Tsurumiism

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Cet article analyse le leadership de Tsurumi en matière de justice sociale à travers son étude des féminismes et de l'histoire du Japon. Tsurumi a révélé la brutalité capitaliste vécue par les filles travaillant dans les usines japonaises et les personnes colonisées à Taïwan et a conduit les universitaires à déterrer la colonisation interne à Sanya et à offrir des solutions alternatives viables pour remplacer le système capitaliste japonais.

While the normal experience of scholars is to spend time looking for the right books for their academic work, I recently experienced a book finding me and demanding me to do more research on the author's scholarship. Reading *Sandakan Brothel No. 8* by Tomoko Yamazaki (1999)—a Japanese woman historian—I was surprised to hear an outspoken female Japanese writer daring to criticize the Japanese government's social injustice. Following Yamazaki's reference to Patricia Tsurumi's peer-reviewed essay "Yet to be Heard: The Voices of Meiji Factory Women" in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (1994), I discovered Tsurumi's monograph *Factory Girls* (Tsurumi, 1990). My curiosity drove me to read her doctoral dissertation *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945* (Tsurumi 1977). Although I had little time for anything not directly related to my current research project, I examined her compiled *The Other Japan: Postwar Realities* (Tsurumi 1988). This anthology addresses the negative aspects of postwar Japan's reality that have yet to be revealed.

Based on my book reviews of Tsurumi's academic works, I interpret that Tsurumi established her leadership in social justice through her study of Japanese history and Japanese feminisms, a methodology I name Tsurumiism. Tsurumi led concerned scholars to offer socio-political and socio-economic alternatives to the exploitative capitalist system, attempting to better the well-being of the populace in Japan and around the globe.

Based on her analysis of scholars' collected data in *The Chronicles of Japan (Nihon Shoki)* and *An Account of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)*, Tsurumi (1982) challenges the traditional belief that in ancient Japan gender equality was not viable. Tsurumi revealed that half of the 16 emperors who reigned from 592 to 770 were female, and that the prevailing understanding of these women's political power—that they were all puppet sovereigns—is wrong (72, 75).

According to the Japanese Chronicles, Emperor Kōgyoku (r. 642–645) was the great grand-daughter of Emperor Bidatsu (r. 572–585). She ascended to the throne as an empress-consort after her second husband, Emperor Jomei (r. 629–641), died. When Kōgyoku held the throne, she acted as a puppet sovereign, merely concentrating on her religious duties and talking to the deities on behalf of her populace while the Soga clan dominated the state politics. She eventually gave up her throne to her younger brother, Emperor Kōtoku (r. 645–654). After Kōtoku died, Kōgyoku held the throne as Emperor Saimei/Kōgyoku (r. 655–661) for her descendant Emperor Tenji – Naka no Ōe (r. 668–671). Tsurumi identified Kōgyoku/Saimei as a classical intermediary sovereign (73–74).

Unlike Kōgyoku/Saime, the first Japanese female emperor, Suiko (r. 592–629), was a daughter of Emperor Kimmei (r. 539–571). When her husband Bidatsu died and her elder brother, Emperor Yōmei (r. 585–587), ascended to the throne, Suiko actively ran political affairs. She resolved the crisis when Soga no Umako killed Emperor Sushun (r. 587–592), her predecessor, by ascending to the throne.

She did not appoint her own children as her heir, but instead chose her nephew—Shōtoku Taishi (a son of her brother, Yōmei)—to succeed her. After Shōtoku Taishi died, Suiko did not bother appointing anyone else as her successor. For this reason, Tsurumi argues that Suiko does not fit into the category of puppet sovereign. Moreover, Ueda Masaaki points out that the argument—ancient Japanese female emperors including Suiko were intermediary sovereigns—was established by Japanese chroniclers influenced by the Chinese historical account of Empress Dowager Cixi in the late Qing dynasty, who became a regent upon her husband's death (72–73).

A daughter of Tenji—Emperor Jitō (r. 690–697)—married Emperor Temmu (r. 673–686), and together they promulgated a new law code (*The Asuka no kyomihara ritsuryo*) in 681. After Temmu died in 686, Jitō disposed of Prince Ōtsu to make her son, Kusanokabe, the heir. After Kusanokabe died in 689, Jitō enthroned herself as emperor in 690 and later abdicated to allow Kusanokabe's son to assume the throne as Emperor Mommu (r. 697–707). However, she continued to control state affairs; she was the first to be granted the title of Great Abdicated Emperor (*dajō tennō*). Although Jitō maintained her son's bloodline, her grandson, Mommu, relied on her to secure his own political power. Jitō demonstrated herself to be an influential female leader, not a figurehead, and did not perfectly fit into the catalogue of intermediary sovereign (73).

