# TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE EAST

## TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE EAST

A SUMMARY OF THE 1933 REPORT
TO THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS



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## REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1933

Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East.

\*Foreword.

The 1927 Experts' Report on Traffic in Women and Children dealt mainly with Europe, N. Africa, S. America and part of the Near East. We said then that we believed it foreshadowed the end of the maisons toléreés in Europe; Germany, Hungary, Rumania, and Uruguay in S. America, have abandoned licensed or officially tolerated houses since the Report was issued. The real value of the Report lay in the fact that its publication directed such a blaze of publicity and criticism on the maisons de tolérance as the primary agency in traffic in women that every country retaining regulationist methods was compelled to defend its position.

It is precisely that challenge to Governments which has proved so extraordinarily valuable in the League's first Report. We are hopeful that this second Report, on Far Eastern conditions leading to and encouraging traffic in women and children, will be equally successful in focusing public opinion on the causes and circumstances of the slave trade in girls and women for purposes of prostitution in the East. The Report deals mainly with international traffic. This, perhaps, was the only possible way of getting the survey done in a reasonable time, but in vast countries like China or India the greatest amount of traffic in children and young girls probably takes place within the country's own borders and not from the inside outwards and vice versa.

The Council of the League of Nations is anxious to secure the widest possible circulation of this Report because it feels that the support of public opinion is necessary in the struggle against traffic in women and children. It is possible, however, that a volume which contains 527 pages and costs 16s. may not have a wide popular sale. We believe that an informed public opinion is absolutely essential for work against maisons toléreés and the traffic in women and that it would be most unfortunate if the gist of this Report were not made widely known. We have, therefore, prepared the following Summary of the Report which outlines its main features, and also gives both long and short extracts from those sections which are likely to be of general interest.

We have not attempted to include the mass of legislative material in Part II.

The full texts of the laws in the various countries visited are of the greatest value to the social worker or speaker who specialises on this subject and wishes to have all the expert knowledge available, but they

<sup>\*</sup>The Foreword is not part of the Report. It expresses the views of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, which publishes this "Summary."

are not so necessary to the person who only wants to have a good general knowledge of these problems and to be accurate in his facts.

The complete Report is available for reference in our Library at Livingstone House, Westminster.

#### Summary of the Report of the Travelling Commission.

#### Personnel.

The following were appointed by the League of Nations as members of the Travelling Commission to inquire into the problem of traffic in women and children in the East: Mr. Bascom Johnson (America), Chairman; Dr. Alma Sundquist (Sweden) and Mr. Karol Pindor (Poland). Mr. W. von Schmieden, a member of the League Secretariat, was the Secretary.

The Commission left Marseilles in October, 1930.

#### Origin of Enquiry:

Continuation of research work undertaken in 1924/26 in Europe, the Mediterranean Basin and the Americas.

The consent of the several Governments concerned having been obtained, the necessary funds were made available by the most generous offer to the Council of the sum of 125,000 dollars from the Bureau of Social Hygiene at New York. This Bureau furnished the funds for the earlier enquiry.

#### Objects of Enquiry:

To establish the facts concerning international traffic in women and children in the East. This would include, in addition to prostitutes, certain cases of taking women as entertainers and artists to foreign countries for the purpose of exploiting them by prostitution.

"In conformity with the decisions passed by the Assembly and the Council, the enquiry is to be strictly limited to the international aspect of the question. The Committee realises, however, that it is very difficult to separate the international from the national traffic. It would seem expedient that those engaged in the enquiry should not be required to keep to too limited an objective, as the results might not prove satisfactory. On the other hand, due circumspection must be shown. In the Committee's opinion, if the investigators study certain social economic, legislative or administrative aspects of the traffic which are strictly national in character but may contribute to the development of the international traffic, they can do so only after having previously obtained the consent of the authorities of the countries concerned. These authorities will, in a large number of cases, be the first to facilitate enquiries; in others, they will avoid going into certain questions which might involve interference with local customs."

#### Itinerary of the Commission:

Bangkok, Siam	Mukden	Madras
Indo-China	Harbin	Colombo -
Hong-Kong	Dairen	Bombay
Macao	Seoul	Karachi
Manila	Tokio	Bushire
Canton	Osaka	Teheran
Swatow	Kobe	Baghdad
Amoy	Nagasaki	Damascus
Shanghai	Java	Beirut
Nanking	Singapore & Malaya	Jerusalem
Chefoo & Tientsen	Calcutta	Haifa
Peking		

#### Methods of Conducting the Enquiry:

- (a) By a Questionnaire sent in advance.
- (b) Official written replies to Questionnaire with statistics and other annexes were received on arrival of Commission.
  - (c) On arrival witnesses were heard, official and unofficial.
- (d) An invitation published in local papers to people to give information. (Not much received in this way except at Harbin.)
- (e) Brothel areas inspected when such existed and institutions visited.

#### Plan of the Report:

Part I: Findings of the Enquiry.

Considerations and suggestions submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.

Part II: Studies of Laws and Conditions relating to International Traffic by countries visited.

Part III: Appendices.

#### Findings of the Enquiry.

#### General Remarks.

Very few Oriental women are known to go to Western (occidental) countries for purposes of prostitution, but there is a movement of Western women to the Orient for that purpose.

Within the group of Occidental victims of traffic in Asiatic countries the most serious problem, and one which is fraught with the danger of further development, concerns Russian women of the refugee class in Northern China and Manchuria.

The bulk of the traffic with which this report is concerned is traffic in Asiatic women from one country of Asia to another. The largest numbers are women of Chinese race, then those of Japanese nationality,

followed in much smaller numbers by Malays, Annamite, Siamese, Filipino, Indian, Iraqi, Persians and Syrians.

With certain exceptions, to be found in the Mediterranean Near East where conditions of prostitution more nearly approach those of Europe, prostitutes going to foreign countries do so exclusively in search of clients among their own countrymen abroad. Japanese women are taken to be offered to men of their own race, prostitutes from China are sent to centres of Chinese immigration in the South

Though many cases of cruelty to Asiatic prostitutes by brothel-keepers have come to the notice of the Commission and the living conditions are sometimes exceedingly bad, yet in the Middle and Far East there is a noticeable absence of vulgar appeal to sensuality such as is often displayed in Occidental countries.

Seas, and so on.

