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1AC (1/19)

Inherency

Troop drawdowns in South Korea are inevitable—confirmed by the DOD.

Lee Jong-Heon, United Press International Correspondent, 2/4/10, UPI, http://www.upiasia.com/Security/2010/02/04/seoul\_seeks\_extended\_us\_protection/2951.

The United States had maintained nearly 40,000 troops in South Korea, alongside the South's 670,000 troops, facing off against the North's 1.2 million-strong armed forces. But it recently reduced the number to 28,500 and is planning to redeploy the frontline U.S. ground forces to south of Seoul, in one of the biggest realignments of U.S. forces in this country since the Korean War. Earlier this week, the U.S. Department of Defense said in the newest edition of its Quadrennial Defense Review that Washington would further cut troops in the South, saying U.S. troops in Seoul could possibly be relocated abroad under the concept of "strategic flexibility."

But, South Korea’s wartime control delay proves its dependence on the U.S.

Eunkyung Seo and Bomi Lim, Bloomberg staff writers, 6/27/10, Businessweek, http://www.businessweek.com/news/2010-06-26/u-s-s-korea-delay-wartime-control-transfer-to-2015-update1-.html.

June 27 (Bloomberg) -- South Korea agreed with the U.S. to delay a planned handover of “wartime control” in the event of a military conflict to Dec. 1, 2015, from April 2012 amid heightened tensions with North Korea.

South Korea’s presidential office announced on its website today that the agreement was reached at a meeting between South Korean President Lee Myung Bak and U.S. President Barack Obama in Toronto, Canada, on the sidelines of the summit of Group of 20 nations.

South Korea was scheduled to take over the right to control its forces in the event of a war in April 2012 under a 2007 agreement with the U.S. The U.S. had full control of South Korea’s forces during the 1950-53 Korean War and until 1994, when the Asian nation was given operational control during peacetime.

“The move underlines South Korea’s dependence on the U.S., which will result in greater U.S. influence on South Korea’s foreign policy,” said Kim Yong Hyun, professor of North Korean studies at Dongguk University in Seoul. “It will also make others doubt about the capabilities of South Korea’s military.”

South Korea has remained technically at war with North Korea since the war ended in a cease-fire that was never replaced by a peace treaty. South Korea’s 680,000-strong military faces off with as many as 1.2 million troops across the border in North Korea, which has built atomic bombs and long- range ballistic missiles.

Away From Border

The U.S. has about 28,500 troops in the South and is in the process of moving them away from the border.

The accord came after South Korea blamed North Korea for sinking the 1,200-ton Cheonan on March 26, killing 46 sailors. South Korea, backed by the U.S., is pushing for United Nations Security Council condemnation of North Korea.

1AC (2/19)

Plan

Plan: The United States federal government should withdraw all of its military presence from South Korea.

1AC (3/19)

Contention 1: Camptowns

Prostitution on military bases is inextricably linked with foreign relations and power structures; there is a direct relationship between US military presence and the prostitution rates

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

But there is a deeper underlying reason for these women's invisiblity even among progressive Korean activists and academics. For most of the post-civil war period, South Koreans have lived with military threat from the North and the presence of U.S. troops as givens that were not questioned Pak Chonghui (1961-1979), Chon Tuhwan (1980-87), and Ro T'aeu (1987-1992) kept popular criticism of both domestic and foreign governmental policy at bay with authoritarian measures. Anticommunist and national security rhetoric was regularly employed to muster society's support for the government's economic and foreign policies as well as to stifle political dissent, protest, and inquiries into alternative interpretations of political issues such as the need for the U.S. troop presence and the terms of the U.S.-Korea alliance. Under the national security blanket, the work and lives kijich'on prostitutes became integrally embedded in the work and lives of the U.S. soldiers, who provided protection deemed vital to the South Korean people's viability and prosperity. In a sense, to inquire into the plight of kijich'on prostitutes and to question their role in U.S. camptown life would have been to raise questions about the need for and the role of U.S. troops and bases in the two countries' bilateral relations. Beginning in the early-to-mid 1980s, the writings of Cynthia Enloe and other feminist scholars focused for the first time on military prostitution as a subject of study in political science, especially as a critique of military ideology and lifestyle. They have asserted that the very maintenance of the military establishment depends on promoting gendered notions of femininity and masculinity, weakness and strength, conquered and conqueror. Such feminist critiques point to the linkage between military prowess and male (hetero)sexual prowess as the basis of discrimination against, subordination of, and violence toward women. Women as war booty and slaves are examples of past relationships between women and war; women victims of wartime rape in Bosnia and forced prostitution as Japanese "comfort women" are the most recent examples of sexual abuse wreaked on women by men in war. Enloe in particular has been a pioneer in defining the nature of military prostitution as not simply a women's issue, sociological problem, or target of disease control, but as a matter of international politics and national security. In all three of her recent books on gender and international relations, she points out that seemingly private conduct, such as sexual relations between men and women, are intimately related to international politics through their organization and institutionalization by public authorities and help to inform and maintain the masculinist military ideology on which the regular operations of international political institutions depend: None of these institutions--multilateral alliances, bilateral alliances, foreign military assistance programmes--can achieve their militarizing objectives without controlling women for the sake of militarizing men. ( Enloe's italics) A military base isn't simply an institution for servicing bombers, fighters, aircraft carriers, or a launch-pad for aggressive forays into surrounding territories. A military base is also a package of presumptions about the male soldier's sexual needs, the local society's sexual needs, and about the local society's resources for satisfying those needs. Massage parlors are as integral to Subic Bay, the mammoth U.S. naval base in the Philippines, as its dry docks. Given, then, that women are already involved in international political processes through gendered norms and institutions, foreign policy changes, far from affecting solely the relations among governments, directly produce changes in women's lives. Insofar as the expansion or retraction of any foreign power's overseas bases increases or decreases the demand for women's sexual availability to male soldiers or sailors, the Pentagon's changing Asian strategy is a "women's issue." (Enloe's italics)

1AC (4/19)

Prostitution in Korea is a direct result of military presence and the desire to satisfy troops and maintain “friendly relations”

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

The selling and buying of sex by Koreans and Americans have been a staple of U.S.-Korean relations since the Korean War (1950-53) and the permanent stationing of U.S. troops in Korea since 1955. It would not be far-fetched to say that more American men have become familiar with camptown prostitution in Korea since the 1950s than with military strategy and Korea's GNP figures. Since the war, over one million Korean women have served as sex providers for the U.S. military. And millions of Koreans and Americans have shared a sense of special bonding, for they have together shed blood in battle and mixed blood through sex and Amerasian offspring. U.S. military-oriented prostitution in Korea is not simply a matter of women walking the streets and picking up U.S. soldiers for a few bucks. It is a system that is sponsored and regulated by two governments, Korean and American (through the U.S. military). The U.S. military and the Korean government have referred to such women as "bar girls," "hostesses," "special entertainers," "businesswomen," and "comfort women." Koreans have also called these women the highly derogatory names, yanggalbo (Western whore) and yanggongju (Western princess). As this study reveals, both governments have viewed such prostitution as a means to advance the "friendly relations" of both countries and to keep U.S. soldiers, "who fight so hard for the freedom of the South Korean people," happy. The lives of Korean women working as prostitutes in military camptowns have been inseparably tied to the activities and welfare of the U.S. military installations since the early 1950s. To varying degrees, USFK (U.S. Forces, Korea) and ROK authorities have controlled where, when, and how these "special entertainers" work and live. The first half of the 1970s witnessed the consolidation of such joint U.S.-ROK control.

1AC (5/19)

Prostitution and sex-trafficking prevalent today due to US presence

Dujisin 9, Zoltan, July 7 2009, “Prostitution Thrives with US Military Presence”, Inter Press Service News Agency, http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=47556

Since 1945, U.S. troops have been stationed in the Korean peninsula, with their current strength estimated to be 28,500. The country plunged into civil war between 1950 and 1953 and since then, U.S. troops have remained there, claiming to act as a deterrent against North Korea, the country’s communist neighbour. Prostitution in the region is a direct result of their presence, local observers say. Russian and Chinese troops also had troops stationed on the Korean peninsula in the aftermath of the civil conflict, but "have since left the area while U.S. troops are still here, in almost 100 military bases," Yu Young Nim, the head of a local non-governmental organisation which provides counseling, medical and legal care for sex workers, told IPS. Yu Young Nim’s office is located at the Camp Stanley Camptown, a few metres away from local Korean restaurants, home in the 1980s to U.S.-imported Kentucky Fried Chicken and Subway logos. Locals attest to the slow decay of a town. In front of one of these restaurants, sits a 36-year old former "mama-san", which in Korea denotes women supervising sex-work establishments. Like many other retired sex-workers, she looks older than her age, and has decided to open a restaurant. The "mama-san" prefers catering to U.S. soldiers instead of the more demanding Korean clientele. "G.I.s eat their food without complaints," she told IPS. "Koreans always expect to be served like kings." It was in camps such as these that a new dish called Pudaettsigae entered the Korean diet: Poor Koreans took ingredients such as sausage, beans, processed cheese from leftovers at the U.S. camp and mixed them with home-grown ingredients. After being a sex worker for much of her youth, during which she had a son with a U.S. soldier, like other "mama-sans" she opened her own club, where she employed other girls. She had to shut shop three years ago due to declining incomes. "If the base closes, I’ll try moving to the [United] States; it would be good for my son," she says. Her son lives in Korea and speaks the language well enough, but got his primary education in English. "I don’t think he could attend a Korean university, but the U.S. universities are too expensive for us." She could only wish his father was there to help. "I have some contact with the grandfather, but barely with the father. He doesn’t send my son gifts, not even a Christmas card. He has so much more money than me and doesn’t do anything for his son," she says. "My son [believes] he has no father." Several U.S. soldiers have married local prostitutes, in many cases impregnating them, only to later abandon them. "Even in those cases of couples living together, these women can be easily abandoned by their husbands or boyfriends, and are victims of physical, mental and financial abuse," says Young Nim. "The women mostly come from broken families, backgrounds of sexual abuse or domestic violence, and there is no protection from victims of these crimes," he says. "After entering the prostitution business they can’t get out." U.S. officials have made statements condemning prostitution but have done little to stop it. "They think this system should exist for the U.S. soldiers. Superficially they stand for a zero tolerance policy but practically they know what is going on and use this system," Young Nim told IPS. There has been a reduction in prostitution of Korean women, which "has more to do with the work of non-governmental organisations and the fact that Korea has developed economically," while "there is no contact with the U.S. authorities. They have a legal office and counseling centre but only for their own soldiers and relatives." After the negative publicity, the top military officials of the U.S. army have slowly became more outspoken in their condemnation of prostitution. U.S. soldiers were discouraged from frequenting traditional entertainment districts in central Seoul, although locals say that did little to stop them. A turning point was the violent murder of a prostitute in Dongducheon in 1992. The finger of suspicion pointed at U.S. troops, though action against them is difficult given they enjoy a special legal status since 1945. While prostitution is illegal in South Korea, camp towns are practically exempted from crackdowns, and US military anti-prostitution policies have forced these places to minimize their visibility. Recent anti-prostitution laws are addressing the problems of Korean women, although there is disagreement among local activists regarding their effectiveness. However, they are effective in keeping out foreign sex workers; if arrested by the police they face deportation. Some 3,000 to 4,000 come annually from countries like Philippines. While Russian, Uzbek and Kazakh women were also known for being trafficked into Korea in the past, now 90 percent of the women working as prostitutes hail from Southeast Asian countries.

