



Filling
the Emptiness
of a

Stunned
Inner Silence:

Survivors' Memoirs of Japanese
Internment Camps in Indonesia
during World War II

by

Lindsay Emery

Senior Honors Thesis

Duke University

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

May 2010

Approved by:

Julie Tetel, Advisor

Eric Meyers, Committee Member

Robert Thompson, Committee Member

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Part I: Historical Framework

Introduction.....	4
Section I: Multilayered absences.....	7
Section II: Indonesian limbo: The other half of the war.....	14
Part II: Photographs, Maps, and Memories.....	35
Part III: Narrative Analysis	
Section I: Revealing Real Memories in a “Play” War.....	45
Section II: Weaving Common Threads Across Narratives.....	68
Conclusion.....	90

Appendices

Bibliography

Acknowledgements

The deep personal significance of this project has a long history. I was fortunate to be raised by my wonderful parents as well as my affectionate grandparents, Herman and Ans Arens. My grandparents shared stories and artifacts from trips around the world throughout my youth, engendering a fascination with times and places beyond my own.

In the summer of 1996, my entire family traveled to Holland to explore my grandfather's childhood. I saw where my grandfather had taken piano and art lessons and where he grew up. But my grandmother had a different childhood and adolescence, one that she rarely discussed and only shared with me when I interviewed her for an English paper during my freshman year in high school. Born and raised in Indonesia, then the Netherlands East Indies, my grandmother experienced the other side of World War II: the Pacific theatre. While my grandfather was a pilot in the Dutch Air Force during the war, my grandmother, at the age of twenty-one, was held in a Japanese internment camp in Indonesia for three and a half traumatic years. She eventually recorded some of her memories, which offer only a fragmented glimpse into a moment of history that has received sparse attention.

The Pacific theatre is the stage of my project; its actors are the Dutch survivors—like my grandmother—of the Japanese internment camps. I analyze a compilation of memoirs from these survivors in an attempt to give coherence and presence to the fragmentary existence of their experience. My goal is to lend a voice to those who have been silenced. I dedicate this work to my grandmother, to honor her for her strength, courage, and compassionate personality that continue to influence me even after her passing in 2007. I also want to thank my advisor Julie Tetel for her endless support, for guiding me in the right direction, and for having confidence in this project long before I did.

Lindsay Emery

Trinity '10

Part I: Historical Framework

Introduction:

War stories are so often reported with the number of victims. Statistics break down the logistics into birthplace, military versus nonmilitary, or even men versus women. With constant exposure, readers are numb to the significance of these numbers; one cannot fully grasp the fear, pain, suffering, or sadness that accompanied the over 15,000 Allied prisoners of war that died building the Burma Railroad or the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis.¹ This desensitization results in indifference or ignorance. Perhaps what may be more impactful and memorable is to read war stories from the view and experience of the survivors. The surviving prisoners of war have memories and stories that provide insight and force the reader to feel and experience the memory; an understanding that is impossible to gain from war victim statistics.

My interest in the Dutch women and children civilian internees in Indonesia, then the Netherlands East Indies, during World War II begins with the story of my grandmother, Ans Arens. I feel a deep, emotional connection with her not only as her only granddaughter, but also as her namesake. Her story is written as a letter to her daughter Gwen (and my mother), so that she could better understand her mother's history during the war—one that Ans rarely talked about. The Japanese entered Ans's life on her 21st birthday on March 10, 1942. Subsequently, Ans, her

¹ Mariska Heijmans-Van Bruggen, *After the Burma-Thailand Railway: The 'Homecoming' of Dutch Prisoners of War*, ed. Bob Moore and Barbara Hatley-Broad (Oxford: Berg, 2005) 151.

mother, her sister Nel, and Nel's newborn baby, Dick Jaap, were interned in Camp Tjihapit and Camp Tjideng on the island of Java until the unconditional surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945. After the war, Ans' experiences and memories were conveniently stored away in a box in her mind. Leaving the camp at twenty-four, Ans wanted to start a new life to experience and enjoy new things. Her thirty-three-page story only briefly discusses her imprisonment, while more time is devoted to her childhood prior to the war and her "new," post-war life in the United States. However fleeting her story may appear in length, the magnitude of its meaning for me has encouraged me to develop an outsider's understanding of the war stories of Dutch survivors, such as my grandmother. With so little attention devoted to the Pacific theatre in World War II, even less focus is directed to the women and children that suffered under the Japanese military. Who better to articulate the experience, the shared emotions, and its effects than the survivors themselves?

This brief introduction to Ans' story sets the stage for the written accounts of Dutch women and children who survived the Japanese internment camps. Personal narratives recording this event are scarce and often overshadowed by the numerous veteran accounts and stories from survivors of the Thailand-Burma Railway (or Death Railway). The women and children are the forgotten ones that have attempted to make their history known by recording their stories—be it through daily entries describing each passing day at the camp or memories recalled almost sixty years after the war. Although thousands perished, Ans is one of the many who survived and lived with these memories all of her life. Despite lacking a title to recognize the event, these narratives not only inform the unaware, but they also

provide an outlet for the authors themselves to better cope with the atrocities they suffered as well as witnessed.

Ans was born in Bogor, Indonesia on the island of Java. Her parents had moved to the Netherlands East Indies in 1914, just a few weeks prior to the start of World War I. Since the Indonesian archipelago was a Dutch colony until the end of World War II, Ans was a Dutch citizen. On December 7, 1941, after learning about the Pearl Harbor attacks, the Dutch Government, at that time in exile in London, England because Hitler had occupied the Netherlands, declared war on Japan. The Japanese landed on Java in February 1942, and by her father's order, Ans and her mother drove to Bandung. With daily bombings by Japanese planes, the unprepared colony was easily defeated. Although troops tried to keep the city from falling to the Japanese, with little defense supplies and an inadequate Air Force, the enemy overpowered the Pacific paradise. When the Japanese entered the house on Ans' birthday, she and her family were relocated to Olcott Park, a hotel in Bandung. Shortly after, Nel's husband was marched off to a prisoner of war camp. In September 1942, the family, with Nel's three-month-old baby boy, Dick Jaap, was ordered to move to a part of town that was fenced off with bamboo sheeting and barbed wire. The next three and a half years were spent in the camps Tjihapit and Tjideng. By providing a name and description of an individual that survived the Japanese internment camps, Ans' memory serves as my entryway into everyone's stories.

Section I: Multilayered Absences

A word functions as a carrier of meaning. Words may be used as a description, expression, command, or title, each holding a different definition and significance. History is represented with words, organized together to informatively explain the past. However, history may be perceived differently depending on the reader's perspective of his or her own cultural and historical background. One's knowledge and point of view is affected by exposure to governmental records, historical accounts, the media, and educational textbooks. But what about the absence of a word or a description of past events? What meaning does something that is absent hold? How can one effectively capture and articulate the absent? Especially when there is such a shadow cast by something with extensive presence, namely the Holocaust, how does a seemingly distant and removed historical event to the public eye overcome the lack of widespread recognition and gain the global attention it deserves?

General Dwight D. Eisenhower witnessed the Nazi concentration camps as well as requested photographs be taken to contradict anyone who may later claim the death camps never existed. However, the Japanese interment camps did not receive such international attention and the limited visual and written accounts that do exist are verbalized by survivors, military veterans, or photographs taken mostly before or after the event. One male journalist risked his life to save several canisters

of film from being discovered during his entire three and a half years of internment.² Japanese camp commanders operated daily roll calls, often for hours on end, but little paperwork has been recovered. With little evidence, the Japanese government feels no obligation to recognize these events, much less provide substantial compensation for the victims. Fortunately, historians, the Dutch government, among others, have comparatively examined this part of history to contradict Japan's disregard.

While the Japanese war crimes are sometimes referred to as the Asian Holocaust, this misconception does not accurately depict the true historical happenings between Japan and its prisoners. There is an absence of an appropriate title for the years of starvation, harsh punishments, cruel treatment, and conditions in the concentration camps located throughout the Indonesian archipelago.³ The term *holocaust* is derived from the Greek word *holokauston*, holos "whole" + kaustos "burned" and is defined as a "destruction or slaughter on a mass scale, especially caused by fire or nuclear war."⁴ Historically, it is "a Jewish sacrificial offering that is burned completely on an altar."⁵ The Holocaust (capitalized) explicitly refers to the mass murder of Jews under the Third Reich; although some historians believe the label includes the genocide against other minorities such as homosexuals and

² Hendrik L. Leffelaar, *Through a Harsh Dawn; a Boy Grows up in a Japanese Prison Camp* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishing Company, 1963) 51.

³ The Japanese also established internment camps in Japan, China, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaya (majority in Singapore), Philippine Islands, and New Guinea. However, this paper focuses primarily on the women and children's internment camps in the Netherlands East Indies. See Bernice Archer, *The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese 1941-1945: A Patchwork of Internment*, (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004) xiii and xiv.

⁴ Detective, Balashon - Hebrew Language, "Shoah and Holocaust," <http://www.balashon.com/2008/04/shoah-and-holocaust.html> (accessed October 16, 2009).

⁵ Balashon.

gypsies. The Nazis called it *die Endlösung der Judenfrage* or “the final solution to the Jewish question.” *Shoah* is the Hebrew word literally meaning “catastrophe” or “calamity.” It is derived from the Hebrew root meaning a loud din, or storm.⁶ While the term *Holocaust* is frequently used in English descriptions of this event, others have returned to using the term *Shoah* because it does not have the offensive connotation of the religious sacrifice of millions. The war crimes committed by the Japanese lack multicultural terms, much less a single term in any language. However, the Japanese identified Emperor Hirohito’s reign until the Empire’s defeat in 1945 as the *Shōwa Era*. This similarity in word pronunciation is just a coincidence, but very surprising nonetheless. *Shōwa jidai* literally means “period of enlightened peace.”⁷ Emperor Hirohito’s regime was far from peaceful and the Imperial Japanese Empire merely glossed over the existence of the internment camps. The Nazis at least used a euphemism to address the situation.

Extensive information about and representation of the Holocaust preserves incessant scrutiny of its existence and history. It is treated as a historical phenomenon, one that will hopefully never be replicated. Although other genocides have occurred, such as in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Darfur, the widespread acknowledgement of the destruction of the Jews is recognized as beyond compare. To deny the existence of this catastrophe, in Germany, Austria, and a few other European nations, is considered a criminal offense.⁸ This does not hold true for

⁶ Balashon.

⁷ "The Twilight of an Ex-God," *U.S. News & World Report*, 3 October 1988, vol. 105, p. 9.

⁸ Michael J. Bazylar, "Holocaust Denial Laws and Other Legislation Criminalizing Promotion of Nazism" (International Institute for Holocaust Studies, Yad Vashem, 2006).

Japan's war crimes. While the Holocaust is persistently present in examinations of present-day genocides, wars, and traumatic events, the Japanese war atrocities are entirely absent in textbooks, memorials, and museums. There is a lack of governmental compensation, global recognition, and most importantly, a name. In fact, in Japan, those convicted of war crimes are often portrayed in a positive light as "Martyrs of Shōwa."⁹

For decades, Japanese textbooks have downplayed the attention to war crimes committed by Imperial Japan during World War II. They do not use books that depict Japan in a negative light. In 1977, school history books discussed World War II on six pages, consisting of photos of the American firebombing of Tokyo, the outcome of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and a record of Japan's war dead.¹⁰ Yet, the brief description of the atomic bombs makes no reference as to why the bombs were dropped, much less any admittance that this action was a result of any fault of Japan. The Nanjing Massacre, where hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians were murdered, and tens of thousands of women raped by Imperial Army soldiers, is titled the Nanjing Incident.¹¹ The policy of sexual slavery, what the Japanese called "comfort women," is completely ignored.

Japan and their conquered Asian territories also lack numerous memorials and museums acknowledging and admitting their war crimes. Three main cemeteries and several museums exist in Thailand dedicated to those who lost their

⁹ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1997) 12.

¹⁰ Chang, 205.

¹¹ Chang, 208.

lives building the Burma Railroad, with a memorial plaque and locomotive displayed at Khwae Bridge.¹² Yet within the Japanese empire, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, the only war memorial museum, portrays Japan as the victim and does not include anything about the Indonesian camps or comfort women. Also, very few military records from World War II have been recovered due to the Japanese military destroying written evidence, never removing information from Japan, or having returned the records to Japan without prior filming.¹³ The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation does have records of Indonesian newspapers, diary entries, and sketches from POWs of the period of internment, but does not have information corresponding to Japan's involvement. The Holocaust, on the other hand, is represented in countless memorials and museums not only in Germany and countries that housed the concentration camps, but even in countries that were barely involved or did not even exist during the war (e.g. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Israel). With less evidence and written work to analyze, the Japanese side of the war has undergone far less careful examinations than Germany.

The Dutch in the Netherlands focused on post-war recovery and the Indonesian natives wanted independence; the Dutch prisoners of war were stuck in limbo. The Netherlands East Indies had been a Dutch colony for over 300 years prior to World War II, with many Dutch residents in the archipelago viewing themselves as Indies, with generations of family members born and raised in the

¹² *The Thailand-Burma Railway Centre*, <http://www.tbrconline.com/> (accessed March 10, 2010).

¹³ Chang, 177.

Netherlands East Indies. However, the native Indonesians perceived the Dutch as intruders, and took advantage of the Japanese invasion and subsequent surrender as their opportunity to declare independence from their colonial landlord in 1945. After Japan's surrender, many Dutch prisoners of war became targets of violence for the Indonesian Nationalists. No longer welcomed by the newly proclaimed Indonesian *Republik*, their country of birth, many Dutch prisoners of war traveled back to their mother country. But even in the Netherlands, these survivors were ignored and felt like outsiders. The Dutch were still suffering from food shortages since the German occupation and the last thing they needed was incoming POWs telling stories of Japanese atrocities that sounded like elaborate fabrications.¹⁴ This initial lack of hospitality from the Dutch fueled feelings of bitterness from their Southeast Asian comrades. Also, with the previous Dutch colony far away from the mother country, memories more easily "evaporate" because survivors are not frequently exposed to a specific site reminding them of the internment camps in Indonesia. Their "foreign" experience is removed from their daily life and isolates the memory, resulting in infrequent recollections.

Fortunately, the Dutch government eventually pressured Japan for financial compensation, even though it did not assist the civilian prisoners of war. On November 20, 2007, the lower house of the Dutch Parliament passed a unanimous motion asking Japan to financially compensate the women forced into sexual slavery

¹⁴ Dieuwke Wendelaar Bonga, *Eight Prison Camps: A Dutch Family in Japanese Java* (Center for International Studies Monograph Series: Ohio University, 1996) xi.

during the war.¹⁵ The Asian Women's Fund that originated in 1995 provided a signed apology by the then Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and also material compensation.^{16, 17} However, these funds came from private donations and relief funds provided by the American, English, and Dutch governments, not the Japanese government, and were scrutinized as the Japanese government avoiding admittance to the war crimes.¹⁸ Furthermore, only neighboring Asian countries received initial compensation (China, South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, and Indonesia). The Netherlands waived all claims to reparations by signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which stated that Japan was obligated to pay the victims, but the payments could not be obtained since Japan's economy was struggling to stay afloat.¹⁹ But letters exchanged between the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands Dirk Stikker and Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida ensured that individuals would still be able to file for compensation.²⁰

In addition to the absence of compensation and recognition by the Japanese government, survivors received little monetary or emotional support from their mother country, the Netherlands. Initially, the Dutch government refused to pay the POWs for the thirty-eight to forty-one months of Japanese captivity, having been preoccupied in their own recovery and reconstruction in Europe. Since 1912, the

¹⁵ Sun Yunlong, *Dutch Parliament Demands Japanese Compensation For "Comfort Women"*
http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-11/21/content_7119543.htm (accessed March 10, 2010)

¹⁶ Asian Women's Fund, *Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund*
<http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/index.html> (accessed March 10, 2010).

¹⁷ See Appendix for letter to comfort women from Japanese Prime Minister.

¹⁸ "Japan's Abe: No Proof of WWII Sex Slaves," *The Washington Post*, 1 March 2007.

¹⁹ Asian Women's Fund.

²⁰ Asian Women's Fund.

Netherlands East Indies had been legally autonomous, hence the Dutch government was not held responsible for any unsettled debts, in this case, POW compensation.²¹ In 1946, the Netherlands East Indies government refused to pay the surviving internees because they were unable to limit the payments to only European communities, and did not have the monetary resources to reimburse the entire population.²² Eventually, in 1981, the Dutch government paid all former prisoners 7,000 guilders, but only if they lived in Holland for ten consecutive years. If they ever left, it broke the commitment.²³ Even now, the Dutch government has failed to provide substantial compensation to the war victims in the Pacific theater. In addition, after dethroning the Dutch government in the East Indies, the Indonesian Nationalists wanted to dispose of all remaining Dutch civilians. The Dutch survivors had nowhere to call home.

Section II: Indonesian limbo: The other half of the war

When prompted to think of World War II, most individuals immediately recall the Nazi politics, propaganda, and barbarism, especially regarding the extermination of the Jewish people in concentration camps. Although the Nazi uprising began in the early 1930s, many Americans recall this international war beginning on December 7, 1941 when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. This brought the United States into the picture when they declared war against Japan and Germany on December 8th. Beyond the bombings of Pearl Harbor, only a few other

²¹ Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 161.

²² Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 162.

²³ Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 162.

battles and events stick out in the historical memories of World War II. The Battle of Midway in June 1942, the Allies invasion of Western Europe in Operation Overlord in 1943, Germany's surrender (VE Day) on May 8, 1944, and D-Day on June 6, 1944 with the Normandy Landings stand out as commonly known World War II events. Of course, the war truly ended in August 1945, when the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, resulting in the unconditional surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 (VJ Day). Many of these memorable events involve the Japanese, but when evoking details of prisoners of war, the Holocaust immediately comes to mind. Few are aware that the Dutch were held in Japanese internment camps in Indonesia from 1942 to 1945. With so much attention given to Germany, the Nazis, and the war in Europe, even the Dutch survivors viewed the war in the European theater as the real war, and they were merely performers in a play war in the Pacific theater.

It would be inappropriate to completely disregard the terrors and trauma suffered by the prisoners of war held by the Nazis, in both labor and extermination camps. It may even be argued that it is inconceivable to think any other prisoner of war could have experienced an event so atrocious; that Japanese internment camps are in no way comparable to what the Jewish population, among other minorities, endured. But despite both forming the Axis powers with Italy, the Nazis and the Japanese had very different missions, as well as cultural backgrounds, illustrating the illogicality of sufficiently comparing these two events.

After the complete national destruction following World War I, Germany was rebuilding itself. Although Germany has been home to Jews and Gentiles for hundreds of years, Adolf Hitler and the Nazis took advantage of the war-worn country and socially constructed the superior identity of the Aryan Race. German societal norms always taught children to obey their parents and to do as they were told. With a strong communal desire to regain global status, the German people followed Hitler's mob mentality of the superior race and supported or became an ignorant bystander of his reasoning to exterminate an entire population of people, the Jews.