The demand for European and American prostitutes is decreasing, partly in consequence of better opportunities for family life for Westerns in the East and the change in social atmosphere following the increase in marriages. A second reason, where this influence is not effective, is the tendency to replace the prostitutes from the Occident by an ever-increasing number of recruited women of mixed Asiatic and European blood.

Where there are Occidental women in the East the majority are victims of the traffic, i.e., they have been brought in by procurers who make a business of supplying the licensed brothels. In countries such as Syria, where such a transaction is not illegal, the system of licensed brothels there provides strong incentives for the usual chain of middlemen, such as touts, souteneurs and procurers, to promote business.

The cynical role of the Occidental souteneur and trafficker exploiting his victim in Oriental surroundings is illustrated by a former practice in Rangoon when brothels were allowed. The police discovered that men, who had brought European women to the town and placed them in brothels, themselves lived in first-class hotels, going every morning to collect the money earned by the women. The prohibition of brothels in Rangoon put an end to this trade.

RUSSIAN REFUGEE WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF TRAFFIC.

"Owing to the Bolshevist revolution, many of the Russians residing in Manchuria have become exiles and have lost their normal source of income, while many of their compatriots have poured into China from Russian Siberia as refugees. Both impoverished residents and refugees very frequently being entirely destitute, it has been the fate of many of the young women amongst them to sink into prostitution. These unfortunate victims fall into two different categories. One is composed of women refugees who, in their flight, were stranded without means of subsistence,

in remote parts of Manchuria, where in exchange for the expense of their maintenance they were made use of as prostitutes by local Chinese. The other consists of destitute Russian women of the Railway Zone of North Manchuria, both refugees and impoverished residents in that part of the country, who to-day form the source of supply of almost the entire Occidental prostitution in the great international commercial centres of China."

Russian prostitution in the great centres of China, both the men and the women concerned being Occidentals, bears all the characteristics of European or American prostitution. It comprises every form from the lowest, the brothel, to the most discreet, veiled by such occupations as cabaret artistes, restaurant waitresses, professional dancing partners or manicurist. Many of those in such occupations are educated Russian women exiles, some being the wives or daughters of Tsarist notabilities. In many cases they are treated with respect and are worthy of it, but it needs a strong character to resist the many grave temptations to stray from the path of strict respectability which beset a professional dancing partner or waitress in the great centres of Northern China.

"The demand for Russian women as prostitutes as well as professional entertainers in the large commercial centres of China proper is a strong incentive for traffickers to arrange for the transfer of such girls from Manchuria, especially Harbin, to Peiping, Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtao, Shanghai and Hangkow. The attraction which these places have in the imagination of Harbin girls makes it very easy for traffickers to obtain control of their victims by persuasion and deceit. A girl whose one desire is to leave Harbin for those great centres where she hopes to find many opportunities of success will not examine too closely any offer which seems to provide an easy means of making the journey, and it is only when she finds herself forced into a brothel or a dancing establishment of the class which amounts to the same thing that she realises the folly of her action.\* She will at that stage already be in debt for the cost of the journey and of the outfit she has procured to dress herself suitably for the fashionable situation she has been vaguely expecting to fill.

"She is helpless to protest, she is in a strange place, she can make no proposal for the repayment of money advanced, she sees no hope of finding the easy position which she imagined was to be hers for the seeking. Moreover, she has left to the agent all the arrangments regarding her papers of identity and her permit to travel, without which no Russian can move about in China, and these documents are in his posssession. She is entirely ignorant concerning the measures she can take to oppose the

<sup>\*</sup>See statement by a Russian girl, on page 26.

demands of the trafficker and she feels that she can do nothing but submit.

"Dancing partners in the better class establishments are usually not victims of traffickers. With the exception of these, however, all the Russian professional entertainers, as well as prostitutes, may be said to be under the management of traffickers to some extent, and must have recourse to them, especially when they wish to move from one place to another.

"Effective action in the direction of finding openings in respectable employment for Russian refugee girls in China seems to be the only practical means of checking the activities of traffickers and of organisers of the employment of dancing girls; under the present circumstances, they find a too-ready field of operation among the young Russian women of the Far East."

It is evident that the root of this evil lies in the precarious economic situation of Russian refugees. The sincere efforts of the Chinese Government, of the Harbin administration and of voluntary organizations have not yet succeeded in finding a complete remedy for the pitiful reaction which economic pressure now exercises on the fate of a great number of Russian women in China.

#### CHINESE VICTIMS OF THE TRAFFIC.

Prostitutes of Chinese race are found in greater or fewer numbers in all territories of the Far East south of China, in the Middle East and as far west as British India. New ideas and new legislation is tending to give girls a more nearly equal status with boys in China, but these factors have not yet produced much change in the spirit of the people. Old conceptions prevail and daughters are regarded as of little value or importance compared with sons. The female child is always at a disadvantage, and a girl's duty is to concur in any sacrifice necessary to the well-being to the family. Thus she may be sold or transferred to others in times of poverty. If she displays no special aptitude she may be re-sold by her buyer either into prostitution or for domestic service. Such girls, who are really slaves, may be cruelly treated, or on the other hand, may be treated with affection by the woman who runs the brothel in which they are placed.

Many girls are "unconditionally" sold by their parents, under pressure of poverty. A girl so sold is a slave-girl, not even a Mui-Tsai, and it is a matter of chance what may happen to her.

Some girls are kidnapped by brigands and sold into prostitution in lieu of ransom.\*

Then girls can be pawned to brothel-keepers in payment of family debt. By law, debts arising from such passing of a girl into a brothel

is not recognised. But custom is stronger at present than new legislation, and all concerned—the person pawning the girl, the brothel-keeper, and the girl herself—consider that she is under obligation to serve until the original amount advanced has been repaid. Even this is often not sufficient and the keepers, like veritable slave-owners, will fix the cash redemption of the girl at the commercial value they choose to put upon her. Often the only possibility of freedom from the clutches of the brothel-keeper is to find a person who will buy her out for marriage.

An interesting but sinister fact noted by the Commission is that in China (and probably in most places) there is definite evidence of a brothel "racket" by gangsters or, in other words, that certain groups of men terrorise the brothel-keepers and the inmates and levy a private tax on both at so much a head. If the money is withheld life is made impossible for both the keeper and the women and they may be assaulted in the streets. They pay for so-called "protection from bad characters" but in actual fact for the privilege of not being molested by the very men to whom they have to pay.