1AC (6/19)

ROK and U.S. governments encouraged sex trade to discourage U.S. withdrawal; troop removal would therefore eliminate the reason for prostitution and camptowns

Choe 9, Sang-Hun, New York Times Reporter, January 7, 2009, New York Times

< http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/world/asia/08korea.html >

Now, a group of former prostitutes in South Korea have accused some of their country’s former leaders of a different kind of abuse: encouraging them to have sex with the American soldiers who protected South Korea from North Korea. They also accuse past South Korean governments, and the United States military, of taking a direct hand in the sex trade from the 1960s through the 1980s, working together to build a testing and treatment system to ensure that prostitutes were disease-free for American troops. While the women have made no claims that they were coerced into prostitution by South Korean or American officials during those years, they accuse successive Korean governments of hypocrisy in calling for reparations from Japan while refusing to take a hard look at South Korea’s own history. “Our government was one big pimp for the U.S. military,” one of the women, Kim Ae-ran, 58, said in a recent interview. Scholars on the issue say that the South Korean government was motivated in part by fears that the American military would leave, and that it wanted to do whatever it could to prevent that. \*\* “If the question is, was there active government complicity, support of such camp town prostitution, yes, by both the Korean governments and the U.S. military,” said Katharine H. S. Moon, a scholar who wrote about the women in her 1997 book, “Sex Among Allies.” The South Korean Ministry of Gender Equality, which handles women’s issues, declined to comment on the former prostitutes’ accusations. So did the American military command in Seoul, which responded with a general statement saying that the military “does not condone or support the illegal activities of human trafficking and prostitution.” The New York Times interviewed eight women who worked in brothels near American bases, and it reviewed South Korean and American documents. The documents do provide some support for many of the women’s claims, though most are snapshots in time. The women maintain that the practices occurred over decades. In some sense, the women’s allegations are not surprising. It has been clear for decades that South Korea and the United States military tolerated prostitution near bases, even though selling sex is illegal in South Korea. Bars and brothels have long lined the streets of the neighborhoods surrounding American bases in South Korea, as is the case in the areas around military bases around the world. But the women say few of their fellow citizens know how deeply their government was involved in the trade in the camp towns. The women received some support for their claims in 2006, from a former government official. In a television interview, the official, Kim Kee-joe, who was identified as having been a high-level liaison to the United States military, said, “Although we did not actively urge them to engage in prostitution, we, especially those from the county offices, did often tell them that it was not something bad for the country either.” Transcripts of parliamentary hearings also suggest that at least some South Korean leaders viewed prostitution as something of a necessity. In one exchange in 1960, two lawmakers urged the government to train a supply of prostitutes to meet what one called the “natural needs” of allied soldiers and prevent them from spending their dollars in Japan instead of South Korea. The deputy home minister at the time, Lee Sung-woo, replied that the government had made some improvements in the “supply of prostitutes” and the “recreational system” for American troops. Both Mr. Kim and Ms. Moon back the women’s assertions that the control of venereal disease was a driving factor for the two governments. They say the governments’ coordination became especially pronounced as Korean fears about an American pullout increased after President Richard M. Nixon announced plans in 1969 to reduce the number of American troops in South Korea. “The idea was to create an environment where the guests were treated well in the camp towns to discourage them from leaving,” Mr. Kim said in the television interview.

1AC (7/19)

Filipino women are increasingly being trafficked and exploited at the bases to keep American men and business happy

Enriquez 99, Jean, Executive Director of Coalition Against Trafficking In Women-Asia Pacific, “Filipinas in Prostitution around U.S. Military Bases in Korea: A Recurring Nightmare”, Seoul, South Korea, November 1999

The grave labour situation that migrant women find themselves in, compounded by the continuing arrival of women in hordes that are directly recruited for entertainment, spell a fertile ground for their being victimized for sexual exploitation. Corollarily, women’s groups and media people in Seoul are alarmed by sightings of more and more Filipinas being sold for prostitution around the U.S. military camps in the southern part of the country. This is certainly not a new phenomenon, since in 1987, it has been reported that Korea ranked 5th among top destination countries of legally deployed Filipino entertainers. It has been asserted by studies that the growing share of women in foreign employment reflects the dynamics of demand in the host country. The presence of U.S. military bases in Korea is certainly a magnet for trafficking of Filipinas. There are reports that Filipinas are concentrated around the bases in Dongduchon-shi and and Pyont’aekshi where around 50 military recreation centers are established in each, and where American military service men usually go. These centers are locally called “foreigners club” but are actually, bars. An unwritten policy within the U.S. military force is to “keep the men happy,” as it considers sexualized recreation vital for the “morale” of troops. Studies in 1992 show that there are about 18,000 registered and 9,000 unregistered Korean women around the U.S. bases. During the stay of military forces in the Philippines, around 17,000 women have been prostituted in Olongapo City alone, which is site of the largest US military base outside the U.S. itself. The U.S. Navy ensured that the men are kept safe, thus funding for social hygiene clinics flooded the cities where the bases are located. If 25% or more of the women in an establishment are unregistered with the clinic, the establishment will be declared off-limits to U.S. servicemen until the women are registered. Guidelines, thus, were made available to the servicemen so that they know where to go. In sum, the construction and maintenance of prostitution is integral to the U.S. military’s strategies for keeping the male soldiers content. This is obviously in collusion with local and foreign businesses that make profits from the “entertainment industry,’ and local governments that similarly earn from the lucrative R & R business

1AC (8/19)

Prostitution is not a choice; they are forced into it for economic reasons and in some cases physically forced

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Poverty, together with low class status, has remained the primary reason for women's entry into camptown prostitution from the 1950s to the mid-1980s. Stories of growing up with no plot of land or high debts from farming attempts, going hungry amidst eight or nine siblings, barely finishing a few years of schooling, and tending to ill parents resound among kijich'on women. Many of these women were part of the migration flow from the countryside to the cities in the 1960s. 28 They left their villages in search of work, believing that they had a 50/50 chance of "making it" in urban areas. 29 But finding employment, especially one that paid enough to support a woman and her family in the countryside, was difficult. A report by the Eighth U.S. Army, which discusses some causes of women's entry into camptown prostitution, states that among women aged 18 to 40 who were living in Seoul in 1965, 60% were unemployed. 30 Although women have served as the backbone of South Korea's economic miracle, through their work in light-manufacturing industries, not all women have had luck finding and keeping viable work."Hyun Ja," a middle-aged divorcée with children, who had no more than a grade-school education, became a GI prostitute as a last resort--factory jobs catered mostly to young women and were therefore difficult to obtain. Still others were physically forced into prostitution by flesh-traffickers or pimps who waited at train and bus stations, greeted young girls arriving from the countryside with promises of employment or room and board, then "initiated" them--through rape--into sex work or sold them to brothels. Women also fell into prostitution by responding to fraudulent advertisements which offered appealing calls for employment as waitresses, storekeepers, singers, and entertainers. Some ads even promised "education" (kyoyuk) without specifying what the women would be expected to learn.

1AC (9/19)

Camptowns in South Korea key, prime instance of militarized prostitution

Moon 97

Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

U.S.-Korea kijich'on prostitution is part of the U.S. military's chain of overseas camptowns which have thrived on prostitution in Asia (Vietnam, Thailand, Okinawa, and the Philippines, in addition to South Korea). What sets kijich'on prostitution apart is the high level of military dependence--in terms of troops, weapons, treaty commitments, and the amount of U.S. military assistance--that South Korea has exhibited toward the United States since the Korean War. The immediate cause of such dependence is the Communist regime in North Korea, which is still technically at war with the South. The U.S.-Korea alliance is an oft-cited example of patron-client relationships in international politics and as such may help us frame the context in which to pose questions about power disparities between states and their relationship to military prostitution. South Korea is also an example of a nation whose security interests have determined nearly all aspects of its political, economic, and social life from the 1950s to the late 1970s and begs the question of to what extent and at what human and social cost a state's pursuit of its military security objectives can be justified. The Korean case of foreign-oriented military prostitution is particularly important also because of its historical precedent: the approximately 200,000 Korean women who worked as sex slaves, or "comfort women," to the Japanese military about fifty years ago. The recognition of these parallel cases forces us to track the responsibility of the authorities and powers involved--in this study, the legally sovereign South Korean government and its main military ally and former "savior" from Communist takeover, the United States--while women's bodies and dignities are actively being sacrificed, rather than wait another fifty years to "discover" the abuses of power in the name of military interests. Most of the comfort women to the Japanese military never lived to shape and hear their own utterances regarding their personal histories and their part in the history of World War II. It is my hope that the voices of living Korean comfort women of the many U.S. camptowns in Korea, who have sexually serviced and presently serve American soldiers, will be heard and their personal histories and integral part in the history of U.S.-Korea relations unveiled before another fifty years bury them more deeply in silence.

Racism and sexism perpetuated by America troops and informs our policy

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Ideologies around race and nationality have also contributed to the social inequalities and conflicts, especially affecting prostitutes, in the U.S. camptown communities in Asia. Enloe writes that"[c]lass and race distinctions inform all social relations between the U.S. military and the host community." The racism demonstrated by American soldiers toward Asians in Vietnam and Korea are well-documented. Lloyd Lewis notes that "soldiers in all branches of the armed services [in Vietnam] recount receiving the same indoctrination" that the "enemy is Oriental and inferior." The racist terms for Vietnamese--"gook, slant, slope, dink . . . or a half a dozen local variations"-- had all been employed previously by Americans [toward Japanese in World War II and Koreans and Chinese in the Korean War] to designate yellow-skinned peoples." Max Hastings has noted in his history of the Korean War that the "Eighth Army was forced to issue a forceful order" in the summer of 1951 that soldiers cease "to take a perverse delight in frightening civilians" and attempting tom "drive the Koreans off roads and into ditches." The order concluded with "We are not in this country as conquerors. We are here as friends." Hastings also includes a comment by a Marine, Selwyn Handler:"Koreans were just a bunch of gooks. Who cared about the feelings of people like that? We were very smug Americans at that time." Bruce Cumings recounts the racism among Americans, soldiers and diplomats alike, in the late 1960s:"Their racism led them to ask me, because I was living with Koreans and they rarely ventured out to 'the economy,' things like whether it was true that the Korean national dish, kimch'i, was fermented in urine." Racist

1AC (10/19)

stereotypes of Asians within the American society have mixed with sexist stereotypes of Asian women to foster American participation in camptown prostitution in Asia. The main military newspaper, Stars and Stripes, encouraged soldiers to explore Korea's "nighttime action," especially the kisaeng party, the "ultimate experience": Picture having three or four of the loveliest creatures God ever created hovering around you, singing, dancing, feeding you, washing what they feed you down with rice wine or beer, all saying at once ,"You are the greatest." This is the Orient you heard about and came to find. A U.S. Army chaplain I interviewed in April 1991 noted the following: What the soldiers have read and heard before ever arriving in a foreign country influence prostitution a lot. For example, stories about Korean or Thai women being beautiful, subservient-- they're tall tales, glamorized. . . . U.S. men would fall in lust with Korean women. They were property, things, slaves. . . . Racism, sexism--it's all there. The men don't see the women as human beings--they're disgusting, things to be thrown away. . . . They speak of the women in the diminutive. On Okinawa, U.S. servicemen from the Kadena Air Base"can be seen in town (Naha) wearing offensive Tshirts "depicting" a woman with the letters LBSM," which means "little brown sex machine. The "brown" refers to the Filipino and Thai women who constitute the majority of military prostitutes on Okinawa. Aida Santos reveals that Olongapo sells a variation on the theme--a popular T-shirt "bearing the message 'Little Brown Fucking Machines Powered with Rice.'" She emphasizes that in the Philippines,"[r]acism and sexism are now seen as a fulcrum in the issue of national sovereignty." The presence of U.S. military servicemen in Asia generates significant social transformations that affect both the host Asian society and the American society across the Pacific. Thanh-dam Truong has asserted that the U.S. military's use of Thailand as the major R&R base for U.S. soldiers fighting in Vietnam has spawned the now booming sex tourism industry all across the country, winning Thailand the ignoble title ,"Asia's brothel." Filipinos have charged that U.S. servicemen have brought AIDS and HIV into their country. Prostitutes in Olongapo, along with the umbrella feminist organization, GABRIELA, and health organizations, pushed the Philippine government to "obtain a guarantee that all U.S. service personnel coming into the Philippines be tested for HIV." In 1988, the Philippines Immigration Commissioner required all U.S. servicemen entering the Philippines to present certificates verifying that they are AIDS-free.