After Mommu died, his mother—Emperor Gemmei (r. 707–715), another daughter of Tenji's—announced her enthronement. Gemmei certainly intended to secure the throne for the son of Mommu, Obito. However, her enthronement also depended on the support of Fujiwara Fubito, one of whose daughters was Obito's mother. Nevertheless, Gemmei was a fearless leader who was resolute to maintain the political balance between the Fujiwara and Gemmei clan. When Gemmei abdicated, she demoted the mother of Mommu's other two sons to enthrone her daughter, Emperor Genshō (r. 715–724), because Gemmei considered that her daughter would be a better monarch than Obito at the time. Tsurumi argues that Gemmei transferred her political power to her daughter instead of the male successor, Obito, and did not prove to be an intermediary sovereign (74).

In 749, Shōmu (r. 724–749) abdicated, and Emperor Kōken (r. 749–758), the crown princess, acceded. Fujiwara Makamarō persuaded Kōken to abdicate while Kōken was ill and placed his own puppet, Emperor Junnin (r. 758–764), on the throne. Once she was well again, she captured and killed Fujiwara and his wife, and deposed Junnin. She then returned to the throne as Emperor Shōtoku (r. 764–770) (74–75).

To explain why so many historians ignored this empirical data and tenaciously clung to the one-dimensional theory that ancient female emperors were all intermediary sovereigns, Tsurumi refers to the analysis of Takamure, Itsue (1894–1964). Takamure suggests that historians might have been always male, and therefore they insisted on this one-dimensional theory. In order to challenge this mainstream thought, Tsurumi advocates that historians should have an open mind and a multi-dimensional view. She further encourages historians to follow Robin W. Winks' suggestion to work as a sleuth (75).

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Beyond the period of 592–770, Murasaki Shikibu (c. 973–c.1031) in the Heian period (794–1185), wrote the world's first novel—*The Tale of Genji*; Sei Shonagon (c. 966–c. 1025) wrote the first anthology of essays in Japan—*The Pillow Book*. These two pre-modern Japanese female literati foreshadowed the modern, second wave, liberal feminists who achieved equality at work. Beyond claiming gender equality, Shikibu and Shonagon surpassed their male peers in the literary field (Fischer). In the Kamakura period, Hōjō Masako (1157–1225), a nun *shōgun* (general), was famous for her rhetorical capability and possessed significant political power (Bento). Throughout the later consecutive *bakufu* (shogunate) periods and subsequent Meiji period (1868–1912), no signs of gender-equality existed, even in the Meiji imperial family. Japan maintained itself as a society of male-supremacy from 1225 to 1868. The Meiji government did not even attempt to lower the oppressive tax rate incurred in the previous Tokugawa (1600–1868) era. To relieve familial poverty, women who lacked job skills had no other alternatives but to sell their bodies. In order to accumulate more state capital, women at the lowest level of societies in Japan were forced to enter into prostitution (Yamazaki 1999, xiv–xvi). Equally on the bottom of the social strata, factory girls were brutally exploited for this as well.

Tsurumi (1990) uncovers the social injustice in the early 20th century through her monograph about factory girls. They provided silk and cotton products in the international markets, brought in large sums of foreign exchange, contributed to the Meiji's economic miracle, and matured Japan as a capitalist state. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the 20th century, agrarian poverty was prevalent in Japan's patriarchal society: farmers shouldered a heavy tax at the rate of 60% of their yield. Subsequently, in order to survive severe famines, these impoverished farmers sold their uneducated daughters to brothels, or had them work as factory operatives (Tsurumi, *Factory Girls* 3, 25; Yamazaki 1999, xix; Tsurumi, "Censored in Japan" 19).

Factory girls earned low wages and had to endure poor living conditions in the factory's dormitories, which were full of lice and rife with beriberi or tuberculosis. They woke up very early in the morning to prepare meals for everybody in the household of their masters. Long work hours set by the capitalist factory owners exhausted them. Their supervisors were encouraged to punish them physically for more efficient production. In addition, they were sexually harassed or raped by their male managers. They sometimes felt themselves not to be any different than whores and were used as playthings to satisfy their male bosses' sexual desires. Subsequently, some of them committed suicide or ran away (Tsurumi 1990, 49, 53, 67, 144–47, 154, 171–72).