The singing-girls are professional entertainers who go from restaurant to restaurant to entertain wealthy men. They are usually accompanied by women who exploit them and have authority over them. If attractive they may be very successful and become mistresses of rich men, but as they grow older may have to sink more and more into common prostitution. This applies also to those who may be less attractive and not find many patrons even in their youth. They are there to profit their exploiters and the profit must somehow be made.

#### Traffic in Chinese Girls outside China.

Chinese emigration is mainly to the Asiatic countries of the South Seas. The Chinese play a very important part in the commerce of British Malaya as labourers, clerks, tradesmen, leaders of commerce and industry, etc. The profits of traffickers would be much less were it not for the better-off element among these migrants. They would not risk the expense of bringing in girls only for Chinese labourers. The girls are first offered to those who can pay; when they have lost their freshness there is always the mass of labourers to whom they can be offered at cheap rates.

#### The Attitude of the Authorities in British Malaya.

"The policy pursued in British Malaya with regard to the problem of an incoming traffic in Chinese women may be divided into three periods. The first is the period up to 1927, during which brothels were allowed throughout Malaya, and Chinese girls were permitted to enter the ports of the Straits Settlements for the purpose of becoming inmates of those brothels; the second period, from 1927 to 1930, during which brothels continued to be allowed,

<sup>\*</sup>See statement by Chinese woman, on page 27.

but no avowed prostitutes were permitted to enter the country, and the third period, beginning in 1930, since when brothels have not been allowed in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, nor have avowed prostitutes been admitted to the Peninsula. Brothels were still allowed at the time of the Commission's visit by the legislation of some of the Unfederated Malay States. As almost all Chinese going there, however, arrive via the ports of the Straits Settlements, the restrictions imposed in those ports virtually prevent the arrival of new prostitutes from China in the Unfederated Malay States as well as the other ports of British Malaya.

"In 1926—that is, before the entry of fresh prostitutes from China was stopped—there were over 2,200 prostitutes registered in 'known' brothels in Singapore. In the same year, 895 Chinese women had arrived in Singapore from China to become prostitutes in Malaya. On the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1930, by which the system of brothels was abolished, a certain proportion of the 'known' brothels was closed, and the remainder were to be abolished gradually and systematically in such a way as, while causing the least possible hardship to the inmates, would bring about the desired result in the shortest time.

"The keepers of existing brothels now know that their establishments are doomed to be closed and may be closed at any moment. Inmates who are unwilling victims realise, under these circumstances that the power of the keepers has been shaken and that, if they wish to get free of their influence, they have the full support of the authorities. Official testimony given to the Commission in Singapore says, in that respect: 'One of the chief disadvantages of a system of known brothels was the fact that the position of the trafficker and keeper appeared to the prostitute to be legalised, and she was unwilling to challenge one whom she regarded as a Government agent. Most of the girls are illiterate and quite unable to keep accounts, and it was easy for the keepers to cheat them of their shares of their earnings. The keepers were also able to impose jewellery, furniture and various luxuries upon them at extortionate rates. The prostitutes thus became more and more deeply involved in debt to the keepers, until they had no prospect but life-long slavery before them.' "

#### Abolition: Effect on Traffickers and Gangsters in British Malaya.

"The systematic closing of brothels in the chief centres of the Straits Settlements—that is, Singapore and Penang—has forced those who profited by the earnings of brothel prostitutes to seek other ways of exploiting girls. Small lodging-houses kept by Chinese and Japanese are now used to a great extent as houses of

rendezvous for Chinese prostitutes. It was officially stated that in these lodging-houses 'from the manager to the boys (servants) all increase their income by trafficking in girls.'

"Another of the devices of traffickers to make up for the loss of business due to the closing of the brothels consists in attempts to place Chinese girls, with the intention of exploiting them as clandestine prostitutes, as waitresses in coffee shops, of which a large number have sprung up in the two cities named. The authorities have counteracted these attempts by requiring persons employed in these places to apply for licences and subjecting each application to investigation.

"The closing of the brothels has increased street-soliciting by prostitutes. In Singapore and Penang, considering this as one of the inevitable features of a transitory stage in the systematic fight against traffic, the authorities deal leniently with offenders in this respect. The Chief of Police at Singapore declared that: 'Until we have dealt more adequately with the people who are behind the women we do not harass the Asiatic prostitutes too much.'

"By the raiding of the brothels under the new Ordinance, it has been possible to discover and arrest a great many of the Chinese gangsters who were employed by brothel-keepers to intimidate and terrorise inmates and also recalcitrant customers. In addition, the breaking up of the brothels has cut off a large amount of the funds of gangster organisations of this kind, called 'secret societies,' and it has been stated that, since the closing of the brothels, there has been a remarkable decrease in the number of serious crimes, such as could formerly be attributed to gang warfare.

"On the other hand, the number of runners or touts employed to solicit customers for clandestine prostitutes has considerably increased."

#### Chinese Prostitutes in Indo-China.

There are licensed brothels here (Indo-China is under French government) but in Cholon none with Chinese inmates. "The reason for this unusual feature in a city which is inhabited in majority by Chinese and fully bears the stamp of Chinese life is that the community pride of the Chinese there would not tolerate the presence of any compatriots engaged in menial or degrading occupations." The prostitutes are Annamites dressed in Chinese fashion. There are, however, some 800 Chinese singing-girls who play an important part in the night life of the wealthy Chinese community. If the life of such a singing-girl becomes notorious she has to leave the country; she is an entertainer and must not descend to prostitution. The French police authorities, in 1903 and again in 1912, proposed measures of

registration for such girls for the purpose of submitting them to regular medical examination, but these proposals met with indignant protests from the Chinese community. They are now registered as "singing-girls" and pay a tax, but are not examined.

Common prostitutes of Chinese race in Indo-China are only to be found in Haiphong, where in 1931 there were 45 of them in licensed

brothels.

Methods of Trafficking in Chinese Girls.

Consequent on the closing of tolerated brothels in Singapore (and more recently in Hong-Kong) the activities of traffickers have been very considerably checked, but in these Colonies, as also in the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, efforts are still made to bring Chinese girls in for purposes of exploitation. Strict measures are taken by the authorities and are increasingly successful, but so long as the houses were tolerated attempts to protect the girls from exploitation by procurers and brothel-keepers were a failure. Chinese girls of six to eight years were bought or kidnapped and brought to Singapore. They were coached to answer the questions of the Protectorate officials in a suitable way. At 13 or 14 they were offered to wealthy men for one or more nights. When a little older they would be placed in a brothel.