1AC (11/19)

Military prostitution in Korea serves to uphold “the interests of patriarchal politics”

Kirk and Okazawa-rey 1998-(writers for The Women and War Reader, “Making Connections Building an East Asia-U.S. Women’s Network against U.S. Militarism” New York University Press. <http://www.gwynkirk.net/pdf/making_connections_paper.pdf>

The governments of the three host countries have all made explicit arrangements with the U.S. military concerning R and R (or I and I—intoxication and intercourses—as it is sometimes called), including arrangements for regular health checkups for women who service the men, assuming that they are the cause of sexually transmitted diseases. At the height of U.S. activity in the Philippines, as many as 60,000 women and children were estimated to have worked in bars, nightclubs, and massage parlors servicing U.S. troops. Participants noted many similarities concerning militarized prostitution in Asia, especially during the Vietnam War. U.S. military personnel returning from battle were angry, fearful, and frustrated, and took it out on Okinawan and Filipino women. In Okinawa there are many stories of women being beaten, choked, and killed. Many survived, are now in their fifties and sixties, but their scars remain. Currently it is Filipinas who work in the clubs around U.S. bases in Okinawa, because the strength of the Japanese economy has given Okinawan women other opportunities and reduced the buying power of G.I.’s dollars. Military **prostitution serves the interests of patriarchal politics.** It divides so-called “good” from “bad” women; moreover separate bars for white G.I.s and African Americans also divide bar women into two categories. This work is highly stigmatized, and marrying a foreigner is thought by many bar women to the only way out. Militarized prostitution has had very serious effects on women’s health, including HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions, drug and alcohol dependency, malnutrition, respiratory diseases, and psychological problems related to the trauma and violence of this work. In the Philippines, WEDPRO, BUKLOD, GABRIELA, and the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (Asia-Pacific) are tackling this very difficult issue in several ways through public education and advocacy, and political activism: providing support to women and Amerasian children through counseling, day care, legal and medical services, and referrals to other agencies; and training women in business skills, especially to set up microenterprises, get access to loans, and help establish women’s co-ops. The Philippines constitution enshrines the ideals of a peaceful, just, and humane society; a self-reliant national economy; social justice in all phases of national development; respect for the 6 rights of people and organizations at all levels of decision-making; and the protection of people’s rights to a balanced and healthful ecology. It is now nearly seven years since the U.S. military withdrew from the Philippines, but there have been no government programs to address the needs of women and children. Women who worked in the bars were faced with how to survive. Some went to South Korea or Guam to service G.I.s, others moved to Filipino bars and clubs, and still others tried to make a go of small businesses. Many are still working in the bars around Olongapo City and Angeles servicing G.I.s on shore leave as well as tourists, mainly from Australia and Europe. In March 1996 some 2,500 to 3,000 G.I.s took shore leave in the Philippines, creating such a high demand that the mayors of Angeles and Olongapo quickly got together to work on the problem of getting more women. In Korea, military prostitution has deep roots in Japanese imperialism, and continues under the U.S. military. Prostituted women in G. I. towns (*kijichon*) outside the bases work in deplorable conditions and earn roughly $170 per month. They are allowed one rest day per month; if they take an additional rest day they are fined half a month’s wages. Among the older women who draw in customers to bars and clubs are “comfort women” who survived the Japanese military. Two Korean NGOs, Du Rae Bang and Sae Woom Tuh, work with bar women and women who date U.S. military personnel. They focus on counseling, education, and providing shelter and alternative employment. A bakery at Du Rae Bang has been running for nine years and has led the way for some bar women to learn new skills and become self-reliant. Similarly, Sae Woom Tuh women have started a herb-growing project. Both these organizations seek to empower bar women to make demands of the Korean and U.S. governments concerning their situation, and to educate the wider society on this issue. Korean participants also reported that in the past few years G.I. towns have undergone changes, becoming international prostitution zones for foreign men, with foreign women workers coming to Korea from the Philippines, China, Taiwan, and Russia, some of them illegally. They noted links between militarized prostitution and sex tourism; many problems are similar to those in the Philippines and there is much to learn from that experience. Korean participants emphasized the exploitation and violence of kijichon women and also included powerful stories of their strength. There are examples 7 of women clubbing together to buy each other out of the bar, for example. In the case of Yoon Kum E, another bar woman who knew the murderer waited outside the base for him and forced military police to arrest him. He still had blood on his white pants.

1AC (12/19)

Military presence perpetuates prostitution and trafficking that dehumanizes women, the worst end possible

Enriquez 99, Jean, Executive Director of Coalition Against Trafficking In Women-Asia Pacific, “Filipinas in Prostitution around U.S. Military Bases in Korea: A Recurring Nightmare”, Seoul, South Korea, November 1999

CATW asserts that trafficking in women is inseparable with the issue of prostitution. The gender-based nature of trafficking exposes itself as serving the purpose of ensuring the steady supply of women to areas where men demand sexual services. We deplore trafficking and prostitution as violations of women’s human rights. We cannot consider it work, because among others, it compels women to perform acts that denigrates their person — their integrity as human beings. The impact to women of sexual exploitation is hardly healed by time. Amerasian children, estimated at 30,000, were born to Filipinas prostituted around the U.S. military bases in the Philippines. They receive no assistance from either the U.S. or Philippine government. Economically, ‘working in the clubs’ meant irregular earnings and slavery, as many of them would be withheld of their salaries or are fined for any ‘misconduct’. The women were abused physically, psychologically and emotionally. Some were murdered. With the Visiting Forces Agreement recently signed between the Philippine and U.S. governments, 22 ports will be opened to foreign troops and more women will be abused in the remote rural areas of the country. In Korea, our women are once again subjected to the same brutality. The same experiences continue to haunt our women. In Korea, the Philippines and elsewhere, the women are viewed as commodities to be bought, and being Asians, they are certainly perceived as less than human. Trafficking and prostitution have reached crisis proportions in the Asian region, with the entry and maintenance of foreign military troops, and worsening globalization of economies. The R & R policy of U.S. military and its surrounding industry rely heavily on the buying and luring of women not only in Okinawa, Korea, and the Philippines, but more women from other countries including Russia, China and Thailand. Its twin menace, the unrestricted and globalized trade, rides on the continuing export of labor, as a convenient channel to traffic women for slave-like work or prostitution. Every month, 200-400 women and girls from Bangladesh are trafficked to Pakistan in the guise of labor migration. Yearly, 5,000 Nepalese women and girls are brought to India and Hong Kong on the same pretext. Currently, studies estimate that 150,00 Filipinas are exploited in the entertainment industry of Japan. More and more women from E. Europe are transported to the West and to Asia for prostitution. It might surprise many that Africa is also becoming a destination for trafficking. In 1992, 8 Filipinas were tricked that they will work as waitresses in Germany but were instead brought to clubs in Nigeria. Trafficking and prostitution, thus, need to be understood as problems arising from contexts not only of poverty and unemployment, but also maintained and promoted by economic interests and political policies that thrive on the subordinated status of women in our societies. As significantly, there are long-held definitions of masculinity, reinforced by the military institution, that are satiated by trafficking in women.

1AC (13/19)

Contention 2: Disease

The camptowns are breeding grounds for crime and disease

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Along with the seediness of these areas arose social disorder, violence, and crime. With the establishment of these shantytowns in the 1950s and Ô60s came an influx of not only poor women and war orphans but entrepreneurs and criminals seeking fortune off the U.S. dollar and anonymity from the law. For the majority of Koreans, names of cities such as Tongduch'ôn, Osan, and Kunsan have become synonymous with prostitution, drunken U.S. soldiers, social deviance, and immorality. One physician working in the local venereal disease (VD) clinic in Tongduch'ôn reminded me during an interview in the spring of 1992 that these areas are so tainted by the history of criminality and deviance that even nonprostitute girls or young women who reside in these areas have difficulty finding decent Korean men who will marry them. By frequenting these camptowns during my research stay in Korea, I also became suspect: some of my Korean relatives in Seoul urged me not to visit the camptowns so often and definitely not to share meals with the prostitutes, lest I catch a terrible disease. Others insisted that I be silent about my research to nonfamily persons, lest they question my moral character and family background.

1AC (14/19)

Decreasing troops doesn’t solve, only total withdrawal

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

He called for increased VD education among servicemen and "mass treatment and chemoprophylaxis for all registered prostitutes" 115 and emphasized that VD control "must be a coordinated effort with the other U.S. Military Forces and with the Republic of Korea". The Surgeon of the EUSA, Colonel Henry A. Essex, agreed with Sherwood's assessment and pinpointed the reduction of U.S. troops in Korea (in accordance with the Nixon Doctrine) as a main cause of the increase in VD rates: [T]he drawdown of troop strength in 1971 resulted in movement of prostitutes to other areas of troop concentration. Many of these prostitutes did not re-register, as required by the ROK government, in the new area. This substantially higher number of virtually uncontrolled prostitutes is considered a basic cause of the increased VD rate.

1AC (15/19)

Sex trafficking spreads HIV rapidly

Jay G. Silverman, Michele R. Decker, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, MA; June, 08http://www.cdc.gov/eid/content/14/6/pdfs/08-0090.pdf

South Asia is currently home to 2.5 million HIV-infected persons, 95% of whom are from India (*1*). However, HIV seroprevalence in a subset of neighboring South Asian countries has rapidly increased in recent years, due in part to migration and human trafficking from these countries into India (*1*–*3*). Female sex workers, especially those who are victims of sex trafficking to India, are increasingly recognized as a major factor in Nepal’s growing HIV epidemic (*2*,*4*,*5*). HIV seroprevalence among female sex workers in Nepal rose 24-fold (from <1% to 17%) from 1992 through 2002 (*6*). Women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation from Nepal to India are considered particularly vulnerable to HIV infection because of their typically young age at trafficking, limited ability to negotiate condom-protected sex, and experiences of forced sex (*4*,*7*). Recent evidence documents high (38%) HIV seroprevalence among sex-trafficked women and girls returning from India to Nepal (*5*).

1AC (16/19)

Sex victims are likely to get HIVs

Jay G. Silverman, Michele R. Decker, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, MA; June, 08, http://www.cdc.gov/eid/content/14/6/pdfs/08-0090.pdf

Our findings demonstrate that HIV-infected sex-trafficking victims are more likely to be infected with other STIs, specifically syphilis and hepatitis B, than those not infected with HIV. Current evidence of HIV and STI co-infection implies a need to strengthen clinical practice among providers caring for persons at risk for HIV or other STIs, particularly high-risk populations such as those trafficked for sexual exploitation or otherwise exposed to commercial sex work. Our findings strongly indicate the need for syphilis and hepatitis B screening for HIV- infected persons and HIV screening for syphilis- and hepatitis B-infected persons. Clinical expertise alone may be insufficient to guide treatment decisions in the presence of undetected co- infection (*12*,*13*), resulting in missed case detection, incomplete or partial treatment, and suboptimal clinical follow-up.

