

2009 National History Challenge

Triumph Over Adversity: the Obstacles Overcome by Australia's Japanese War Brides



Fig. 1: Australian servicemen and their Japanese wives, Sydney 1956.

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On the 27th of March 1952, a confidential telegram was sent to the Australian Mission in Tokyo, approving the admission of some Japanese wives of servicemen and ex-servicemen.¹ This seemingly obscure decision represented a significant departure in Australia's immigration policy, where immigration had long been racially exclusive, and brought immense relief to hundreds of Australian servicemen who had been campaigning for years to bring their Japanese wives back to Australia.

Couples who met in non-English speaking countries, or couples whose countries had been enemies during World War II, often had enormous bureaucratic and social hurdles to overcome before they could be married or be together in Australia.² The struggle of the Japanese war brides was considerably harder than most, as both these problems applied. Although, compared to some of the other waves of immigrants to flood Australia after World War II, this group of Japanese war brides was relatively small, their story is one of overcoming immense obstacles and innumerable odds heavily weighted against them. Theirs is a story that truly epitomizes triumph over adversity and illustrates the diversity of Australian immigrant experiences.

In the years following World War II, some 12,000 Australian servicemen were posted to Japan as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces,³ which consisted of troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and India. The majority of the Australian servicemen were posted to the naval base of Kure, forty kilometres east of the city of Hiroshima, which had been devastated by an atomic bomb in August 1945. Although these soldiers supposedly had a strict no-fraternisation policy with the Japanese, this did not prevent many hundreds of servicemen from becoming romantically involved with Japanese women. Although many of these relationships ended in sorrow, some

¹ This telegram can now be read in the National Archives of Australia: A1838 1531/114. Immigration – Admission of Japanese Wives & Allied Ex-Servicemen – General. Although the government had decided to allow Japanese war brides into Australia, no public announcement was made for several days.

² See Fallows, C. 2002, *Love & War*, Bantam Books, Sydney, pp.183-211.

³ Wood, J. 1998, *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, retrieved 17/7/2009.

650 Japanese women ended up marrying Australian soldiers and moving to Australia.⁴

Before they arrived in Japan, the servicemen viewed Japanese as violent and cruel,⁵ mainly as a result of the Japanese atrocities inflicted on Australian prisoners of war and the bombing of Darwin. Soldiers were informed that their “unofficial dealing with the Japanese must be kept to a minimum”.⁶ It was made blatantly clear to soldiers that marrying without the permission of the Commander-in-Chief would bring about severe consequences, including disciplinary action. Nevertheless, there were still many avenues for servicemen to meet Japanese women, as the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces camp in Kure offered job opportunities to many Japanese women: waitresses, house girls, canteen workers, office workers, typists and interpreters.⁷ This meant that servicemen were often in direct contact with Japanese women, and these associations often flourished into love. Another opportunity that servicemen had to meet Japanese women was on goodwill visits to Japanese communities and church services.⁸ Altogether, although restrictions were in place to discourage fraternization with Japanese women, there were ample opportunities for servicemen and Japanese women to form close relationships.

In 1948, a soldier named John Henderson was disciplined and sent back to Australia after admitting to his senior officer that he had married a Japanese woman without permission.⁹ Once he reached Australia, his application for recognition of his marriage was rejected. The first official application from an Australian serviceman to

⁴ Tamura, K. 2002, “How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides’ Reflections on their Migrant Experience” *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, No.24, p.60 & p.64 n.1, citing the official records of the Kure City Office (*The Kure City History* (1995), vol. 8 p.732 – in Japanese), in which the number of Japanese women married to Australians between 1952 and 1957 stands at 650. As others would have married in Tokyo instead, and some couples did not return to Australia, but moved to Great Britain or the USA, this figure of 650 is a fair estimate of the number of Japanese war brides who immigrated to Australia.

⁵ Australia Japan Research Project, no date, *Australian Second World War veterans post-war attitudes to the Japanese*, <http://ajrp.awm.gov.au/AJRP/AJRP2.nsf/pages/NT00009E7A?openDocument>, retrieved 15/7/09.