Ultimately, the Nazis wanted to execute a "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" by systematically exterminating six million Jews and other enemies of the Third Reich (e.g. homosexuals, Slavs, political prisoners) in attempt to spread the seed of the perfect Aryan Race. An additional ten million people were sent to labor camps. The Nazis also captured Soviet and Polish land to expand their territories.

Japan's mission was to create a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, making Asia solely for the Asians as well as become a world power.²⁴ To achieve this goal, Japan needed to control China. In order to gain access to China from the south, the Japanese had to conquer the Netherlands East Indies and Singapore. To secure their authority in the Netherlands East Indies, the Japanese isolated the Dutch by fencing off neighborhoods for internment camps. Unlike the Nazis and Jews, Japan and the Netherlands did not have a history of geographical and economical

²⁴Perez, Mikiso Hane and Louis G., *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*. 4 ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009) 326.

proximity to one another. The Japanese still felt disgust toward their inferior Western captives, but there was no “Dutch Question” to solve. While the Japanese did want to eventually kill their prisoners of war, they deemed slave labor to make supplies for the war effort more profitable, and instead of instant extermination, they administered a long process of starvation. Near the war’s end, rumors spread that the Japanese had scheduled an extermination date for all of the prisoners, but the atomic bomb was dropped two weeks before that date.²⁵ While most prisoner of war labor maintained the operation of the respective camps, free slave labor was used to build the Burma Railroad, and female internees were often required to knit socks for the soldiers in exchange for small food rations.²⁶

While carrying out their mission, the Japanese government justified their actions by claiming they were “freeing” the Asians from Western imperialists, in this case, saving the Indonesians from the white Dutch controlling social class. Japan justified the Pearl Harbor attack by claiming the U.S. and other Allied forces had blocked routes for procuring essential natural resources, and the attack was necessary for Japan’s survival.²⁷ The atomic bombs only further encouraged their fabricated role as victims of the war. To many, the crimes committed in the Netherlands East Indies were warfare tactics to free the Indonesians, hence these “noble” acts were not considered barbaric.

²⁵ Marie Briggs-Koning, *Footsteps in Memories and the Relationship between a Family in the Netherlands East Indies During the 1940's and World Events of the Time* (Launceston: Marken Pty Ltd, 1999) 285.

²⁶ Boudewijn van Oort, *Tjideng Reunion: A Memoir of World War II on Java*, (Trafford Publishing, 2008) 295.

²⁷ Leo Ching, personal interview, January 18, 2010.

Unlike the Jewish population in Europe, the Dutch colonists had two enemies. Japan constructed the internment camps and subjected its captives to years of starvation, torture, and harsh conditions. Many Indonesians loathed the Dutch for their abusive and controlling 300 years of colonialism. The Indonesian Nationalist Party had sought independence from the Dutch government and welcomed the incoming Japanese. When Japan controlled the islands, the native guerilla Indonesians were unobtrusive, but as soon as the Japanese surrendered, their lust for power materialized. Hundreds of prisoners of war that had survived the three and a half harsh years under Japanese occupation, died at the hands of their former neighbors. Ironically, after Japan's official surrender, not only did the Japanese become prisoners of war themselves, but they were also ordered to protect the Dutch. Although World War II was over, the Dutch prisoners of war had to survive the violent, governmental conflict within the Indonesian archipelago.

So far, the comparison between the Holocaust and the Japanese cruelties has revolved primarily around each nation's military and governmental missions, as well as the geographical landscape at their disposal. Yet, there is a greater complexity within each party that encompasses their historical background and most importantly, their culture. The Japanese promotion of militarism originated from the ancient samurai tradition.²⁸ During the Japan's *Sengoku* Period, or Period of Warring States, from the fifteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Japan's most powerful samurai warlords constantly provoked political

²⁸ Chang, 19.

conflict, which advantageously influenced their own role in future Japanese politics.²⁹ With centuries of civil wars, military rule was essential to maintaining discipline and order. The samurai code of conduct, *bushido*, required: obeying one's lord, being fearless in battle, and upholding life's ambition to honor one's nation and heritage. This sense of duty rarely wavered in the militaristic manifestations of the Second World War.³⁰ The Japanese secret service the Kempeitai, often called the Japanese Gestapo, followed the militaristic structure of the Nazi government.³¹ Their presence was made known within the prisoner of war camps when they arrested prisoners for suspected international espionage against the Japanese government. These innocent prisoners, most often Americans, were kept in jails and tortured daily to extract America's war plans, to no avail.³² Some traditional aspects held steadfast during the war, illustrating Japan's unconditional need to appropriately convey their culture, manifested in respectful acts of war. Japanese culture is a thousand-year-old hierarchical social system based on martial rivalry. The samurai warriors' devotion to their lords reflects the infamous kamikaze suicide missions of Japanese pilots who were ever so willing to sacrifice their life for the Imperial Emperor.

But Japan's geographical isolation and self-imposed seclusion for security made their technology obsolete compared to the industrial revolution in Europe.

²⁹ Chang, 19.

³⁰ Chang, 20.

³¹ Chang, 23.

³² The Kempeitai put Darlene Deibler, the American missionary, in jail because she was suspected of being an American spy, in Darlene Deibler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen: A Woman's Miraculous Faith in a Japanese Prison Camp During WWII* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1988).

Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in Japan by request of U.S. President Millard Fillmore introduced Japan to steam power and pistols and initiated trade between Japan and the United States, Britain, Russia, Germany, and France.³³ However, instead of expressing gratitude for assistance in Japan's global economic expansion, the proud Japanese felt humiliated and planned to first learn from these Western countries, favoring the German military strategy, and eventually retaliate once they became a fortified opponent. With the victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and modernization, Japan flourished in foreign trade.³⁴ However, an economic crisis and the end of World War I shut down the need for military products, crippling Japan's success.³⁵ In the 1920s, Japan felt the need to conquer other Asian countries to regain strength and prevent national starvation. By 1925, after signing a capital ship limitation treaty with the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, Japan became home to the world's third largest navy. This new navy ensured military victory in future battles against the rest of Asia. By the 1930s, Japan had unofficially declared war on China and to avoid global criticism, withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933.³⁶ A full-scale war against China commenced in 1937, which included the Rape of Nanking.³⁷ As Japan fought across Asia, plans persisted to prevent any American interference in Japan's expansion. Tense communication continued between the Emperor and the United States, but both sides were preparing for war. The United States believed an attack was imminent, most likely

³³ H. Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture 3 ed.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984) 204.

³⁴ Chang, 24.

³⁵ Chang, 25.

³⁶ Chang, 29.

³⁷ Chang, 33.

somewhere in Southeast Asia. Pearl Harbor was not on high alert, the Japanese attacked, and the world war began.

Japan and the Netherlands each played a role in the Second World War, but their relationship began in the 1600s, at a time when the Dutch East India Company was the only Western nation allowed to enter Japanese territory and trade at a single port in Dejima.³⁸ The Dutch introduced Japanese culture to modern technology, which opened up new possibilities for economic escalation. The Japanese detested the white population while silently wishing they themselves could be more like the Westerners. However, as a nation, they did not want to be associated with Asia or the West, but rather felt superior above all friends and foes.

To demonstrate their superiority upon entering the Netherlands East Indies in 1942, the Japanese placed over 142,000 Dutch men, women, and children (civilian internees and prisoners of war) into internment camps.³⁹ It is difficult to fully comprehend the magnitude of prisoners cramped into tiny spaces. With approximately 358 internment camps throughout the Netherlands East Indies, the Japanese did not have the time or patience to create camps like the Nazis, but instead walled off entire neighborhoods with bamboo fences topped with barbed wire.⁴⁰ As the war progressed, the walls were further restricted, forcing the rising population of prisoners into an even smaller space. At the beginning of the war,

³⁸ Grant K. Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience* (London: The Athlone Press, 1986) 18.

³⁹ Remco Raben, *Dutch Memories of Captivity in the Pacific War*, ed. Karl Hack and Kevin Blackburn (London: Routledge, 2008) 95.

⁴⁰ Jan A. Krancher, *The Defining Years of the Dutch East Indies, 1942-1949: Survivors' Accounts of Japanese Invasion and Enslavement of Europeans and the Revolution That Created Free Indonesia* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 1996) 265.

Camp Tjideng in Jakarta held about 2,000 prisoners. The Japanese eventually reduced the camp to a quarter its original size, and by 1944, there were over 10,000 women and children prisoners living at Tjideng.⁴¹ In Tjihapit, over a span of two months, the population increased from 7,000 to about 9,500 and eventually grew to over 11,000.⁴² While numbers vary in total prisoners and deaths, the largest estimate states that over 108,000 Dutch civilians were interned over the course of the war.⁴³ Without substantial or authenticated numbers regarding the civilian internees, it is much more difficult for this historical event to obtain the public's acceptance.

Poor sanitation yielded the spread of infection, disease, and death. Camp hospitals were always crowded and only serious case patients were admitted. Dysentery, malaria, whooping cough, lice, and dengue fever spread like wildfire. Diarrhea and beri-beri (often accompanied by edema) were common results of starvation and lack of nutrition. The high level of humidity and heat triggered boils and tropical ulcers that never healed and were constantly infected by swarms of mosquitoes. The Japanese hoarded all of the Red Cross packages, so the camp hospitals had limited supplies of cleansing cloths, bandages, and sanitary needles. Little or no medicine was available during the entire time of internment.

Food was always in short supply, and as the war progressed, more prisoners died from starvation. Initially, the kitchen at Camp Tjideng provided a bowl of

⁴¹ Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt, *Dark Skies over Paradise* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2005) 63.

⁴² van Oort, 192.

⁴³ Krancher, 265.

watery gruel for breakfast, and a cup of boiled rice with some vegetables (either Indonesian spinach called *kang-kung* or onions) for lunch and dinner. One prisoner recalled that twice a week, prisoners received a few pieces of *tempe*.⁴⁴ On two separate occasions, prisoners were punished and received no food all day, for reasons unknown to the internees. Once, a truck full of offal (intestines, hearts, tails, and genitals) arrived to be divided equally.⁴⁵ Another time, as punishment, a bread truck drove in and around the camp, but never stopped, leaving the prisoners with nothing.⁴⁶ At one point, three women tried to talk to Camp Commander Sonei about improving their living situation, specifically regarding the availability and quality of food, water, and medicine. These women were beaten, whipped, tortured, and forced to walk around the camp for three full days without food or water. The entire camp was deprived of food and water for as long as these women were walking. Only one woman was still moving on the third day, and by then was crawling; miraculously, all three survived.⁴⁷ During 1944, Sonei placed harsher restrictions on food availability. Each person received one spoonful of rice and children were given even less. Prisoners received less than 1,400 calories a day.⁴⁸ Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt received two spoonfuls of rice and a little watery soup per day for her and her two sons. In addition, each prisoner received only one cup of water each day for

⁴⁴ *Tempe* is “compressed, dried, fermented soyabeans cut into thin slices and fried.” See Van de Graaff, 66.

⁴⁵ Nell van de Graaff, *We Survived: A Mother's Story of Japanese Captivity* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 66.

⁴⁶ Priesman-Bogaardt, 69.

⁴⁷ Clara Olink Kelly, *The Flamboya Tree: Memories of a Mother's Wartime Courage* (New York: Random House, 2002) 115.

⁴⁸ van Oort, 233.

drinking, bathing, and washing.⁴⁹ Since this was not even enough to satisfy their thirst, everyone stayed dirty.

Punishments ranged from shaving off a prisoner's hair, ripping out one's fingernails, or strapping a bamboo pole behind one's knees, which prevented standing or sitting with the prisoner forced to kneel in this position for days at a time. Prisoners were often beaten, and a harsher punishment involved placing many beaten prisoners into a tiny enclosure for multiple days without food or water. In one instance, women were able to choose their punishment: confinement in a cell for three weeks or moving to a different camp. They chose incarceration, which guaranteed they would eventually return to their families. Luckily, the head female prisoner convinced the camp commander that the women had been sufficiently punished and they were released that night.⁵⁰ Whippings and beatings until a prisoner could no longer move were often executed by the smallest action that upset a soldier, such as mumbling under one's breath in a language other than Japanese, not bowing long or low enough, or looking the guard in the eye. There was little rhyme or reason to their punishments. In one incident, Commander Sonei forced the young boys of the camp to put their dogs into bags and beat the bags with sticks until the dogs were dead.⁵¹ The Japanese camp guards often told the prisoners that any jewelry or money should be brought to the main office to ensure a greater food

⁴⁹ Van de Graaff, 65.

⁵⁰ Oort, 235.

⁵¹ Shirley Fenton Huie, *The Forgotten Ones: Women and Children under Nippon*, (Pymble, Australia: Angus & Robertson, 1992) 49, and van Oort, 289.

supply for the prisoners. Many women believed this deception, only to be beaten for not turning the valuables in earlier or sent away with no additional food.

Men and women were separated into different camps. The men's camps were mostly located in Thailand, Burma, and Japan. Along with thousands of Chinese laborers, hundreds of male prisoners of war from America, Australia, England, and Holland built the Thailand-Burma Railway, resulting in thousands of deaths due to the harsh weather and labor conditions. Camps for women and children predominated the archipelago. Initially, boys aged sixteen or above were sent to men's camps, yet as the war progressed, any boy ten years old or older was shipped to a men's camp.

Hendrik (Henk) L. Leffelaar wrote *Through a Harsh Dawn* about his experience in a women's camp and subsequent transportation to a men's camp. From the perspective of a younger adolescent growing up without a father figure and dealing with separation from his mother, Henk discusses the importance of male camaraderie with a family friend, Uncle Paul, two other boys, and eventually his younger brother Rudi who transferred later. Henk felt more masculine when required to perform the working tasks of men, and did not seem to mind that he bypassed his adolescence. But his development and maturation were denatured by the war experience and never quite reached normalcy in his relationship with his parents postwar. Contrary to Rudi's strong relationship with their mother due to his extended stay in the women's camp, Henk felt distant from his mother, and never truly learned his father's story, except that he was a changed man. Unlike Henk,

mothers and their younger children were able to stay together throughout the war in the women's camp, which strengthened their familial relationships. Adolescent women also dealt with puberty, identity, and a strong need for independence and they were able to rely on one another for constant support, protection, and responsibility for their respective camp roles, similar to Henk's strong sense of camaraderie with fellow campmates.

A Japanese commander and myriad guards and soldiers controlled each camp. Prisoners have recounted both miraculous and torrential accounts of the behaviors of camp commanders, with the most notorious one being Lieutenant Kenichi Sonei, the Camp Commander of Camp Tjideng, located in the suburbs of Batavia (now North Jakarta). Ans Arens describes him as "an animal of the worst kind."⁵² Originally the commander of a camp in Singapore, as well as a camp called Cycle Camp in Jakarta (a prison for Dutch, English, and Australian military POWs), Sonei was known for his sadistic sense of humor, cruel treatment and brutal regime. He displayed an inferiority complex supposedly due to being declared medically unfit to fight as a soldier on the front. To issue further personal offense, it was considered a degradation to be moved to head a women's camp, and Sonei never failed to make his presence known. Sonei continued his harsh regime and would cancel meals and perform beatings in front of the entire camp to maintain order and collectively punish the group for an individual's "mistake." Many survivors recall Sonei as unusually tall for a Japanese man, but one survivor, Augusta Swart, recalled

⁵² Huie, 35.

Sonei as a short man who had to stand on a box to address the tall, Dutch women.⁵³ He held roll call daily, forcing the women and children prisoners to stand in a bowed position for hours at a time, often during the heat of the day, screaming “Kiwotsuke,” “Keiri,” and eventually “Naore.”⁵⁴ He was particularly known for going “crazy” during a full moon. In one instance, he ordered all *hanchos* and *komitjos* to line up in rows.⁵⁵ Beginning with the *hanchos*, Sonei shaved off all of their hair and beat them with a whip. He proceeded with the first row of *komitjos*. Sonei continued until he reached the last row of *komitjos* and stopped due to personal exhaustion. Ans Arens was in the very last row of *komitjos* and her hair was saved.⁵⁶ It was considered a huge insult and embarrassing to have one’s head shaved. In many camps, to cover the shame, women with hair would cut clumps of hair, and the shaved women would place the cut hair underneath a head shawl. Every woman wore a shawl so that no one could tell which woman had been shaved.

At the end of the war, Commander Sonei was sentenced to death by the War Crimes Tribunal on September 6, 1946 and was executed by a firing squad on September 23, 1946 at the age of 36.^{57, 58} Prior to the execution, Sonei asked for the direction of Japan, turned, and raised his hands in the traditional two-handed salute,

⁵³ Huie, 154.

⁵⁴ “Attention, Bow, At ease”

⁵⁵ Camps were divided into sections called *Hans*, each *Han* was further divided into four *Kumis*. A prisoner was chosen to be in charge of each section, respectively called *hanchos* and *komitjos*. See van Oort, 178.

⁵⁶ Ans Arens, *My Dear Gwen*, (West Virginia, 1997) 17.

⁵⁷ At the War Crimes Tribunal, Sonei provided a statement about his actions during the war. Parts of his statement can be found in the Appendix taken from Huie, 55.

⁵⁸ Huie, 55.

shouting “Banzai! Banzai! Banzai!” from the Bushido tradition.⁵⁹ It is unknown where his remains were placed, but it is possible Sonei was reinterred in the Yakusuni Shrine for Japanese War Heroes, the site for many of the Japanese convicted war criminals.⁶⁰

Akin to the Nazis arrogance and superiority, every prisoner had to bow whenever in the presence of a Japanese soldier or military leader and should never look a Japanese soldier in the eye. Many people were beaten or severely punished for not adhering to these rules. However, the demand to bow demonstrated the strict hierarchy ingrained in the Japanese culture. To this day, the Japanese language uses myriad levels of pronouns, and each use depends on to whom one is talking. How far one bows also varies depending on the social status of the two speakers. In the context of the internment camps, the Japanese soldiers see themselves as the personal representatives of the God-Emperor who demand and deserve the courteous and respectful expression of a bow.⁶¹ While the Nazis, as the Aryan Race, considered themselves superior, their mission of total extermination of the Jews did not originate from hundreds of years of cultural and military discipline like Japan. The Nazis’ blitzkrieg was instead a social construct of the time.

Japan’s sense of superiority is reflected in maintaining strict discipline and holding honor to the highest of standards. Even during wartime, if a soldier was caught molesting or raping a woman outside of a brothel, the camp commander

⁵⁹ Huie, 58.

⁶⁰ Huie, 58.