1AC (17/19)

AIDS will kill hundreds of millions if not stopped; it threatens to extinguish life on the planet

Mathiu 2k, Journalist for Africa News, 2000, (Mutuma, AFRICA NEWS, July 15, 2000, online)

Every age has its killer. But Aids is without precedent. It is comparable only to the Black Death of the Middle Ages in the terror it evokes and the graves it fills. But unlike the plague, Aids does not come at a time of scientific innocence: It flies in the face of space exploration, the manipulation of genes and the mapping of the human genome. The Black Death - the plague, today easily cured by antibiotics and prevented by vaccines - killed a full 40 million Europeans, a quarter of the population of Europe, between 1347 and 1352. But it was a death that could be avoided by the simple expedient of changing addresses and whose vector could be seen and exterminated. With Aids, the vector is humanity itself, the nice person in the next seat in the bus. There is nowhere to run and nowhere to hide. Every human being who expresses the innate desire to preserve the human genetic pool through the natural mechanism of reproduction is potentially at risk. And whereas death by plague was a merciful five days of agony, HIV is not satisfied until years of stigma and excruciating torture have been wrought on its victim. The plague toll of tens of millions in two decades was a veritable holocaust, but it will be nothing compared to the viral holocaust: So far, 18.8 million people are already dead; 43.3 million infected worldwide (24.5 million of them Africans) carry the seeds of their inevitable demise - unwilling participants in a March of the Damned. Last year alone, 2.8 million lives went down the drain, 85 per cent of them African; as a matter of fact, 6,000 Africans will die today. The daily toll in Kenya is 500. There has never been fought a war on these shores that was so wanton in its thirst for human blood. During the First World War, more than a million lives were lost at the Battle of the Somme alone, setting a trend that was to become fairly common, in which generals would use soldiers as cannon fodder; the lives of 10 million young men were sacrificed for a cause that was judged to be more worthwhile than the dreams - even the mere living out of a lifetime - of a generation. But there was proffered an explanation: It was the honour of bathing a battlefield with young blood, patriotism or simply racial pride. Aids, on the other hand, is a holocaust without even a lame or bigoted justification. It is simply a waste. It is death contracted not in the battlefield but in bedrooms and other venues of furtive intimacy. It is difficult to remember any time in history when the survival of the human race was so hopelessly in jeopardy

1AC (18/19)

Contention 3: Solvency

The women are living symbols of and epitomize the relationship between the US and Korea, only relieving US presence ends the sexual domination

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

I think there is yet another, unspoken, reason why these women have been forced out of Korean consciousness for nearly half a decade: Koreans have not wanted reminders of the war lurking around them and the insecurity that their newfound wealth and international power have been built on. That is, kijich'on women are living symbols of the destruction, poverty, bloodshed, and separation from family of Korea's civil war. They are living testaments of Korea's geographical and political division into North and South and of the South's military insecurity and consequent dependence on the United States. The sexual domination of tens of thousands of Korean women by "Yangk'i foreigners" is a social disgrace and a "necessary evil" that South Koreans believe they have had to endure to keep U.S. soldiers on Korean soil, a compromise in national pride, all for the goal of national security. Such humiliation is a price paid by the "little brother" in the alliance for protection by the "big brother." It is not a coincidence that a newfound public interest in the plight of kijich'on prostitutes in the mid-late 1980s and early 1990s occurred at a time of increased and sometimes intense anti-Americanism among Koreans. Social activists and antigovernment protesters have pointed to kijich'on prostitution as representative of U.S. domination over Korean politics and the continued presence of U.S. military bases as perpetuation of South Korea's neocolonial status vis-ˆ-vis the United States. For anti-U.S. base activists, Korean independence from U.S. domination means the withdrawal of U.S. bases from Korea and the liberation of the kijich'on woman from the sexual domination of the GI.

1AC (19/19)

The problem will continue to exist as long as military presence exists

Kirk and Okazawa-rey 1998-(writers for The Women and War Reader, “Making Connections Building an East Asia-U.S. Women’s Network against U.S. Militarism” New York University Press. <http://www.gwynkirk.net/pdf/making_connections_paper.pdf>

Participants shared the view that violence against women is an integral part of U.S. military attitudes, training, and culture. It is not random, but systemic, and cannot simply be attributed to “a few bad apples’ as the military authorities often try to do. We noted the many reports of rape, assault, and sexual harassment within the U.S. military that have come to light over the past few years. We also noted that U.S. military families experience higher rates of domestic violence compared to nonmilitary families. But the main emphasis of our discussion concerned crimes of violence committed by U.S. military personnel against civilians in Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, especially violence against women, and the institutionalization of military prostitution. *Crimes of Violence* Women from all countries represented, including the United States, reported crimes of violence committed by U.S. military personnel against local women. Okinawan women emphasized violent attacks of women and girls by U.S. military personnel, especially the marines who are in Okinawa in large numbers. In May 1995, for example, a 24-year old Okinawan woman was beaten to death by a G.I. with a hammer in the doorway of her house. On their return from Beijing Conference in September1995, Okinawan women immediately organized around the rape of a twelve-year old girl, which had occurred while they were away. This revitalized opposition to the U.S. military presence in Okinawa and drew worldwide attention to violence against women on the part of U.S. military personnel. The National Coalition for the Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea, which comprises human rights activists, religious groups, feminists, and labor activists, was galvanized into action by a particularly brutal rape and murder of a bar woman, Yoon Kum E, in 1992. Korean participants commented that pimps and G.I.s try to intimidate the women against speaking out; women are also afraid of public humiliation. Drawing public attention to such crimes is embarrassing to the U.S. military. They are usually denied and covered up.

Dehumanization

Military prostitution dehumanizing and objectifying

Chang 1, Emily Nyen Chang, “Engagement Abroad: Enlisted Man, US Military Policy and the Sex Industry Symposium on International Security: Student Article”, Notre Dame Journal of Law Ethics and Public Policy- Vol. 15 p. 630-31

These experiences, when combined with the military practice of allowing enlisted men to purchase sex, encourage the viewing of women as props. This assists in the process of dehumanizing prostituted women. Describing what it felt like to be nineteen in 1970 on a U.S. fighter base in northern Thailand, Gregory Del.aiu-icr recalled a young male soldier’s mental map of femininities”: “There were two kinds of women in our world in Thailand: those Who did our laundry, and prostitutes, and the latter lr outnumbered the former.. .. fA]Il 1 knew then was that for a few dollars, a radio, a couple of cases of food taken from the base, 1 could buy a woman.” An equally poignant statement was offered by a young American soldier assessing his favorable impressions of serving in South Korea in the recent past: “There’s beer and girls and food and clubs—everything a teenager could ask for.”’ The attitudes and communication of military personnel in social situations during downtime displays this objectification. “[T]he guys are talking to one another, relating to one another 57 while surrounded by prostituted women, who are waiting to supply the flesh for sexual transactions. The American Soldier commonly refers to Filipina women as “Little Brown Fucking Machines Fueled by Rice,”58 “succinctly radicalizing and colonializing (‘little brown,’ ‘powered with rice’), sexualizing (Tucking’) and de-humanizing (‘!nachines’) Asian Pacific women, in just seven words.”59 The woman-objectifying environment, need for a pressure valve, and desire of the military to pacify its troops synergetically encourage the consumption of prostitution. Through both action and inaction, the military continues to provide this necessary luxury item.

Women are able to be dehumanized and subordinated because of gender socialization- this is seen in prostitution and sex-trafficking

Dunlop 8, Karen Dunlop, Karen Dunlop has recently completed a Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ulster, having graduated there in July 2006 with a First Class BA Hons in International Politics and winning the Dean’s Prize for the Faculty of Arts, Human Security, “Sex Trafficking and Deep Structural Explanations”, Human Security Journal Volume 6, Spring 2008, p. 1,

This view is endorsed by both LeMoncheck and Walby. LeMoncheck states that "the dehumanization of women in their sexual relations with men is but a reflection of their subordination in other areas of their lives."54 This view reflects the problems of male domination which are engrained into many aspects of society, perpetuating the acceptance of female exploitation and objectification. It is clear that a prominent explanation and argument for the status and use of women within the sex trade is the eroticization of male dominance and how gender has become sexualized, especially under heterosexuality.55 Walby declares that "while some radical feminists argue that specific forms of sexual domination are important to gender inequality, MacKinnon contends that sexuality constitutes gender. The eroticization of dominance and subordination creates gender as we know it,"56 and MacKinnon states that "being a thing for sexual use is fundamental to it."57 Women therefore become socialized into a particular role and socially accepted and legitimated norms of behaviour, such as heterosexuality, reinforce the male position. The political institution of heterosexuality may be patriarchal in the sense that its effects differ for men and women. It will: "Turn a mere boy into a respectable, fully developed man. Such sexual asymmetry is simply an outgrowth of our cultural double standard for men and women. In the patriarchal culture of contemporary western society, the role of men is to rule and provide, while that of women is to obey and support the rulers and providers… women are considered the subordinates of men, not their moral equals. The sexual sphere is no exception."58 Such perspectives make it easier to dehumanize and exploit women in the sex trade. MacKinnon enhances our understanding and moves the debate further by using gender socialization to explain the objectification of women in sex trafficking and other walks of life. She emphasizes that "socially, femaleness means femininity, which means attractiveness to men, which means sexual attractiveness, which means sexual availability on male terms… Gender socialization is the process through which women come to identify themselves as sexual beings, as beings that exist for men."59 However, it may be argued that such a statement is flawed by its reduction of women to mere passive victims, with no agency or ability to overcome their position, and also deterministic in that it supposes all men reduce women to objects, and all women are subordinated.

Relations

Korean women are tools of foreign policy

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

What began as a joint USFK-ROK venture to improve the discipline, welfare, and morale among U.S. troops in Korea turned Korean camptown prostitutes into instruments of foreign policy. Through the pursuit of the ROK government's "people-to-people diplomacy" toward the United States, the women became "personal ambassadors" who would be responsible for improving U.S.-ROK civil-military relations. During the Clean-Up Campaign, the prostitutes bore the burden of reconciling the differences between two races (blacks and whites) and two governments. Joint U.S.-ROK control over their bodies and behavior, through VD examinations and supervision of their interactions with GI customers, became an indicator of the status of base-community relations and the willingness of the ROKG to accommodate U.S. interests. Although they did not dictate policy, the women became transnational actors through their indispensable, though mostly involuntary, participation in the Clean-Up process. The women's key role in the Clean-Up was based on their function as the glue of USFK-ROK community relations. The prostitutes were the primary and often sole contact with Korean society that GIs had on a daily basis. A "Human Factors Research Report" on troop-community relations stated unequivocally, "Fraternization [in the form of prostitution] is near the core of troop-community relations here." 1 The same study found that "there is a significant number of men in most units who believe that more male-female fraternization here endears the American to Korea--makes him more willing to fight for Korea" and that "[m]ost officers believe that fraternization is generally a constructive force." 2 According to a key U.S. initiator of the Clean-Up, the Korean government also believed that prostitution facilitated security relations between the United States and Korea: As a general rule, I know that the [ROK] government was benevolent about prostitution because it was a real source of U.S.-Korean friendship and friendliness. If a fellow is that far away [from home], his sexual appetites are met, he's feeling pretty good, and he'll serve better. I think both sides didn't try to stamp out prostitution but rather to keep it within bounds. 3 The above supports Enloe's observation that women, whether wives of diplomats or military nurses, have been used to facilitate relations among men and "soften" the harsh and impersonal political environment in which men perform their public duties. 4 Korean women and their sexuality (within the boundaries set by the military and local authorities) were considered necessary to the smooth operation of the U.S. military organization in Korea

Korea views its citizens for their political utility

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

But while Lasswell's criticisms emphasize the silencing and marginalization of individuals from political life, Korea's experiences reveal that such marginalization occurred side by side with a selective mobilization of people in the defense cause. In other words, the rationale for people-to-people diplomacy was the government's belief that private citizens do and can make a contribution to foreign relations, that given the country's dire situation, people could not divorce their personal lives from the political needs of the nation. Selective mobilization to meet government-established needs is not the same as voluntary political participation to determine those needs; however, it is also different from the narrowing of political space and number of actors described in Lasswell's version of the garrison-state. Moreover, Lasswell's later writings equate garrison-states with liberal Western nations, whose developed bureaucracies, technology, and sophisticated weapons systems threaten to paralyze and destroy civilian government and society. In other words, such nations are big powers who possess the political, economic, and military resources to sustain and promote the garrison-state. Korea, on the other hand, lacked such resources, and its adoption of the garrison-state represented a means to overcome such shortcomings. In the case of Korea, private individuals had more value as political assets for the government than would be the case for wealthy, bigpower governments.

Relations

Sex and military intertwined

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

Stand in the middle of Key West, Florida; Fayetteville, North Carolina; Halifax, Nova Scotia; Mombassa, Kenya; or Portsmouth, Englandany town long used as a military base. From here you can trace the history of the relationship between militarism, sexuality, and military policy. Ask where the red light district is today and where it has been. Track down the retired men who, when they were colonels, commanded this base: how did they handle their troops' sexual expectations in a way that maintained town-base harmony? Interview police commissioners about their cooperative understandings with the military police. Ask local "respectable" women what neighborhoods they still tell their daughters to avoid. Look through the town's public health records under "venereal disease." Talk to bar owners and to the local clergy. Have conversations with the women who make their living working in bars and hotels; ask them what services off-duty male soldiersor sailors or airmenhave expected. It will take a multipronged investigation to piece together the town's history of militarized prostitutionand the decisions the town has taken to create and maintain it. Through wartime mobilization, postwar demobilization, and peacetime preparedness maneuvers, sexuality and militarism have been intertwined. They have been constructed and reconstructed together, usually with the help of deliberate policy decisions. Together, ideologies of militarism and sexuality have shaped the social order of military base towns and the lives of women in those towns.