⁶ National Archives of Australia, A5954/1 2241/2. BCOF. Statements by Lieutenant-General J. Northcott, 1945-1946.

⁷ Hone, S. 2008, “War & Love”, *Signals* 85 (December 2008 – February 2009), p.11.

⁸ Tamura, K., 2001, *Michi’s Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, p.6-10; Wood, J 1998, *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, pp. 40-41. Australian War Memorial, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, retrieved 17/7/09.

⁹ Tamura, K., 2001, *Michi’s Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*, p.11.

marry a Japanese bride was made in October 1947 by Corporal H.J. Cooke.¹⁰ His application was rejected by the Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, who stated that “it would be the grossest act of public indecency to permit a Japanese of either sex to pollute Australia”.¹¹ It was in the face of this fierce government and public opposition that Sapper Gordon Parker’s plea to bring out his Japanese wife, Cherry (nee Nobuko Sakuramoto) and two children to Australia was highly publicized by the press.¹² He campaigned for months, and finally received hope when the new Menzies government was elected, and Harold Holt was appointed as the Minister for Immigration.

Following the signing of the Peace Treaty with Japan,¹³ Harold Holt was able to adopt a more lenient approach to the Japanese brides of servicemen, and in March 1952 legislation was passed that would allow Australian servicemen to bring their Japanese wives and children to Australia.¹⁴ Cherry Parker’s arrival in Australia in June 1952 was greeted with acclaim from the media,¹⁵ although there was still much public opposition to these foreign arrivals. Following her arrival, many more applications of marriage and immigration were lodged, and in November 1952 Brigadier Campbell, the Principal Administrative Officer of the Australian military force in Japan, informed the Department of External Affairs that he was receiving on average twelve applications each week.¹⁶ By November 1956, at the end of the Australian occupation of Japan, about 650 women had migrated to Australia as the wives or fiancées of servicemen. In contrast to the military’s opposition at first to marriages to Japanese

¹⁰ National Archives of Australia, A446, 1966/45427. Memorandum: L/Cpl. H. J. Cooke – Admission wife, dated 24th September 1947.

¹¹ *Argus*, 10 March 1948.

¹² Tamura, K., 2001, *Michi’s Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride* p.11-12; Hone, S. 2008, “War & Love”, *Signals* 85 (December 2008 – February 2009), p.12.

¹³ Wood, J. 1998, *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, p. 68. Australian War Memorial, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, retrieved 17/7/09. The long sought Peace Treaty between Japan and the Allied Powers was signed in San Francisco on 8th September 1951 and was formally ratified by Australia on 28th April 1952.

¹⁴ National Archives of Australia, A4940 C639. Japanese wives of servicemen and ex-servicemen – Admission to Australia – Policy.

¹⁵ Wood, J. 1998, *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, p.45. Australian War Memorial, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, retrieved 17/7/09.

¹⁶ National Archives of Australia, A1838 1531/114. Marriages between Australian Servicemen and Japanese Nationals, dated 29th November 1952.

women, they now felt it necessary to hold classes for prospective wives, to provide basic information about life in Australia.¹⁷

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Fig. 2: Classes held by the Australian Army to teach Japanese war brides about Australia.

The actual process for applying and getting approval to immigrate to Australia was a lengthy and tedious bureaucratic procedure, and there were many factors that could prevent a wife from coming to Australia. All wives of servicemen wishing to come to Australia had to apply to the Australian Embassy in Tokyo, which in turn received recommendations from the Department of Immigration and the Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt. Just travelling to Tokyo to lodge the application in person, as stipulated, presented an enormous obstacle to some of these Japanese women, as the correspondence of Australian soldier E.W. Jensen regarding his fiancée Teruko Yamataka attests.¹⁸ The requirements by which applicants were judged include the following:

- 1) “ whether it is considered that the marriage is valid in Japan and registration has been effected with the appropriate local Government authority;

¹⁷ Australian War Memorial: AWM Collection Record 148580, ‘Sergeant T. R. MacQuin of Australian Army Education Service stands in front of a class of Japanese war brides to give them information about Australia’, c. 1952.

¹⁸ National Archives of Australia. 1531/114. Correspondence of E.W. Jensen, 1953.