On one Christmas morning, Yamakawa Kikue—the future director of the Japanese Women's and Minors' Bureau of the Labor Ministry from 1947 to 1951—accompanied a Christian missionary, Yamamuro Gunpei, to a cotton mill in 1908 (Faison 15, 18; Tsurumi *Factory Girls*, 139). At the time, Yamakawa was only an 18-year-old daughter of a middle-class family when she visited the Tokyo mill. Brought in by the factory manager, Yamamuro was supposed to uplift factory girls' morality by teaching them to sing company songs and lecturing them to feel holy about the work that they performed. Without ever knowing it, Yamamuro seemed to assist the capitalist owners in gaining as much profit as possible through squeezing as much labour as possible from the factory girls. Consequently, Yamamuro made those factory girls feel even worse about their situation. In contrast to Yamamuro's intention to uplift their morale, those factory girls petitioned their employers never again to bring back Christian missionaries to the Tokyo cotton mill (Tsurumi 1990, 138–141).

At the time, Yamakawa felt sympathetic towards those exploited factory girls and stood with them. She intended to speak with them to unearth the reality of their living conditions in that factory; however, she was unable to have a conversation with them. The factory girls felt their lifeblood was sucked out by the exploitative male bosses; singing the company songs certainly did not reflect their genuine feelings of homesickness. After that factory visit, Yamakawa refused to accompany Christian missionaries to cotton mills again (Tsurumi 1990, 139–140). It might have been during this exposure to the devastated female proletarians that Yamakawa's mission to abolish the capitalist system was inspired (Tomida 255).

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Seventeen years after her visit to the factory, Yamakawa demanded that a women's bureau be created within the Labor Union Council (*Hyōgikai*) in 1925. The Japanese Marxist theory that she developed addressed women proletariats' issues. She argued that the capitalist owners of factories imported impoverished daughters of agrarian families from the countryside, and thereby transferred the feudal familial servitude system to their factories—entering into a master/slave relationship with those working girls, abusing them as objects they could possess, and depriving them of self-consciousness as a modern working class (Faison 23–24).

These factory girls sublimated their plight through songs, producing an oral history of their sorrowful lives in the spinning factory. Through their singing, factory girls compared their revenues with those of their counterparts: geisha, 35 *sen*; prostitutes, 15 *sen*; reelers, a potato. They evaluated their economic gains as the lowest among the three categories of geisha, prostitutes, and factory girls. Although factory girls appraised their income to be much less than prostitutes, they possessed self-esteem, understood their value, and were proud of being the middle pillar of the nation's capitalist treasure (Tsurumi, *Factory Girls* 89–91; Tsurumi "Censored in Japan" 26–27).

Factory girls' labour contributed to Japan's capital accumulation through foreign trade that helped Japan

accomplish its first industrial revolution, whereby it became a "rich nation" with a "strong army." Following the "aggression toward Asia" strategy advocated by Fukuzawa Yukichi—a Japanese political reformer—a need for more economic resources led Japan to expand its colonies in East Asia. Japan won the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), occupying Taiwan as its colony, and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), gaining more control over Korea, a campaign of conquest that eventually culminated in the establishment of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere between 1942 and 1945 (Tsurumi 1990, 109; Yamazaki 1999, xxii–xxiii, 188–89).

In her doctoral dissertation, Tsurumi (1977) reveals an unexpected byproduct of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan—Taiwan's Communist Party was related to Japanese Marxist feminism. At the beginning of Japan's colonization of Taiwan, Japan's goal was to make its first colony a self-sufficient state. Later, Japan modelled the colonial government in Taiwan after the capitalist state of Japan proper, and focused its colonial education on assimilating inhabitants in Taiwan. Even though Chinese in Taiwan might have felt themselves to be the equals of Japanese inhabitants, once in a while they were insulted as *changoro*, a derogative term for Chinese people as the colonized in Taiwan (41, 66–67, 157).