⁶¹ van Oort, 227.

would often shoot the soldier on the spot.⁶² The Japanese also held a deep respect for courage. When prisoners expressed such strength, the soldiers either responded with respect and appreciation, or reacted angrily and beat or punished the prisoner. At times, the soldier would be surprised, not know how to react, and simply walk away. The Japanese hated and admired the white race, and being screamed at by a white woman seemed entirely unbelievable. Perhaps they did not understand what was being said, if the prisoner yelled in Dutch, English, or another language. Some survivors believed that a Dutch woman screaming served as a reminder to the soldier of their own mother, and reverted them into a guilty child-like submissive state. The Japanese also held an awed respect for death and in some camps would attend prisoner of war funerals and bow reverently as the coffin was placed in the ground.⁶³ In a specific instance, a Japanese soldier showed respect for the dead and the living, and was eventually recognized by the prisoners as a fellow individual suffering from a severe loss and traumatic event. Nell van de Graaff wrote:

About a week after our liberation, we all assembled on the lawn in the back garden to watch the official raising of the Dutch flag. A lonely figure in Japanese uniform, walked slowly towards our group of deeply moved people about to witness the crowning of their newfound freedom. A hush of silence came over us when we saw him and in a spontaneous gesture we bowed towards him. With a deep bow he acknowledged our courtesy. Later we heard that he had made a special request to be allowed to attend the ceremony. And when the tricolour was raised and we sang the Dutch national anthem, he stood ramrod still, saluting the flag. We had all heard that his hometown was Hiroshima.⁶⁴

⁶² Van de Graaff, 26.

⁶³ Van de Graaff, 84.

⁶⁴ Van de Graaff, 103.

Despite cultural laws of discipline, honor, extreme politeness and good manners, the Japanese military believed that moral obligations were particular to local social status, and did not feel guilty for breaking the rules outside of Japan. But to reduce the frequency of randomly raping women and thereby minimize opportunities for international criticism, the Japanese government organized military brothels of comfort women.⁶⁵ Thousands of women from Korea, China, Taiwan, Philippines, and Indonesia were forced into sexual slavery. The brothels themselves were far from comfortable, and the Japanese overtly called the women “public toilets.”⁶⁶ Many women committed suicide when they learned of their fate, while others died from disease or murder.⁶⁷ To this day, the Japanese government refuses to admit to creating these brothels and claims private entrepreneurs controlled them.⁶⁸

With different missions, cultures, and outcomes, the Japanese and the Germans have experienced very different global responses regarding their roles in World War II. Germany is constantly soul-searching, not only to be forgiven for the Nazis barbarism, but also for their own feelings of guilt for being condemned as bystanders while millions of people were exterminated. However, while the German people as a whole can give an apology, Japan as a nation, culturally and linguistically, have greater difficulty successfully articulating an apology. Individuals within the

⁶⁵ Chang, 53.

⁶⁶ Chang, 53.

⁶⁷ The Korean Confucianism belief of female purity supports the idea that any woman with the experience of rape or sexual slavery should commit suicide, or else she is a disgrace to their culture. See Chang, 53.

⁶⁸ Chang, 53.

Japanese population easily apologize, from a situation as simple as bumping into another person in the subway, or having parents apologize for their son stealing a few pieces of candy. But the Japanese culture in its entirety needs to save face, especially in the context of shame and responsibility, which results in a condemnation to apologize or confess.⁶⁹ The Japanese hierarchies assert that the superior class would never bow down and apologize, and a lower class individual's apology has virtually no significance. Japan ignores requests for compensation to their prisoners as well as requests for recognition and apology. While Germany admitted to war crimes committed by the wartime government, the Japanese government has never been forced to do the same. Most Nazi war criminals were executed or sent to jail, whereas Japanese war criminals reclaimed their high government official positions with little global or local opposition.⁷⁰ Many treat the Japanese war crimes as isolated acts of war of individuals or deny its occurrence altogether. The country harbors no responsibility, much less remorse, for the murder of civilians anywhere during the war. Japan merely fought the war to ensure its survival and free the Asians from the Western imperialists and Japan used these grounds to justify their actions against the Dutch. Despite their "honorable" efforts, Japan views itself ultimately as a victim of the war and assigns particular national attention to the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.⁷¹ The country of Japan will not be able to sincerely apologize until the hierarchical social

⁶⁹ Ching, personal interview.

⁷⁰ Ching, personal interview.

⁷¹ Chang, 15.

system can become a single entity and apologize as a whole.⁷² Any other form of apology will be empty and meaningless. In addition, the collective war crimes committed by the Japanese need to be physically manifested at a single point of reference, such as a memorial, so that the Japanese, once consolidated as a nation, have a place representing the World War II events at which to genuinely present their apology.

Contrary to minimal attention to Japan's role in World War II, Germany has endured decades of scrutiny for various reasons. First, Germany's geographic proximity and aggressive warfare put many Allied nations in danger, while Japan was isolated as an island in the Pacific. Second, Germany fought and killed in their conquered territory, all of which was in close proximity to many European nations. While Japan constructed their labor and internment camps in their conquered territory, it was not as close to their home country and was not in such tight geographical quarters as Europe. The Nazi acts could be consolidated in a few countries. The Japanese operations were spread out, making it more difficult for the previously invaded countries to join together to raise awareness about past crimes. Also, killing six million Jews with a total death count of ten million victims catches global attention and gains precedence over the tens of thousands killed and starved in Indonesia, or even the 300,000 murdered at the Rape of Nanking. The number of casualties simply does not seem as historic. In addition, more casualties imply an effect on a larger population, resulting in more outspoken survivors to criticize the

⁷² Ching, personal interview.

enemy's actions. With fewer survivors and a cultural sense of shame for survivors of Asian heritage, scarcely anyone spoke up for decades, comfort women and other civilian internees alike. Many of the accounts from Dutch survivors were not written and published until fifty or sixty years after the war ended. If the survivors are silent, rarely will one see a self-condemning enemy.

While the Holocaust is an official title for an event, there is no appellation to label the atrocities committed in the Netherlands East Indies. Without a term to describe the situation, it loses some validity as an important and memorable World War II event. Furthermore, despite the necessary financial reparation after World War II, Japan was rising to become a world power, which was ironically one of their main missions upon entering the war. The United States, as a world power, would not want to jeopardize any future relationships with Japan by promulgating the cruel Japanese behavior during wartime, especially with the imminent threat of communism in the Soviet Union and China. The People's Republic of China and the Republic of China were competing for political and economic trade with Japan, and neither government insisted on wartime compensation.⁷³ These cold war tensions saved Japan from the international criticism and examinations that Germany was forced to undergo. Other Allied nations were focused on their own recovery after the surrender of the Germans. The Netherlands struggled with a relentless food shortage, as well as a looming colonial war with the Indonesian Nationalists and paid little heed to criticizing the Japanese for the treatment of their own citizens.

⁷³ Chang, 11.

In fact, after Japan surrendered, the Netherlands did not have sufficient troops to regain control of the East Indies and depended on the British troops.⁷⁴ The British refused to get involved in reoccupying the Netherlands East Indies, so as not to be caught in the middle of a colonial war, especially after Sukarno declared an independent *Republik Indonesia* on August 17, 1945.⁷⁵ Dutch prisoners of war became targets of violence, torture, and murder for the Indonesian Nationalists. On November 10, 1945, countless murderous acts were committed in Surabaya and labeled by the Dutch as *Bloody Monday*. However, this day is named *Heroes Day* by the Indonesians to commemorate the 6,000 Indonesian men who died fighting for the independent republic.⁷⁶ Many Dutch military POWs, pronounced in fit condition after Japan's surrender, were sent back into military combat to fight the Indonesian Nationalists.⁷⁷ Because of the delay in repatriation, the Dutch prisoners of war were the last to be evacuated. When they were finally sent back to the Netherlands, the public failed to understand the experiences of their colonial counterparts and was discouraged and disinterested by the survivors' inability to explain or label the event. This absence resonates years after the war as survivors attempted to cope with their memories and identify this event as a worthwhile, memorable, historical time that deserves a name to fill the void in history.

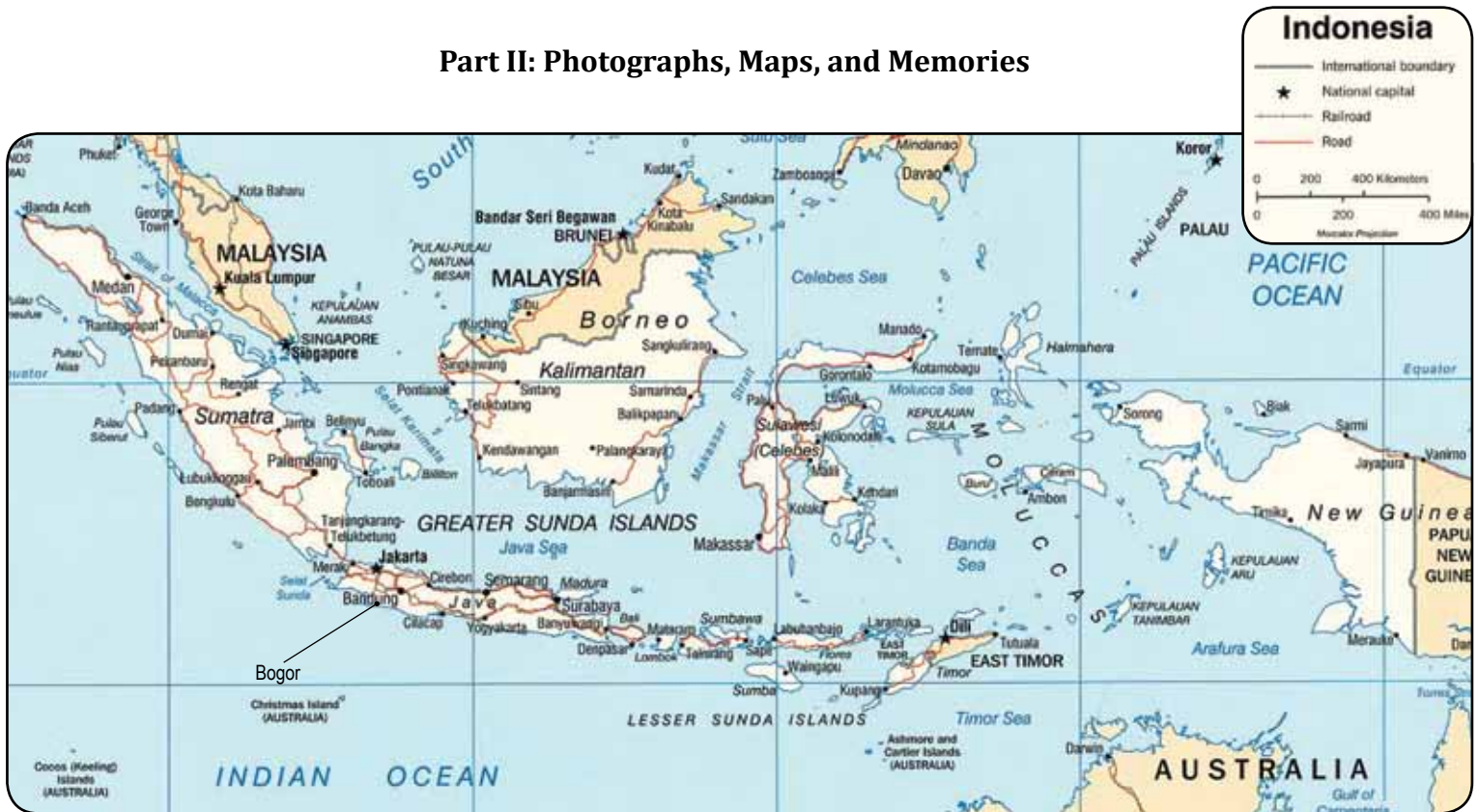
⁷⁴ The British troops did not arrive until late September 1945, which made the Japanese troops responsible for maintaining order and protecting their former prisoners from the Indonesian Nationalists. See Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 154.

⁷⁵ Sukarno was the leader of the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* and upon Indonesia's independence, became Indonesia's first president from 1945 to 1967. See Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 154.

⁷⁶ Stef Scagliola, "The Silences and Myths of a 'Dirty War': Coming to Terms with the Dutch-Indonesian Decolonisation War (1945-1949)," *European Review of History* 14, (June 2007): 235-262.

⁷⁷ Heijmans-Van Bruggen, 155.

Part II: Photographs, Maps, and Memories



Names During 1940s Current Names

Bandoeng	Bandung
Batavia	Jakarta
*Borneo	Kalimantan
Buitenzorg	Bogor
*Celebes	Sulawesi
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Djokjakarta	Yogyakarta
*Java	Djawa
Makassar	Ujung Pandang
Malaya	Malaysia
Netherlands East Indies	Indonesia
Oosthaven	Pandjang
Soerabaja	Surabaya
*Sumatra	Sumatera
Tjilatjap	Cilacap
Tjimahi	Cimahi

*The four largest islands of Indonesia

Sources:

Briggs-Koning, Marie. *Footsteps in Memories and the Relationship between a Family in the Netherlands East Indies During the 1940's and World Events of the Time*. Launceston: Marken Pty Ltd, 1999.

Collection, Perry-Castañeda Library Map. *Indonesia Maps* University of Texas at Austin, 2010 [cited March 21 2010]. Available from <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/indonesia.html>.

Oort, Boudewijn van. *Tjideng Reunion: A Memoir of World War I on Java*: Trafford Publishing, 2008.

Camp Sites near Major Cities:	Vincentius Convent (M/W) Mater Dolorosa Convent (M)	Ambarawa (2) 7 I (W/C) Ambarawa 7 II (M/B) Ambarawa 8 I (W/C) Ambarawa 8 II (M/B) Ambarawa 9 I (W/C) Ambarawa 9 II (W/C) Djoe Eng (M) Sumowono (W/C) Bandungan (B) Kalitjeret (B) Gedongdjati (B)
Sumatra:		
Padang:	Buitenzorg:	
Padang Prison (M)	Ursulinen Convent (M)	
Padang MP Station (M)	Gedongbadak I (M)	
Padang KSB (M/W/C)	Gedongbadak II (W/C)	
Padang MV (M/W/C)	Gedongbadak III (W/C)	
Padang Mission (W/C)	Kota Paris I (M/W/C)	
Padang Prison (W/C)	Kota Paris II (W/C)	
Padang British Camp (W/C)	Kota Paris III (M/W/C)	
Padangpandjang (M)		
Fort de Kock (M/W/C)	Bandung:	Banjubiru:
Sawahlunto (M/W/C)	Sukamiskin (M)	Banjubiru 10 I (M)
Sungaipenuh (M/W/C)	Reform School (M)	Banjubiru 10 II (W/C)
	Stella Maris (M)	Banjubiru 11 (W/C)
Palembang:	Pasir Andir (M)	Banjubiru 12 (W/C)
Palembang Prison (M)	Palace Hotel (M)	
Barracks (M)	Zeelandia School (M)	Muntilan:
Pladju (M)	Dick de Hoog School (M)	School (W/C)
Bukit Besar (W/C)	Tjikudapateuh (M/B)	
Talang Sumut (W/C)	Tjihapit (W/C)	Surabaja:
Barracks (W/C)	Tjihapit II (M/B)	Bubutan I (M)
Belalau (M/B/W/C)	Karees (W/C)	Bubutan II (Foreign M)
	Lengkong (W/C)	Werfstraat I (Br./Am. W/C)
Java:	Bloemenkamp (M/W/C)	Werfstraat II (Br./Am M)
Batavia:	Bloemankamp (W/C)	Werfstraat Prison III (M)
Glodok I (M)	Rama (M/W/C)	Darmo (W/C)
Glodok II (M/B)		Camphuislaan (W/C)
Struiswijk I (M)	Semarang:	
Struiswijk II (Br./Am/ W/C)	Djatingaleh (M)	
Struiswijk III (W/C)	Kalibanteng (M)	
Adek I (M)	Catholic School (Br./Am. W/C)	
Adek II (W/C)	Lampersari-Sompok (W/C)	
Kramat I (W/C)	Sompok Lama (M/W/C)	
Kramat II (M/W/C)	Halmahera I (M/W/C)	
Kramat III (W/C)	Halmahera II (M/B)	
Tjideng (W/C)	Halmahera III (W/C)	
Grogol I (W/C)	Bangkong I (W/C)	
Grogol II (M/B)	Bangkong II (M/B)	
Grogol III (W/C)	Gedangan (W/C)	
Tanahtinggi (Foreign W/C)	Karangpanas (W/C)	
Tangerang I (M)		
Tangerang II (W/C)	Ambarawa:	
Kampong Makasar (W/C)	Tangsi Perlindungan (W/C)	
	Ambarawa (1) 6 (W/C)	

Source: Herman, Ronny. In the Shadow of the Sun: The True Story of a Young Family Interned on Java During Japanese Occupation, 1941-1945: Vanderheide Publishing Company, 1992.



Full view and close-ups of map of islands of Sumatra and Java from World War II from my grandfather, Herman Arens , collection of artifacts (additional close-ups on next page). Note the handwritten notes and stamps from during the war in the close-up images.

island of
Borneo

island of
Java

island of
Sumatra



Cloth map of the Netherlands East Indies from World War II, given to my grandfather, Herman Arens, for his 80th birthday by a comrade.

Before the War



Ans as a Girl Scout in Bogor, Indonesia.



Ans sitting on her mother, Geraldine Ochse's, lap. Her older sister Nel sits with her father, J.J. Ochse.

During the War

Ans' calendar that she saved from the first camp, Camp Tjihapit.

Direct Translation:

Journey's End
A traffic accident in year 2603

Souvenir on the [grounds of]
Tjihapit Camp¹

Notes: a/h most likely means "aan het" which translates as "on the," referring to "on the grounds of"

2603 is the Japanese year equivalent of 1943.

The words *traffic accident* may have been used as a code for something else, so that the calendar would not be confiscated if found by the Japanese.

Journey's End is not the end of the war, since this calendar is from Ans' first camp, Tjihapit. The end of the journey may relate again to this accident, or the end of the time in that camp.

The man painted on the right is Ans' father, Dr. J. J. Ochse, a well-known economic botanist, famous for his work in the Dutch East Indies. It is interesting he is painted on this calendar since he was not in Camp Tjihapit.

The piece of barbed wire is from the fence surrounding the camp.

Translated by: Peter Weiken, personal interview, 2010.



After the War



Herman and Ans as newlyweds.



Ans in front of their rented home in Florida before they moved to Charlottesville, VA.



From left to right: Dick, Nel's husband, Nel, Ans' older sister, Ans, and Herman Arens. Picture taken in 1948 in Florida, celebrating Dick and Nel's tenth wedding anniversary.



Ans' passport (left) and Herman and Ans' individual financial compensation papers (below). Ans' total compensation was 7438 guilders (with exchange rate from 1990, the equivalent is about 3873 USD). Herman received 5340 guilders (about 2828 USD). Receiving this compensation required years of fighting with the Dutch government, and they did not receive this amount until 1990, 45 years after the war.

S V B Sociale Verzekeringsbank
 KANTOOR BUITENLAND
 VAN LEIJENBERGHLAAN 221
 POSTBUS 7105
 1007 JC AMSTERDAM
 020-5400538

ARENS OCHSEVA.
 ROUTE 2 BOX 504
 HARPER'S FERRY W VA 25425
 VERENIGDE STATEN VAN AMERIKA

Geachte mevrouw/mijnheer,
 Dit is een opgave van het belastbare pensioen en de daarop in mindering gebrachte bedragen voor 1990.