Prostitution linked to foreign domination

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Increasingly, Koreans view the history of prostitution and the contemporary forms of sex tourism in Korea as manifestations of foreign domination over their country. Shin effectively has argued that the use of women's sexual labor for economic growth reflects South Korea's dependent development status. More graphically, Korean women have deemed the kisaeng tourism activities of Japanese men in the early-to-mid 1970s a revival of Japanese imperialism of 1910 to 1945. Students of Ewha Womans [Women's] University, the leading institution of women's higher education in South Korea, publicized the following in their protests against kisaeng tourism: Our country should not become Japan's colony again. Under the title of"the promotion of tourism" as a national policy, many women are being sold as prey to economic animals to help pay off a foreign debt of $5,500,000,000. The sound of Japanese wooden sandals is now taking the place of the sound of their military boots. The Japanese are coming to this land as our bosses again. 167 Similarly, anti-base activists and Korean feminists are increasingly casting the kijich'on prostitute as a victim of U.S. imperialism and militarism.

Relations

Sexual domination is representative of a country’s domination by another, US imperialism and militarism responsible for prostitution

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

We know from these and other accounts that there are explicit connections between guns and bombs (or spears and canons) and women and that to a great extent, the relationship has been sexually defined. But the numerous writings on women and war say little about how power disparities in interstate relations affect and are affected by women. Most of the writings also focus on the gendered premises and consequences of international politics, but not on the gendered processes. Feminist scholars and activists of the Marxist tradition pick up where Thucydides left off by transferring the power disparities between nations, or governments, onto women's bodies. The argument is that the relative weakness of a small state leaves its women unprotected and vulnerable to the violence, abuse, and exploitation by the strong state and its agents. Simply, the domination of a weak country leads to the foreign domination (economically, politically, sexually) of the women of that country. For example, Mies claims that "imperialist industrial capital follows the imperialist military, [sic] both, however, strengthen the sex industry." 11 Koreans on the left argue similarly that U.S. imperialism and militarism are responsible for the sexual exploitation of and physical violence perpetrated on kijich'on women. 12 Yu Pongnim, a cofounder of My Sister's Place, also publicizes this view. One Mrs. Choe, a former kijich'on prostitute, linked together the weakness of Korea, vis-ˆ-vis the United States, and kijich'on women's own powerlessness: "Korea was a land where only idiots lived: The government could not even defend its own people's inter ests with respect to the U.S." 13 Kim Yonja, a former prostitute for twenty-five years, echoed this view: [B]ecause kijich'on prostitutes had no political power to effect policy changes, the interest [in security and other governmental policies] wasn't there. But this refers to Koreans in general-- there really isn't much that we Koreans have been able to influence vis-ˆ-vis the U.S. Is there?

Sex-trafficking

Sex trafficking is an issue of human security

Dunlop 8, Karen Dunlop, Karen Dunlop has recently completed a Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ulster, having graduated there in July 2006 with a First Class BA Hons in International Politics and winning the Dean’s Prize for the Faculty of Arts, Human Security, “Sex Trafficking and Deep Structural Explanations”, Human Security Journal Volume 6, Spring 2008, p. 1,

Sex trafficking of women has developed into a lucrative shadow market, and a report on human trafficking by the United Nations highlights its global breadth, growing severity and pervasive nature.1 Although human security is a deeply contested term, it cannot be denied that the widespread and legitimized treatment of the female body as a gendered commodity and the violence and degradation which accompanies it violates women's security and should therefore be understood as a human security concern. Roberts'approach to bridge the conceptual gap within this field of study draws upon an expanding school of thought and identifies a relationship between human structures and human security.2 The inclusion of structures of violence and the role of human agency within this re-conceptualization provides a manageable framework from which "human insecurity" can be considered, and control violence such as the sex trafficking of women may be understood and examined. The purpose of this article is to consider sex trafficking not as discrete events that are unconnected, but to examine them within the wider framework of human insecurity as structurally determined. The first section considers the patterns and flows of trafficked women, identifying the capture, transit and control of women globally. The article then moves to address "regular" explanations for the sexual commodification of women such as the impact of globalization on the mechanisms of demand and supply and also the issue of criminality. Ultimately, the article will transcend such explanations to identify and develop deep structural determinants of this form of global sex violence against women

Sex-trafficking and prostitution issues of human security

Aradau 4, “The Perverse Politics of Four-Letter”, Words: Risk and Pity in the Securitisation of Human Trafficking Claudia Aradau, PhD in Politics (The Open University), MPhil in Political Science (Central European University), MA in International Relations and European Studies (Central European University), BA in Political Science (University of Bucharest), BA in Philology (University of Bucharest), Millenium: Journal of International Studies, 2004

The security continuum in which trafficking is integrated intersects with a humanitarian discourse which structures the situation of trafficking by focusing on victims who are denied ‘their rights to liberty, dignity, security of person, the right not to be held in slavery, the right to be free from cruel and inhumane treatment’.6 According to this latter discourse, managing the phenomenon of trafficking should be reframed by tending to the needs of trafficked women. Such re-structuring in terms of human rights or human security redefines trafficking not as a diffuse threat to the state, but as a threat to women: they have fallen victim to trafficking networks and risk being re-victimised by states, which will attempt to locate, identify and deport them. As illegal migrants, prostitutes and (potential) criminals, trafficked women are a cause of insecurity; as victims, they are also simultaneously vulnerable and made insecure themselves.

Harms to women

Many unwanted children produced as an effect

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

In addition, sexual relations between American men and Asian prostitutes have created a living legacy of mixed-raced children who are rejected by both their mother's and father's societies. Maria Socorro "Cookie" Diokno, an active leader in the Philippines' anti-base movement, has referred to the children born of American servicemen and Asian women as "Amerasian 'souvenir' bab[ies]." ABC's Prime Time (May 13, 1993) depicted Amerasian children in the Philippines who had been abandoned by their soldier-fathers and were living with their impoverished mothers, scavenging for food among heaps of rubble and waste. Enloe reports that"[o]f the approximately 30,000 children born each year of Filipino mothers and American fathers, some 10,000 [were] thought to become street children, many of them working as prostitutes servicing American pedophiles." Enloe adds that a Filipino "insider" has noted that many others have been sold, with "Caucasian-looking children . . . allegedly sold for $50-200 (around P1,000-4,000), whereas the Negro-fathered ones fetch only $25-30 (around P500-600)." Johnston's Mom in Songt'an, Korea, also tried to give up her sons to adoption, after earlier having given up a daughter. But in the end, she could not bear to do it and went back to prostitution in order to keep her boys. In the film, Camp Arirang, one barwoman in Songt'an laments the need to give up her half African-American son one day; black Amerasian children are most shunned in Korean society, so most mothers try to send them to the United States for a chance at education and a future. She has already torn up all photographs of herself with her son because she knows she must let him go. In a voice cracking with emotion, she calmly says, "All I want him to know is that he was born in Korea, that his mother is Korean, and that she is dead. It will be easier for him that way."

The women consider themselves unworthy before going to the camps and being prostituted, the camps are self imposed punishment

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There is another hope contained in the writing of this book: to help lift the curtains of invisibility that have shrouded the kijich'on women's existence and to offer these pages as passageway for their own voices. Many of the women I met and learned about while conducting field research in Korea (1991-92) were far from silent when engaged. They often offered biting criticisms of the Korean government, the U.S. military, of American life, and of one another's child-rearing habits, relationships with GI customers, and make-up style. They ranged widely in personality, age, reasons for selling sex, adaptation to kijich'on life, and future aspirations. But they also shared some commonalities: The vast majority of the prostitutes in the 1950s to the 1970s had barely completed elementary school; junior high graduates were considered highly educated among such women. 3 Most, especially among the earlier generations of prostitutes (1950s-70s), came from poor families in Korea's countryside, with one parent or both parents missing or unable to provide for numerous family members. The earliest prostitutes were camp followers of troops during the Korean War; they did laundry, cooked, and tended to the soldiers' sexual demands. Some had been widowed by the war, others orphaned or lost during a family's flight from bombs and grenades. Many of the kijich'on prostitutes considered themselves "fallen women" even before entering prostitution because they had lost social status and self-respect from divorce, rape, sex, and/or pregnancy out of wedlock. For these women, camptowns served as a place of self-exile as well as a last resort for earning a livelihood.

Stigma

The women are rejected by society and brainwashed to believe they are abnormal, their only option is to marry and fulfill their duty to their country

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The vast majority of these women have experienced in common the pain of contempt and stigma from the mainstream Korean society. These women have been and are treated as trash, "the lowest of the low," in a Korean society characterized by classist (family/educational status-oriented) distinctions and discrimination. The fact that they have mingled flesh and blood with foreigners (yangnom) in a society that has been racially and culturally homogeneous for thousands of years makes them pariahs, a disgrace to themselves and their people, Korean by birth but no longer Korean in body and spirit. Neo-Confucian moralism regarding women's chastity and strong racialist conscience among Koreans have branded these women as doubly "impure." The women themselves bear the stigma of their marginalization both physically and psychologically. They tend not to venture out of camptowns and into the larger society and view themselves as "abnormal," while repeatedly referring to the non-camptown world as "normal." Once they experience kijich'on life, they are irreversibly tainted: it is nearly impossible for them to reintegrate themselves into "normal" Korean society. Kim Yang Hyang, in the documentary The Women Outside, recalls how her family members rejected her when she returned to her village after working for a time in the kijich'on. One of her cousins told her, "Don't come around our place." As a result of the rejection by their own countryfolks, the women (except the very old) keep their eye on the prize: marriage to a U.S. serviceman. As the legal wife of a U.S. soldier, her hope is to leave behind the poverty, shame, and alienation experienced in Korea and begin life anew in the United States. As a wife and mother, she hopes to fulfill all the obligations and dreams that her country expected of her as a Korean woman but denied to her as a kijich'on prostitute.

The women’s attempts to fulfill their “duty” by being more “American” is a large part of their pariah status, these women are symbolic of South Korea’s attempts are Americanization

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The bulk of the kijich'on prostitutes' pariah status and social marginalization is due to Korean society's contempt for what I call the women's "cusp" status. The prostitutes' imitations of Western dress, hair, and make-up style, especially in the earlier days of kijich'on prostitution, their loud utterances of Konglish, their heavy drinking and cigarette-smoking, and fraternization and sexual relations with "yangnom" marked a Korean society caught between tradition and Westernized modernity. The character of Yonghi, a "U.N. Lady," in the popularly acclaimed Korean novel and film, Silver Stallion, 8 aptly embodies this kind of cusp status that makes the residents of "Kumsan Village" shocked and contemptuous of her look and behavior as a yanggalbo. Mansik, one of the main characters, describes the strangeness of these women's attire: short blue-black skirts that exposed not only the bare skin of their calves but the whole round shape of their hips, and brightly colored blouses without any sleeves at all that revealed the ugly marks of cowpox shots on their shoulders for everybody to see. Their peculiar hair, in permanent waves, resembled upside-down bells, and both of them wore pointed, glossy leather shoes with high heels as sharp as hoe blades unlike the beautiful and elegant white or turquoise rubber shoes with exquisite flower patterns he was accustomed to seeing. 9 The arrival of Yonghi marks the beginning of the demise of Kumsan Village, the disintegration of families, and the scattering of the villagers as homeless refugees of war. Old Hwang, the village head, viewed these women as "immoral, sinful creatures who were determined to corrupt and destroy the community." 10 In a sense, kijich'on prostitutes have represented a limbo-status that South Korea has witnessed since the Korean War and during its rush-attempts at economic development--a simultaneous uprooting from the past with uncertainty about its long-term viability and identity.