Western capitalism, Christian missionaries, and colonialism arrived in Taiwan (Formosa) several decades before the Japanese. Under Japan's occupation, Western missionaries maintained a reciprocal relationship with the Japanese colonial government: they were allowed to continue spreading Christianity, and they were of their free will not to encourage pagan (non-believers) Chinese students to attend their educational institutions. After Britain gave up its extraterritoriality in 1899 in Japan, Japan banned the Pope's decision on Roman Catholic doctrine (the rescript) from Christian educational institutes in Taiwan. Moreover, any school that wanted to be approved to subcontract government-style education had to submit their textbooks first. Japan forbade Christian teachings from being disseminated because of their dissonance against Shinto, Buddhism, and the Japanese government. Consequently, Christian educational institutions co-operated with the colonial government and its policies (34–37, 125, 162).

Regardless of Japan's establishment of Taiwan as a colonial capitalist state, students who came from Taiwan to Japan were exposed to the communist ideology originating in China, Japan, or Russia. Beginning in the early 1920s, a student community surfaced in Tokyo. P'eng, Hua-ying, the first to write about socialism, and Fan, Pen-liang—a disciple of Osugi Sakai who joined Korean students to denounce Japanese rule—discussed the independence of Taiwan in 1921 in Tokyo. Yamaguchi Koshizu, a Japanese Shinto priest's daughter in Taiwan, went to Japan to study and befriended the couple Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980) and Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958). With

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When I Am, Me

I am five. There are many questions, some answers, some are cruel.
I decide,
I will hide who I really am.
I'm out of love. I'm out of energy. I'm out of faith, hope and charity.
I'm out for myself.

I am twenty-five, gasping in loneliness, grasping for courage that doesn't come. Hope passes through holes of my soul.

I am thirty-five. I am solid. I have collected enough me-points to buy a door. I risk. I open. I find I am not the sole one.
I am sixty-five. I am grateful I let someone in.
I am thankful for faith, hope, charity, and love.
I am eighty-five. I am alone. I regret nothing. Myself is saved. I will someday die, my energy out there.

them, Yamaguchi was active in Tokyo's socialist circles. When she returned to Taiwan, she passed the ideology to her colleague, Lien Wen-ch'ing (Tsurumi 1996, 258; Tsurumi 1977, 199–200, 202).

Although Lien received only a common education, with Yamaguchi's help, Lien was able to attend an Esperanto conference in 1924 in Japan, staying with the Yamakawas. Kikue and her sister were enthusiastic about entertaining foreign students. The Yamakawas treated them as their equals, and Kikue was well known for writing on international matters. Finally, Lien determined to follow the Yamakawas' socialist ideology and treated them as his mentors. Lien gathered Taiwan's economic data for Hitoshi to write his critique, *Taiwan under Colonial Policy*. Eventually, Yamakawaism (the Yamakawas' socialism) had a pivotal influence upon Lien: Lien used it as an approach to anti-colonial struggles in Taiwan. However, other educated colonized felt the colonial reality that no matter how first-class their work appeared to be, they were always second-class citizens. Political activists adopted communism as a means of resolving their labour problems with the Japanese colonial authority in Taiwan, and as a form of anti-colonial struggle (Tsurumi 1977, 202, 207–8, 211; Tsurumi 1996, 268; Barlow 66, 86, 101).

Having aimed to resolve labour problems, Lien established the Taiwan Cultural Association and attracted important activists such as Chiang Wei-shui and Hsieh Hsueh-hung (1901–1970). Hsieh did not have much formal education. She went to Kobe, taught herself Japanese and Mandarin, joined the Association in 1920, and went to Moscow to learn about communism and revolutionaries in China and Japan around 1925. Three prominent women, Hsieh, along with two others, supported women's rights, activities, and movements under Japan's occupation in Taiwan. Hsieh was the only lady to be among the most important figures of Taiwan's Communist Party. Although Tsurumi argues that Japan's colonial education contributed to a positive change to the native gender issues in Taiwan (Tsurumi 1977, 199–211, 219–25; Hsiao and Sullivan, 269–89), Hsieh's communist advocacy for Taiwan's independence extended the political aims of feminism.