Sofinummer ¹⁾ *	Geboortedatum ²⁾	Uitkeringsnummer ³⁾
042656837	10-03-1921	AO 5652003-00

Belastbaar bedrag ⁴⁾	Loonbelasting/premie volksverzekeringen ⁵⁾	Ziektefondspremie ⁶⁾
D.F.L. 6965.-	D.F.L. 473.-	D.F.L. 0,00

Tijdvak ⁷⁾				Jaar van opgave ⁸⁾	
van		tot en met		1990	
dag	maand	dag	maand		
eerste	01	laatste	12		

C. HET BIJ "LOONBELASTING/PREMIE VOLKSVERZEKERINGEN" VERMELDE BEDRAG BETREFT UITSLUITEND LOONBELASTING.

*) De cijfers en eventuele letters verwijzen naar de toelichting.
 Indien uw adres wijzigt verzoeken wij u twee maanden voor verhuizing ons uw nieuwe adres mede te delen.
 DEZE OPGAVE ZORGVULDIG BEWAREN

S V B Sociale Verzekeringsbank
 KANTOOR BUITENLAND
 VAN LEIJENBERGHLAAN 221
 POSTBUS 7105
 1007 JC AMSTERDAM
 020-5400538

HJA ARENS
 ROUTE 2 BOX 504
 HARPER'S FERRY W VA 25425
 VERENIGDE STATEN VAN AMERIKA

Geachte mevrouw/mijnheer,
 Dit is een opgave van het belastbare pensioen en de daarop in mindering gebrachte bedragen voor 1990.

Sofinummer ¹⁾ *	Geboortedatum ²⁾	Uitkeringsnummer ³⁾
197014094	22-11-1914	AO 0652003-00

Belastbaar bedrag ⁴⁾	Loonbelasting/premie volksverzekeringen ⁵⁾	Ziektefondspremie ⁶⁾
D.F.L. 5339.-	D.F.L. 1.-	D.F.L. 0,00

Tijdvak ⁷⁾				Jaar van opgave ⁸⁾	
van		tot en met		1990	
dag	maand	dag	maand		
eerste	01	laatste	12		

C. HET BIJ LOONBELASTING/PREMIE VOLKSVERZEKERINGEN VERMELDE BEDRAG BETREFT UITSLUITEND LOONBELASTING.

Krijgt recht met Jan. 90 van 4627

*) De cijfers en eventuele letters verwijzen naar de toelichting.
 Indien uw adres wijzigt verzoeken wij u twee maanden voor verhuizing ons uw nieuwe adres mede te delen.
 DEZE OPGAVE ZORGVULDIG BEWAREN

ORIGINAL
TO BE GIVEN TO
THE PERSON NATURALIZED

No. 6628854

Petition No. 339786

Personal description of holder as of date of naturalization: Age 31 years, sex female
 complexion fair color of eyes blue-gray color of hair light brown height 5 feet 10 inches
 weight 142 pounds, visible distinctive marks scar on each side of nose
 Marital status married former nationality The Netherlands

I certify that the description above given is true, and that the photograph affixed hereto is a likeness of me.

Ans Arens
(Complete and true signature of holder)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA } ss:
 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS }

Be it known that at a term of the _____ District _____ Court of
 The United States
 held pursuant to law at _____ Chicago
 on June 3, 1952 the Court having found that
ANS ARENS
 then residing at 1545 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois
 intends to reside permanently in the United States (when so required by the
 Naturalization laws of the United States), had in all other respects complied with
 the applicable provisions of such naturalization laws, and was entitled to be
 admitted to citizenship, thereupon ordered that such person be and (she was
 admitted as a citizen of the United States of America,
 In testimony whereof the seal of the court is hereunto affixed this 3rd
 day of June in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and
fifty-two and of our Independence the one hundred
 and seventy-sixth.

Ray H. Johnson
Clerk of the _____ U. S. District _____ Court.
 By *Jean A. Blight* Deputy Clerk.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Marriage License

C. J. No. 60928

CENTRAL BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS

State of Florida, Dade County

To any Minister of the Gospel, or any Officer Legally Authorized to Solemnize the Rite of Matrimony:

Whereas, Application having been made to the County Judge of Dade County, of the State of Florida, for a license for marriage, and it appearing to the satisfaction of said County Judge that no legal impediments exist to the marriage now sought to be solemnized,

These are, Therefore, To authorize you to unite in the

Holy Estate of Matrimony

Herman J.A.G. Arens (w) and Ans Oehse (w)

and that you make return of the same, duly certified under your hand, to the County Judge aforesaid.

Witness, my name as County Judge, and the seal of said Court, at the Courthouse in Miami, Florida, this 6 day of Aug., A. D. 1947.

THIS LICENSE NOT VALID AFTER Sept. 5 1947
 By: F. RAWLS JOHNSTON, Clerk (C. J. Seal) W. F. BLANTON, County Judge

CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE

I Certify, that the within named _____ Persons _____ and _____ were by me, the undersigned, duly united in the Holy Estate of Matrimony, by the authority of the within License. Done this 7th day of August, A. D. 1947, at Miami, Florida.

Witness L.B. Oehse
 Witness B.I. Oehse

George B Holt
 SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF MINISTER OR LEGALLY AUTHORIZED OFFICER
 Circuit Judge

Returned this 8 day of Aug., A. D. 1947, and recorded in Marriage Book 60, Page 265.
W. F. BLANTON, County Judge

Ans' naturalization paper (above) and Herman and Ans' marriage license (left).

Part III: Narrative Analysis

Section I: Revealing Memories in a “Play” War

The atrocities inflicted on the Dutch civilian internees in the Netherlands East Indies during World War II lacks a title. Unlike the title *Holocaust*, which envelops the catastrophe of the unparalleled and systematic annihilation of millions of Jews and other minorities, the three and a half years of Japanese occupation on the Indonesian archipelago has not been defined with a term. Words such as *humiliation*, *isolation*, and *punishment* all have direction and perspective. Different words have different connotations. *Starvation* can be a process or a result. Is the title a method or goal? Who decides when an event is significant enough to give it a proper name? Who decides the number of deaths necessary to make it a memorable and recognizable event by the general public? The title *Holocaust* represents the death of over 10 million people. The Rape of Nanking still lacks a finite number of deaths, but estimations range from 50,000 to over 300,000 deaths.⁷⁸ Even though the Nazis burned many of their logs recording statistics of those captured and murdered, many records were still accessible at the end of the war. However, the Japanese managed to destroy all evidence of their Indonesian internment camps.

Today, if a traveler attempts to find Camp Tjihapit on the island of Java, the only remaining evidence is a drainage ditch that bears the name of the camp.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Chang, 6.

⁷⁹ Boudewijn van Oort first states that the drainage ditch bears the name of Camp Tjideng on page x. But on page 162, he writes that Camp Tjihapit remains only as a drainage canal with that name. It is unclear if both camps currently exist only as drainage ditches or there was an editing error.

Plaques or paperwork to prove the camp's existence are entirely absent.⁸⁰ We can only depend on the memories of the prisoners. There is no such void in studies of the Holocaust; there is no lack of documentation to support its presence in historical memory. Yet the experience in the Netherlands East Indies is absent and fragmented. How does one explain this absence, this silence? Why does this nameless event play such a minute, if not a non-existent role in discussions of World War II? When asked to think of World War II, one immediately imagines the war in Europe, failing to recall that it was in fact a *world* war. Why do most people limit their historical memory to Europe? Is this a Western, self-absorbed fixation on the affairs of the West? Perhaps those who recorded the history of World War II were most affected by or involved in the European war, but that is a poor excuse for excluding the role of Japan, its conquered territories, and the prisoners of war who suffered from extreme starvation, disease, and torture during their lengthy internment.

This curtain of silence has shrouded the written narratives of the women and children survivors of these camps for decades. During the war, after women were forced into sexual slavery, the Japanese soldiers warned the women that if they ever told anyone about what had happened to them, they and their families would be killed. Jan Ruff-O'Herne wrote, "The silence began then and there, the silence that was forced upon us."⁸¹ Even after the war, Jan attempted to tell her mother the story of her forced brothel experience. Her mother, despite having dealt with living in an

⁸⁰ van Oort, 162.

⁸¹ Jan Ruff-O'Herne, *Fifty Years of Silence*. (Australia: McPhersons Printing Group, 1994) 108.

internment camp for three and a half years, could not cope with listening to her daughter's tragedy, which only exacerbated Jan's silence.⁸² As a child in the camps, Annelex Hofstra Layson never dared to ask questions; children were expected to do as they were told and everything was "shush-shush."⁸³ By enforcing this silence, the Japanese sought to eradicate the truth. However, the prisoners' narratives demand remembering; they ask the reader to experience the event with them and provide a better understanding of the events that took place under the watchful eyes of the Japanese Empire.

The survivors do not ask for sympathy, but rather recognition of an event that they have been unable to name, which would encourage closure and finality to their tragedies. The survivors' narratives explain this event as an inhumane act of torture, cruelty, and trauma, rather than as justified punishment. The survivors' home country, the Netherlands, reacted dispassionately to their colonial compatriots. They wanted nothing to do with the incoming refugees from the East Indies. No one wanted to hear what happened to them, much less help them, even though in comparison, the conditions in Indonesia were unparalleled to those in the Netherlands. Years after the war, Joke Talsma never spoke about her war years, but she heard everything about the European war from her husband.⁸⁴ Was Joke's inability to talk about the war an issue of her own personal discomfort or was she pressured to follow the global schema that it is acceptable to discuss the Nazi war,

⁸² Ruff-O'Herne, 110.

⁸³ Annelex Hofstra Layson, *Lost Childhood: My Life in a Japanese Prison Camp During World War II* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2008) 42.

⁸⁴ Bonga, 211.

but not the one involving the Japanese? Many of the comfort women and rape victims are utterly ashamed of their memories and thus less likely to speak out about their experiences. However, indifference from one's community, friends, or family leads to silence. Telling their story, written or oral, may aid the coping and healing processes, but if no one cares to listen, why say anything at all?

Henk Leffelaar, a teenage boy during his time of internment, explained his frustrations with Europe's ignorance of Indonesia upon returning to the post-war Netherlands:

There were the wounds of war I had not known, the war of GIs carving their initials in the railings of the *Noordam*,⁸⁵ the "real" war, as I had referred to it. But if this had been the "real" war, what had our war been—the war of roll calls and leaking barracks and dysentery and hot days and logging details in a rubber forest and smoking clay stoves and waiting, above all, waiting? Had this war been less real? The question merely served as a camouflage from something I was unable to define. All I knew then was that my fascination with what I considered the "real" war was somehow connected with my growing feeling of displacement, of disappointment.⁸⁶

For Henk, the wounds and the carvings are "real" markers of this "real" war, although any visible external mark to show his experience is absent. As a survivor of internment in a space far removed from his current home in the Netherlands, he is unable to fill the void, the undefined emptiness in his memory. Also, if the war in Europe was the real war, then the war in the Netherlands East Indies may be viewed as the play war, merely a performance, one that is only seen as an unrealistic, exaggerated story. Within this play war, the prisoners occupy roles, but not by

⁸⁵ The name of the ship Henk sailed on to return to Holland from the Netherlands East Indies.

⁸⁶ Leffelaar, 219.

choice. They are forced to adapt appropriately to the scene presented to them. At the age of three and a half upon entering the camps, Annelex knew no other life, and despite the harsh reality, hoped it was just a nightmare.

Yet, with the absence of attention from the general public, and lack of recognition and discussion, many prisoners have translated this public disinterest as their own modesty. Netty Herman, who managed to keep a diary during the first half of her internment wrote the introduction to the book translated, compiled, and partially written by her daughter Ronny. Netty wrote:

The strange thing is, that when I reread all the things I wrote about during those first years of the war, the things I thought unbearable at the time, I came to the conclusion that they were child's play, absolutely unimportant in comparison with what happened to us later in the camp in Semarang. Therefore, please read it with that thought in the back of your mind. There are things which I took too seriously, elaborated too much on, compared to the camp life in Semarang.⁸⁷

Netty refused to give herself credit for the hardships she endured simply because in comparison to the later camp years, the beginning seemed absurd and childish. While the experience in the second camp may have been exponentially worse, her diary provides insight into the daily thoughts and struggles of a civilian woman internee and mother. Ans Arens accepts her camp experience as reality and humbly refuses to admit she did anything exceptional to ensure her and her family's survival. She was only focused on forgetting the past, moving forward, and enjoy living.⁸⁸ Not only is writing this story emotionally taxing for Ans, but she is

⁸⁷ Ronny Herman, *In the Shadow of the Sun: The True Story of a Young Family Interned on Java During Japanese Occupation, 1941-1945* (Vanderheide Publishing Company, 1992) xiv.

⁸⁸ Arens, 20.

intentionally disregarding the frustrations and bitterness from the tense moments and relationships with other campmates. Yet, Ans did risk her life on many occasions to smuggle food into the camp by bartering through the fence with Indonesians; that alone is exceptional and noteworthy regarding the chances prisoners took to survive and should not be dismissed as extraneous.

The survivors have attempted to articulate their memories through stories, narrating a history that lacks any permanent archival records. One of these women, in Shirley Fenton Huie's compilation, noted: "To try and describe all that to [a reader] is like trying to explain sight to a blind man. You could never imagine it if you had not gone through it."⁸⁹ Yet despite the inner struggle to define the experience, and the external pressure to carry on as if nothing had happened, a few survivors have managed to find their voice in an attempt to contest this notion of the play war. This paper analyzes narratives specifically written by survivors of the women and children's camps. Henk's story is used primarily for comparing the men's and women's camp since he spent time in both. A majority of the authors are women and were mothers or daughters at the time of internment. Their respective roles in this play war are poignantly portrayed in their written works.

While the variety of narratives found concerning this experience is shockingly extensive, especially regarding the minimal attention to this topic, they in no way compare to the plethora of books and stories of Holocaust survivors and

⁸⁹ Huie, 77.

military veterans in both war arenas.⁹⁰ With over 300 camps throughout the archipelago, many survivors have chosen not to write their memories, for reasons one can only speculate. Perhaps it is too painful to recall those tortuous memories, as many survivors with written stories had admitted. Or they may not want to rekindle their previous or still standing hatred against the Japanese. A human's natural response to horrible events is blocking them out of one's mind, which may result in consciously forgetting the events. Finally, the prisoner could have been too young at the time of internment and remembered very little. Three of the narratives were recorded by survivors no older than age eight at the time of liberation. Two of their stories are based off of conversations with their mothers, while the other girl felt confident in her memories and wrote from her own perspective.

Survivors may choose to write their memories for their own personal solace because they may more effectively express their memories and emotions on paper. Not only may the written story help them cope with their memories, but it helps them find closure and put the history behind them. The book may pay tribute to family or friends that died or remember those who were unable to express themselves through writing. For Netty Herman, keeping a diary and expressing her misery proved essential to maintaining her emotional sanity and served as an "exhaust valve."⁹¹ Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt wrote a special thank you for the

⁹⁰ Fourteen books were analyzed. Thirteen stories are published works, the non-published work being that of my grandmother, Ans Arens. One book, "Evidence Not Seen" is written by an American missionary, but Dutch citizens wrote the other narratives.

⁹¹ Herman, 95.

Dutch pilot, Herman Arens⁹², who Louisa finally found and contacted in 2002. Captain Arens had been the first pilot to arrive in Camp Tjideng and offered to send letters to the families of the prisoners around the world if they wrote the note and provided the address. Louisa's parents received Louisa's letter that she was alive shortly after it was sent in September 1945 and fifty-seven years later, Louisa was finally able to express her personal gratitude to Captain Arens. Survivors may also wish to pass down their historical memories to their children and grandchildren. Furthermore, writing about one's experience turns the initial silence to action. The absent victim becomes a compelling storyteller when forcing the audience to undergo the experience. Finally, to tell a story implies that people will listen to it and creates a stronger connection between the author and their surrounding community. One's family, friends, and community will better understand one's actions and emotions because of one's background story.

Whatever the means, each survivor has a mission when choosing to write his or her story. Joke Talsma knew her memories were history and with her daughters' encouragement, she felt inclined to share her story for the sake of history and to raise awareness about this event.⁹³ Immediately after the war, such reflections on the experiences in Indonesia may have been considered taboo, especially with respect to the Nazi's extermination of the Jews. Children and grandchildren not only provide emotional support, but are also more likely to be curious about the author's story, allowing the survivor to leave a footprint before their story is entirely lost.

⁹² Herman Arens is my grandfather.

⁹³ Bonga, xi.

Ans Arens wrote her story as a letter to her daughter Gwen to explain her childhood in Indonesia and the subsequent camp experience, and now I, as her granddaughter, have expressed extreme interest in this memory.

However, when individuals do choose to write down their memories, it is improbable that every single memory and event is included in the story. Treachery and cowardice are never mentioned in the narratives, unless committed by individuals outside the close family and friend unit. It is unclear if the authors actually have nothing to hide or choose to omit these types of memory because they are ashamed. Marie Briggs-Koning's book, *Footsteps in Memories*, was the only narrative to include and state their prisoner registration numbers in the various camps.⁹⁴ While the Holocaust survivors had their number tattooed on their arms, prisoners of the Japanese wore badges at all times. This identification number, as a camp requirement, symbolizes the horrendous memories of the camps. For some, it may have had little significance and was forgotten, but others may have had their number imprinted in their memory and chose to omit the memory that represented their hated enemy. Events with greater, more significant personal consequences will most likely be remembered, examined, and rehearsed to a greater degree than other small events. If the author has waited several decades before writing down their memories, minor events may no longer stand out. This temporary avoidance of filling the void may reflect the individual's need for time to heal, cope, and come to terms with the history.

⁹⁴ Briggs-Koning, 235.

As survivors decide what to include or forget, there is a common state of mind for all authors: they are writing the memory while knowing the outcome—they survived. The desperation and emotional fear for survival is not as present. Henk articulates the difficulty in attempting to tell the truth of what really happened in one's memoirs by comparing it to the feeling of hunger:

The word hunger reverberates with stereotyped connotations and it has a dramatic sonority with which it is hard to compete when one tries to explain in sober terms what one does, feels and thinks when there is not enough to eat for weeks and months on end. It is difficult, sixteen years later, and well-fed, to avoid thinking that it wasn't quite as bad as it appears to have been. But it is equally difficult not to exaggerate and to remember that one of the characteristics of being hungry is that one rarely thinks of it as such. There is only an overpowering instinctive urge which makes one act without regard for convention or once held convictions. Being hungry is not so much a matter of suffering physical pain, it is above all a frame of mind which is capable of reversing the senses.⁹⁵

The story states as a fact that such feelings were felt, but it is difficult to recall the true feelings years later, when one is no longer in that situation. Also, at the time the memory was written, the author has nothing to fear except the action of recalling the memory itself and the emotions it carries with it. The writer can include what happens after the war as well as come to terms with one's worst memories and know full well that one is alive and safe. A story written when the individual was young, or shortly after the event, may not provide the same comfort later on in life because new information or altered perspectives change the necessary emotional outcome and sense of peace that was not available when the story was initially verbalized. Finally, even though a majority of the survivors' first language is not

⁹⁵ Leffelaar, 130.