It seemed to be quite easy for Chinese traffickers to gain such an ascendency over their young and ignorant victims that the girls, when questioned, believed it to be in their own interests to deceive the officials. It is difficult to estimate how much this attitude was due to actual distrust of the officials, and how much to fear of the traffickers' vengeance should they break down under questioning. The girl would invariably reply that she wanted to be a prostitute. An official of the Protectorate

in Singapore told the Commission:-

"Our protection at the time of the registered brothels was an absolute failure. The girls would never confide in us. They always said they were willing."

Women of Japanese Nationality as Victims of the Traffic.

Before 1921 Japanese women were in brothels all over the Far East. But after the War, Japan was recognised as one of the great Powers and she rightly considered that the presence of many Japanese women of ill-fame in foreign countries "reflected on the prestige of Japan and adversely affected the sound development of Japanese interests abroad." The Japanese Government, therefore, invited its Consular representatives in the Far and Middle East to take steps designed to bring about, more or less gradually, the repatriation of Japanese prostitutes. They were not forcibly repatriated; the result was achieved by persuasion

and by the refusal of licences.\* The repugnance of Japanese residents in China, for example, to the spectacle of Japanese women offering themselves to men of other races has prevented a recrudescence. In so far as they are present in other countries it is solely as prostitutes to men of their own race.

International traffic in Japanese women (i.e., outside Japanese territory) may be regarded as confined to traffic to China as a country of destination. The Japanese authorities deal with prostitution by a system of licensed houses and medical examination and this system is maintained outside Japan in territory under Japanese occupation or government. A law passed in 1900 enables any inmate of a brothel to have her name struck off from the list of licensed prostitutes immediately on application to the police of the district. As in China, girls cannot by law be held in brothels for debt. In actual fact and by custom they are so held. The authorities try to protect these girls and they are free to have their names struck off the register irrespective of any debt owing to the keepers. But in practice a consultation may take place between the parties and, as in many cases the girl has entered the brothel to obtain money for parents or relatives, an appeal to her filial devotion during such consultation is said often to result in her return to the brothel under some compromise in regard to the debt.

"Japanese society is well aware of the unselfish motives which in many cases prompt girls to take up a life of prostitution, and the attitude towards prostitutes personally is influenced in their favour by this consideration. Amongst the Japanese, both in China and in the mother country, public opinion is more and more concerned with the social aspect of recourse by parents to such filial sacrifice and, indeed, the social danger of the system of licensed brothels

in general."

Shortly after the War was over the Japanese Government took action on these lines.

(This footnote is added by the A.M.S.H.)

<sup>\*</sup> In this connection the following is of special interest. Acting on behalf of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Mr. John Cowen had, in 1915, drawn up detailed reports of the great vice areas then tolerated in Rangoon and Singapore. His reports contained statistics of the number of Japanese women in the brothels in those cities and described their degradation. The Annual Report of the A.M.S.H. for 1916 contains the following statement:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;As the prostitution traffic throughout the East is very largely based on the exploitation of Japanese girls and women, copies of the reports were sent to the Japanese Ambassador. The Association put before him how cordially we should welcome any steps the Japanese Government might take to prohibit the organised traffic in Japanese women. We further pointed out that for the sake of British prestige the British authorities in India do not permit white English-speaking women to be inmates of brothels, and we suggested that the Japanese Government should adopt a similar attitude with regard to Japanese women."

The geisha used to be an integral part of Japanese social life. She represented the element of female entertainment which the comparative seclusion and austere education of the Japanese caused to be lacking in social gatherings. The café waitress has now largely taken the place of the geisha. In neither occupation is moral looseness inherent but there is considerable pressure upon these girls leading to immoral acts.

The system of licensed brothels brings in its train a well organised system of recruitment of women as inmates. The agents who procure these inmates need not make use of illegal or secret methods. They

are carrying on a legitimate business if not a savoury one.

"Since 1900, various agencies have endeavoured to provide assistance for prostitutes and geisha and to educate the public against the evils of the present system. In 1899, there were 52,274 licensed prostitutes. In the year following the publication of the law providing for the liberation of prostitutes who wished to be free, the number had fallen to 40,195. By 1930, the number of licensed prostitutes again exceeded 50,000, this approaches to the figure of 1899."

"The Salvation Army, which has 150 branches in different parts of Japan, has been instrumental in securing the release of

more than 7,000 prostitutes."

"Nine Prefectures in Japan have abolished the licensed houses, including the Kanagawa Prefecture . . . a strong and growing official opinion exists among certain influential men which may be summarised in the words of the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, in which is located the city of Yokohama: 'The general policy of the nation and the Japanese Government shows marked progress for the abolition of licensed prostitution in the country and, of course, as a Prefectural Government, we follow the same policy.'"

"When asked what were the reasons which governed the Assembly in passing the resolution for abolition in the Kanagawa Prefecture, the Governor replied: 'First, licensed prostitution is opposed to humanitarian ideas and the recognised standard of morality in the world; secondly, to uphold the honour and prestige of the nation, the existence of such an institution cannot be tolerated; and, thirdly, its existence cannot be tolerated from a social point of view.'"

"Traffic in women and children out of the Japanese Empire, formerly considerable, is now extremely small, except in the case

of China, including the Kwantung Leased Territory."

"This is due to the policy of the Japanese Government, which has been directed to preventing the emigration of women and girls engaged in prostitution or in trades likely to lead to an immoral life. The application of this policy is rendered more difficult as regards China, due to the fact that passports are not required of Japanese subjects entering that country."

"The reason for the traffic to China would appear to be the presence in the various treaty ports and the cities of Manchuria of large numbers of Japanese men."

"... In the great seaports of India and the South Seas, where formerly a truly international traffic in Japanese women existed, the energetic measures introduced by the Japanese Consuls and residents of such places, as well as the collaboration afforded to them by the local authorities, constitute so efficient a barrier that, not only has open traffic in women of Japanese nationality to these places been abandoned, but it may be supposed also that attempts to smuggle them in for purposes of clandestine prostitution will ultimately cease to be profitable."