In addition, Tsurumi (1996) discusses Japanese feminisms in her peer-reviewed article. Among many Japanese feminists, Tsurumi seemed to focus on Yamakawa, Kikue's work. Yamakawa was an activist whose advocacy began in the 1910s, caring for human beings in the marginal class. From the 1920s until the end of WWII, she fought to revise the Meiji Constitution's Civil Code, which only allowed women of imperial subjects to vote. Her contribution to prewar Japanese feminism started from her first socialist women's organization—Red Wave Society (*Sekirankai*)—in the early 20th century. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Yamakawa engaged in debates with other women activists (Faison 15–17; Tomida 223; Yamazaki 1985, 129). In the 1916 January issue of the popular women's magazine *Bluestocking* (*Seito*), she disagreed with Noe Itō's criticism of the policy to abolish publicly licensed prostitution (1895–1923), which had been published in the magazine's December 1915 issue. Yamakawa praised the earlier progressive egalitarianism of Yosano Akiko (1878–1942), but opposed Yosano's bourgeois feminism, which she viewed as either indecisive or indolent. She attacked Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971) for her refusal to eradicate capitalism, and her unwillingness to support women's suffrage and women's right for birth control (260–62).

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Based on her research on Yamakawa, Iris Marion Young (1949–2006)—an American feminist—argues that Yamakawa was not a women-centred feminist who excluded men on the margins, such as Takamure Itsue (1894–1964). Yamakawa also rejected the feminism of Sampei Takako (1903–1978), who treated women like men. In the 1920s, Yamakawa, a humanist feminist, argued that special measures of birth control be taken to lessen poor women's economic burden and improve their physical health. Nevertheless, Yamakawa stood against the Japanese gynocentric feminism advocated by the Japanese militarist state (Tsurumi 1996, 258, 269).

After the incident in 1931, Japan led a full-scale occupation of Manchuria. The Japanese militarists encouraged patriotic Japanese women be "good wives and mothers" to help the Japanese militarist state. Royama Masamichi (1895–1980), a professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo who was commissioned by the Japanese militarists to write about Japan's colonization of Manchuria, the Philippines, and Taiwan, advocated that women in the Philippines follow the Japanese women who worked at home to enable their husbands to fight in the battle fields.

These gynocentric feminists were co-opted by Japanese female leaders who helped to recruit Japanese women for the Greater Japan Women's Association. Against them, Yamakawa stood with left-wing women as a humanist feminist (Tsurumi 1996, 223–24, 258, 269–70).

In her edited anthology, Tsurumi led scholars to address their concerns over Japan's postwar realities. Susan Phillips identifies postwar Japanese feminism, which stemmed from Communist Feminist Movements in Japan proper before and during the war, in the novel *Banshu heiya* written by Miyamoto, Yuriko (1899–1951). Miyamoto believed in social responsibility, political commitment, and addressing women's issues, and wanted to show how Japan's Communist Party could be established. Miyamoto went to the USSR for the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1927. When the stock market crashed in the following year, Japan's economic depression caused bankruptcy among farmers and the unemployed in urban areas. The two suicides of a Japanese writer—Akutagawa, Ryūnosuke—and her younger brother, and her exposure to the poverty of the European working class seemed to inspire her into a resolution for socialist activism. By 1930, the Russian Revolution had greatly influenced Japan's worker-peasant movements. Miyamoto joined the All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts (NAPF) or Japan Proletarian Cultural Federation (KOPF) in 1931 and wrote essays for the united front of the proletarian literary movement that was controlled directly by Moscow and the Japanese Communist Party. Later, Yuriko married Miyamoto, Kenji in 1932. After the Manchurian Incident, Kenji was sentenced to life imprisonment, and Yuriko lost her freedom of speech after the Pacific War in 1941. After the war, Yuriko again began to promote equal rights for women and constitutional reforms. She died in 1951; however, her legacy has become popular in Japan through her novel and passed on to her husband, Kenji, who continued to lead Japan's Communist Party (JCP) (6–8, 11–12).

Similar to Yuriko's communist legacy, Joe Moore offers accounts of possible opportunities for JCP to construct a formal cabinet in Japan through workers' production control, as an alternative for the capitalist system in 1946. Conflicts between capitalist and working classes usually arise from unequal distribution of corporate profits derived from workers' hard labour. For example, a miner's wife decried the managers' monopoly of profits at Mitsubishi: while miners' families ate only guts of pumpkins and would soon have their fish rations taken away, managers enjoyed rice and *tempura*, drank *sake*, and fed their pets rice as well (23, 27).

Moore further provides a successful case study of workers' production control at the Mitsubishi Bibai. When the company officials decided to close Tōyō Gōsei, a chemical factory in Niigata City of Mitsui, the workers' union took control of the manufacturing of methanol. The union found a factory in Tokyo, Edogawa of Mitsubushi with 500 employees, to take the company's methanol and use it as its production for formalin. The Edogawa workers' union then could sell the company's formalin fertilizers to farmers' associations in Tōhoku and Hokkaidō so that these farmers might grow crops in order to pay the National Agricultural Association, who in turn paid Edogawa to manufacture formalin (142–43).