- 2) whether investigation of the general behaviour of the Japanese wife indicates that she is of a type who will be readily accepted by the general community;
- 3) whether the wife and children are found after medical examination and x-ray by approved doctors to be in sound health; and
- 4) whether the wife is adversely recorded from a security viewpoint. ”¹⁹

Status of Japanese Wives of Australian Servicemen, July 1956

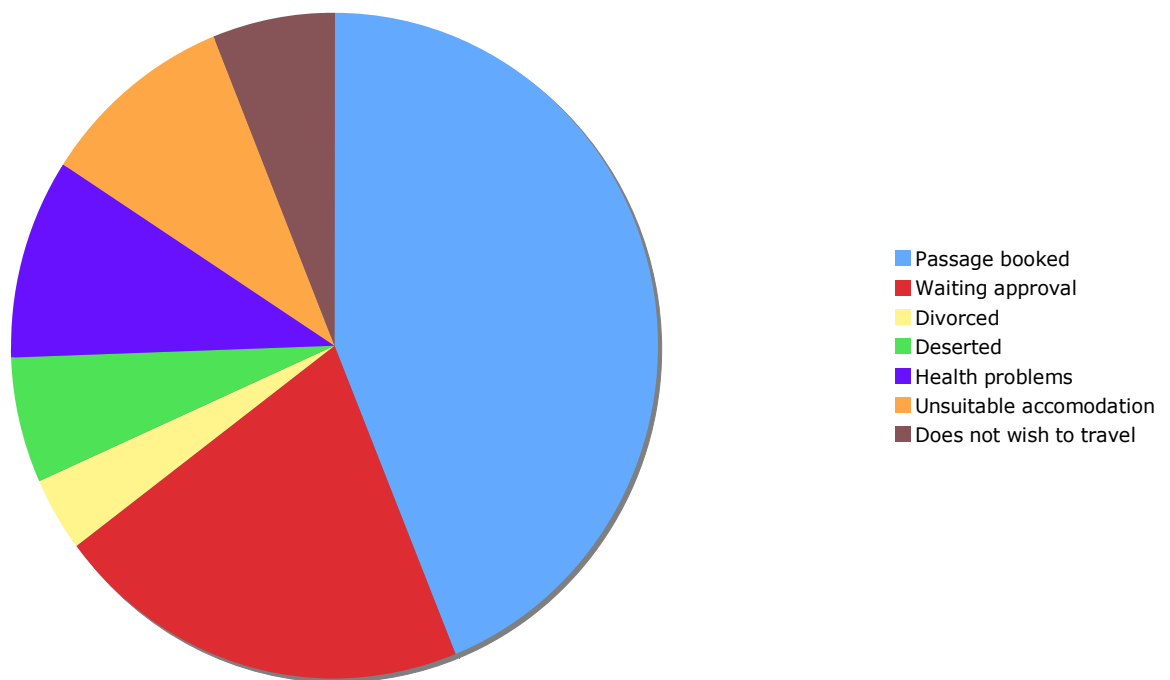


Fig 3: Status of the Japanese wives of Australian servicemen who still remained in Japan as of July 1956.

These stringent requirements prevented many women from going to Australia, with the result that they either settled elsewhere with their husbands or were left behind in Japan. One of the greatest obstacles was the health checks. Any woman who had tuberculosis was immediately denied entry. While no exact figure exists of how many women this encompasses, based on data collected from the National Archives of Australia,²⁰ there appear to be several dozen wives who were not granted approval to

¹⁹ National Archives of Australia, A1838 1531/114. Memorandum for the Australian Embassy, Tokyo. Admission of Japanese Wives, dated 29th April 1952.

²⁰ National Archives of Australia, A446 1963/45335 PART 2. Letter from Headquarters of Australian Army Component based in Japan to Army Headquarters, Melbourne, dated 3rd August 1956.

migrate to Australia due to tuberculosis. This policy regarding tuberculosis applied to all immigrants to Australia²¹ and is still in place today: potential immigrants are still precluded if they have tuberculosis.²² For every successful romance and repatriation to Australia, there was another tale of failure, most commonly due to health problems, abandonment or divorce.

