures legitimized force sex in order to satisfy sexual needs of fighters at the time of war, demonstrated patriarchal system with a strong male dominated ideology to conform their superiority to control over the lands, properties, culture, policy, and sexuality of “others”. In these two male systems “other” women and their national women, both have been insecure, powerless and vulnerable. Both power structures disrespected female body and used it as a political tool to prove their power. To support my argument I reference to photos which show naked women with Japanese soldiers, photos which show soldiers lined up outside of each rooms in a comfort station in WWII, and videos which show IS selling captured women while women are half naked. One can ask why these two power structures should capture these photos and videos. One answer could be for fun but it could be also to show how they conquered the “homes”, female bodies, as well as occupying the lands of “others”. Forced sex has not been the only way which these two male systems used to humiliate female body and to show their power to control “others”. What I am trying to argue is that humiliating female body has been the way to subjugate women for male interest in war condition. There are evidences that show how these two male systems humiliated female bodies: Japanese forced to get women uterus surgically removed before entering to comfort station to avoid the possibility of pregnancy, raping mother and daughter or sisters in one room, categorizing women and girls based on their age and appearance or even based on their religion (in case of IS) to sell in higher or lower prices, or in case of IS killing women and girls who refused to marry with IS fighters or resist to be raped. In my opinion the most indication for humiliating women in these two wars, were kidnapping, arresting and raping women who had been a member of opponent parties. This particular reaction could demonstrate the weakness of a male system that can't tolerate female self discovery, resistance and opposition, intellectually and physically. Legitimizing force sex also reveals the agency of these two male power structures in contributing an important role to reform, redefine and reinterpret moral, cultural

and religious practices which were not in favor of their interests in specific time and condition. Engaging with the testimonies and life experiences of women who lived in war condition shows that the war incident itself was the major reason that made people specially women economically and emotionally weak. In such conditions their response to the hard life were not based on their will. there are testimonies from “comfort women” that imply the economic situation of women and young girls especially from vulnerable families obliged them to accept any kind of job which was offered to them even when they didn’t have any idea about the nature of the job. The vulnerability also could display how male interest in war subjugated women. With this approach testimony from “Jihadi Brides” is slightly different because some of these women believe that this is their religious “duty” to comfort Jihadi fighters, therefore they look at this practice as a way to serve the Holy war, “Jihad”. These women usually are not poor, mostly educated and from Western countries. Al-Rashid (2015) explains why these girls and women are joining to this practice. He quotes IS’s statements that girls and women now have the opportunity to establish a “perfect family” and life in Syria and IS will grant them a free house. Al-Rashid suggests that this is the reason that a 15 years old girl will leave her home in UK to go to Syria and said that any observer concludes that the aim of IS fighters is to control women and use them as tools for pleasure. My argument is that how is it possible to have a “perfect family” in war district, how IS will grant women homes where the homes were destroyed, and how IS will establish “perfect family” with these young girls who were deceived into joining them? I do strongly agree with Al-Rashid’s claim that it is clear that these girls have been required for the pleasure and not to establish perfect families and “sexual Jihad” is not marriage in the traditional sense but exploitation of women and young girls. Al-Rashid’s observation help me to understand how male interest in war, subjugates women, when the rest of the women who are living under IS war witness that they force to practice, “Sexual Jihad”. In my opinion even those women who believe that their practice is a kind of “religious” duty are brainwashed by men and therefore subjugated for male interest in war condition. Interviews, testimonies and documentaries taught me that except for the women who have been volunteers for practicing sex slavery in both wars there have been women who were abducted or purchased and have been forced to practice sex slavery for fighters. There were also women who have been part of organizing sex slavery for power structure and finally there were women who have been observers to the situation of these women. It could be said that there have been