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Having received money for its methanol manufacturing from the Edogawa union, the Tōyō Gōsei union acquired the capital to produce ammonium sulphate fertilizers for the Niigata Farmers' Association who produced rice to barter for coal and coke from the coal mine workers. Niigata Farmers' Association then sold coal and coke for Tōyō Gōsei to burn as power for the plant. These two production cycles ran outside of the capitalist owners and managers' interventions (27–30). Tōyō Gōsei's experience of the production control seems to be similar to Avi Lewis' film "*The Take*," depicting workers of a closed auto plant in Buenos Aires, Argentina, who turned the closed factory into a workers' cooperative with the slogan: "occupy, resist, & produce." The measure of production control also represents the ideology of Yamakawaism. However, under America's occupation of Japan, the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP) had set its mind to maintaining Japanese capitalism; the divisions on the left-wing eventually faded away. The JCP lost the opportunity to establish a left coalition cabinet in Japan (Moore 14, 17, 30–31).

Having survived challenges, capitalist exploitation grew even stronger: the capitalist system moved from Japan's

external colonies to its internal colony in Sanya, Japan. Brett de Bary decries the social injustice against day-labourers in Sanya. They were exploited, just as the prewar colonized in Japan's colonies abroad were. Postwar Japan's capitalist system absorbed percentages of day labourers' wages through many child or grandchild companies under a prime giant firm. Criminal organizations were not excluded from these intermediate companies. These companies recruited a reserve army of proletariats from day-labourers, who were subcontracted to a multilayered hiring system. The capitalist system never provided required life insurance and health insurance needed for day-labourers to perform their precarious jobs, and did not pay day-labourers what they deserved (114).

The *yoseba* (an "auction site where labor is hired by the day") system existed prior to the Nara era. In 1848, a labour camp was set up as a separate *yoseba* from the rest of society. Today, this *yoseba* site at Sanya is situated between Shinjuku and Ikebukuro stations. The history of Sanya arose from the Dodge-Line policy during the period of American occupation that kept Japan's export prices low, the subsequent Korean War, and later Japan's "economic miracle," which required workers to finish many projects in a short period of time, such as the super-express railway, the Olympics, and the Expo. Day-labourers underpinned the vast majority of subcontracts and were from a pool of unemployed: bankrupt farmers, coal miners, and injured veterans. At Sanya *yoseba*, 30% of day-labourers were unemployed on a daily basis, and they held jobs for an average of only 20 days a month. Day-labourers described the lives they lead as an octopus like circle: once they got in the circle, they were unable to get out (113, 115–16).

In addition to day-labourers in Sanya who were internally colonized, factory girls and the unfortunate woman in Shimizu Ikko's business novel *Silver Sanctury* can also be classified as internally colonized. While Christopher Stevens reports the normative class variation in postwar Japan (91), Tamae K. Prindle translated Ikko's novel to depict an account of Japanese women's plight: women were victimized by discrimination based on sex, age, and education. In the novel, a woman sacrificed herself to a highly-educated man who was not as competent as she was. She let the man whom she loved dearly marry someone else who was younger and better-educated because she believed that based on her social determinants, she could not offer her fiancé happiness. As decades passed by, the woman stayed single, kept sacrificing herself for the men around her, and let them marry younger and more educated women. Prindle points out the social injustice that Japanese women suffered upholding the normative intersectionality in postwar Japan's business circle (119–29).

John W. Dower presents artists' empathy transcending their ethnic boundary while Tsurumi (1994) questions freedom of expression in prewar Japan. While capitalism expanded Japan's territory into an Asian Empire, the brutality of capitalism also destroyed Japan. In August 1945, after two atomic bombs fell on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Japan surrendered. Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi drew the Hiroshima Panels, and Nakazawa Keiji drew cartoons to demonstrate the cruelty of the atomic bombings. These artists' work touched on the Nanjing massacre in China, Hitler's Auschwitz concentration camp in Germany, and the battle in Okinawa (Dower 41). While they had the freedom to express their empathy, Guo Peiyu, an artist from China, was prohibited from exhibiting his art work depicting the Nanjing massacre in Japan in 1993 (Tsurumi 1994, 66). Tsurumi's protest might have contributed to Guo's re-presenting his art in the Japanese Network of Museums for Peace in 2004 (Yamane 2).