Dependence

Koreans become dependent on the camptowns, sex and prostitution is linked to the US’s economic and political power

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Given that the U.S. bases have served as the major source of legitimate (e.g., clerks, translators, janitors) and illegitimate employment, the majority of Koreans residing in camptowns became almost exclusively dependent on the military for their economic survival. For example, an estimated 60% of the Korean population of Uijongbu in the early 1960s were engaged in some form of business catering to the U.S. military. In Songt'an, by the late 1970s, 80% of its 60,000 residents, including approximately 2,500 prostitutes, lived on income earned from U.S. military personnel. The economic power that U.S. servicemen represented and wielded in the camptowns easily translated into social and sexual clout over Korean kijich'on residents. South Korea in the 1960s became the"GI's heaven"; it was a time when an average GI could live like a king in villages" built, nurtured and perpetuated for the soldiers of the U.S. Army," a time when things American, especially the dollar, were almighty. Men and women danced and drank to their hearts' content with cheap liquor and loud music; over 20,000 registered prostitutes were available to "service" approximately 62,000 U.S. soldiers by the late 1960s. For $2 or less per hour ("short time") or $5 to $10 for an "overnight," a soldier could revel in sexual activities with prostitutes. Servicemen purchased not only sex mates but maids, houseboys, shoeshine boys, errand boys, and other locals with ease. Bruce Cumings characterizes the 1960s as a time when"[o]ne could be born to a down-and-out family in Norfolk . . . and twenty years later live like the country-club set" in Korea, a time when the "highest Korean ultimately meant less than the lowest American in the entourage." Cynthia Enloe notes that"[i]n the microcosm of the base, soldier-clients learn to view their masculinity--and the prowess of the nation they represent--as dependent on their sexual domination of the women who live near the base." I found that in Korea, the prostitutes' perception of GIs' sexual power depended on their views of the political and economic prowess of the United States. Camptown prostitutes who remain in the business today speak with a confidence and arrogance that have accompanied their nation's "economic miracle." All the women I spoke with in 1991/92--young and old alike--asserted that they have no illusion about America (as their predecessors had had) as the greatest country in the world. On the contrary, they criticized the U.S. mismanagement of its economy, high unemployment rates, low educational standards in public schools, racial discrimination, and imperialistic actions toward developing nations. Ms. Pak, one of the two Korean women who speak out about their kijich'on experiences in Let the Good Times Roll, bluntly recounts such sentiments. She once argued with a GI, "You are in Korea to make money, not to help us."

Solvency

American policies are the cause of the problem

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Individual moments of sexual contact have engendered large-scale socioeconomic transformations for Americans and Koreans, as well as personal traumas and challenges. But to root these consequences of prostitution in individuals' behavior without assessing the policies and practices of the U.S. military is like seeing the trees but not the forest. Policies on the prevention and control of sexually transmitted diseases, fraternization with locals, language and cultural awareness programs for soldiers stationed outside of the United States, and the length of the tour of duty are just some of the factors that influence the participation of soldiers in prostitution and the system of prostitution that evolves in a locality. For example, Korea is one of the two countries, among those where the United States has bases, categorized as a "noncommand- sponsored" tour, 94 meaning that the Department of Defense will not pay for the travel and living costs of family members who accompany soldiers to Korea. In 1991, only 10% of the 40,000 troops were accompanied by their family members. Korea is also a "hardship tour," partly because of its status as a war zone and also because the living arrangements, language, and cultural differences pose difficulties for Americans. Korea is also a "short tour," usually about one and a half years long. Moreover, enlisted men who are sent to Korea tend to be very young, in their late teens and early twenties--they are without family and get hands-on experience in (technically) a combat zone. This contrasts with U.S. military policy for troops in former West Germany, which tends to send married men with their families since the 1980s. 95 One U.S. military official, who is familiar with troop life in Korea and Germany, found that prostitution rose concomitantly with a predominance of single men based around Nuremberg in the 1960s and 1970s; the swing toward the stationing of married soldiers in the 1980s coincided with a decline in prostitution. 96 Moreover, Germany in the 1970s and 1980s was considered a "plum" post, as opposed to a "hardship tour," because family members could experience European living. All Americans and Koreans who are familiar with U.S. military life have told me that the noncommand sponsored status and the short duration of tours prevent a soldier from getting to know Korean culture and people and from putting down roots and establishing a stable life. The fact that the enlistees are unattached, lonely, "ghettoized" in Korea and distanced from America, and that they are moving on in a year's time makes them ready candidates for "GI johns."

Solvency

The women are living symbols of and epitomize the relationship between the US and Korea, only relieving US presence ends the sexual domination

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

I think there is yet another, unspoken, reason why these women have been forced out of Korean consciousness for nearly half a decade: Koreans have not wanted reminders of the war lurking around them and the insecurity that their newfound wealth and international power have been built on. That is, kijich'on women are living symbols of the destruction, poverty, bloodshed, and separation from family of Korea's civil war. They are living testaments of Korea's geographical and political division into North and South and of the South's military insecurity and consequent dependence on the United States. The sexual domination of tens of thousands of Korean women by "Yangk'i foreigners" is a social disgrace and a "necessary evil" that South Koreans believe they have had to endure to keep U.S. soldiers on Korean soil, a compromise in national pride, all for the goal of national security. Such humiliation is a price paid by the "little brother" in the alliance for protection by the "big brother." It is not a coincidence that a newfound public interest in the plight of kijich'on prostitutes in the mid-late 1980s and early 1990s occurred at a time of increased and sometimes intense anti-Americanism among Koreans. Social activists and antigovernment protesters have pointed to kijich'on prostitution as representative of U.S. domination over Korean politics and the continued presence of U.S. military bases as perpetuation of South Korea's neocolonial status vis-ˆ-vis the United States. For anti-U.S. base activists, Korean independence from U.S. domination means the withdrawal of U.S. bases from Korea and the liberation of the kijich'on woman from the sexual domination of the GI.

AT: Camptown cleanup

Camptown cleanup resulted in controlling women more

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

The two sets of officials together devised the "Camptown Clean-Up Campaign." The solution to these two governments' respective political anxieties about racial conflict, global security, compromised sovereignty, regime stabilitywas to control more tightly those Korean prostitutes servicing American soldiers. As Katharine Moon's research demonstrates, it was not the entire elaborate web of relationships that constituted the military prostitution industry that was chosen as the target of new control. Rather, policy makers on both sides of the table felt more comfortable focusing on that part of the whole system over which they could exert the most control at the lowest ideological price: the prostitutes. Thus "purifying" the camptowns in the name of improving U.S.-ROK alliance relations was translated into purifying the women who worked as prostitutes. Their bodies would be more stringently controlled to ensure their purification and thus, by extension, the purification of American-Korean relations. In reality, this decision meant controlling access to these women's bodies so that they were equally distributed between U.S. white and black male soldiers. It meant, at the same time, enacting more interventionist measures to prevent women who had contracted venereal disease from infecting American male soldiers of any race. Tightening the control over women's bodies, the diplomatic negotiators implied, would reduce soldiers' interracial hostilities, sustain solutions.

Motives of the purification movement

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Although no documents I examined offer explanations for the ROK government's emphasis on prostitution/VD control as the primary objective of its Purification Movement, those familiar with Korean views of U.S. camptowns can make the following observations. First, to the average Korean, U.S. camptowns have been synonymous with prostitution and problems associated with prostitution. Second, as mentioned earlier, prostitutes have often been considered the source of camptown problems, whether they be racial tensions, venereal disease, or black-marketing. Third, from the ROK government's perspective, Korean female prostitutes constituted the major and constant point of contact, through sexual liaisons, for the average U.S. soldier; therefore, "cleaning up" the women themselves would be the first and major step in cleaning up camptown life. Fourth, controlling prostitution and VD had always been a main source of tension and lack of cooperation between the U.S. military and the ROK goverment at all levels. Therefore, it would have made sense to the ROK government to act vigorously on this long-standing U.S. complaint.

US-Condone

The abuses were known to the US and they did nothing to stop it, additionally- the women were incapable of stopping it

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

To expect club owners and managers, who served as collective pimps for the hostesses working in their establishments, to educate these women was a naive assumption on the part of the U.S. military authorities. It was common knowledge among camptown residents, both American and Korean, that club owners' only concern for the women was their ability to increase club revenues. The U.S. side was fully aware that many club owners/managers mistreated the women by physically beating them, psychologically harassing them, and keeping them in debt bondage. Demanding that these owners/managers increase control over these women's conduct was tantamount to increasing and legitimating the former's exploitation and abuse of the latter. The former U.S. chair of the Subcommittee from December 1971 to October 1972 responded frankly to my question, "What kind of carrots and sticks were used to enforce nondiscrimination by club women?" Answer: "Generally, a visit to the bar owner would either get her fired or get her head screwed on straight. Give pressure to the bar owner and they usually carried through." 32 Besides the power of hiring and firing, the club owner had other means of cutting off a prostitute's livelihood, e.g., confiscating her VD/registration card so that she would not be able to work. Kim Yonja stated that because most club women avoided the monthly "Etiquette and Good Conduct" lecture, some club owners/managers helped out the local Korean authorities who sponsored the meeting by confiscating the club women's VD cards as a way to force the women to attend: "If there were going to be a meeting tomorrow, then the owner would take away the VD card the night before, at closing time, and prohibit the women who don't go to the meeting from coming to work at the club for several days. Without the VD card, women could not work." 33 Another woman emphasized that there was virtually no legal or political recourse that women could take against the abuses: "If a woman is abused by the owner, unless the woman gets bruises that take months to heal, then, things just get covered up." 34 The women's limited power over their own lives was sharply reduced because of the political power the owners held over camptown life. According to Kim Yonja, who was active in the camptown politics of Kunsan and Songt'an in the 1970s and 1980s, Most club owners in camptowns are village leaders. They hold power. It's not that the original residents become the owners, but owners have arrived from other areas. By establishing their business and earning money, they become owners, Special Tourist Association leaders, etc. So, if a woman is physically abused by the owner, or if a woman is murdered by a GI, she had nowhere to turn to: She would be told (by the Korean authorities), "Look, the American soldier is here to help Korea-- they put their lives on the line for Korea." In the end, the prostitutes bore much of the burden of allaying racial tensions and creating a sense of cooperation and harmony in base-community relations. Their role in reducing racial conflict also offered the USFK and the ROK government a sense of improved relations and friendship. Throughout the first two years of the Clean-Up Campaign, both U.S. and ROK officials increasingly commended each other for the significant declines in camptown racial problems.

AT: disease control

Purification movement was about keeping us soldiers healthy

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

According to the Korean government, mandating and enforcing regular VD exams and tightening control over both private and public VD/health clinics were intended to "liberate foreign soldiers and prostitutes from venereal disease." In reality, the health of the women was intended to protect the health of the GI and please his superiors, who were intent on lowering VD rates. The BCCUC directed local Korean government officials, including the mayor, county chief, police, public health workers, Women's Welfare workers (of MoHSA), and other authorities to ensure that prostitutes register with the local police and health clinic and do not evade VD examinations and necessary treatment. Some local officials in turn worked with and through local Korean American Friendship Councils (KAFCs) to enforce VD regulation. Some of these KAFCs formed VD subcommittees, with the responsibility to formulate VD control policies, inspect club women's VD cards, oversee contact identification measures, and mediate communication and complaints between camptown residents, particularly the club/bar owners, and local U.S. military officials.

HIV/AIDS

HIV is incredibly prevalent and spreading as it grew 7% in the last year

The Body, 09, “South Korea Records Increasing Number of New HIV Cases” http://www.thebody.com/content/world/art50507.html

The number of newly recorded HIV cases in South Korea increased by about 7% in 2008, up to 797 from 744 in 2007, according to a report released Tuesday from the Korea Center for Disease Control and Prevention, the Korea Herald reports. The new cases in 2007 bring the total number of HIV/AIDS cases reported since 1985 to 6,120. According to the Herald, the number of newly recorded HIV cases has been on the rise since 1997. The report found that 93%, or 743, of newly reported cases in 2008 occurred among men and that 6.8% occurred among women. Seventy-three percent of the cases occurred among people ages 20 to 40. Twenty percent of the cases were recorded among teenagers and 56 cases occurred among people over age 60 (Ji-hyun, Korea Herald, 2/11). According to the report, 99% of the cases were transmitted sexually (Xinhuanet, 2/10). An official with the agency said that HIV "now belongs in the category of chronic diseases, like diabetes and hypertension, which indicates that early inspection and treatment are being emphasized for those infected with the virus to maintain normal and healthy lives" (Korea Herald, 2/11). The agency intends to increase public awareness of HIV and promote condom use through educational initiatives in an effort to help curb the spread of HIV in the country, according to Xinhuanet (Xinhuanet, 2/10).