English, all but one of these stories was originally written in English.⁹⁶ If the story was not recorded until decades after the war, many of the authors ended up in Australia, Canada, or the United States, making English their primary language of use. A book in English also reaches a larger audience, including the younger generations of one's family and the general public. This makes the unknown accessible.

Certain parts of history are enveloped in mystery and uncertainty. When survivors' narratives of historical events are virtually the only existing evidence of the event, it must be taken as the truth, because any countering argument either refuses to expose itself or does not exist. During the war, the Japanese aimed to distort the truth. Similar to the Japanese attempts to hide any evidence of the Rape of Nanking, the Japanese corrupted the image and news of the camps sent to the rest of the world, by showing how well the prisoners were being treated. Prisoners were instructed to put on their best clothes and meet at the camp square to receive the recently arrived Red Cross packages. Women and children raced to the camp center, smiling, imagining the delicious surprises in the packages. Newspaper photographers arrived and took pictures of these smiling faces, with the table of the packages in the foreground. As soon as the newspaper personnel left the camp, the packages were removed from the table and the prisoners were sent home without even a peek.⁹⁷ In the few instances that women were allowed to write letters to their

⁹⁶ *In the Shadow of the Sun* by Ronny Herman includes her mother's diary while she was in the camp, which Ronny translated from Dutch to English for publication.

⁹⁷ Priesman-Bogaardt, 49, and Briggs-Koning, 264.

husbands or family, the letters were censored and often not sent. However, some prisoners were able to “translate” the message. Henk’s mother wrote to him:

Darling, everything well here. Suppose Henk quite happy that Rudi [Henk’s younger brother] arrived. Mrs. A. staying with me. Garden producing many vegetables and sweet potatoes, more than 40 pieces. Also many papayas from tree which now, however, is finished since it fell. Fortunately did not hit house. Best wishes to Uncle Paul. Kisses, Mommie.

Which Henk translated as:

Henk, do you already know that Rudi has been separated from me? We were told he would go to your camp. Since his departure I have been forced to take in someone else. (This could mean that there a space shortage due to a transfer of women from others camps to Pulu Brayan.) I lost a main bartering object when the papaya tree came down, but I now am using sweet potatoes to trade. You are still with Uncle Paul, aren’t you?⁹⁸

This inability to tell the truth hinders future understanding of what the truth actually was. Finding the balance between scientific factual truth and the variety of perceptual memories and truths of the survivors is exhibited in the notion of truthfulness. True history can be scientifically verified, whereas all personal narratives of history are seen as relative, weakening any claim to truth. The survivors’ ability to write down their experiences word for word was compromised when they were no longer allowed access to paper or writing materials in the camp. Truthfulness concludes that some narratives are more legitimate, believable, or important than others and gain hegemonic and social leverage in historical writing. Marie Briggs-Koning received peer feedback that for her story to be credible, she

⁹⁸ Leffelaar, p. 80.

needed legitimate written historical references to confirm her memories.⁹⁹ But is it essential that every moment be verified with historical records? In finding the purpose of these narratives, piecing together the fragments and sense of dissociation, noting the marks of time, tense and pronoun changes, euphemistic titling, religious influence, coping methods, and the harsh reality of the camp conditions and search for identity, the goal is not to find the ultimate historical truth, because that truth might very well not exist. Perspectives may be unavoidable, but also provide rich depth in creating a greater picture of what happened. Narrative arcs stitch these survivor's stories, lives, and memories together in a way that is unobtainable elsewhere and they create and develop an unparalleled historical narrative of truthfulness. In a religious sense, one story tells many stories and is not necessarily fact, but sends the message of an overall truth. Individual accounts are brought together as many stories to tell one story and must be bridged together to tell the overall history.

One prime example is the numerous accounts regarding monkeys. Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt recalled one of Commander Sonei's punishments as letting a group of wild monkeys loose in the camp. "I was sitting on my mattress," she writes, "right beside a window waiting for our turn to pick up our little bowl of rice when all of a sudden I glimpsed a shadow appearing in the window...A swell of panic came over me as I realized it was a black ape so large that its body was as big as the entire

⁹⁹ Briggs-Koning, 12.

window! And then, there were three other apes, all trying to get into our house.”¹⁰⁰ Clara Olink Kelly remembered a guard having a pet monkey, that would be starved and sent to terrorize the camps, but was as skinny as a stick, not big like an ape. Boudewijn van Oort recalled the monkey as a gift to Sonei from a woman prisoner trying to gain favor, and was used to amuse and terrorize the children. Marie Briggs-Koning believes the monkeys were chimpanzees, while another believed them to be orangutans, and yet another remembered macaques. Many briefly mentioned how the monkeys were better fed than the prisoners. Ans Arens does not remember any monkeys at all in Camp Tjideng. Who does one believe? Or is that really the question that should be asked? With so many different perspectives, these recollections should be taken at face value as a memorable experience for each prisoner, although perceived differently. Perhaps there is a deeper message and value to these monkey stories. Having wild monkeys run recklessly through the camp reiterates the survivors’ feeling of helplessness, anxiety, and struggle to survive each day no matter what happens, no matter how bizarre. Memories of terrorizing monkeys trigger the daily feelings of separation from the outside world, humiliation, and fear of the unknown future.

Though the experience of these survivors lacks a title, they try to define the event and understand its role in the entirety of the world war throughout their accounts. Clara Olink Kelly explains, “It is a well-known fact that war, any war, is senseless and degrading. When innocent people are brought into that war because

¹⁰⁰ Priesman-Bogaardt, 68.

they happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, it becomes incomprehensible. Java, 1942, was such a place and time, and we were those innocent people.”¹⁰¹ How does one name the unnamable? How does one name and fill a void? Frequently found in plays, an extensive utilization of euphemisms may be used to fill that emptiness. When placing civilian men, women, and children in camps, the Japanese lectured to the internees that they were not prisoners of war, but rather “Guests of the Emperor of Japan” and the camps were meant to keep the civilians safe.¹⁰² This euphemism hides the truth. The Japanese delegation did sign the 1929 Geneva Convention, but the government did not accept or ratify it and thus did not follow any of the rules stated for the treatment of prisoners of war.¹⁰³ They attempted to justify their actions by labeling the internees not as “prisoners of war” but merely “guests,” which implies respectful care and adequate living resources, neither of which the Japanese “hosts” upheld.

However, the prisoners echoed the mindset of their captors and used their own euphemisms to name and define the camp experience. While some authors were literal in their titles, such as *Eight Prison Camps* and *We Survived*, others were more creative in their titling. *Fifty Years of Silence*, *Evidence Not Seen*, and *The Forgotten Ones* reiterates the absence of attention and extended silence acknowledging the event. *The Flamboya Tree* and *Song of Survival* respectively symbolize the one thing that helped the authors survive the experience. The former

¹⁰¹ Kelly, xi.

¹⁰² Briggs-Koning, 23.

¹⁰³ L. De Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society: The Dutch in Indonesia During the Second World War* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002) 289.

is a painting of a flamboya tree that survived the entire war and symbolized the author's sense of home, and the latter describes the creation of a vocal orchestra to strengthen the spirits of the women in the camp. Other authors used metaphorical titles to set the stage for their written play. *Dark Skies Over Paradise*, *In the Shadow of the Sun*, and *Through a Harsh Dawn* all refer to Japan as the sun or sky, which reflects the positive Japanese view of Japan as the Land of the Rising Sun, yet is portrayed in a negative light with *dark skies*, *shadow*, and *harsh*. This counterbalance in titling illustrates the difficulty in appropriately naming the situation.

Although a title for the overall event is extremely difficult to establish, the prisoners did hear and use assorted euphemisms. One brothel specifically for Japanese high military officials was called the House of the Seven Seas.¹⁰⁴ This could refer to the seven seas crossed to arrive to the East Indies moving through the passage from China to England. This symbolizes not only the exotic diversity of women offered within the brothel, but declares only experienced, high-achieving military officials (which would more likely be world travelers) are allowed. Jan Ruff-O'Herne, a prisoner forced into prostitution, was labeled as "the girl with the cross" because she always wore a wooden crucifix in her belt. Upon Jan's return to the regular camp, the Japanese placed the former sex slaves into a "camp within a camp" to prevent spreading the word of their actions. The other prisoners called this new camp, the Hoeren Camp (Camp of Whores).¹⁰⁵ They shouted obscenities at the returning women and called them "whores," "traitors," and "konynen," meaning

¹⁰⁴ Ruff-O'Herne, 73.

¹⁰⁵ Ruff-O'Herne, 115.

“rabbits,” since some women from brothels gave birth to Japanese babies.¹⁰⁶ A hotel known as Hotel for Lust first allowed women to volunteer themselves, but eventually forced young women and children into becoming comfort women.¹⁰⁷ Jan wrote, “The euphemism ‘comfort women’ is an insult...We were never ‘comfort women’. Comfort means something warm and soft, safe and friendly. It means tenderness. We were war-rape victims enslaved and conscripted by the Japanese Imperial Army.”¹⁰⁸ Women in Helen Colijn’s camp called the few Eurasian women who were still interested in sex “girlfriends,” since they volunteered themselves as comfort women to the soldiers to receive extras from their Japanese hosts.¹⁰⁹

Fellow prisoners also shouted foul language at newly arrived prisoners. Upon entering Camp Tjideng after moving from Camp Tjihapit, Boudewijn van Oort and the fellow arrivals were called “fatsos!” and “dirty Tjihapiters!”¹¹⁰ Called by the other prisoners, the “hearts” were women who refused to report to work and claimed they could not work due to heart problems. Viewed by Helen Colijn’s friend Ruth as a beehive, the camp had workers and “drones.”¹¹¹ Some Japanese soldiers were given amusing nicknames from the prisoners such as Donald Duck,¹¹² Spectacle Snake, Squeak Shoe, and Sam Barrel Belly.¹¹³ Some guards even had endearing nicknames due to their better treatment of the prisoners, such as Sweet

¹⁰⁶ Ruff-O’Herne, 115.

¹⁰⁷ Priesman-Bogaardt, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Ruff-O’Herne, 136.

¹⁰⁹ Helen Colijn, *Song of Survival: Women Interned*, (Ashland: White Cloud Press, 1995) 152.

¹¹⁰ van Oort, 280.

¹¹¹ Colijn, 125.

¹¹² Bonga, 116.

¹¹³ Leffelaar, 115.

Seventeen, a young teenage boy who was always respectful and Hansel My Slave who brought notes in between mothers and their sons. The latter nickname comes from a Dutch tale know as *Hansje m'n knecht*, about someone who runs errands and performs good deeds.¹¹⁴

To further understand the environment and situation experienced by these women, the stage must be set. Frequent accounts are written regarding isolation from the real world, hunger and starvation, spread of disease, and being constantly surrounded by death. Camp inmates admitted witnessing or performing acts of greed, such as stealing extra food from other campmates or the Japanese guards to keep themselves and their children alive. But for Nell van de Graaff, relating to each other's adversity and finding comfort in the reassurance that everyone was suffering the same fate emboldened one's determination to survive.¹¹⁵ After the war, this camaraderie was particularly essential to overcoming the mental and emotional hardships, especially since upon returning to Holland, no one outside the camps could fully understand or bond with a similar experience. But not everyone was compatible and community tension ran rampant throughout the three and half years. Helen Colijn was interned with her two younger sisters and they formed their own *kongsi* (commercial association, partnership).¹¹⁶ However, as time progressed, an unspoken, undefined tension emerged. Helen Colijn wrote:

As we were struggling to buoy ourselves up on one hand while being worn down on the other, we all began suffering from another camp

¹¹⁴ Bonga, 94.

¹¹⁵ Van de Graaff, 34.

¹¹⁶ Within the camps, a *kongsi* referred to a cooking group. See Colijn, 82.

disease, 'camp irritation.' We were getting on each other's nerves...Antoinette, Alette, and I, soft-spoken, well-mannered young girls when we entered camp, were now shrieking at each other. Sometimes there was a solution to a quarrel...but other quarrels lingered on and on. And these would eventually lead to a break-up of our *kongsi* of three.¹¹⁷

According to Helen, years after the end of the war:

The three of us tried to reconstruct the reasons for the break-up of our *kongsi*. But we couldn't come up with much, other than that I probably was too motherly, doing too much of my 'big-sister-thing,' and the girls had to show some independence. And of course, there was the 'camp irritation.' I became a *kongsi* of one...at this time I did not want to be in another *kongsi*; I just wanted to be by myself.¹¹⁸

Helen's need for privacy was a common feeling, but was difficult to achieve with the ever-rising number of internees. Many prisoners were never alone, but often lonely. Camp Commanders organized endless *tenkos* (roll call) for hours at a time in the hot sun and severe punishments were given for *gedekking* (smuggling) or not bowing low enough.¹¹⁹ Ans had a near death encounter when attempting to exchange materials for food at the barbed-wire fence in Camp Tjihapit. She had exchanged a bed sheet for one hundred eggs, and immediately after the exchange a Japanese soldier walked right past her, but luckily he did not see her because it was too dark. She smuggled often and gave most of her traded items to friends with children, particularly to her nephew, Dick Jaap. But with traitors within the camp and frequent disagreements, Ans became too afraid about being caught and stopped smuggling.¹²⁰ If they were caught smuggling, Joke Talsma recalls how they were

¹¹⁷ Colijn, 151.

¹¹⁸ Colijn, 162.

¹¹⁹ Arens, 13.

¹²⁰ Arens, 12.

ordered to beat each other up: “If we giggled or did not beat hard enough, the screaming soldiers or the guards would do it for us, so we beat. Just in case it would happen again we prepared each other not to beat so hard, but just to pretend. That did not always work though, as some girls panicked and really hit hard.”¹²¹ This recurrent incident of barbaric punishment manifests the daily fear felt by the prisoners and the implausibility of the corrupt behaviors of the Japanese.

Beyond the emotional stress of campmate tension, isolation, and punishments, hunger and disease were always present. Infectious diseases and unabating hunger from their “starvation diet” resulted in extreme weight loss.¹²² Words took on new meanings. The word *inedible* no longer existed and what would have been considered waste for the compost heap a year prior was now food.¹²³ The adjective *delicious* had an entirely new dimension. A trace of a piece of meat or onion transformed daily food into delicious food. Joke Talsma’s sister, Emmy, was five feet ten inches tall and weighed seventy-nine pounds.¹²⁴ Helen Colijn at six feet weighed less than ninety pounds.¹²⁵ This magnitude of starvation led to thousands of deaths, which was definitely a frequent topic of conversation. Helen Colijn wrote about her hypothetical funeral and who would give a speech, but concluded that if she still had the strength to dig a grave, she had the strength to live.¹²⁶ In addition to the lack of food, spread of disease, and constant death, the Japanese caused further

¹²¹ Bonga, 114.

¹²² Ruff-O’Herne, 46.

¹²³ van Oort, 236.

¹²⁴ Bonga, 119.

¹²⁵ Colijn, 180.

¹²⁶ Colijn, 166.

distress by constantly moving the prisoners, even within a single camp. Ans and her family moved three times within Camp Tjihapit.

Men's and women's camps had very different experiences, and women needed to search for inner strength to keep themselves and their children alive each day, one day at a time. Henk Leffelaar, having spent time in both camps, provides insight into the differences between these two environments. Initially, Henk's homesickness and need for his mother was very strong, but lessened when he became a member of the transport crew. This close-knit group was viewed as the toughest job at the camp and exemplified his journey to manhood.¹²⁷ While from an outsider's view, Henk lost his role as an adolescent by being forced to become a man upon entering the men's camp, Henk viewed it as an exhilarating adventure to gain ultimate manhood and form his new role in the male camp social hierarchy. The greatest difference between the identity formed for young boys in men's versus women's camps was epitomized in Henk's first conversation with his younger brother, Rudi, who arrived at the men's camp later in the war: "All I recall from our first conversation...is his concern about my torn shorts. His offer to repair them seemed touching evidence of the standards the women still tried to maintain."¹²⁸ Also, Henk notes that men were able to "temporarily escape" the camp confines by laboring in the jungle, which also provided easier accessibility to barter with the

¹²⁷ Leffelaar, 139.

¹²⁸ Leffelaar, 126.

natives for food, while women could not.¹²⁹ The isolation from the outside world caused more tension and bitterness among the women. Henk reflected:

The women seemed to be more jealous of each other than the men and their personal relationships suffered because of it. In a passive manner they also seemed to be more virulent. Disagreement among the men would be settled after a brisk exchange of obscenities or even a fistfight, but among the women, who seldom succumbed to physical violence, it smoldered on with the intensity of a fever. It made the camps for women at once more onerous and interesting. There were as many intrigues as there were rumors, and a good piece of gossip was as invigorating as a pep-talk.¹³⁰

But according to Helen Colijn, organizing concerts, teas, lectures, and lessons to counter the endless boredom of internment sustained the womens' sanity, just as their domestic skills kept them alive.¹³¹ The women even noticed the differences when they did briefly encounter their male counterparts. Men from another camp came to help Ans and other women clean up some houses and she wrote that compared to the high spirits of the women, the men looked pitiful.¹³² On the contrary, for the adolescent, Henk, "the men were symbols of everything patriotic and of liberty itself."¹³³ Clearly, the men's and women's camps had very different priorities and concerns for a camp's social structure and needs for survival.

Although the Japanese set endless rules and punishments for the female prisoners, the women covertly fought back. In one instance, to prevent smuggling, two Japanese soldiers disguised themselves as Indonesian women. But as soon as the Dutch women saw them on the other side of the fence, one woman reached and

¹²⁹ Leffelaar, 112.

¹³⁰ Leffelaar, 41.

¹³¹ Colijn, 102.

¹³² Arens, 14.

¹³³ Leffelaar, 31.

pulled the soldier through the fence and starting beating him. The other soldier was so surprised, and eventually tried to help, but the two women ran back into the camp and were not found. The Japanese soldiers “confided that ‘*lehih baik berkelahi soma Amerika*’ [they fight better than the Americans].”¹³⁴ One Japanese soldier said that the Dutch soldiers surrendered immediately, while the civilian men put up a better fight, but if the Dutch women had been the opponents to begin with, Japan would have had to fight much harder to win.¹³⁵ Japanese women have a very timid role in their society, so to the Japanese military, the Dutch women were probably “an unruly mob of amazons.”¹³⁶ In the women’s camps, the Japanese soldiers seemed uneasy as if they “were the keepers of a hostile truce rather than guards of a prison compound.”¹³⁷ The numerous displays of courage and bravery from the Dutch women sprung from the need to protect more than themselves. The mothers in the camp not only had to struggle to maintain a strong family unit and remain optimistic that their life would eventually return to a normal existence, but also fight for the physical survival of themselves and their young children. Although the women were not sent to Thailand and forced to build the Burma railway, the men, did not have to care for and fight for his children. Male internees also lacked the companionship and strength needed for survival that existed between a mother and her children, which may have influenced the outcome that more men died in the camps than women.

¹³⁴ van Oort, 234.

¹³⁵ Huie, 105.

¹³⁶ Leffelaar, 32.

¹³⁷ Leffelaar, 32.