Also, for the Japanese women, there remained a stigma attached to marrying an occupation soldier in Japan. Australia and Japan had fought on opposite sides throughout the Second World War, and most Japanese still perceived the Australians and other occupation forces as enemies. In post-war Japan, women who married Allied soldiers could therefore be viewed as traitors to their country.²³ Furthermore, many of these Japanese war brides were branded as prostitutes or gold-diggers and suffered deeply from the disgrace and shame associated with these negative connotations. Even today, the word 'war bride' ("*senso hanayome*" in Japanese), when used in Japan, evokes memories of its being used as a derogatory term.²⁴

In addition to this prejudice, many of these Japanese women were living in considerable hardship. The majority of them lived in Kure, where the Australian forces were based:²⁵ many of them had therefore suffered the effects of the atomic bomb dropped at near-by Hiroshima, and also had lost loved ones in the devastating incident. Cherry Parker, for example, lost both her parents to radiation sickness in the immediate aftermath of Hiroshima,²⁶ and many years later, Teruko Blair (nee Morimoto) wondered whether her exposure to the effects of the atomic bomb were responsible for her two still-born babies.²⁷ Most of the women who married Australian soldiers were pressed, both by their husbands and by the Australian

²¹ Inserra, R. 2004, *Immigrant Women 1946 – 1960*, Heinemann Library, Melbourne, p.11.

²² Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009, *Factsheet 22- The Health Requirements*, <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/22health.htm>, retrieved 21/7/2009.

²³ Tamura, K. 1997, "Border Crossings: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides", *The Asia-Pacific Magazine* No. 8, p.45 ; Inserra, R. 2004, *Immigrant Women 1946 – 1960*, p.5.

²⁴ Tamura, K. 1997, "Border Crossings: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides", *The Asia-Pacific Magazine* No. 8, p.45; Tamura, K. 2001, *Michi's Memories*, p.xv

²⁵ Wood, J. 1998 *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, Australian War Memorial, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, retrieved 17/7/09.

²⁶ Carter, I.C. 1965, *Alien Blossom: A Japanese-Australian Love Story*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, p.24

²⁷ Blair, T. 2002, "Staying Alive" in *Weaving a Double Cloth*, M.J. Bourke *et al.*, (eds), Pandanus Books, Canberra, p.101.

government, to convert to Christianity.²⁸ This further contributed to the loss of their Japanese cultural links. They knew that when they finally made it to Australia, they might not be able to return to Japan for many years, and so they were effectively leaving their family behind for good. Those Japanese war brides who actually reached Australia were the fortunate ones who overcame the enormous bureaucratic, social, cultural and health obstacles placed before them. This is why it was such a great achievement for the brides who did make it out to Australia – they had triumphed over innumerable odds.

Even when they had overcome the many obstacles to arrive in Australia, the Japanese wives of Australian servicemen, who normally spoke only limited English, frequently faced harsh criticism and hostility. Often their husbands' families resented the marriage and tried, sometimes successfully, to force the couples apart.²⁹ On occasion, the Australian serviceman had left behind a girlfriend in Australia, who fiercely resented this new bride.³⁰ Outsiders also viewed their marriages with disdain. One traumatizing incident that Michi (nee Ayako Yoshida), the Japanese wife of an Australian soldier identified only as Gus, relates is when, at a party where she was wearing a Japanese shawl, a woman ripped it off her, threw it on the ground and stamped on it, shouting "Go back to Japan".³¹

Raising a family in Australia also posed a serious challenge for the Japanese war brides. Not only did most have limited English, but they were expected to cook typical "Australian" dishes of the time, such as meat and three vegetables. Japanese food was greatly missed: basic ingredients for Japanese cooking such as soy sauce were rare commodities in 1950s Australia.³² There were also the added difficulties associated with uprooting their family and moving every few years, as their husbands often remained with the army. This was in addition to an often hostile community which was unwilling to assist in assimilating these women into Australian society.

²⁸ National Archives of Australia, 1531/114: Memo 163. Admission of Japanese fiancées of Australian servicemen. 19/2/1954.

²⁹ Tamura, K. 2002 "How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides' Reflections on their Migrant Experience", *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* No. 24, p.61.