AIDS is spreading rapidly, the number of cases had grown 14% in just 04 alone

Korean Herald, 25/10/04, http://www.utopia-asia.com/aidskor.htm, “455 more test positive for HIV/AIDS in Korea”

On Oct. 20, health authorities reported that 455 people tested positive for HIV in the first nine months of 2004, raising the number of resident Koreans who have been infected with the virus to 2,994. The new cases represent a 14 percent increase over new cases in the same period the previous year. All 305 cases whose route of transmission has been determined were infected sexually: 51 percent heterosexual vs. 49 percent homosexual, according to the Korean Center for Disease Control and Prevention (KCDC). Since 1985, when the nation's AIDS epidemic began, 591 people died of AIDS, leaving the number living with HIV-infection at 2,403. A survey last year found that only 12 percent of adults reported using condoms during sex. In an effort to boost their use, KCDC recently launched a major campaign to improve the image of condoms. Beginning this month, KCDC and the Korea Anti-AIDS Federation introduced commercials promoting condom use. These public service announcements, aired nationwide on MBC-TV, are scheduled to run twice daily Monday through Thursday and once daily Friday through Sunday. In addition, 132 foreign residents were found to be HIV-infected: They are not included in the 455 figure. The number of foreign cases in the first nine months of 2004 was more than double the 59 foreign cases found in all of 2003. Some 80,000 formerly illegal foreign workers have undergone a required check-up that includes an HIV test, and health authorities say this explains the sharp increase in cases detected among foreigners. Immigration officials say foreigners who are diagnosed with HIV/AIDS may face deportation if they do not return home on their own.

Disease Impact

Disease leads to extinction

Corey S. Powell, he is a science writer and a Senior Editor at Discover magazine, as well as an adjunct professor of science journalism at NYU's Science, 2K “20 Ways the World Could End” http://discovermagazine.com/2000/oct/featworld

If Earth doesn't do us in, our fellow organisms might be up to the task. Germs and people have always coexisted, but occasionally the balance gets out of whack. The Black Plague killed one European in four during the 14th century; influenza took at least 20 million lives between 1918 and 1919; the AIDS epidemic has produced a similar death toll and is still going strong. From 1980 to 1992, reports the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, mortality from infectious disease in the United States rose 58 percent. Old diseases such as cholera and measles have developed new resistance to antibiotics. Intensive agriculture and land development is bringing humans closer to animal pathogens. International travel means diseases can spread faster than ever. Michael Osterholm, an infectious disease expert who recently left the Minnesota Department of Health, described the situation as "like trying to swim against the current of a raging river." The grimmest possibility would be the emergence of a strain that spreads so fast we are caught off guard or that resists all chemical means of control, perhaps as a result of our stirring of the ecological pot. About 12,000 years ago, a sudden wave of mammal extinctions swept through the Americas. Ross MacPhee of the American Museum of Natural History argues the culprit was extremely virulent disease, which humans helped transport as they migrated into the New World

AT: Policies solve

Policies to stop prostitution have failed

Kloer 10, Amanda; has been a full-time abolitionist for six years. She currently develops trainings and educational materials for civil attorneys representing victims of human trafficking and gender-based violence, February 9, 2010

http://humantrafficking.change.org/blog/view/sex\_trafficking\_high\_around\_us\_military\_bases\_abroad

Of all the countries where an American military presence attracts prostitution, both voluntary and forced, South Korea may feel the effects most acutely. U.S. troops have been stationed in South Korea since 1945, and the brothels around the U.S. military bases have been there just as long. In 2004, the Pentagon drafted a policy to reduce the sex trafficking growing wherever American soldiers, sailors, and airmen were stationed, with specific attention to South Korea. Under that policy, military personnel caught visiting a brothel or "massage parlour" could be subject to court martial. However, there is very little information available about how often that sanction is enforced. There is evidence, however, that the policy has not worked in reducing demand for prostitution, evidenced by the continuing high levels of prostitution and human trafficking near U.S. military bases. The U.S. military has finally begun to make some clubs and bars known to traffic women or sell children off-limits to service members, but one report indicates that only 4 out of 25 such places in the area have been listed as off-limits. The South Korean government, too, has been cracking down on sex trafficking in the past few years. However, the areas surrounding the U.S. military base have been exempted from the crackdown by the Korean government. So brothels around U.S. military bases are falling through the cracks of both U.S. government and Korean government policy.

Prostitution is now a commonplace activity that is widely accepted for the US military despite new policies. The US is becoming less and less credible, considering its inability to enforce anti-prostitution policies, which does not discourage soldiers from continuously engaging in prostitution. That’s Dale.

Youngbee Dale, human rights examiner and co-contributor of "Setting the Captives Free", February 8, 2010, http://www.examiner.com/x-24740-Norfolk-Human-Rights-Examiner~y2010m2d8-US-military-personals-creates-demand-for-sex-trafficking-in-South-Korea

Thriving demand for prostitution and sex trafficking by the U.S. military service members questions the enforceability of the U.S. military anti-prostitution/sex trafficking policy. Though the policy has been implemented to deter sex trafficking and prostitution around the military base abroad, the news reports consistently say that they are still very much in existence.  Though the policy caused many service members from revealing their identities when interviewed about their visits to prostitutes, it did not stop them from going back to prostitutes again for sex.  The problem then lies on lack of awareness among the U.S. soldiers. Visit to brothels or prostitutes have been so widely accepted that the service members consider it almost as a rite. Further that the U.S. military, in fact, encouraged prostitution business around the military bases also contribute to their desensitization to prostitution. [[6]](http://allisonkilkenny.wordpress.com/2009/01/08/ex-prostitutes-say-south-korea-and-us-enabled-sex-trade-near-bases/) While the penalty against human trafficking and prostitution must be doubled, the military should ensure to educate the service members on such misconducts as serious crimes.

American military policy is a major cause of the root of the problem. As the DOD does not sponsor expenses for other family members, a great number of soldiers are young and unattached, and do not travel with their family during these short posts in the ROK. As a result, military men have no commitments and have become desensitized towards prostitution. That’s Moon 97.

Korean policies don’t halt prostitution because they are political acts for the most part, meaning that they aren’t genuinely designed to function as preventative measures. Politicians simply gave the public the illusion that progress is being made to eradicate prostitution, but shortly after, these attempts would be dropped. As a result, prostitution rates surged again, and it was found that the most heavily concentrated areas of prostitution were located where the US troops are stationed. That’s Moon.

Recommendations to reduce prostitution problem have been ignored, especially at the UN conference that had been held in Beijing. The issue is still relegated, as the US government believes that other issues are of greater importance. Because the problem of US soldiers engaging in prostitution cannot be resolved within South Korea, military withdrawal would best alleviate the current situation.

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

The State Department was a hub of activity in the weeks leading up to the conference. Timothy Wirth, President Clinton's appointee in the State Department's human rights post, coordinated the activity. Those women's groups with access to State Department officials were invited to make suggestions. The Feminist Majority, a Washington-based advocacy group, suggested that the U.S. government propose that all the world's governments critically assess their own participation in military prostitution. These Potomac-wise women "knew the ropes." They worded their proposal carefully: Problem: Trafficking in women and girls is on the increase worldwide. It has been documented that U.S. military personnel stationed at overseas bases make use of local prostitutes. In addition, there are cases where retired U.S. military personnel return to cities adjacent to previous base assignments to profit from prostitution operations. Recommendation: Hold congressional hearings on the relationship between the U.S. military and the local prostitution trade at overseas U.S. bases. Through congressional action, reform the Uniformed Code of Military Justice to make the exploitation of prostitutes at or around military bases a punishable offense. 1 The State Department officials' initial response was positive. In this era of AIDS, as well as of U.S. overseas military base closures, taking a stand against military prostitution seemed a position that could be politically painless and attract widespread support. It would also make the Clinton administration look like a leader in making the postCold War world more friendly to women. But something happened. No mention of military prostitution appeared in the American government delegation's final list of proposals to the UN conference in Beijing. It is not yet clear why. Whether or not prostitution should be seen as a violation of women's human rights, in the same way that domestic violence has been increasingly understood to be, remains a question of some controversy among women advocates, including those who attended the Beijing conference in 1995.3 But this intrafeminist debate does not seem to be what caused the disappearance of the antimilitary prostitution plank from the U.S. proposal. Maybe the topic was deemed an insignificant issue by the State Department civilians, and so it was pushed off an already crowded agenda by issues to which they assigned more weight. Or perhaps people across the river in the Pentagon vetoed its inclusion. Maybe Defense Department officials had to inform their State Department counterparts, whom they had long imagined naive about military affairs, that women's relationships to militaries were far more "complicated" than their diplomatic colleagues presumed. Thus, in the end, condemning the military's involvement in prostitution at an international women's conference might have been deemed too risky for this American administration. Military prostitution, after all, has had a long, entangled international political history.

History shows how attempts to implement anti-prostitution policies only cause more military conflict. GIs and numerous officers assume that prostitution should be accessible to them, but black and white GIs also clash over relations and treatment received from prostitutes. There is also acknowledgement of high venereal disease rates in the camptowns. That’s Shaffer.

Robert Shaffer, professor at Shippensburg University, 1999, Project Muse, <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_world_history/v010/10.2shaffer.html>

At the same time, the joint U.S.-Korean campaign to "clean up" **[End Page 500]** the camptowns in the early 1970s had its origins in three sets of divisions among Americans. Military officials who sought to implement the official U.S. antiprostitution policy came into conflict with GIs and many officers who believed that sexual access to Korean women was their right. Tension between black and white GIs, on the rise on bases throughout the world in the late 1960s, erupted into open violence in Korea in 1971 due to allegations of discriminatory treatment by camptown clubs and prostitutes. Finally, career U.S. military officers in South Korea fought what they considered to be Nixon's intent to pull out of Korea by demanding greater order and regulation in the camptowns, with the particular goal of reducing the staggeringly high venereal disease rate among GIs.

Implemented policies fail to discourage the US military from engaging in prostitution. Although Congress had passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act in an attempt to reduce prostitution, it is evident that it is still omnipresent, as Congressman Christopher Smith discovered around Tongduchon. That’s Macintyre.

Donald Macintyre, former Pantech Fellow at Stanford University, August 5, 2002, Time Magazine, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,333899,00.html>

For their part, the U.S. lawmakers are particularly concerned about the charge that soldiers are paying to have sex with women who have been forced into prostitution. In 2000, Congress passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, putting Washington at the forefront of efforts to combat the growing worldwide trade in women. Republican Congressman Christopher Smith, the chief sponsor of the law and one of the lawmakers pushing the Pentagon to clean up its act, says he was shocked to learn that it's business as usual up in Tongduchon: "There needs to be a very aggressive ending of this outrage," he told TIME. "We need to lead by example."

AT: Withdraw doesn’t solve prostitution

1. Prostitutes are “instruments of foreign policy”—The prostitutes’ jobs were to keep the US and South Korea on friendly terms while on Korean soil with one another. The women were made “personal ambassadors” to keep the United States military in Korea. This is from Moon.
2. Prostitutes are government property reserved for US soldiers—The prostitutes are “victims of government policies” supported with English classes to more effectively sell themselves to US GIs. This is from Choe.

Women live for national governments

Choe Sang-Hun, New York Times Reporter, January 7, 2009, New York Times < <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/world/asia/08korea.html> >

“The more I think about my life, the more I think women like me were the biggest sacrifice for my country’s alliance with the Americans,” she said. “Looking back, I think my body was not mine, but the government’s and the U.S. military’s.”

AT: Prostitution gives women a better life

1. Camp town prostitution oppressive—US camp town prostitution is imperialistic and emphasizes androcentrism. It makes women “helpless victims”. This is from Na Young Lee
2. Prostitution leads to permanent pariah status—many women become isolated from “normal” society, live poverty stricken lives, and are “haunted by the memories” of their pasts. This is from Choe.
3. Prostitutes dehumanized—their needs and rights were neglected and some served as “cheap labor” in the camp towns. This is from Moon.