different voices in IS war condition and probably at the WWII. For me as a contemporary observer, researcher and a member of religious minority, there is a reflection: I am living in a peaceful country but is there any guarantee to be protected from “sex slavery” if IS reaches to my country next day? I am not sure that there is a guarantee. Most of the countries are the signatory of the Universal Deceleration on Human Rights that states in Article 4: “no one should be held in slavery or servitude. Slavery in all of its forms should be eliminated”, but this would not be enough to stop any kind of violation of human rights particularly “sex slavery” at the time of war, because “sex slavery” at the time of war could be utilized as a political tool to legitimize power structure. Moreover in my opinion the Universal Deceleration on Human Rights could be recognized as a kind of tool to control “other” countries to maintain political and economical interests of world’s powers. This strategy expresses how imperialism as a male ideology subjugates “other” countries as female for its interest in particularly war zones. Undoubtedly Japanese government and IS based on international law have been violated human rights because they committed forced sex which is a form of slavery. To prove this claim I have relied on a Final Report on Contemporary Forms of Slavery; Systematic Rape, Sexual Slavery, and Slavery –Like Practices During Armed Conflict by Gay McDougall (1998), an Executive Director of Global Rights, and Partners for Justice, which describes what is “sexual slavery”. According to Final Report, “sexual slavery” is “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised, including sexual access through rape or other forms of sexual violence. Slavery when combined with sexual violence constitutes sexual slavery.” McDougall Report explained that in “sexual slavery” there is no requirement of any payment, no determination of any set of time, and no requirement of legal disenfranchisement. “Sexual slavery” is a condition or status of “being enslaved which differentiates sexual slavery from other crimes of sexual violence, such as rape.” Condition and status of “Comfort women” and “Jihadi Brides” suggests that both practice comes under the term of “sex slavery” (McDougall 1998: 14-18) Argibay (2003) believes that the term “sexual slavery” reflects the victims view. It focuses on the enslavement and the rape, and shows the level of subordination and suffering. Many survivors of the comfort system in WWII testified that they experienced shame and isolation from their families and communities. Their families didn’t welcome back these women as victims of a terrible wrong doing because they stigmatized these women as prostitutes. Women said that being

stigmatized as prostitute made their suffering worse. In fact after war Japan's supporters, who deny responsibility for the systematic atrocities committed against comfort women and girls, stated the immorality of the comfort women, and characterized them as prostitutes to display the Japan's innocence. Using the term prostitution which is a male view illustrates how a male system misused language to humiliate victimized women, mislead public thoughts and threatened victimized women to keep quiet about the atrocities which male system committed. I could say that calling "comfort women" as prostitutes was a political way to divert public thoughts and international views about the crime which Japanese government committed.

My concern is that how IS would name "Jihadi Brides" when they established Islamic Empire. For the IS as a religious authority, prostitution is a sin. Although IS gave religious legitimacy to this practice under the name of "temporary marriage" and "sexual Jihad" to endorse the practice for IS fighters, but probably future will say how IS will characterize these women after war to protect its religious male honor. Argibay (2003) suggests that naming the crime "sexual slavery" is proposed to lessen the misplaced stigma for these survivors as well as for future victims of such crimes.

Not only most of the religions but also for most of the traditional and patriarchal society, prostitution is seen as misdeed. These two patriarchal systems show how the power of male structure can legitimize or disenfranchise whatever it is or not based on their interest. If I want to locate the above argument in gender equality discourse then I would say that to me gender equality is not just access to the same social, political and economical opportunities in the society, if it was why Western women and girls would join to IS? These women may display their feminist right by breaking the Western society yokes and demonstrating freedom of choice. But also could be a message that gender equality is more than equality in social, political, economical and educational rights. May be gender equality is about how women's requirements and interests structure social, political, economical and educational rights in different societies. In my opinion social welfare, political structure, economic development and educational scale in a society could be a response to the physical and spiritual needs of both genders for justice not just equality. In this term may be one of the gender would access to some facilities more or less than the other one based on real needs.

In such situation may be women would have power to stop war as individuals. In such a way that

women who have been the victims of wars or observes of war's outcomes would not allow their male family members or fellowmen engage in any war for the sake of any political interests which would harm or invade other nations or even their own nation. In my attitude women who have faced trails of war or learned through testimonies of victim women, may acknowledge that war is a men interest. This reflection has power and may build women's agency to prevent civil conflict or war. It could be said when women could have their own space in the society to make decision locally and nationally they would drastically change the political structure and initiate social changes.

Identifying the situation of women and girls who were subjected to sexual slavery in war condition

It is not easy to identify the situation of women and girls who subjected to sexual buses and faced traumatic time in war condition because women "classed as part of the spoils of war" (Askin 1997: 10-20). Sexual abuse in war has been said as "side effect of sending men to war"(Dorothy Q. T and Ralph. R 1994:82-99).Sexual abuse has been regarded also as a "tangible reward to soldiers" and as a "soldier's proof of masculinity and success" (Askin1997: 27). It is argued that sexual abuse in war time particularly rape, occurs in the context of stereotypes about women and men, "which are part of the basic belief that violent power belongs to men, and that women are its victims"(Dorothy Q. T and Ralph. R 1994:82-99). That is may be why the issues of "Comfort women" and "Jihadi Brides" / "sexual Jihad" have been the soundless history part of these two war times. Askin (1997) gave other reasons: "the laws of war perpetuated the attitude that sexual assaults against women are less significant crimes, not worthy of prosecution". (Askin1997:13) and according to Human Rights Watch (1994) "it is linked to the largely gender-specific character of war rape – abuse committed by men against women. This gender-specific character has contributed to war rape being narrowly portrayed as sexual or personal in nature, a portrayal that depoliticizes sexual abuse in conflict and results in its being ignored as a war crime"(Dorothy and Ralph 1994:82-99).Evidences show that women of East Asia after 50 years shared their experiences as being "Comfort women" in WWII.(kimura 2003) The existence of "Comfort Women" only became widely approved in the 1990s, and few women from Middle East have shared their experience as being "Jihadi Brides" / "sexual Jihad" since 2013. However there could be other voices that didn't want or could not find