³⁰ Fallows, C. 2002, *Love & War*, pp.183-211.

³¹ Tamura, K. 2001, *Michi's Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*, p.47.

³² Nagata, Y. 2001 "Lost in Space: Ethnicity and Identity of Japanese-Australians 1945-1960s", *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan* edited by P. Jones & P. Oliver, Monash Asia Institute, p.93.

Out of these issues, language posed perhaps the main barrier, preventing women from communicating effectively. Although some of the women, primarily those who had worked as typists and translators, spoke proficient English, many did not, as their husbands had communicated in broken Japanese with them instead. As there was still considerable hostility towards the Japanese, these women were now expected to bring up good Australian children who spoke English rather than Japanese. These Australian-Japanese children therefore often grew up without much idea of their Japanese heritage and without a word of their mothers' native tongue³³ and the women themselves rarely had the opportunity to speak Japanese.³⁴ The children also suffered from their Asian appearance. Those who were fairest and took after their father were safer from bullying and abuse at school, whereas those who most strongly resembled their mother's Asian appearance often found it harder to fit in into white Australian society.³⁵ Almost all the children of Japanese war brides were given English names,³⁶ often to help them fit into the general public.

Assimilation into Australian society was perhaps the main objective of the Japanese war brides once they had reached Australia and established their family. Although still hindered and isolated by language and cultural barriers, they could virtually lose their Japanese identity on paper, simply by adopting their husband's surname and acquiring an Anglicized name,³⁷ which also made it easier for their new families and friends to remember (and pronounce!). The Australian government considered the assimilation process complete once the women received their Australian citizenship. Initially, entry to Australia was granted for five years only.³⁸ It was not until 1956 that regulations were changed so that the Japanese war brides could obtain Australian citizenship,³⁹ and at once most of the women who had already migrated to Australia took up citizenship. As Japanese law did not and still does not recognize dual

³³ Tamura, K. 2002 "How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides' Reflections on their Migrant Experience", *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* No. 24, pp.61-62.

³⁴ Nagata, Y. 2001 "Lost in Space: Ethnicity and Identity of Japanese-Australians 1945-1960s", *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan* edited by P. Jones & P. Oliver, Monash Asia Institute, p.92

³⁵ Tamura, K., 2001, *Michi's Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*.

³⁶ Tamura, K. 2002 "How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides' Reflections on their Migrant Experience", *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* No. 24, p.61.

³⁷ Tamura, K. 1997, "Border Crossings: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides", *Asia-Pacific Magazine*, No.8, p.44.

³⁸ National Archives of Australia, A446 1966/45427. Admission of Japanese wives of Australian servicemen Part 1.

³⁹ Tamura, K. 1997, "Border Crossings: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides", *Asia-Pacific Magazine*, No.8, p.44.

citizenship, these women had to surrender their Japanese nationality to take up Australian citizenship.⁴⁰ Although these women were now officially Australian on paper, they still struggled to adapt to the Australian lifestyle completely. However, this was countered by the support system that existed for these women in the form of their husbands, children, friends (many of whom were also war brides), other army wives and sometimes their in-laws.

Unlike many of the other immigrant groups who came to Australia, these women did not form an effective network until the early 1990s, when they first met together in Melbourne as the Japanese War Bride Association to discuss their stories and experiences in Australia. Soon after this, the first international convention of Japanese war brides was held in 1994 in Hawaii, followed by several more every few years.⁴¹ Part of the reason these women did not gather publicly for so long was because they did not want to be associated with the term ‘war bride’, which still has negative connotations in Japan. Today these war brides are elderly women, many of them widowed, but they still organise get-togethers, more than fifty years after their migration to Australia. They have even been acknowledged for the contribution they could make to the promotion of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.⁴²

While only a small percentage of the Australian population was directly affected by the arrival of Japanese war brides in Australia, their immigration had much wider repercussions, particularly with regard to Australian immigration laws. Since Federation, the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901,⁴³ or “White Australia Policy” had excluded Asians and many other non-white immigrants from entering Australia and taking up Australian citizenship.⁴⁴ It was the arrival of Japanese war brides that accelerated the process of abolishing the White Australia policy. While the White

⁴⁰ Nagata, Y. 2001 “Lost in Space: Ethnicity and Identity of Japanese-Australians 1945-1960s”, *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan* edited by P. Jones & P. Oliver, Monash Asia Institute, p.93.