In Japan, as in everywhere in the world, conditions of poverty and ignorance provide the field in which the trafficker finds his harvest. The majority of Japanese prostitutes are drawn from the families of poor and ignorant agricultural workers. The willingness of these recruits to enter the life of prostitution and the acquiescence of their parents or guardians are won by highly coloured pictures of a gay and easy existence. The further away the place of destination the more enticing is the picture that can be drawn by the unscrupulous traffickers.

FILIPINO, ANNAMITE, SIAMESE, MALAY, INDIAN, PERSIAN AND ARAB WOMEN.

Filipino.

There seems to be no international traffic in Filipino women. There is clandestine prostitution, and dancers are in the same dangerous moral position as the singing-girls and the geisha of China and Japan. The American consular authorities ensure, as far as possible, protection of the girls from exploitation.

Siamese.

Siamese prostitutes were known to be the inmates of brothels in Singapore before these houses were closed in 1930. The Commission found little evidence of international traffic at the present time; it is believed the women now mostly operate independently and only rarely are in the hands of traffickers.

Malay.

The traffic in Malayan women used to be between the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya. Javanese men went to the latter place as labourers, without their wives, and thus arose a demand for the women of that island. The closing of the brothels in British Malaya has now practically stopped this traffic. Divorced and abandoned women are the most numerous among the prostitution recruits from Java, but the

Dutch authorities take pains to warn young people of the dangers of being persuaded by enticing tales from strangers that an easy life awaits them abroad. In particular, the Dutch authorities take measures to prevent traffic in women and children in connection with the yearly pilgrimage of about 50,000 people from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca.

#### Indian.

Outside India, the Commission has found Indian prostitutes only in one of the territories visited—namely, in British Malaya. And even there the numbers were so small that it may fairly be stated that, generally speaking, Indian women are not victims of international traffic.

As regards special legislation and application of laws in the various regions of British India, the policies of the different Administrations vary to a certain degree. In some parts, as in Burma and the Bombay Presidency, brothel-keeping is a legal offence, in others brothel-keeping is allowed if it is not carried on in certain specified places or to the annoyance of neighbours.

It appears from the information gathered by the Commission that there is a limited movement of foreign prostitutes from various countries to British India and that this movement is, to a great extent, influenced by brothel-keepers and traffickers.

The Bombay police were of opinion that the closing of brothels in that town had very effectively reduced foreign prostitution there.

#### Persian.

Persian women are rarely found as prostitutes outside their own country, except in Iraq and British India. In Iraq many have attained Iraqi nationality by marriage to avoid deportation. Before the War a regular movement of Persian women to Mesopotamia was said to exist. Some 300 were repatriated after the War and the Persian Consul believed these to have been victims of the traffic.

The Shiah sect of Mohammedanism allows a kind of temporary marriage which is still practised to some extent. These women are frequently deserted. Another class of deserted wives who often have no other choice than to live by prostitution are those who, during and after the War, married Arab chauffeurs and mechanics, etc., and were divorced by them when these men returned to Iraq.

#### ARAB AND OTHER NEAR EAST WOMEN.

Prostitution in Arab countries is particularly looked down upon. An Arab woman who takes to prostitution incurs the danger that a male relative may consider it his duty to his family honour to kill her. Prostitutes, therefore, are mostly recruited from women without family,

i.e., orphans and those outcasts of slum life in cities who have nobody's vengeance to fear for loss of family honour.

In Palestine some 50 per cent. of the prostitutes are Syrians. Syria is a more urban country than Palestine and has a large number of such women who try to find an outlet across the frontier. Mohammedan women are not required to unveil for passport scrutiny and it is therefore easy to deceive the frontier officials between Syria and Palestine. It is extremely difficult for Syrian women to cross into Iraq because of the discomfort and danger of the Syrian desert which has to be traversed; on the recognised motor route across passengers are easily controlled.

## Considerations and Suggestions submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.

#### (1) International Co-operation.

Suggestions as a basis for further international action against the traffic are:—

- (a) More regular co-operation and consultation between Central Authorities for the Suppression of the Traffic.
- (b) More frequent co-operation by the police of various territories.
- (c) The appointment of women officials in connection with this work.

These have done most useful work in Palestine, Straits Settlements, Calcutta, Colombo and Bombay. In some places in the East it would perhaps be difficult to invest such women with police functions to penetrate the haunts of vice, but such authority would often be very valuable and has been effectively used in the questioning of women and girls for their protection in Rangoon and British Malaya.

(d) Traffic in Chinese women presents the greatest difficulties in regard to international efforts to prevent it. It requires the collaboration of China with other countries of destination, suitable arrangements with local Chinese authorities, with foreign settlements in China and with foreign shipping companies in Chinese treaty ports.

The present lack of necessary co-operation might be remedied by a conference of competent representatives of the countries to which Chinese victims of the traffic go.

Close collaboration would be particularly desirable between the police authorities of Hong-Kong, Macao and Canton. These ports are situated in an area through which the traffic in question has to pass.

There is a regrettable lack of co-operation in the foreign settlements to prevent this traffic. In Shanghai the authorities of the Chinese City, the French Concession and the International

Settlement have no agreement whatever among themselves for such prevention.

- (e) There is not the same difficulty in regard to women other than Chinese. The trade in Japanese women is mostly between the Japanese Empire and China and most of the Japanese subjects in China are under Japanese authority. International co-operation in regard to the traffic in Japanese women hardly comes into the question.
- THE ROLE OF THE BROTHEL IN INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN THE EAST.

(Note: This chapter is reproduced in full.)

Traffickers' Hold on Victim

With few exceptions, the Oriental traffickers have so complete a control over their victims that the latter regard them sometimes in the best of faith as guardians Unshakable. invested with parental authority over them. Under such circumstances, efforts to combat traffic by influencing the mentality which causes this hold of the exploiter on the victim, indispensable as they are, can only make themselves felt gradually.

Remove his Market.

More immediate results can be achieved by striking at the traffickers' business organisation. Such efforts should be directed in the first place to removing conditions which tend to ensure a market for the trafficker. His surest market is the licensed or recognised brothel.

Brothel determines Destination of Traffic.

While it is realised that, in general, the existence of licensed brothels is a matter of internal social conditions which does not come within the competence of the enquiry, at the same time it is the Commission's duty to consider the bearing of this system on international

traffic in the East. The observation of the Commission has shown that the existence of licensed or recognised brothels in an Eastern country is a determining factor in making that country a place of destination for international traffic, and that immediately recognition is withdrawn from brothels the amount of incoming traffic shows a marked decrease.