space to talk about their experiences as being sex slaves, like men, especially young ones, in both war conditions. Askin's observation suggested that male and female civilians may be subject to torture, but many studies show that sexual abuse at the time of war is more frequently perpetrated on women than men. This may be due to the reluctance of men to come forward with accusations of being raped, and also an institutional bias amongst NGOs, who frequently focus resources on female victims (Storr 2011). However rape against women is also underreported. Perpetrators of sexual violence against women and children "commonly include not only enemy civilians and troops but also allied and national civilians and even comrades in arms" (Aksin 1997: 13). According to Althusser, in order for individuals to become subjects, and to be recognized, they have to be "hailed" by and subjected to given ideologies. The issue of 'comfort women' was shared publicly in the 1990s, mainly because the system of "Comfort Women" was understood to be one of the worst examples of "universal" sexual violence against women by men. This ideology subjected the issue of "Comfort women" through and when women actively involved sharing their sufferings during WWII as "Comfort women".

There are enough interviews, testimonies and documentaries which show Syrian, Iraqi women and girls who have left their countries and live in other countries in or out of refugee's camps are subjected to "sex slavery". The situation of these women based on Althusser's theory and International law could receive attention from the world to stop the hardship of these women either by stopping war, preventing IS to call for women or rescuing Syrian, Iraqi and other women and girls who have been the sexual target for IS fighters and opportunists. There has been a meaningful response from the world to the situation of Asian Muslim women who have been subjected to "sex slavery" by IS.

there are reports from United Nations which documented systematic and widespread human rights violations by IS, including rape, abduction, slavery, trafficking of women and girls, torture, execution, stoning, and targeting of public figures but it is difficult to find any documents which shows what UN did anything to stop these noticeable violations of human rights. Lee (2015) argues how women who are serving as prostitutes near U.S. military bases in South Korea have been unable to access the support of the international community and are pushed back "against their own victimized government's complicity and active participation in sustaining these bases but also against the United States, deemed the neutral

arbiter and champion of human rights". She claims that "only with frameworks that can address the intersections of interlocking racist, heteronormative, and imperialist systems a more complicated story of the comfort women issue emerges, beyond a human rights narrative deployed to advance the interests of states"(Lee 2015:8).

Lee's argument in addition two other reasons which has come before, sexual assaults against women are less significant crimes in war and gender-specific character of war depolarized sexual abuse in conflict, help me to develop my argument. To understand why there has not been an effective act to stop the practice of "sex slavery" in Middle East while the issue of "Jihadi Brides" and their life experiences has received world attention, particularly from Human Rights activists and UN. My understanding is that accusing IS by UN for violating human rights, particularly in the case of women, could be a way that articulates few subjects: the superiority of Western countries and displays the barbaric act of Islamic military, echoing the history of prioritizing the imperialist interests of developed countries for the oil wells in Middle East, revealing how first world countries increase their supports and allies in Islamic countries to maintain their economical and political interests, and finally a way to reconfirm "the violent face of Islam" compare to "non- violent face of Christianity".

It could be also said that imperialism has kept alive the fire of conflict between Sunni and Shiah in Middle East to serve its political and economic interests and therefore the Deceleration of Human Rights has been served as a mask to cover the real face of imperialism. Based on this argument other issues particularly women and children's situation in war condition would not have priority to the political interests of world's power structure. Probably this could be the reason that the world employs a meaningful respond to the issue of "Jihadi Brides" even the nature of this practice is against the international law. Studies show sexual abuse particularly rape is frequently used as a means of psychological warfare in order to humiliate the enemy during war. Lawlessness during wars can create a culture of impunity towards residents. Among some armies, looting of civilian areas is considered a way for soldiers who have not paid on time or received low income. Sometimes pillaging and rape can be seen as compensation and reward for victory. Nebehay (2013) numbered some causes which create rape in wartime and civil conflict. According to Nebehay, rape can sometimes be encouraged against residents as a means for ethnic cleansing and genocide, some militaries use gang rape to bond