⁴¹ Tamura, K. 2002 “How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides’ Reflections on their Migrant Experience”, *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* No. 24, p.62-63.

⁴² Nakamura, H. 2009, *Japanese for Peace Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties Inquiry into Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament*, 20/2/2009, pp.1-2, www.jfp.org.au/jointstandingcommittee.doc, retrieved 19/7/09.

⁴³ Commonwealth of Australia, 1901, No.17: *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, <http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/scan.asp?SID=144>, retrieved 20/7/09.

⁴⁴ Inserra, R. 2004, *Immigrant Women 1946-1960*, p.11.

Australia Policy was not completely abolished until 1973,⁴⁵ when amendments were made to the racial aspects of Australia's immigration laws, the arrival of these Japanese women was the first major relaxation of restrictions and a major breakthrough in eradicating the long-prevalent discrimination against non-Europeans.

Although it often took them many years to overcome the significant barriers of moving to Australia and adopting the Australian lifestyle, many of the Japanese war brides became successful and happy in their new lives. These women effectively overcame the formidable challenges firstly to form relationships with Australian servicemen, then to acquire approval to move to Australia, to learn English, to become assimilated into society and establish families. The lucky ones who achieved all this truly had triumphed over adversity.

Word Count: 2444

⁴⁵ Commonwealth of Australia, 1973, *Australian Citizenship Act 1973*; Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007, *Fact Sheet 8: Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy*, <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/08abolition.htm>, retrieved 17/7/2009.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources: Archival Records

Cable (Savingram) from the Department of External Affairs to the Australian Embassy, Tokyo, dated 29th November 1952. National Archives of Australia, A1838 1531/114.

Outlines the concerns of the military regarding the high number of applications from Australian servicemen to marry Japanese brides.

Cabinet Minute, Decision No. 372, Parliament of Australia, Canberra, 27th March 1952. National Archives of Australia A4940/C639

Records change of policy following signing of Peace Treaty – no general exclusion

Memorandum from the Department of External Affairs to Australian Embassy Tokyo, dated 29th April 1952. National Archives of Australia A1838 1531/114.

Records the date when approval was given to bring Japanese war brides back to Australia and useful for insight into the requirements for immigration.

Letter from Headquarters of Australian Army Component based in Japan to Army Headquarters, Melbourne, dated 3rd August 1956. National Archives of Australia, A446 1963/45335 PART 2.

Contains data about the situation of dozens of Japanese women waiting to migrate to Australia. Useful for compiling pie chart.

Primary Sources: Interview

Interview with Mrs Kazuko Westcott, 3 July 2009.

Although not the wife of a serviceman, Mrs Kazuko Westcott is the Japanese wife of an Australian diplomat and was able to give detail into assimilating into society and raising a family as a Japanese woman in Australia.

Primary Sources: Autobiographical Accounts

Blair, T. 2002, "Staying Alive", *Weaving a Double Cloth – Stories of Asia-Pacific Women in Australia*, edited by M. Bourke *et al.*, Pandanus Books, Canberra.

This autobiographical account, which recounts Teruko Blair's experiences from the bombing of Hiroshima to meeting her Australian serviceman husband to her current life in Australia today, gives useful information in discussing the negative social views of Japanese war brides

Primary Sources: Photographs

Australian War Memorial: AWM Collection Record 148580, 'Sergeant T. R. MacQuin of Australian Army Education Service stands in front of a class of Japanese war brides to give them information about Australia', c. 1952. Accessed at <http://cas.awm.gov.au/photograph/148580>.

This photograph shows an example of the classes held by the Australian Army in Japan to educate Japanese war brides about Australia.

Secondary Sources: Books

Carter, I. 1965, *Alien Blossom: A Japanese-Australian Love Story*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne.

The slightly fictionalised story of Cherry Parker, the first Japanese war bride, contains useful information on Australian attitudes towards these women.