Study of conditions in the places of destination for traffic in girls from China provides eloquent proof of this fact. While there are hundreds and thousands of Chinese prostitutes in Hong-Kong, Macao, Siam and British Malaya, territories which have or had until recently systems of licensed or recognised brothels, the numbers of Chinese prostitutes in the Dutch East Indies, where licensed prostitution was abolished a considerable time ago, are, notwithstanding a demand for these women, potentially as great, estimated to be merely a few. The

contrast between the volume of incoming traffic in Chinese girls in the Straits Settlements before and after the withdrawal of recognition of brothels in 1930 as related under the heading "Chinese Victims of International Traffic " is a further striking proof of the direct influence of the brothel on international traffic. According to the Ceylon authorities, the abolition of the system of recognised brothels in 1912 had the immediate effect of completely stopping traffic in foreign women to that island. The same result has been experienced in Rangoon.

Recognised brothels in an Eastern country naturally tend to facilitate also outgoing traffic, but even then such traffic can only be important in extent and capable of development if licensed houses are equally available in the country of destination. The latter are undoubtedly much more essential to a trafficker than brothels in the place of recruitment. In spite of the absence of brothels in the Dutch East Indies, there did exist a not quite negligible traffic in Malay girls from Java to British Malaya at the time when brothels were recognised by the authorities in that territory. This traffic had begun to decline only since the abolition of brothels in the Straits Settlements. Notwithstanding the existence of brothels throughout China, traffic in girls from China has virtually ceased to those countries of the South Seas which have abolished brothels, while it flourishes where they still exist in the country of destination. It is therefore safe to say that international traffic in Chinese girls in the East is promoted by the brothels in several countries of the South Seas much more than by the brothels in China itself.

Brothels as Depots at Points.

Besides facilitating the trafficker's supply in the country of origin of his merchandise and providing him with an Intermediate assured market in the proposed country of destination, the Oriental brothel ensures in a country of transit for international traffic a depôt where the victim can be

housed, without cost, and even earn a profit, pending a decision as to her ultimate disposal.

Hong-Kong and Macao are typical of such places of transit for traffic in Chinese girls from ports in China to the South Seas. The existence of licensed brothels in the two colonies, especially in Hong-Kong,\*

(This footnote is added by the A.M.S.H.)

<sup>\*</sup> For changes introduced in Hong-Kong since the visit of the Commission, see below.

Hong-Kong: An official order was made by the Government of Hong-Kong on December 4th, 1931, that all brothels are to be abolished as soon as practicable. The houses catering for the foreign clientele have already been closed and the Japanese brothels. No new women will be registered, nor will any transfer of women from one house to another be allowed. Hong-Kong has, therefore, taken the necessary steps for complete abolition of the vice areas in the Colony within a period of three years.

where practically all ships from Chinese ports to the South Seas have to pass, allows traffickers to separate the business of procuring girls in China from the business of distributing them to the different places of destination, using Hong-Kong and the near Portuguese colony as clearing houses and distributing centres for their wares. Without licensed brothels, these geographically convenient points could not be used in this manner, as the employment of a clandestine brothel for such purpose would be unsafe, and to keep the girl idle would be unprofitable.

Brothel stimulates and perpetuates Traffic.

From the striking comparison between the amounts of traffic in Chinese girls to those places in the South Seas which have recognised brothels and those which have not, it may further be inferred that the brothel not only provides satisfaction for an existing demand for foreign prostitutes, but is very much instrumental also in stimulating that demand.

By itself, the absence of an assured market could hardly explain the difference in the number of Chinese prostitutes for instance between Siam, where, for a Chinese population estimated at not more than a million, there are 600 licensed Chinese brothel inmates, and the Dutch East Indies, where, for a million and a half Chinese, there are only a few Chinese women practising prostitution.

Chinese ex-prostitutes in the South Seas often become servants in brothels and occasionally keepers, both of whom derive their income from participation in traffic. Their chief interest in life is centred on the procuration and the training of girls for brothel life, girls who, in their turn, when they have finished with prostitution, will do the same, thus perpetuating the vicious circle of procuration and traffic.

The licensed brothel, therefore, in addition to being the business establishment of persons who exploit prostitutes legally in accordance with the terms of their licences, is a depôt in which victims of international traffic may be held until ready for exportation and a centre of business for traffickers, who move girls from one place to another.

The pernicious rôle of the brothel in international traffic in the East has been demonstrated by the example of traffic in Chinese women. Next in importance to the Chinese in point of numbers comes traffic in women of Japanese nationality. The bulk of it, traffic from the Japanese Empire to China, especially Manchuria, equally has its basis on the existence of licensed brothels both in Japan and in the places of destination.

International traffic in women of other Asiatic races is, as the particular chapters show, small in extent, but, where it occurs, the brothel is equally the responsible factor.

Occidental prostitutes in the East also are chiefly found in places

where brothels operate freely, be they licensed or recognised or simply left free from interference.

The recognised brothel in the East, moreover, is a definite obstacle to the success of efforts to protect women and girls in danger of being victims of international traffic. This is well illustrated by the remark of an official in British Malaya who, in comparing the efficiency of such efforts in respect of girls coming from abroad, before and after the abolition of brothels, said: "Every girl we examine now is a potential victim and if there is any doubt we make them put up a bond. We are not hindered in any way now by the mere fact that if a girl said she wanted to be a prostitute it had to be allowed. Previously our own moral sense about them was blunted because we had to allow some."

Remedy for Taking all considerations into account, the Commission International holds that the principal factor in promotion of international traffic in women in the East is the brothel and, Abolition of in the chain of brothels which are at the disposal of the Brothels.

Brothels. trafficker, particularly the brothel in the place of destination of the victim. The most effective remedy against the evil, therefore, is in the Commission's opinion the abolition of licensed or recognised brothels in the countries concerned.