Despite the atomic bombing disasters in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the nuclear power plants were populated in postwar Japanese cities. Yuki Tanaka reports the social injustice that day-labourers encountered at a nuclear power plant. They experienced much greater danger than those at Sanya. When subcontracted day-labourers entered a corridor before a double steel door directly under the nuclear reactor, they risked direct exposure to radiation. They called the corridor at the power plant the Pine Corridor (*Matsuno Roka*), a name that reflected the corridor's status as an entry to death. The corridor was named according to a classical Japanese dance-drama (*kabuki*) of loyal retainers (*Chushingura*), depicting a historical account of a Japanese feudal lord—Asano Takumi no Kani—who injured Kira Kozake no Suke, a master of ceremony in the Tokugawa era: while the former was passing the corridor, the latter insulted and incited the former. The former pulled out his sword and was ordered to death: day-labourers showed their sense of humour through their depiction of living in constant danger. Their jobs also involved the operations of high irradiation-level spaces, and they saw this type of work as not any different than that of the "suicide squads" (*tokko-tai*: the Imperial Japanese Army who performed suicide missions during WWII), a pathway to death. The social injustice of exploiting day-labourers originated from the unequal distribution of economic profits, which are monopolized by the capitalist class (Tanaka 145–60).

Christopher Stevens reports the social injustice of industrial pollution killing innocent children in Minamata. The New Japan Chisso Factory dumped waste into the sea, causing fishermen around this area to contract Minamata disease. Yamanaka Kuhei's father, who caught fish at the local harbor, and his sister died. Kuhei was poisoned in

his mother's womb: he was blind, unable to walk, crawl, talk, and seized with spasms ever since he was born (143).

To conclude, in this paper, I have explicated Tsurumi's single-authored works on Japan's colonization in Taiwan and exploited factory girls, and her peer-reviewed articles on feminism. I assume the reason why Tsurumi targeted both factory girls and the colonized in Taiwan—the marginalized populace in prewar Japan—was because she was interested in analyzing the population in the lowest strata of Japanese society. Tsurumi wrote about feminist advocacy for attaining social justice for people in need. Through her study of early Japanese female emperors, she shows her preference for employing a multi-dimensional theoretical framework for engaging in her study of Japanese history. She further studies the variations of Japanese feminisms and reveres Murata Shizuko, Sampei Takako, Takamure Itsue, and Yamakawa Kikue as her four foremothers, even though Yamakawa seems to be her favourite: Tsurumi engages in her research with an open mind.

By the same token, Tsurumi prefers to uncover the other (negative) side of her research object while many scholars have already extolled the positive developments in postwar Japan. For example, in Tsurumi's anthology *The Other Japan*, Brett de Bary and Yuki Tanaka decry the social injustice of the day-laborers subjected to capitalist exploitation at Sanya and nuclear power plants respectively. Without proper heating facilities, day-labourers froze to death during the year-end holiday season when corporations shut down power in the Sanya neighborhood. Having been exposed to radiation, between 1966 and 1977, 106 day-labourers died at the atomic power plants; half of them died from cancer or leukemia. Without proper social lives, day-laborers resorted to gambling, alcohol, or drugs. Japanese mafia (*Yakuza*) lent them money to spend at brothels, gambling houses, or on buying drugs, leaving day-laborers penniless. Tsurumi uncovers accounts of social injustice and encourages academics to write history, which James Malin describes as "nailing jelly to the wall" (Tsurumi 1982, 71–72, 75).

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SABRA DESAI

Women's Declaration

Our lives matter!
Our voices matter!

The stories of missing and murdered
daughters, grandmothers, mothers, sisters of all spirits must be told by all

Efforts to dismiss, minimize, silence and shut women down will be drowned with our raised voices

We are women, we are mothers, grandmothers, sisters, daughters, wives
We are leaders, motivators forging ways to the future

We shall not capitulate
We will stand up and speak out until women are heard

Through the ballot if we must
It will be our attestation our declaration.

Sabra Desai, MSW, RSW, Board Chair of thegatehouse.org and Founder of Sabra Desai & Associates Inc. Kellogg Fellow, registered trauma-focused social worker, psychotherapist, and transformational educator activist consultant, specializing in working with individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. Sabra's publications include themes of youth issues, violence against women, equity, and inclusion.

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