But is it appropriate or justified to say either men or women had it worse? This is similar to the comparison between the internment camps in Indonesia and the Nazi extermination camps. The environment, situation, and cultural mission differed. While men and women in Indonesia had the same enemy and tropical surroundings, their situation was very different. Japanese soldiers would show severe contempt for the male internees that surrendered; an action considered to be a dishonor in Japanese culture. Female prisoners, however, suffered from the fear for their children or themselves being raped, tortured, or murdered. Finally, for the interned military servicemen, post-war publicity assumes they did amazing heroic deeds to stay alive, as the men were trained and willing to give their life for their country. However, the civilian women merely had bad luck and were lucky to survive, with no public assumptions that these women did anything to ensure their survival. This lack of attention and reverence for these women compels silence.

Section II: Weaving Common Threads Across Narratives

This compendium of personal accounts possesses a few key narrative arcs. In each story, the authors mention at least one individual as their role model, admitting that they do not think they would have survived the camp ordeal without the unfading love and support of this particular individual. However, these role models vary depending on the role of the author at the time of internment. Also, the role presented in the story is sometimes the opposite of the occupied role when the story was actually written. For example, Ans was a daughter at the time of the war, and lived in the camp with her mother, sister, and newborn nephew. Her story was

written as a letter to her daughter years after the war, when she herself held the motherly role. Perhaps she did not completely appreciate or understand the strength her mother had to muster and maintain to keep her children alive, until Ans herself was in charge of her own daughter's life. There is also a distinction between child and adult in the post-war stage of physical, mental, and emotional recuperation. Women in their early twenties with young children upon entry in the camp retained a higher level of stress for a longer period of time. They focused on keeping their children alive while in the camps and then had to find their husband after the war. If their husband was still alive, the mother had to find a way to reach him, reunite the family unit, and hope that everything would go back to normal. Adolescents and children in the camp did not have these worries, and could rely entirely on their mothers.

The end of the war triggered an endless number of divorces and family separations. Clara Olink Kelly's mother and father never recovered their relationship after the war, and Clara was witness to the continued sadness of her mother's struggle to stay afloat immediately after liberation. Decades later, with her mother happier than ever, Clara never felt close to her father due to the pain he had caused her mother. Helen Colijn never seemed to fully recover from her family's separation during the war. Shortly after the war, she was proposed to by a boy she had went on a date with six years prior, and declined the offer. In the epilogue, she briefly mentions she is a divorced woman raising her daughter alone, so although she did eventually get married, it did not last. With the emotional distance from her sisters, geographical distance from her mother during the war, and the loss of her

father, she never felt like she had a complete family. After the war, Helen, her mother, and two younger sisters traveled to California and went their separate ways.¹³⁸ Also, her extensive research and discussion of the ships used throughout World War II demonstrates the admiration and adoration she held for her father, a ship captain, making his death even more difficult to cope with.

Fortunately, for many, the war strengthened relationships, and most survivors had a role model to look up to and depend upon during the toughest times. For many, this person was the individual's mother. Among the narratives, two of the writers were mothers during the time of internment. Eight were daughters, two were sons, and Darlene Deibler was a missionary and wife, neither a daughter nor a mother during the time in the camp. Amidst the eight daughters, four of them took on a motherly role at some point during the internment, and two of them were extremely young and wrote their story from their mother's eyes (or used their mother's diary in Ronny Herman's case). Annelex Hofstra Layson was also very young during the internment, but wrote her story entirely from her perspective, giving the realities of the story an innocent twist. But Annelex also notes that her mother's courage kept her spirits up during the worst times.¹³⁹ Ans Arens is the remaining daughter that wrote from her perspective and never mentioned any motherly actions on her part in the camps. In fact, Ans wrote that her mother was the family's "rock of Gibraltar" and they could not have survived without her.¹⁴⁰ Ans, as the daughter, strongly relied on her mother for support, courage, strength, and

¹³⁸ Colijn, 186.

¹³⁹ Layson, 75.

¹⁴⁰ Arens, 23.

optimism throughout the war. Ans recalls her mother telling her daughters not to worry because she would not let the Japs carry her body out of the camp. Seeing so many people die who were physically stronger than her mother, Ans recognized the importance of mental strength and positive thinking.¹⁴¹ After the war, Ans had minimal concerns, especially since her entire family had survived and unlike her sister, she did not have her own child. She was able to “relive” and bring back some sense of her lost adolescence. Her sister Nel was often upset if Ans would come home late or miss dinner, since Nel had to take care of her three-year-old son Dick Jaap. Ans was “footloose and fancy free and was really making up for lost time.”¹⁴²

Joke Talsma was the eldest daughter of eight children and believed that larger families had more variety in daily life as well as a strong support system. Joke found that many individuals who focused primarily on themselves were sick more often. ¹⁴³ As the oldest daughter, Joke felt the responsibility of taking care of her younger siblings and at times became the additional parental figure to support her mother.¹⁴⁴ Although Joke voluntarily took on motherly roles with her large family, she was very mindful of her lost adolescence:

While in this camp I turned eighteen, an age which had always seemed magical to me. Now I could only dream about what could have been, about boyfriends, school, and about what my future would hold when the Japanese would be gone. I sometimes realized so intensely that we were imprisoned, how my young teenage years vanished, that I was

¹⁴¹ Arens, 17.

¹⁴² Arens, 25.

¹⁴³ Bonga, 112.

¹⁴⁴ Bonga, 66.

sad and depressed. Mama said that this mood came from our irregular lifestyle but I felt that this time was lost.¹⁴⁵

Even after the war, Joke never fully comprehended how much of a toll the camp took on her mother. It is difficult to imagine the emotional and physical pain of not being able to feed your seven children and watching them starve and suffer. Joke wrote, "How any human being can bestow such a lot onto another human is still beyond me."¹⁴⁶ Joke removed herself from the motherly role and fell back into the normal role as daughter, trying to imagine what her mother went through. Luckily, Joke was able to take part in some festivities to recover her adolescence. After liberation, one girl played the boogie-woogie on the piano while the teenagers in the camp danced.¹⁴⁷ After three and a half years, the adolescents suddenly realized all that they had been deprived of and were quickly able to recover the daily pleasures of living a normal life.

Clara Olink Kelly, Ronny Herman, and Annelex Hofstra Layson, at very young ages during internment, retained only a few, horrific, fragmented memories and Clara and Ronny relied on their mother's memories to tell the story. Clara wanted to forget the nightmarish experience and being so young, was unable to provide the support for her mother like Joke did for her family.¹⁴⁸ Clara admits the experience was much for difficult for the adults since the children did not know any better.¹⁴⁹ But Clara did tell her story from her mother's perspectives with very descriptive

¹⁴⁵ Bonga, 71.

¹⁴⁶ Bonga, 125.

¹⁴⁷ Bonga, 141.

¹⁴⁸ Kelly, xiv.

¹⁴⁹ Kelly, 166.

accounts of her mother's inner feelings and frustrations. Upon arriving at the camp, Clara's mother could not believe the amount of people forced into such small quarters, knowing she would have to live with her children in these rough conditions for an unknown amount of time.¹⁵⁰ Ronny never talks about her own memories because the story is that from her mother's perspective, initially with her diary entries and finally with pure recollection in their conversations together. Netty Herman used her diary as a means of communicating with her parents in Holland. The diary would serve as a memory for her parents to learn and read about how their two granddaughters grew up. Netty reminds herself that her parents and husband are always supporting her and she should not give up. She even says that her parents have had to deal with the Nazi occupation, and now it is their time to suffer.¹⁵¹ While Clara and Ronny wrote about their mother's memories, Annelex provides insight into a child's memory. One may argue that she was too young to have such strong memories, and it is possible that post-war conversations with her mother prompted certain memories. Unlike the other mother and adolescent perspectives, her language and metaphor use reflects that of a child struggling to understand her experience and surroundings. In one instance, Annelex grapples with understanding death by connecting it with a child's game and childhood toys. She wrote:

When someone died, her companions had to bring the body to a little compound. The bodies were loaded onto trucks and taken away for disposal. My mother and grandmother tried to shield me from seeing

¹⁵⁰ Kelly, 45.

¹⁵¹ Herman, 13.

that sort of thing, but once I saw a pile of bodies. I was about five years old, and I did not understand that they were dead. I watched as two guards picked up bodies from the pile. One held the arms, and the other held the legs. Then they tossed the bodies onto a truck.

It reminded me of a game called 'walrus' that we had played before the war. My father and mother would take my hands and feet and swing me, singing something like 'walrusing, walrusing, da da da,'—I don't remember the exact words—then throw me onto the bed. I thought the Japanese soldiers were playing that little game with the bodies. But then I realized that the people didn't move after they landed. I couldn't understand why they didn't laugh, or cry, or yell, or do anything. I remember one woman in particular. She had short gray hair, and she was tall. When they threw her into the truck, she flopped like a doll.¹⁵²

Similar to Joke, Jan Ruff-O'Herne, Helen Colijn, and Marie Briggs-Koning took on the role as the head of the family at some point during internment. As Jan and her family were packing for their time in the camps, Jan noticed her mother's nervousness without her father and from then on became her mother's "pillar of strength."¹⁵³ Helen was unable to occupy the role of daughter, with her mother and father in separate camps from her and her sisters, and was not a sufficient mother figure, since in reality she was only a sister. When Helen attempted to take on the motherly role over her two younger sisters, it had a negative effect and impacted the future separation of their family kongsi. Marie Briggs-Koning, the second eldest daughter in a family with four children initially saw her mother as her strength. However, as time progressed, she remained the strongest in the family and continued to carry the water pail. Toward the end of the war, Marie's mother knew she would not survive, Marie's older sister Dina was very sick with beriberi, and with Marie's brother Wim and father elsewhere, Marie was instructed to take on the

¹⁵² Layson, 72.

¹⁵³ Ruff-O'Herne, 34.

role as the head of the family. Despite Marie's pleading that her mother fight harder, Marie was still required to memorize her grandparents' address in Holland to go to if possible.¹⁵⁴ Marie's mother learned of liberation, but died the same afternoon. Marie dedicated her book to her family and "especially the memory of my mother who finally saw her children safe—but alone."¹⁵⁵ Dina lost all desire to live after hearing of her mother's death, and Marie had to move beyond the pain of losing her mother, the separation from her father and brother, and keep her family unit together and alive.

Nell van de Graaff and Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt, among the countless mothers in the hundreds of camps, lived solely for the survival of their children. The children kept the mothers active, even when everyone was sick, weak, and depressed; they had a natural, strong urge to survive.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps the mothers matured in a different sense than their daughters because of the responsibilities of saving their children, the post-war stress of finding their husbands, and of re-establishing a working family unit. The daughters, on the other hand, were able to maintain a little more naivety and innocence because they had a mother to turn to in the roughest moments. Even the daughters who temporarily occupied a motherly role were able to revive some of their adolescence at the end of the war. While some of these authors were daughters and mothers during imprisonment, every single one of them was a mother at the time that they wrote their stories. These women were finally able to comprehend the strength, stamina, and courage it took for their

¹⁵⁴ Briggs-Koning, 266.

¹⁵⁵ Briggs-Koning, i.

¹⁵⁶ Arens, 12.

mothers to keep them alive when they were children, and felt they were able to appreciate their mothers' role. While the relationships between the mothers and daughters strengthened over these three and a half years, the relationship between Henk and his mother changed drastically after his time in the men's camp, and Henk was envious of the natural, intimate relationship between his mother and brother, Rudi. Henk wrote, "While Rudi felt no inhibitions in saying "mother" when addressing her, I could not bring myself to do it, perhaps fearing that it would unleash an intimacy for which I was not yet prepared."¹⁵⁷ This additionally reflects the differences in relationship building and outcomes after the war from the men and women's camps.

All of these survivors focused their strength and desire to stay alive for their role models, be it their mother or children and a majority of these role models survived the war. In fact, for many of these authors, their entire family survived. For these individuals, the war most likely brings back memories of harsh conditions, punishment, and death, however, they were not forced to cope with the death of a loved one, particularly one in their immediate family, that served as their anchor. They did not lose their stronghold and were able to not only survive the experience, but eventually verbalize their story since it does not conjure up the reminder of the death of a relative. Nine of the thirteen authors did not lose a single family member during the time of internment. Nell van de Graaff 's entire family survived save her second eldest brother that died in a men's camp. Helen Colijn's sisters and mother

¹⁵⁷ Leffelaar, 176.

survived, but her father passed away shortly near the end of the war. Marie Briggs-Koning lost her mother on liberation day, and Darlene Deibler's husband died in a men's camp. Annelex Hofstra Layson's father survived the war, but when traveling to the post office to inspect war damage, his jeep hit a rebel land mine. Although seriously injured, he survived the surgery, but died later that night. Annelex's brother Jack suffered from a concussion shortly after due to a bike accident. In addition, her mother lost the baby she and her husband had just learned she was carrying.¹⁵⁸ Annelex's impressionable and child-like recollections of the camp do not seem too horrible when compared to the intensity of these post-camp experiences with her family.

As time progressed, many prisoners lost all sense of time as each day became a struggle for survival. Time especially slowed down for Boudewijn van Oort upon his arrival at Camp Tjideng. Boudy wrote:

From May 11, 1945, time slowed down—the following months, and the daily miseries that filled that period, seemed to stretch on without end. So powerful was this perception that I could not shake it out of my consciousness for the next forty years—until Ank startled me by saying, “It only lasted five months.”¹⁵⁹

It is impossible to sufficiently describe the tortuous time spent in Camp Tjideng, but Boudy's memory of time slowing down, at the young age of seven, gives credence to the severity of the experience. Henk, in the men's camp, experienced a painstakingly longer loss of time. The men's camp counted time by the position of the sun, or guessing how much time had passed since their last meal. Christmas and the New

¹⁵⁸ Layson, 100.

¹⁵⁹ van Oort, 275.

Year were lost in the vagueness of each passing day, all too monotonous to be remembered.¹⁶⁰ However, the women strove to maintain some perception of normalcy, no matter how difficult in the twisted, cruel Japanese-controlled environment. Birthdays became a reason for celebration, even if the difference was a little bit of sugar in one's bowl of rice or a small loaf of bread. In 1944, in Camp Tjideng, Christmas became a quiet melodic vigil, when the entire camp, cautiously at first, sang *Silent Night*, and for this particular night the Japanese did not disrupt them.¹⁶¹ Survivors often clearly recall the date of entry into their first camp and every subsequent move. The Japanese troops stormed into Ans' house on her 21st birthday, March 10, 1942, forced them out of the house, and stole Ans' watch. Luckily for her, the watch was already broken and she had been promised a new one for her birthday. Certain days are also ingrained in one's memory when food rations radically deteriorated or when they finally received Red Cross parcels when the war ended. Specific events like this were remembered, while the long, hot days of internment often blended together.

Of course, the day of liberation stands out as a memorable day. But instead of welcoming American and British soldiers with flowers and music and singing, the prisoners only received silence. The date lacked anything memorable save the news the war was over. For some, they thought it was a false alarm or a rumor. With endless rumors of good news floating around the camp for the past few years, who are they to believe? The immediate response was pure numbness. Helen refused to

¹⁶⁰ Leffelaar, 123.

¹⁶¹ Kelly, 125.

call it *liberation*, and instead called it *release*. With no glamour or victorious celebration, the prisoners did not feel liberated; the day just happened.¹⁶² Darlene Deibler contrasted the wild and triumphant cries of VJ Day with the isolation in her camp. There were no soldiers marching proudly into the camps; the prisoners did not throw flowers, cheer, dance, and give thanks. They were numbed and disappointed, and nothing happened or changed for a few weeks; the prisoners were in limbo.¹⁶³ Darlene wrote:

It was a silent celebration of tears rolling down gaunt faces burned deeply while laboring in the sun on roads, in rice fields, in pig pens, on coolie lines loading and unloading trucks, emptying septic tanks; faces on which sorrow and suffering had etched their deep lives. For ours had been a silent war of waiting, and we had measured courage in simple endurance!¹⁶⁴

While the day of learning about liberation was precise, the fulfillment, joy, and relief were entirely absent. Women eventually brought out from hiding or made a Dutch flag to hang within the camp, and sung the national anthem, *Wilhelmus*, but disappointment and displacement hung on everyone's shoulders.

Throughout these narratives, the survivors use various techniques to avoid providing details to memories that may be too overwhelming to relive and articulate. Authors use fragmented narratives, which is stating an event and providing minimal to no elaboration. These segments are often awkwardly inserted and isolated within the larger narrative and many of these secluded parts referred

¹⁶² Colijn, 180.

¹⁶³ Huie, 176.

¹⁶⁴ Darlene Deibler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen: A Woman's Miraculous Faith in a Japanese Prison Camp During WWII* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1988) 187.

to death or severe punishment. Nell van de Graaff rarely discussed her second eldest brother, Jan, and only briefly stated that he died in a Japanese prison camp.¹⁶⁵ Helen Colijn's elaboration of her friends' deaths is described more generally:

Sometimes the deaths were women I knew, Shelagh's mother, and Australian nurse I had befriended at soirees in the houses camp, and Ruth with whom I had walked with in the houses camp and carried wood and daydreamed with in the Palembang Barracks camp. Almost without exception, these deaths were due to tropical diseases and starvation. Some of the sick tried valiantly to stay alive. Others, hit by the dreaded "camp lethargy" (that no amount of encouragement from friends could dispel), simply gave up.¹⁶⁶

Helen refers to Ruth often in her story, as her closest friend, whom surely became a more important person in Helen's life when her sisters left the family kongsi. Her long-winded sentence regarding memories with Ruth appears to illustrate their importance in her camp memories. However, death is presented as an ordinary occurrence, with no specifics regarding how her friends died and the attached emotions. A speculative thought may discover more insight into the memory of Ruth's death from the film *Paradise Road*, which is based off of Helen's story and that of an Australian army nurse in the same camp. Ruth and Helen are characters in the film and become close friends. Ruth dies from "camp lethargy" in the film, but with little information from Helen's story, there is no way to determine if this is fact. Although the camp experience did numb many prisoners, Helen wrote little emotion even in describing the health problems of her own sister, Antoinette. With Bangka fever and the "color of death," Helen was not as upset that Antoinette was on the

¹⁶⁵ Van de Graaff, 7.

¹⁶⁶ Colijn, 162.

brink of death than if her sister had been seriously ill before the war.¹⁶⁷ This disinterested, unemotional response could be verbalized for various reasons. Perhaps Helen was less distraught when writing this story because she knew that Antoinette would survive. Or, with the tension and distance from her sisters combined with emotional numbing, Helen no longer felt the immediate motherly responses to her family. Annelex omits expansive details of the Japanese guards hitting her mother, most likely because of the emotional stress it caused for Annelex, especially if it was an extremely vivid memory from a young age.¹⁶⁸ Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt mentioned the trip to the funeral of her husband's grandfather and stated that if the prisoners did not move fast enough, the Japanese guards would hit them. Louisa recalled it was the first time a Japanese soldier ever hit her, and she would never forget it.¹⁶⁹ But she chose not to include any details about the funeral itself or the experience with the Japanese guard. The emotional strength needed to verbalize such a nightmare was too much, and this story becomes a mere fragment within the overall experience.