### (3) Collaboration of Authorities with Missions and Private Organisations.

Enlighten-"In calling attention to a series of administrative ment by measures as the most urgent in the interest of reduction Education. of international traffic in women and children in the East, the Commission by no means underrates the value of another branch of activity in this field which, while of even greater basic importance, calls for long and systematic action in which official as well as missionary and private initiative are indispensable. This is educational work. The social changes now taking place throughout the East affecting the position of women are undoubtedly a most powerful agent in the fight against the evil with which this report is concerned. The spread of education, now making tremendous strides in all countries of the East, will more and more show this evil in its true light. It will arm parents, guardians and victims against the blandishments of the traffickers and their agents, awaken in the masses of the peoples a sentiment of indignation against the injustice of degradation forced on innocent victims and, by widening the possibilities of useful employment for girls, automatically reduce the number of cases in which a family in distress sees no other way of avoiding starvation than by disposing of a daughter in a manner which, directly or indirectly, involves prostitution. . . ."

Fruitful "Missions and private associations engaged in preventive Activity of and rescue work in connection with prostitution and Missions and traffic in Asia are to be found working in practically all Private the countries where the Commission carried on its Organisations. enquiry. . . . In many instances, missions and private organisations have been responsible for the inspiration of efficient Government measures introduced to combat prostitution and traffic. . . ."

Women's "There is hardly a country in the East to-day where Associations. associations of the women of the country do not play an important rôle in the fight against the evil of traffic, lending their moral support to those who are engaged in rescue and preventive work.

One Urgent

Necessity in
Preventive

While the Commission does not overlook the needs of the hosts of other potential victims of traffic in the East, it would like to call special attention to the urgent necessity of preventive work among the young women of the Russian refugee communities in China.

"The economic situation of these communities and its effect on traffic due to lack of openings of employment for girls has been dealt with in that part of the report referring specially to Russian women. . . . Without wishing in the least to claim authority of judgment in a matter so beset with local complications, nevertheless, as a matter of tentative suggestion, the Commission would like to draw attention to one of these theoretical possibilities. There are, in the various countries of the Far East, hundreds of European and American families which employ native nurses for their small children. These Chinese, Annamite, Filipino or Malay amahs are appreciated for their unfailing devotion to the children. For many reasons, however, especially on account of ignorance and superstition which sometimes adversely influence the best intentions of the amah towards the child, most foreign mothers in the Far East would prefer an occidental nurse. Unable to afford the heavy expense of engaging a nurse from home, they might yet be glad of an opportunity to employ a Russian girl of the Far East if she were competent and well recommended. If the Russian refugee girl could gain the reputation of being an efficient and reliable nurse, it seems quite possible that a large field of employment would be open to her. An adequate and trustworthy organisation to provide suitable training and help in placing the candidates could be of very material assistance in this problem.

"Assistance of this kind seems to be a worthy opportunity for the activities of private organisations engaged in preventive work, and the appeal for it should be strengthened by the fact that those who are to

be benefited belong to that unfortunate class of persons who, as a result of the world cataclysm of war and revolution, and through no fault of their own, are without home or nationality.

Combined "The combined efforts of the authorities, who combat Efforts should international traffic in women and children in the East Succeed. by administrative measures, and of society, which holds out a helping hand to the victim, will, the Commission hopes and believes, result in a not too distant future in bringing about a noticeable reduction of the evil."

In presenting the full Report to the Council of the League the Commission (i.e., all the members of the Far East Commission) endorse the Report of the Travelling Commission as follows:—

"The Commission decided to endorse the conclusions submitted in Chapter II, 'Considerations and Suggestions submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.' It hopes that the Council will specially recommend to the attention of Governments the excellent suggestions regarding 'international co-operation,' 'the rôle of the brothel in international traffic in the East,' and 'collaboration of authorities with missions and private organisations.' In the Commission's opinion, the report could be usefully followed up by instructing the Advisory Commission for the Protection and welfare of Children and Young People to make a careful study of the various parts and see what practical action they involve.

"If the Council is prepared to carry out this suggestion, it might also recommend the Advisory Commission to obtain additional opinions and information by securing the temporary co-operation, on Eastern questions, of persons connected with institutions (missions, private organisations) which are not represented upon it.

"In the struggle against the traffic in women and children, it is desirable, in addition to the co-operation of the Advisory Commission, to have the support of public opinion."

#### PART II.

(Note: Part II comprises four-fifths of the whole Report. In addition to giving the relevant laws in full text it contains much useful and detailed information which is not suitable for summarizing. Here and there some extracts from Part II have been incorporated in the summary given above. It is desirable that copies of the complete Report should be available for reference in Public Libraries, and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene suggests that such Libraries in the various localities should be asked to purchase copies of the Report.)

Japan.

In 1930 there were in Japan Proper 11,154 licensed brothels in 541 different quarters containing 50,056 inmates.

In Chosen 510 such places in 25 quarters.

In Kwantung, Dairen and Port Arthur there were 147 houses (70 Japanese and 77 Chinese).

In South Manchuria Railway Zone there were 76 houses containing 430 licensed inmates.

In Formosa no statistics were given.

The present policy in Japan Proper is "neither to permit the establishment of new licensed quarters nor to recognise expansion of existing ones." Owing to public agitation the system of Regulation has been abolished in nine prefectures.

China.

The Nanking Government has forbidden the exercise of prostitution in the capital and the Government's policy is to restrict it in all ways. In Shanghai there is little or no Chinese prostitution in the Chinese district. Elsewhere the houses continue to be tolerated and that is the general rule.

The President of the Court of Justice in Mukden expressed the

following views:—

"In my opinion, if we are to stop traffic in women, it is best to stop public licensed prostitution. That, I think, will put a stop to the whole traffic. In those places where licences for prostitution are not allowed, cases of traffic, in my opinion, are very rare. It may happen, particularly in famine districts, that there is sale of women and children but rather for relief, a sort of charitable system, generally a richer family taking the girl of a poorer family to do domestic work. But the great curse of licensed prostitution is that it gives opportunity to men to do this traffic. From that point of view, to safeguard against traffic, certainly public licences for prostitution should be abolished. That would be the solution of the problem. That is my opinion."

In Tientsin there are 571 tolerated houses and a Table given in the Report shows that 147,000 dollars of capital are invested in them.

Hong-Kong (British).

The Commission visited Hong-Kong before the policy of abolition of the brothel was declared by the Government on December 4th, 1931.

Macao (Portuguese).

The Government's policy is one of strict Regulation and brothels and inmates are licensed. In 1930 there were 65 houses with 877 inmates who mostly came from China.

Philippine Islands (American).