Militarization

Recognizing the relationship between militarist practices and women key to solve

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

The reality is less ephemeral. Women's myriad relationships to militarist practices and to the military are far less the result of amorphous tradition or culture than they are the product of particular traceable decisions. But the persistence of the presumption that women's militarization is simply the outcome of nature or custom is one of the things that grants gendered militarization its stubborn longevity. Thus, once it is made clear that the peculiarities of women's lives as military wives or as military prostitutes or as wartime rape victims is the result of memos, not tradition, it will be harder to treat the consequences as apolitical. Just the assertion that there are more decisions and decision makers than are usually assumed may carry the ring of a conspiracy theory. Yet one does not have to wallow in paranoia (itself often a fertile ground for militarizing fantasies) in order to ask "who decides what?" Finding the memo that sets out criteria for the "good" military wife, uncovering the ruling that sets a woman soldier's hemline, discovering the official agreement that requires disco women to undergo vaginal exams uncovering any of these actions, but especially all of them together, may reveal a gendered military system that is more political than it is cultural. Or finding those memos may show just how politically constructed any national or international culture is. Still, these findings may not add up to a monolithic militarized political elite that always knows exactly what it wants from women. Setting out to pinpoint the decisions and the decision makers can uncover not a neatly packaged conspiracy, but instead tension, contradiction, and confusion. Surprisingly, the search for those decisions that have promoted gendered militarization often reveals ambivalence, that is, both men and women with mixed feelings. Masculinity-privileging militarization, however, can survive, even thrive, on mixed feelings.

Government

Government believes they must control women to achieve military goals

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

Male military policy makers uniformed and civilian have believed that they need to control women in order to achieve military goals. In scores of different societies, they have acted as though most men are not natural soldiers, as though most men need to be continuously reminded that their tenuous grasp on the status of "manly man" depends on women thinking of them as such. Moreover, military policy makers have acted as if the military's own legitimacy as a state institution requires perpetual shoring up through affirmation not only by the country's men, but by its women as well. Yet men commanding military forces have been uncertain about which sort of maneuver proves most effectivedirect or indirect exertion of control over women. Should women (as morale-boosting wives, mothers, prostitutes, nurses) be made integral cogs of the military machine? Or will the military's masculine image, mobility, and customary ways of operating be better protected if less direct structures of control were devised, keeping women available but at arm's length? One of the reasons that many women who have been maneuvered to play a militarily supportive role have developed so little consciousness of the militarization of their lives is that that process has occurred quite indirectly or because military officials designing that process have waffled. Women haven't been able to see the gendered militarization process clearly because it frequently has been implemented in a spirit of ambivalence.

Korean attitude toward prostitutes, they condone it and encourage it

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

In the eyes of so-called normal Koreans, the prostitutes have served two important social functions: containing undesirable foreign influences on the greater Korean society 117 and preventing the prostitution and rape of"respectable" girls and women by U.S. soldiers. A 1965 EUSA report acknowledged that Excessive restrictive measures [regarding prostitution] . . . may be objected to by certain segments of the Korean population . . . since it would mean that the mobility of the Korean female national in close, continuous contact with the American would be heightened to the extent that she would infiltrate in hitherto"purely Korean" residential areas. 118 Like their political leaders, Koreans generally have viewed camptown prostitution as a"necessary evil" but ultimately have blamed the women rather than the foreigner or the pimps and club owners for such prostitution. Korea has a long-standing tradition of governmental utilization of women and their sexuality for political ends. Since the early part of the Koryo period (918-1392), professional female entertainers, kisaeng, served the royal court and the (male) members of the scholar-official class with the art of music, dance, poetry, and conversation. The government formally trained these women, who came from the lowest social class (ch'onmin), in institutes called kyobang; these women belonged to government offices. Although kisaeng received formal education (Chinese classics), which was forbidden to all other women and male members of the low-class during the Choson dynasty (1392-1910), and had access to public outings (while upper-class women were sequestered in the home), these entertainers were the most socially stigmatized and morally marginalized among all women. The Choson rulers' adoption of neo-Confucianism translated into strict social and legal emphasis on women's chastity."Chastity for a woman is more precious than life" was a common proverb. It is common knowledge that Confucian ideology extols chastity as women's greatest virtue, but Korea is the only Confucianist country that has been obsessed with this ideal. According to Jae On Kim, folk tales common to China, Japan, and Mongolia, unlike those from Choson Korea, do not contain the chastity motif. 119 In such a society, kisaeng women, who had become synonymous with courtesan and prostitute by the second half of the Choson period, represented the polar opposite of the chaste wife/moral mother paradigm that was idealized among the upper class."In general, people perceived kisaengs as 'flowers on the roadside for any man to pick.'"

Government

Distinction between foreign and domestic prostitution, foreign good- produces revenue and maintains relationship

Moon 97, Katharine H.S., Department of Political Science and Chair of Asian Studies @ Wellesley College, “Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S./Korea Relations”, 1997, Columbia University Press

Cho and Chang's 1990 study of forty years of discussion on prostitution in the ROK National Assembly (the legislature) highlights a "pragmatic permissiveness" toward kijich'on prostitution on the part of its members. The authors state that from 1948 to the late 1980s, members of the National Assembly focused on GI prostitution among the different types of prostitution they mentioned. 137 Assemblymen made a sharp distinction between domestic and foreign-oriented prostitution, advocating strict control and/or abolition of domestic-oriented prostitution but sup porting, tongue in cheek, U.S.-oriented camptown prostitution. 138 One Assemblyman in October 1959 stated bluntly: It's inevitable that there are prostitutes who cater to foreign soldiers. . . . We should distinguish between those prostitutes who cater to domestic customers and those who cater to U.S. soldiers and train those catering to the foreigners on American customs, [entertainment] facilities, or language and etiquette. 139 The Korean legislators held the view that man's nature necessitated prostitution as a"necessary evil" among troops: As long as the U.S. continues to stay in the ROK, we must acknowledge that the majority of the troops are single and by human nature want entertainment (sex). It's better to provide special facilities for them than discuss the problem of prostitutes alone. For example, we could provide luxurious accommodations/facilities around Seoul for these men so that they don't have to go to Japan [for R&R]. 140 Cho and Chang conclude that the legislators viewed U.S. camptown prostitution"as rather functional for national defense and/or for GNP growth" and therefore supported"policies that promote[d] prostitution, in compensation [for the U.S. soldiers' presence in Korea]."

Korean prostitutes government property in US camp-towns in ROK

Choe 9, Choe Sang-Hun, New York Times Reporter, January 7, 2009, New York Times

< http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/world/asia/08korea.html >

But the women suggest that the government also viewed them as commodities to be used to shore up the country’s struggling economy in the decades after the Korean War. They say the government not only sponsored classes for them in basic English and etiquette — meant to help them sell themselves more effectively — but also sent bureaucrats to praise them for earning dollars when South Korea was desperate for foreign currency. “They urged us to sell as much as possible to the G.I.’s, praising us as ‘dollar-earning patriots,’ ” Ms. Kim said. The United States military, the scholars say, became involved in attempts to regulate the trade in so-called camp towns surrounding the bases because of worries about sexually transmitted diseases. In one of the most incendiary claims, some women say that the American military police and South Korean officials regularly raided clubs from the 1960s through the 1980s looking for women who were thought to be spreading the diseases. They picked out the women using the number tags the women say the brothels forced them to wear so the soldiers could more easily identify their sex partners. The Korean police would then detain the prostitutes who were thought to be ill, the women said, locking them up under guard in so-called monkey houses, where the windows had bars. There, the prostitutes were forced to take medications until they were well. The women, who are seeking compensation and an apology, have compared themselves to the so-called comfort women who have won widespread public sympathy for being forced into prostitution by the Japanese during World War II. Whether prostitutes by choice, need or coercion, the women say, they were all victims of government policies.

Government

Military’s privileged relationship with the government allows for abuses to women

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

Consequently, the behavior of the military as an institutionin particular, how it treats women and women's own capacity to respond to military control cannot be deduced simply from our studies of and experiences with other patriarchal institutions such as the courts, legislature, family, church, or business firms. Those analyses do give women an invaluable vantage point from which to pose questions, make connections, see hidden implications. But the military's use of its usually privileged status within the state has to be taken into explicit account if we are to fully understand how it can penetrate women's lives. Few other institutions can command such vast financial, labor, and material resources as the military. With its budgetary appetite, the military can distort a country's whole public spending structureas well as its trade relations with foreign countries. Public services intended to reduce society's economic inequalities are cut when military funding proposals outstrip the government's current revenues. Women are especially vulnerable to economic recessions; they are usually the first to be laid off or cut to part-time and the first affected by service and welfare cuts. Some economically vulnerable women may even enlist in the military in order to compensate for the loss of civilian jobs. Thousands of job-hungry Russian women, for instance, began volunteering for the Russian military in the 1990s, while their brothers were avoiding conscription notices in droves. In the same decade some South Korean women, likewise, have looked to soldiering to offset the collapse in their country of such feminized industries as electronics and sneaker manufacturing. The sexism that distorts the employment and unemployment patterns in the civilian economy can intensify the militarization of at least some women's labor: under these sexist economic conditions, some jobless women may take jobs in the prostitution industry; others may enlist in their country's military.

Government

Prostitution shaped by the governments

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The prostitution industry servicing American soldiers in South Korea has not been left to chance. It has been self-consciously shaped by two governments, each seeking to exert controls that would ensure that its own goals would be met. Thus, for instance, officials in Seoul since the 1960s have sponsored a Woman's Autonomous Association in each GI town. Each association in practice has been far from autonomous. Katharine Moon found that "local police and government authorities select the leaders of the associations and keep watch over the women's activities." 132 A principal objective is to persuade the women in prostitution to monitor each other, especially to guarantee that every woman remains free of sexually transmitted diseases. This practice has added an innovative twist on both the British government's nineteenth-century system and the U.S.-Philippine alliance's more recent system.

Rape

Relationship between rape and prostitution

Enloe 2K, Cynthia H. Enloe, Ph. D in Political Science from University of California, Berkely, “Manuevers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives”, 2000, University of California Press

There are as many different forms of militarized rape as there are subtle nuances in the relationships between militarized women and militarized men. Nonetheless, they share some important common features features that will affect not only the rapist's sense of what he is doing and of what gives him license to do it but also the raped woman's responses to that assault. First, the male militarized rapist in some way imposes his understandings of "enemy," "soldiering," "victory," and "defeat" on both the woman to be raped and on the act of sexual assault. Second, consequently, the militarized rape is harder to privatize than nonmilitarized rape is, since it draws so much of its rationale from an imagining of societal conflict and/or the functions of a formal institution such as the state's national security or defense apparatus or an insurgency's military arm. Third, the woman who has endured militarized rape must devise her responses in the minutes, weeks, and years after that assault not only by weighing her relationships to the rapist and to her personal friends and relatives, to the prevailing norms of feminine respectability, and perhaps to the criminal justice system, but in addition, she must weigh her relationships to collective memory, collective notions of national destiny, and the very institutions of organized violence. In this chapter I explore just three particular conditions under which rape has been militarized. These three forms seem especially important to understand because they have demanded so many feminists' attention in recent years: (1) "recreational rape" as the alleged outcome of not supplying male soldiers with "adequately accessible" militarized prostitution; (2) "national security rape" as an instrument for bolstering a nervous state; and (3) "systematic mass rape" as an instrument of open warfare.

Rape and prostitution go hand in hand

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Militarized rape and militarized prostitution are often treated by policy makers as if they were divided by a cultural Maginot Line. When they are, this division is marked less by cultural realities than by a fortified wall of ideas and practices built by nervous policy makers themselves. This imagined separation between militarized rape and militarized prostitution serves the interests of many patriarchal officials: it allows them to discuss rape and prostitution as if their perpetrators and their victims were entirely different. In actual practice, in the world of military policy making, officials think of rape and prostitution together. Providing organized prostitution to male soldiers is imagined to be a means of preventing those same soldiers from engaging in rape. It was this sort of thinking, connecting rape to prostitution, that informed the Japanese imperial government's 1930s and 1940s "comfort women" policy making. Strikingly similar thinking undergirds present-day British and American military sexual politics. 9 Take the Okinawa rape case of 1995. Okinawa had been militarily occupied by the Japanese before World War II, but the militarization reached new heights during that conflict. That militarization process was both patriarchally gendered and sexualized. According to recently discovered documents, the imperial army created a total of 130 military brothels on Okinawa. The women forced to work in these establishments were both Okinawan and Korean.