Descriptions were absent during particularly onerous times, but survivors also removed themselves from the situation by inserting a third-person narrative or general statement in the middle of a story. Helen reiterates this denial, dissociation, and displacement by explaining that she was watching the drama of her life as a

¹⁶⁷ The "color of death" is the grey-yellowish color on an individual's face that usually meant death was near. See Colijn, 169.

¹⁶⁸ Layson, 45.

¹⁶⁹ Priesman-Bogaardt, 43.

show, and it was not happening to her.¹⁷⁰ Throughout his book, Boudewijn van Oort treated the experience as if he were in a play:

In Act I of our metaphorical play we lived in a city with the residue of civil amenities, in Act II we had moved in terms of amenities to a rural *kampong* [neighborhood] and were advised to regard this as “progress.” The wanton destruction of a valuable violin was soon forgotten and the possession of a lowly chamber pot cherished...Act II of our crazy play gave way to Act III with a dramatic scenery change...The news of the war’s end had come in such a peculiar fashion that we were lost trying to digest it. It was as though we had slept through Act III of a play and therefore could not link Act II to the final outcome in Act IV.¹⁷¹

It is easier to cope with such experiences as an observer, instead of a performer because you do not need to relate the story to yourself; you remain neutral. Jan Ruff-O’Herne discussed the group of girls, herself included, forced into prostitution: “Six other girls joined our miserable group. A total of sixteen girls were then taken from the Ambarawa camps, forced against their will. We huddled together like frightened animals, clutching our bags as a shield of safety.”¹⁷² Jan begins as a member of the group, then temporarily removes herself by saying “forced against *their* will.” This does not convey that Jan went willingly, but rather seeks a momentary relief from the overall cruel concept of being forced into sexual slavery, most likely a horrible memory to recall. Nell van de Graaff maintains her distance almost as a means to avoid insulting her fellow campmates: “It seemed that people who were selfish and showed disregard for the welfare of others became more greedy, while their sisters-in-prison who were willing to share and show consideration for others became even

¹⁷⁰ Colijn, 52 and 68.

¹⁷¹ van Oort, 152, 161, and 328.

¹⁷² Ruff-O’Herne, 71.

more so. The threat to our survival highlighted our personalities.”¹⁷³ Nell does not identify with either group and chooses to remain anonymous, to avoid appearing too vain for her selflessness or too ashamed for her selfishness. The intense emotions surrounding liberation also brought about dissociation. Helen explained, “Oh, there *were* expressions of joy. The Dutch sang *The Wilhelmus*, and the British and Australians sang *God Save the King*.”¹⁷⁴ Helen is Dutch, yet did not say, “*we* sang *The Wilhelmus*.” She removed herself from the group, possibly indicating that she did not express feelings of joy, or even feel any relieving, happy emotions at the war’s end, reiterating the emotional stress and numbness Helen experienced throughout the camp. She emphasizes her desire to be alone by not identifying with any national group in the camp. Removing oneself from the situation may be a coping mechanism to ease the difficulty of reliving one’s memories.

In addition to changes in pronoun use, the authors also fluctuate in past and present tense. Most of the stories are written in the past tense since they serve as memories of the past, be it five years or fifty years after the war ended. Joke Talsma wrote her entire story in the past tense save one chapter that described her and her family’s move from Camp Ambarawa to Camp Muntilan. Joke is extremely descriptive and the reader easily imagines and relives the event through Joke’s eyes. She wrote:

I should go slower, my neck is so sore, but I *have* to bring that *barang* (luggage). We will need it as soon as we arrive, but where are we going? Mama has a couple of bottles of water. I am so thirsty, but I am

¹⁷³ Van de Graaff, 35.

¹⁷⁴ Colijn, 176.

not going to ask, I'll wait till we are there. Keep your feet moving! My neck is all cramped up I don't know this town at all. We have never been outside Camp 2. I don't see anyone stopping up ahead. Where are we going?¹⁷⁵

Moving from Camp 2 to another camp clearly left a distinct imprint in Joke's mind, to cause her to change to present tense in only this chapter. Perhaps it was the stress and fear of the unknown of a new camp, but whatever the cause, reverting to present tense provides insight into the emotions felt by Joke, and most likely other prisoners. Joke also switched between past and present tense when describing another camp move to Sumowono.¹⁷⁶ A change in pronoun use can also draw in the reader to relive the event with the writer. Netty Herman, when finding out that Japan had capitulated on August 15, 1945, wrote:

[The camp leader] said, "Let us thank God that the war is over, and let us sing our National Anthem together." With a lump in your throat and tears flooding down your cheeks, you can't sing very well, yet our *Wilhelmus* sounded more beautiful than I could remember, and in it was thankfulness and happiness, but also sorrow for those who were gone.¹⁷⁷

Using second person pronouns, Netty pulls the reader in to imagine themselves in this situation, with a lump in their throat and tears running down their cheeks. Netty then reinserts herself in the situation by using the possessive "our" when referring to the Dutch national anthem. Clara Olink Kelly wrote the book about her mother's experience in the camp when Clara was a young girl. Sometimes she writes for her mother, while in other instances she writes as her mother, providing the reader with intimate details of her thoughts and feelings. When referring to

¹⁷⁵ Bonga, 97.

¹⁷⁶ Bonga, 57.

¹⁷⁷ Herman, 148.

Commander Sonei's inhumane treatment of the prisoners in Camp Tjideng, Clara wrote:

Worse than that, however, was the knowledge that you were slowly and methodically being starved to death at the will of the Japanese, because in their eyes your life was worthless. I can imagine no worse nightmare for a young mother, my mother, than the realization that her three small children may die because food is being withheld through no fault of their own. What terrible anguish she must have felt, knowing that her children's lives depended entirely on her, and yet she, as the mother was unable to help them because she herself was at the mercy of her captors.¹⁷⁸

Clara initially compels the reader to "relive" the event with second-person "you," and then makes the thoughts more personal with the possessive "my." Clara completes her thought by detaching herself and not including herself as one of her mother's children, by using "them" instead of "us."

During internment, the prisoners did small, often unnoticed actions to help them cope with the inhumanity. Many hated having to constantly bow to the Japanese soldiers, and instead imagined they were bowing to someone they respected. Marie Briggs-Koning recalled tying a piece of orange wool to their toes, so they were bowing to the House of Orange and the Dutch Royal Family. Other prisoners would see the orange thread, wink, and bow even deeper.¹⁷⁹ These coping strategies made *tenkos* (roll calls) more interesting, easier to deal with, and most of all a means to resist the Japanese. In Netty's diary, she never mentions the possible end of death. Her first mention of "the end" is not until the second half of her story, which is a recollection with her knowing her family would survive. Perhaps this

¹⁷⁸ Kelly, xiii.

¹⁷⁹ Briggs-Koning, 240.

avoidance, or ignorance of referring to death maintained one's mental stability, strength, and belief in their survival. If this inner strength dies, one's physical being dies.

After the war, some prisoners accepted that this experience defined who they were as an individual, while others aimed to erase any memories. Annelex Hofstra Layson did not know where to begin. She left the camp at age eight, having lived through two wars, internment camps, and the death of her father.¹⁸⁰ After eventually moving to New York with her mother and brother, Annelex did make new friends, but felt removed from reality. No one knew anything about the internment camps and her friends never knew what it meant to go hungry. Her family tried to forget about the past and move forward. Annelex earned a nursing degree, and raised two children with her husband before he died.¹⁸¹ Annelex omits her adolescence and early adulthood, only to finish her thought with her husband's death. However, she completes her story by being remarried, a grandmother, and a personal mission to honor the memories of all of the prisoners and like Ans Arens, appreciate the power of positive thinking.¹⁸² Louis Priesman-Bogaardt spent a long time trying to forget that part of her life, but it actually made her a stronger person than she was before the war.¹⁸³ Ans Arens put her memories away in a box in the back of her mind, attempting to erase the grief. But she is still proud to have met her fellow prisoners, having learned so much, and become a better person from the

¹⁸⁰ Layson, 105.

¹⁸¹ Layson, 106.

¹⁸² Layson, 107.

¹⁸³ Priesman-Bogaardt, 139.

experience.¹⁸⁴ Ans feels a connection with the fellow prisoners, and all others that faced any horrific experiences during World War II, and even though she rarely discussed her experiences, Ans knows she was not alone; her wounds have healed, and the scars have defined her.¹⁸⁵ Amidst the tragedy and suffering, Ans ends her story with an optimistic note to her daughter that “all is well that ends well.”¹⁸⁶ Optimism, courage, and emotional strength keeps these survivors alive during the war, and stronger still after the war.

With such a horrific experience, the survivors had to confront the daily struggle for survival, cope with the physical and emotional aftereffects, as well as re-establish relationships with ignorant observers outside of the camps. But these women did not feel welcome in any of their new homes. After Japan surrendered, the Indonesian Nationalists declared independence and used guerilla warfare against the Dutch civilians. Many families traveled to Australia or Holland, but neither place welcomed them as friends. In Australia, the men had more time to talk about the war at clubs, but the women did not. They thought the world would be a wonderful, welcoming place when they left the camps, but it only proved to be a disappointment. In the Netherlands, no one cared to listen, so they simply did not talk about it.¹⁸⁷ Joke Talsma was so happy to be free from fear, punishment, and harsh conditions, but coming home to the Netherlands was a strange experience. Their compatriots failed to understand the war in the Pacific theatre. Joke explained

¹⁸⁴ Arens, 20.

¹⁸⁵ Arens, 32.

¹⁸⁶ Arens, 20.

¹⁸⁷ Huie, 197.

that there was no comparison between the two wars, but that did not change the public's ignorance:

They had it so bad during 'their war,' that we did not talk about 'ours.'...[and] during the actual war years [in Europe] not very many serious things happened. Everyone lived in his own home, had his own furniture, his own bed to sleep in. Schools had been on, churches had been functioning on a normal basis. There had been no serious undernourishment, though there had been restrictions...That's why we felt that their situation could not be compared with ours at all.¹⁸⁸

Not only did Joke unconsciously refer to Europe's war as the "actual war," but when Joke and her sisters tried to tell their stories, they received a disinterested, self-centered response. The Dutch in the Netherlands immediately starting talking about how they were forced to eat tulip bulbs and sugar beets due to food shortages, while Joke could only imagine how she would have loved to eat anything like that, except there was absolutely nothing.¹⁸⁹ It was absurd to "boast" who had the worst war experience, so they just kept quiet. How can one verbalize their memories and begin to heal if no one is willing to listen, especially an audience that cannot relate?

But despite the initial unwelcomeness, some survivors overcame their frustrations of public ignorance and disinterest by sharing their stories with people who did care to listen. Clara Olink Kelly's grandmother in Holland initially could not grasp Japan's cruelty and her frequently asked question of "why did they not just run away" demonstrated her detachment from the experience of her daughter and grandchildren. However, over time, the grandmother coaxed Clara and her brothers to tell her stories that Clara recalls established a strong, affectionate relationship of

¹⁸⁸ Bonga, 199.

¹⁸⁹ Bonga, 203.

mutual admiration that helped her family recover physically, mentally, and emotionally.¹⁹⁰ Helen Colijn and Jan Ruff-O'Herne found healing comfort in accomplishing war-related projects decades later. Helen, although she was not actually a member in the vocal orchestra in her camp and her two younger sisters were, co-produced a TV documentary, *Song of Survival*, about the group. She also helped organize an exhibition at Stanford University to preserve actual written sheets of music from the war. A concert was held in the memory and honor of the women in the vocal orchestra, and those still alive attended. Helen's story was also used to assist the creation of the film *Paradise Road*. With her book dedicated to her sisters Antoinette and Alette and their parents, Helen may have pursued these projects to atone for any guilt or regret she may have felt from the unresolved tension between her and her sisters during and after the war. Jan felt a strong emotional urge to support the Korean comfort women and became a witness for the Foundation of Japanese Honorary Debts. She wrote, "Women were again being raped as if it were a natural consequence of war, as if war could make it right. It was always played down...[The comfort women] did not return from war like heroes, wearing their medals. They came back wearing scars."¹⁹¹ An individual's motivation to come to terms with one's memories and use their story as a springboard to raise awareness of history strengthens not only the survivor, but also their audience. Readers and observers can learn from the emotional trauma articulated by these survivors and possibly find a story in their own lives that reflect or weave into the

¹⁹⁰ Kelly, 197.

¹⁹¹ Ruff-O'Herne, 137.

experiences, ambitions, and lessons learned by these strong and courageous women.

Conclusion:

With the ever-present feelings of loneliness—separation from the real world, the “real war,” and the “real” memories of soldiers and prisoners in the European theatre—the Dutch civilian internees felt homeless. Survivors did not feel they belonged in Holland, in Australia, or anywhere outside of the camps; they were unable to escape.¹⁹² Even the physical sites of these camps, most of which no longer exist, cannot tell the story. These stories only live in the memories of the survivors. Henk revisited Camp Si Rengo-Rengo, a men’s camp, after it had been deserted and wrote:

The quiet lay like treason over the empty hulls of the barracks...Nothing betrayed what had happened here. The emptiness was hollow and inhospitable. It did not speak of the bodies which had lain here in a gaunt of sleep, of Visser’s jokes and the laughter that followed them, or the rain-soaked mattresses and the smell of wet kapok, of the rumors exchanged with a feverish passion, of the bedbugs and rats and muddy feet...It did not speak of all these things and yet standing there, I knew that for all who were here, all wordless silences to come in future years would be filled with what the silence of this empty barrack now would not yield.¹⁹³

In addition to this separation, the prisoners still struggled to explain and name their experience. Henk articulated this absence:

Thinking back on the sorrow and grief which accompanied our liberation, I wonder how our own happiness remained so whole. But perhaps it is in times like these that tragedy ceases to have a

¹⁹² Huie,149.

¹⁹³ Leffelaar, 183.

recognizable identity and becomes a component of an aggregate of human experiences to which, because of their density, singular responses are no longer possible. For us, only the emptiness of a stunned inner silence remained in which sorrow and joy existed side by side.¹⁹⁴

The fragments of these individuals exemplify the tragedy, disappointment, emotional anxiety, difficulty in articulating their story and isolation from the outside world felt by each survivor in their distinct experiences. Annelex Hofstra Layson suffered the memories of being surrounded by death, followed by the unfortunate death of her father shortly after the war ended. At liberation, Helen Colijn's expectation for the feeling of euphoria was replaced by loneliness and emptiness. Ans Arens strongly depended on her mother for emotional support, but felt the fear and pain that accompanied starvation and diseases of people so important to her. Louisa Priesman-Bogaardt, with acute emotional memories, was unable to articulate the first time, or any time, a Japanese soldier struck her. While writing her memoirs, Joke Talsma sometimes felt isolated from the world, thinking a reader could never possibly understand her story unless they relived it with her. The use of present tense compelled the reader to experience the heat, thirst, and hunger felt by the suffering women and children prisoners of war. But these narratives also collectively reveal the strength of relationships between mothers and daughters, the importance of role models, and how telling one's story actually reinforces one's courage to cope with. These stories reevaluate how this experience has shaped the survivors as individuals despite the unaware, unwelcoming, and unperturbed observers of the outside world. While a title for this event may contribute to the

¹⁹⁴ Leffelaar, 177.

survivors reconciling themselves with their memories and the outsiders' conceptualization of this moment in history, there may be too many components that define each survivor individually to find a single entity to represent and identify the event. But by assembling these various memoirs we can construct an image of the larger, collective experience of the internees and fill the void that each story individually cannot fill.

Appendices

1. Rules of Internees
2. Part of Sonei's statement in War Crimes Tribunal
3. One of Ans Arens' letter to Gwen
4. Letter for Comfort Women from Japanese Prime Minister

1. Rules for Internees: From files of a camp in Sumatra

Introduction

- a. The internees fall under the regulations of the Japanese army.
- b. They will be treated justly, with respect for their habits and customs.
- c. No distinction will be made on the basis of the prewar social position of the internees.
- d. They shall swear an oath not to escape from the camp.

General rules

1. These rules deal with matters concerning the living conditions of the internees.
2. In matters not provided for in these rules, the head of the camp office will decide.
3. The internees shall salute the personnel of the camp office.
4. The head of the camp office may select a number of internees to perform necessary duties.
5. The above mentioned persons shall perform their duties conscientiously.
6. Orders and instructions will be given in Japanese, to be followed by an explanation in Indonesian.
7. The personnel and the internees shall always take every care of the hygiene in the camp and in the rooms. It is prohibited to paste papers on the walls and to hammer nails in poles without permission of the camp personnel.
8. A section shall be formed which will be responsible for cleanliness in the camp.
9. During the period between the evening roll call and awakening the next morning, a watch shall be kept to prevent fire and theft.
10. The internees must live orderly lives and take care that they will not deteriorate morally. They must, therefore, always have something to do.
11. As much as possible one should not drink alcoholic beverages or smoke.
12. The order of the day is as follows:

Awakening	8:30am (Japanese time)/6:30am (Sumatra time)
Morning roll call	8:40am

Breakfast	9:30am
Sick parade	10:30am
Noon meal	1:00pm
Evening meal	7:00pm
Evening roll call	8:00pm
Announcement of orders & instructions	8:00pm
Lights out (sleeping time)	10:00pm

This schedules does not apply to persons who are too old, and to small children (babies)

13. Gambling and bets are prohibited
14. The establishing of associations, except for sports and for religious purposes, is prohibited. Although associations of the latter kind are permitted, permission has to be obtained from the head of the camp bureau prior to organization.
15. It is not permitted to lend books and printed matter to others, neither by one's own volition, nor upon the request of others.
16. In the event of any incident, the camp personnel should be notified immediately.
17. The cooking of food shall be done collectively.
18. The internees shall care for their own health, so one will not become ill.
19. One will be examined by a physician once a month.
20. a. The camp personnel and the internees shall guard against fire. In case of fire the person who first discovers it shall take immediate action himself, and notify the camp personnel.
b. Small children, the elderly, and the sick shall in that event be evacuated in accordance with orders from the camp personnel.
21. In order to prevent fires, the following regulations should be closely observed.
 - a. It is prohibited to make fires at places where such is not regularly done.
 - b. Children (up to 10 years of age) may not make use of fire.

- c. One should be cautious in the use of fire.
 - d. Upon finding an electrical short, such should be reported immediately to the camp personnel.
22. At several places throughout the camp water, buckets, screens, and sand should be kept in supply.
23. If an internee commits a breach of the law, he will be sentenced in accordance with military laws.
24. Persons who do not submit themselves to the authorities will be incarcerated, arrested, or punished in other ways.
25. Letters sent or received by the internees shall be censored first by the head of the camp bureau.¹⁹⁵

2. Part of Sonei's statement presented at the War Crimes Tribunal in Jakarta in 1946:

"I left Japan on 17 July 1942 and arrived at Tanjung Priok on 20 August 1942. From 26 August until 20 September 1942, I was attached to a small branch of POW Camp Batavia, my appointment being Acting Officer Commanding. From 20 September 1942 until 15 March 1944, I was Officer Commanding First Branch of POW Camp Java. This camp was known to the Dutch as Cycle Camp.