The general policy of the Government is one of prohibition of prostitution. Prostitutes are prosecuted as vagrants. But open brothels for American and Filipino soldiers, under official medical examination, appear to have existed until 1930 in one place near a military encampment. In 1930 the examination was discontinued.

Indo-China (French).

The policy of the Government is strict Regulation with licensed houses and inmates under regular medical examination.

Dutch East Indies.

Administered on Abolitionist lines. Brothels are illegal and prostitution is not encouraged in any way, though not directly penalised. Traffic in women and children is almost negligible.

Straits Settlements (British).

Brothels made illegal in 1930. This broke up the great vice areas. The houses were "known" but not licensed. The traffic is steadily decreasing as there is now no assured market for the traffickers. Both traffic and prostitution has been seriously hampered by new law.

Singapore previously was a big centre for the traffic in girls.

Federated Malay States (British).

Brothels made illegal by Act of 1931. Similar conditions to Straits Settlements.

Unfederated Malay States.

Similar to the Federated States. Brothels made illegal by Act becoming operative 1932.

Siam.

Policy may be described as "regulationist" in regard to prostitution, "abolitionist" towards traffic in women and girls.

Brothels are licensed and their inmates. There were 151 in Bangkok in 1930. It has been found difficult to prevent the entry of traffickers.

India.

British India: General policy is towards abolition; there are no licensed houses but they are tolerated in most large cities and brothels' inmates are listed by the police. In Bombay and Madras brothels are illegal.

Burma: Policy is abolitionist. Brothels made illegal in 1921. The traffic has been reduced to very small dimensions and foreign traffickers would find it almost impossible to ply their trade.

Geylon.

Policy and results much as in Burma. Brothels were closed by agitation in 1912 and made illegal in 1919.

Persia.

Contradictory situation in some respects. Prostitution not recognised by law but in the larger towns is controlled by police measures, which include registration of inmates and toleration of brothels.

Little incoming or outgoing traffic. Persian prostitution and procuration is a national not an international problem.

Iraq.

Much the same conditions as in Persia.

Syria and the Lebanon (Under French Mandate).

Policy of regulation with licensed brothels and registration and medical examination of inmates. Conditions of control as in France. There are 80 licensed houses in the Lebanon and 127 in Syria with 819 inmates. There are also 92 registered café girls.

Palestine (Under British Mandate).

Policy abolitionist. Brothels made illegal in 1927. Prostitution is

not penalized.

There is some incoming traffic in Syrian girls but it is very inconsiderable. The closing of the brothels has contributed to the decrease in the influx of foreign prostitutes.

#### PART III.

Part III contains Appendices, as follows:-

1.—Brief Statements of Salient Facts of Some Cases of International

Traffic studied by the Commission.

2.—Position of the Territories visited regarding Adhesions to the Agreement of 1904 and the Conventions of 1910 and 1921 relating to Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

3.—Lists of Conversations held, Testimonies heard, Institutions visited,

and Local Inspections made by the Commission.

4.—Agreement of 1904 and Conventions of 1910 and 1921.

5.—Itinerary of the Commission of Enquiry.

Items 2, 3 and 4 need not be summarised, and 5 has already been included in this summary, but the following statements from Appendix I illustrate the traffic in operation in (1) Russian Women in Harbin, and (2) Chinese Women in Hong Kong.

A Russian Girl, aged 15 years.

"About a year ago I was alone at home one day when a man called 'B' came and proposed that I should take up domestic service in his house for 25 dollars a month. I accepted and went to his home. A few days later, he told me that I could get a much better position in Tientsin as shop assistant. I was asked to sit at table with the family on that day and was given wine to drink. Afterwards I was given a paper to sign on which it was stated that I had received 300 dollars to go to Tientsin. Next day I left for Tientsin with 'B.'

"Just before our arrival at Tientsin, 'B' told me that I was not to be a shop assistant, but that I would serve in a house of rendezvous. I did not know what that meant.

"On arrival at Tientsin, I was taken to the house of prostitution, No.—, Road——. There I was given another paper to sign which stated that I had received 600 dollars. When I asked where the money was and why I should sign, the people shouted me down and I was so afraid that I signed. Then I was locked in a room and another man, 'B.'s' partner, 'C.' came to me and I was left with him. After that I stayed six months in the house.

"One day, I asked a Russian man visiting the brothel to write to my brother in Harbin. He did so, and the wife of my brother came to Tientsin. She came to the brothel where I was; I heard her voice, but I was not

allowed to see her.

"Immediately afterwards I was sold to a brothel in Peiping for 550 dollars. I was four months in the Peiping brothel, but then I could not work any more because I was so ill and I ran away. That was at . . . Hutung, Peiping. I managed to get a riksha and had gone a short distance when a 'boy' (male servant) of the brothel caught me and took me to a police station. There I could not make myself understood because they spoke only Chinese. I was put into prison and remained there for two months. Then a Chinese policeman came from Harbin and brought me back to Harbin. The brother of 'B' who is a keeper of the brothel in Tientsin also came with us.

"On the way, 'B.'s' brother told me if I did not say that I had gone to Tientsin of my own free will I should be put in prison, and if I said I was ill I would be put in the prison hospital. Therefore, when I was questioned by the Attorney-General, I said that I had gone to Tientsin of my own free will. 'B.'s' brother also urged me to say that I was 17 years old, and I, therefore, told the Attorney-General that I was 17 years old. I am now not yet quite 16 years old. I was then allowed to go home. Later, at the trial, I told the whole truth and my birth certificate was produced.

"I am very ill with venereal disease and cannot work and I have no means

of support

"While I was in Tientsin, I was made to sign another receipt, this time for 1,200 dollars. I was never allowed out of the brothel for a single moment.

"The Harbin 'B' is now in prison. His brother, the Tientsin brothel-keeper, is here in Harbin and keeps two brothels here."

A Chinese Woman.

"I am 23 years of age; a prostitute. I come from S.L. village, in Kwangsi. I have been kidnapped three times by bandits and twice redeemed by my relations for 200 and 500 dollars. The third time the ransom demanded was 200 dollars. My family had no money left. Three men brought me to Hong Kong and sold me to 'K.T.K.' for 210 dollars. I was bound to her for seven years. The men made me say they were my relations. All my earnings go to 'K.T.K.' She told me what to say to the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. She said I would find the life of a prostitute pleasant and that I should be imprisoned if I told the truth."