soldiers and create a sense of unity mostly when troops are recruited by force, “some militaries that use child soldiers use rape as a maturation ritual to increase the tolerance of troops for violence, especially in patriarchal societies that equate masculinity with dominance and control”(Nebehey,2013:4). Nebehay says that some refugees experience human trafficking for sexual or labor exploitation because of the breakdown of economies in war zones. And in some conflicts rape is used as a means of taking information from women and girls to give up the location of arms caches. Amnesty International argues that in modern conflicts rape is used as a military strategy so war rape is a "weapon of war" which is used for “the purpose of conquering territory by expelling the population, decimating remaining civilians by destroying their links of affiliations, by the spread of AIDS, and by eliminating cultural and religious traditions” (Park, 2008:6). To me the practice of “Sexual Jihad” is nothing more than rape which has legitimized under the name of religion. The following interviews and documentaries show the situation of women and girls who were subjected to sexual slavery in war conditions. To prove the above claim, “Sexual Jihad” is nothing more than rape. I prefer to focus on interviews and documentaries which describe the worries of Iraqi and Syrian women who are living in refugee camp as temporary issue, although I could find many similarities between these interviews and testimonies from “comfort women” who were isolated in comfort stations in WWII.

Women in refugee camps and are worried for their little girls, said that girls at the age of 6 or 7 are harassed by Arab guys. In the camp there are girls who were kidnapped, raped and worked as prostitute then were brought back to camp after few months. Women cried that it is not safe for them to go to restroom alone after 9pm in the camp; some of them say that we hold till morning. A father of two young girls says that men from Saudi Arabia came to the camp and ask families to sell their daughters for 100 to 300 Dollar. The father said: “when I asked one of them why you want to buy these women and girls. He replied: “I have a museum of Brides.”

A young woman said that many Arab men asked her to become his girlfriend exchange for money but she refused even though she needed money. But she mentioned about other women who accepted to become girl friend of a man even for one night because they needed money, food and cloths. A 28 years Syrian woman who is Muslim and works as a marriage broker explained how she finds girls and women for men and how families

who are living in camp looking for her to find a man for their daughters. She said: “if a man wants a girl or woman just to have a dinner with her it costs 50 to 100 dollars, depending how she looks. If a man wants a girl/ woman for “marriage” it costs 1000 dollar but there is no guarantee.” She continues: “it is not my business if the man wants to divorce the girl/ woman for the next hour.” Other women explain how because of the war they lost their job and now the only way that they can earn money to support their families is to work as prostitutes. A woman said: “after war brothels are growing in border areas”.

In Iraq the story of women are quite similar in a way that many of them after war are working as prostitutes or they get married off to an older man from Gulf for up to 2000 dollars. Two young sisters who are from Iraq said that their family doesn't know what they are doing in United Arab Emirates. They left their family at the age of 18 and 20 and now every month they send some money to their family so that they do not ask them what they are doing. One of the sisters said: “you think that I don't know all of these are against Islam? I want to repent, settle down, get married and have kids.” Another woman from Iraq who was married to a Gulf man by a marriage broker said that after marriage her husband treated her savagely. He used to hit and torture her sexually. One day he said: “I married you just for pleasure, not love.”

Conclusion

This study was a journey for me to learn more about function of some social male structure at war zone and its consequences. War as one of the oldest production of patriarchy has destroyed not only the physical achievements but also demolished the moral and spiritual accomplishments of human being history. It could be said that war has been part of the human experiences to discover its interests but it seems that humanity didn't seriously pay attention to the consequences of war and produced it again and again in different ways and with different aims.

In this essay I tried to map the aim, causes and effects of war on women with regard to sexual abuses in wartime. The essay shows that masculine face of war legitimized women's sexual abuses and portrayed it as a natural result of war. It shows how sexual abuse of women is a political tool to humiliate and display hate to “others”. It shows how political structure of imperialism control other countries to maintain its interests; and it demonstrates the weakness of local, national and international organizations to prevent war even in recent years.

My journey in this study also forms other reflections such as: war is not just in battle field which could humiliate and abuse women sexually, but also women in their everyday life face humiliation and sexual abuse when thousands of porn movies, photos and magazines get distributed in the society, when women are intently objects of public advertisements and when fashion industry in public and private promote and symbolize the concept of beauty and modeling to suggest who are the desirable and what are the standard of female body. Unfortunately the sellers of these productions are the countries that claim gender equality is practiced in their society and accuse "other" countries for gender inequality and violation of human rights.

I would like to end my essay with regard to a Baha'i principle which suggests the thoughts of war should be opposed by a stronger thought of peace and the thoughts of hate must be destroyed by a more powerful thought of love(Ruhi book one, 2008:11). To me, to stop war, hatred and calling others as "others" human being, more than any local, national or international commitments and agreements, needs to engage with the thoughts of peace and love which rooted in justice. The world order which wants to make the world a better place for humanity cannot privilege interests of any other nation when the rule of justice maintain oneness of mankind.

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