From 1 April 1944 until 10 June 1945, I was Officer Commanding the Civilian Internees Camp for women and children, Java (Tjideng). From 10 June 1945, I was appointed to No 2 Branch POW Camp Bandung in the General Affairs Department and I remained in that camp until Japanese capitulation...

...On one occasion it was reported to me that a guard was found in possession of a watch which belonged to a prisoner and which had been taken from the prisoner in question. The watch was returned to the prisoner and I punished the guard by giving him five days rigorous imprisonment and reported the matter, as is usual, to a higher authority.

Any punishment of prisoners usually took the form of slapping with the open hand on the face. I have never personally seen a prisoner being slapped.

...I confess that I have given both men and women prisoners a light slap on the face in order to make them pay attention. This form of light punishment always had the desired effect. Slapping with the open hand...was only administered when the prisoner or internee hesitated or failed to respond.

...The Civil Internment Camp in Batavia was known to the Dutch as Tjideng Camp. I have always considered the word 'Jap' to be an insult to the Japanese. While at Tjideng camp I heard the internees using the expression 'Jap.' I immediately issued

¹⁹⁵ Leffelaar, 240.

a warning through the senior civilian that the term 'Jap' should never be used. A year after I arrived at Tjideng Camp I heard the term 'Jap' being used by two mothers who were internees. I took the two women to my office and administered a warning to them. At the same time I pricked one of the women in the leg with a stick. It did not make any external injury. Only I touched the women, none of the guards touched them. After that I had the two women segregated in another house for ten days. The women were allowed to take their bedding and other facilities with them.

On one occasion, on or about 5 June 1945, while at Tjideng camp, because the internees were making contact with people outside the camp and because of the lack of discipline in the camp, I ordered that one meal of rice and two meals of bread be withheld from the internees except the sick people and children to whom rice was issued but not the bread. That is the only occasion on which food was withheld from the internees while I was in charge of Tjideng Camp.

...I wish to add that when leaving Tjideng for Bandung on 10 June 1945, I left word to the officer who succeeded me, Captain Sakai, that the ration of rice was to be returned to the internees.¹⁹⁶

3. Ans Arens' letter to Gwen inserted into Shirley Fenton Huie's book "The Forgotten Ones." (written in August '94)

Dear Gwen,

Shortly after they told us that the war was over, and we were waiting for things to happen, we were attacked by the Indonesians, almost every night. These Indonesians were very young and indoctrinated by the Japs—get rid of the Dutch and their colonization—become independent. The older ones like my Dad's colleagues from before the war and our servants were still supportive of the Dutch and wanted things to return like before the war. Our camp—Tjideng—was attacked every night. We found an abandoned baby's bed made from iron. We dismantled it and we had quite a number of iron sticks. I remember clearly that tante Nel and I and a number of the young women in our house were standing with these iron sticks on the front verandah of this house in Laam Trivelli, right next to the gate should these young Indonesians break through. The iron sticks were our weapons. Ha! The Japanese indeed surrounded our camp to protect us.

During this time the hanchos and komitjos were called to the front office one morning. There was a Dutch officer and had a little speech and told us that we had to be patient. One komitjo got real mad and said "You look so neatly dressed in your clean uniform—shaven and washed. Get out of here and get us weapons in a hurry. If you cannot send us troops to protect us now that the war is over, the least you can do is get us weapons so we can protect ourselves." Then all of a sudden your Daddy walked in the room. His cousin—Willy Timmermans—a komitjo, screamed "Herman" and flew in his arms. She is Noud Verbeeka's aunt. We visited her and her

¹⁹⁶ Huie, 55.

husband last year—October '93. They live close to Breda. Your Daddy told us to go back in the camp and write notes on whatever paper we could find to loved ones wherever in the world. Within an hour, he stood at the gate with a big box collecting the notes. He flew to Singapore—brought it to a POW camp of men. These guys put the notes in envelopes and all was sent to wherever. Sometime later when Daddy had a bad sinus infection, a doctor in the hospital said to him, "I'll take good care of you Capt. Arens, you brought the first good news to me that my family was alive." Ours was the first word that we were alive by my uncle and his wife who lived in San Francisco—oom Bram and tante Lenie. They telegraphed the news to our relatives in Holland.

My Dad had spent about 3 years in solitary in a cell under tortures as a political prisoner. He walked out of the prison Soekamishim in Bandung, found the Red Cross and located where we were and Dick Dijkman, my brother-in-law, and they came to Tjideng. They arrived at 10pm and were not allowed in. We heard a lot of commotion in the front office next to the gate and my mom said "I hear it—your Daddy is there." In spite of the curfew they let him in. My Dad was very thin but his spirits were high and he was as always our rock of Gibraltar. Dick Dijkman even didn't know that he had a son and there he was 3 year old Dick Jaap.

Your Dad, then just a friend of mine from before the war, came to camp every morning and picked up about 5 girls (I was one of them) and we drove to the airport and did all sorts of jobs. Office work, etc. It was great. I got to meet old friends again and the guys who flew in brought us a lot of goodies from Australia. So we returned to camp in the afternoon and always had many surprises with us for our loved ones and friends. My Dad, in the mean time, came to camp with a doctor to have a look at my Mom who weighed only 70 lbs. She was indeed on the brink of death. She had to be evacuated to Australia immediately for recuperation hopefully. She had to be accompanied by a nurse or me. So I went. It was scary. She made it! We got a room in an apt with an Australian family. Went to the Dutch clinic the day after arrival and my Mom recovered slowly. After 9 mos. she had almost doubled her weight.

Although the Consul General (Dutch) and his wife were at the airport upon our arrival with flowers for Mom and chocolates for me, nobody real helped us. So on our own we found that Dutch clinic. As we walked on Elizabeth street, 2 Australian ladies stopped us and asked if we came out of a POW camp (we looked it!) They said that they had just heard that their husbands survived a POW camp and were coming home within a week.

They hailed a taxi and took care of my Mom and me. They brought us to the Dutch clinic. My sister, tante Nel, and Dick Jaap came to Australia 6 mos. later. Tante Nel had started with beri-beri just before the end of the war.

In the meantime, we did get a furnished apartment in Woollabra (Suburb of Sydney) so we were all together. My Dad went back to work to earn a salary again to pay for all this. What a guy! He did come over a couple of times.

One funny incident happened after we left camp. It was a very emotional farewell when we left camp for Australia. Somebody brought us to a home in town, from there we were going to the airport, they said. Fraus Schenk, one of the guys in your Daddy's squadron had to organize all this. He came to me and said "I have bad news—you will leave tomorrow instead of today, so I have to bring your Mom and you back to camp." I looked him in the eyes and said, I think you have a room in a hotel here somewhere. I suggest that you go to that camp tonight. I am sure our mattresses are still there on the floor, and I will bring my Mom to your hotel room to sleep in a bed again with clean sheets. Please do understand we are not going back to camp and that is final. That night my Mom and I had a lovely hotel room with two heavenly beds. He now lives with his wife, whom I know from before the war, in England and we visited them there. They came to see us here. He calls regularly from England for just a chat. He has such high respect for your Dad. Two weeks ago, when he called he said to me "That guy you married was a top commander. The best the Dutch Air Force had. Without him we wouldn't have survived. We were the lucky ones to serve under him."

He is a fun guy. Was a tremendous success after the war, as a civilian. Made lots of money, but is a loud mouth. Last year, Oct '93, when we were in Holland, Daddy and I attended a reunion. He was there. All these guys are elderly now. He spilled on his tie and said to me "Does Herman do that too" I said "Not yet." We all laughed. He always acts so macho, but I am not going to be intimidated. He remembers the hotel incident and when he sees me he shakes his head and says, "you are something." What fun!

4. Letter to Comfort Women from Japanese Prime Minister

The Year of 1996

Dear Madam,

On the occasion that the Asian Women's Fund, in cooperation with the Government and the people of Japan, offers atonement from the Japanese people to the former wartime comfort women, I wish to express my feelings as well.

The issue of comfort women, with an involvement of the Japanese military authorities at that time, was a grave affront to the honor and dignity of large numbers of women.

As Prime Minister of Japan, I thus extend anew my most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women.

We must not evade the weight of the past, nor should we evade our responsibilities for the future.

I believe that our country, painfully aware of its moral responsibilities, with feelings of apology and remorse, should face up squarely to its past history and accurately convey it to future generations.

Furthermore, Japan also should take an active part in dealing with violence and other forms of injustice to the honor and dignity of women.

Finally, I pray from the bottom of my heart that each of you will find peace for the rest of your lives.

Respectfully yours,

Ryutaro Hashimoto
Prime Minister of Japan

(Subsequent Prime Ministers who signed the letter are: Keizo Obuchi, Yoshiro Mori and Junichiro Koizumi)¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Asian Women's Fund.

Bibliography

- The Thailand-Burma Railway Centre*. 2008 [cited March 20 2010]. Available from <http://www.tbrconline.com/>.
- "The Twilight of an Ex-God." *U.S. News & World Report* 105, no. 13 (1988).
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. "Notes on Contemporary Indonesian Political Communication." *Indonesia* 16 (1973): 39-80.
- Archer, Bernice. *The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese 1941-1945: A Patchwork of Internment*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- Arens, Ans. "My Dear Gwen." 33. West Virginia, 1997.
- Bazyler, Michael J. "Holocaust Denial Laws and Other Legislation Criminalizing Promotion of Nazism." International Institute for Holocaust Studies, Yad Vashem, 2006.
- BenEzer, Gadi. "Trauma Signals in Life Stories." In *Trauma and Life Stories*. Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1999.
- Beresford, Bruce. "Paradise Road." 122 minutes, 1997.
- Blackburn, Karl Hack and Kevin, ed. *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Bonga, Dieuwke Wendelaar. *Eight Prison Camps: A Dutch Family in Japanese Java, Center for International Studies Monograph Series*: Ohio University, 1996.
- Briggs-Koning, Marie. *Footsteps in Memories and the Relationship between a Family in the Netherlands East Indies During the 1940's and World Events of the Time*. Launceston: Marken Pty Ltd, 1999.
- Bruggen, Mariska Heijmans-Van. "After the Burma-Thailand Railway: The 'Homecoming' of Dutch Prisoners of War." In *Prisoners of War, Prisoners of Peace*, edited by Bob Moore and Barbara Hatley-Broad. Oxford: Berg, 2005.
- Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Ching, Leo. January 18, 2010.
- Chizuko, Ueno. "The Politics of Memory: Nation, Individual and Self." *History and Memory* 11, no. 2 (1999): 129-52.
- Colijn, Helen. *Song of Survival: Women Interned*. Ashland: White Cloud Press, 1995.

Collection, Perry-Castañeda Library Map. *Indonesia Maps* University of Texas at Austin, 2010 [cited March 21 2010]. Available from <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/indonesia.html>.

Dam, Ambassador Nikolaos van. 2010.

Detective, Balashon - Hebrew Language. *Shoah and Holocaust* [cited October 26 2009]. Available from <http://www.balashon.com/2008/04/shoah-and-holocaust.html>.

Donovan, Theo A. H. Doreleijers and Denis M. "Transgenerational Traumatization in Children of Parents Interned in Japanese Civil Internment Camps in the Dutch East Indies During World War II." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 17, no. 4 (1990).

Factbook, The World. *Indonesia* Central Intelligence Agency, 1998 [cited March 24 2010]. Available from <http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact98/119.htm>.

Frankl, Viktor E. *Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy*. 4 ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

Fricker, Christophe. January 18, 2010.

Fund, Asian Women's. *Letter from Prime Minister to the Former Comfort Women, since 1996* 1996 [cited March 17 2010]. Available from http://web.archive.org/web/20070516012746/http://www.awf.or.jp/english/about/archives/1996_2.html.

Fund, Asian Women's. *Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund* 2007 [cited March 17 2010]. Available from <http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/index.html>.

Goodman, Grant K. *Japan: The Dutch Experience*. London: The Athlone Press, 1986.

Graaff, Nell van de. *We Survived: A Mother's Story of Japanese Captivity*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989.

Herman, Ronny. *In the Shadow of the Sun: The True Story of a Young Family Interned on Java During Japanese Occupation, 1941-1945*: Vanderheide Publishing Company, 1992.

Hijmans, Admiral Michiel. 2010.

Huie, Shirley Fenton. *The Forgotten Ones: Women and Children under Nippon*.

- Pymble, Australia: Angus & Robertson, 1992.
- Jong, L. De. *The Collapse of a Colonial Society: The Dutch in Indonesia During the Second World War*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. "Same War: Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism." *International Organization* 57, no. 4 (2003): 731-60.
- Kavolis, Vytautas. "Contemporary Moral Cultures And "The Return of the Sacred"." *Sociological Analysis* 49, no. 3 (1988): 203-16.
- Kelabora, Lambert. "Religious Instruction Policy in Indonesia." *Asian Survey* 16, no. 3 (1976): 230-48.
- Kelabora, Lambert. "Underlying Religious Instruction in Indonesia." *Comparative Education* 15, no. 3 (1979): 325-39.
- Kelly, Clara Olink. *The Flamboya Tree : Memories of a Mother's Wartime Courage*. New York: Random House, 2002.
- King, Peter. "Morning Star Rising? Indonesia Raya and the New Papuan Nationalism." *Indonesia* 73 (2002): 89-127.
- Kohn, Richard H. "The Scholarship on World War II: Its Present Condition and Future Possibilities." *The Journal of Military History* 55, no. 3 (1991): 365-94.
- Krancher, Jan A., ed. *The Defining Years of the Dutch East Indies, 1942-1949: Survivors' Accounts of Japanese Invasion and Enslavement of Europeans and the Revolution That Created Free Indonesia*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 1996.
- Kroef, Justus M. Van Der. "Social Conflict and Minority Aspirations in Indonesia." *The American Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 5 (1950): 450-63.
- Layson, Annelex Hofstra. *Lost Childhood: My Life in a Japanese Prison Camp During World War II*. Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2008.
- Leffelaar, Hendrik L. *Through a Harsh Dawn: A Boy Grows up in a Japanese Prison Camp*. Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishing Company, 1963.
- Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth. ""Companionate Feminism" In Colonial Indonesia in the 1930s." *Morals, Harmony, and National Identity* 14, no. 4 (2003).
- Mackay, James. *The Allied Japanese Conspiracy*: The Pentland Press Ltd, 1995.
- MacKenzie, S. P. "The Treatment of Prisoners of War in World War II." *The Journal of*

- Modern History* 66, no. 3 (1994): 487-520.
- McLaughlin, Neil. "Nazism, Nationalism, and the Sociology of Emotions: Escape from Freedom Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 14, no. 3 (1996): 241-61.
- McLoyd, Vonnie C. "Socioeconomic Disadvantage and Child Development." *American Psychologist* 53, no. 2 (1998).
- Milner, Laura Alicia. "The Language of Loss: Transformation in the Telling in and Beyond the Writing Classroom." Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2005.
- Online, Merriam-Webster. *Holocaust* [cited March 10 2010]. Available from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/holocaust>.
- Oort, Boudewijn van. *Tjideng Reunion: A Memoir of World War II on Java*: Trafford Publishing, 2008.
- Oosterhout, Dianne can. "Tying the Time Strong Together: An End-of-Time Experience in Irian Jaya, Indonesia." *Ethnohistory* 47, no. 1 (2000).
- Pempel, T. J. "Japanese Foreign Economic Policy: The Domestic Bases for International Behavior." *International Organization* 31, no. 4 (1977): 723-74.
- Pennebaker, James W. *Opening Up: The Healing Power of Expressing Emotions*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1990.
- Pennebaker, James W. "Telling Stories: The Health Benefits of Narrative." *Literature and Medicine* 19, no. 1 (2000): 3-18.
- Pennebaker, R. Sherlock Campbell and James W. "The Secret Life of Pronouns: Flexibility in Writing Style and Physical Health." *Psychological Science* 14, no. 1 (2003).
- Perez, Mikiso Hane and Louis G. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*. 4 ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2009.
- Philip Towle, Margaret Kosuge and Yoichi Kibata, ed. *Japanese Prisoners of War*. Hambleton: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Pollmann, Tessel. "The Unreal War: The Indonesian Revolution through the Eyes of Dutch Novelists and Reporters." *Indonesia* 69 (2000): 93-106.
- Post, Laurens Van der. *A Bar of Shadow*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956.
- Priesman-Bogaardt, Louisa. *Dark Skies over Paradise*. Victoria: Trafford Publishing,

2005.

- Raben, Remco, ed. *Representing the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Personal Testimonies and Public Images in Indonesia, Japan, and the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Waanders Printers, Zwolle, 1999.
- Raben, Remco. "Dutch Memories of Captivity in the Pacific War." In *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia*, edited by Karl Hack and Kevin Blackburn. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Robinett, Jan. "The Narrative Shape of Traumatic Experience." *Literature and Medicine* 26, no. 2 (2008): 290-311.
- Rose, Darlene Deibler. *Evidence Not Seen: A Woman's Miraculous Faith in a Japanese Prison Camp During WWII*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1988.
- Rose, Susan D. "Naming and Claiming: The Integration of Traumatic Experience and the Reconstruction of Self in Survivors' Stories of Sexual Abuse." In *Trauma and Life Stories*. Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1999.
- Ruff-O'Herne, Jan. *Fifty Years of Silence*. Australia: McPhersons Printing Group, 1994.
- Scagliola, Stef. "The Silences and Myths of a 'Dirty War': Coming to Terms with the Dutch-Indonesian Decolonisation War (1945-1949)." *European Review of History* 14, no. 2 (2007): 235-62.
- Spector, Ronald H. "After Hiroshima: Allied Military Occupations and the Fate of Japan's Empire, 1945-1947." *The Journal of Military History* 69, no. 4 (2005): 1121-36.
- Stiles, Kristine. "Shaved Heads and Marked Bodies: Representations from Cultures of Trauma." *Strategie II: Peoples Mediterraneens* (1993).
- Tabuchi, Hiroko. "Japan's Abe: No Proof of WWII Sex Slaves." *The Washington Post* 2007.
- Thompson, Paul. "Trauma and the Long-Term Life Story." In *Trauma and Life Stories*. Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1999.
- Twomey, Christina. "Retaining Integrity? Sex, Race and Gender in Narratives of Western Women Detained by the Japanese in World War II." In *Prisoners of War, Prisoners of Peace*, edited by Bob Moore and Barbara Hatley-Broad. Oxford: Berg, 2005.
- Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture*. 3 ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

Vink, Markus. "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003): 131-77.

Weiken, Peter. 2010.

Weinberg, Gerhard L. "World War II Scholarship, Now and in the Future." *The Journal of Military History* 61, no. 2 (1997): 335-45.

Wertheim, W. F. "Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification." *Pacific Affairs* 28, no. 1 (1955): 41-52.

Yunlong, Sun. *Dutch Parliament Demands Japanese Compensation For "Comfort Women"* 2007 [cited March 17 2010]. Available from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-11/21/content_7119543.htm.