Fallows, C. 2002, *Love & War: Stories of War Brides from the Great War to Vietnam*, Bantam Books, Sydney.

Contains a chapter on Japanese war brides, retelling individual stories of numerous Japanese women who had married Australian servicemen.

Inserra, R. 2004, *Immigrant Women 1946-1960*, Heinemann Library, Melbourne.

This book first introduced me to the topic of Japanese war brides. It has basic information regarding them and useful links to further information.

Tamura, K. 2001, *Michi's Memories – The Story of a Japanese War Bride*, Pandanus Books, Canberra.

The incredibly insightful biography of a Japanese war bride, which also has extensive detail into how relationships were formed between Japanese women and Australian servicemen.

Secondary Sources: Journal Articles

Hone, S. 2008, "War & Love", *Signals: The Quarterly Magazine of the Australian National Maritime Museum*, No. 85, December 2008 - February 2009, pp. 10-15.

Contains two moving stories of Japanese war brides and their experiences, particularly the social condemnation they received. In connection with a new exhibit, *Japanese War Brides*, at the Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney.

Nagata, Y. 1990, "A Foot in the Door – Easing of Restrictions on Entry of Japanese into Australia after WWII" (abstract), in *Australia and Asia: Meeting the Challenge of the Future*, Eighth Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2-5 July 1990, Griffith University, Queensland.

Outlines the relaxation of the White Australia Policy in regard to Japanese war brides and other Japanese immigrants post WWII.

Nagata, Y. 2001, "Lost in Space: Ethnicity and Identity of Japanese-Australians 1945-1960s", *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan* edited by P. Jones & P. Oliver, Monash Asia Institute, pp. 85-99.

Has useful information regarding how Japanese women in Australia maintained their Japanese links and fitted into Australian society.

Tamura, K. 1997, "Border Crossings: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides", *The Asia-Pacific Magazine* No. 8, pp. 43-47.

Useful for describing the efforts of Japanese war brides to assimilate into Australian society and bringing up their children as Australians.

Tamura, K. 2002, "How to become an Ordinary Australian: Japanese War Brides' Reflections on their Migrant Experience", *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* No. 24, pp. 60-64.

This article is useful in providing extensive information about the historical context and also the feelings of Japanese war brides in Australia.

Secondary Sources: Multimedia

ABC, 2007, *The 7:30 Report: Japanese war brides reflect on their journey*. Broadcast on 14/5/2007. Downloaded on 28/6/2009 at

<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2007/s1922788.htm>

This special report on Japanese war brides includes interviews with surviving war brides.

Secondary Sources: Websites

Wood, J. 1998, *The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952*, Australian War Memorial, <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/bcof.asp>, accessed 17/07/09.

Useful for details about the Australian occupation of Japan, with information about the no-fraternisation rules.

Australia-Japan Research Project, no date, *Australian Second World War veterans post-war attitudes to the Japanese*,

<http://ajrp.awm.gov.au/AJRP/AJRP2.nsf/pages/NT00009E7A?openDocument>.

accessed 15/07/09.

Contains useful interviews with veterans of WWII with their views on Japanese.

Gives more insight into Australian post-war perceptions of Japanese people.

Illustrations

Fig. 1: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales: Image no. d7_01486 from file no. ML 09/01, 'Australian soldiers and Japanese war brides arrive on the New Australia', 5th April 1956. Used with specific permission of the Library Council of New South Wales for this essay only and not for publication because copyright has not yet expired (IR132560).

Fig. 2: Australian War Memorial: AWM Collection Record 148580, 'Sergeant T. R. MacQuin of Australian Army Education Service stands in front of a class of Japanese war brides to give them information about Australia', c. 1952. Accessed at <http://cas.awm.gov.au/photograph/148580>.

Fig. 3: Graph depicting the 'Status of Japanese wives of Australian Servicemen, July 1956', compiled by myself using data from National Archives of Australia, A446 1963/45335 PART 2. Letter from Headquarters of Australian Army Component based in Japan to Army Headquarters, Melbourne, dated 3rd August 1956: Marriage to Japanese Nationals. Situation as at 27th July 1956.