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**Japanese women's wartime patriotic organizations and postwar  
memoirs: Reality and recollection**

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The University of Arizona, 1994

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**JAPANESE WOMEN'S WARTIME PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS AND POSTWAR MEMOIRS:  
REALITY AND RECOLLECTION**

by

**Naomi Tsunematsu**

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**Dedicated to my parents,**

**Hidemitsu and Yumiko Tsunematsu**

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## ABSTRACT

Japanese women have often described themselves as passive 'victims' of the Pacific War, and in their wartime memoirs (*sensō taikenki*) they have related their suffering in the hope of preventing future wars. However, when we closely examine Japanese women's activities and beliefs during the war, we find that women were not necessarily completely detached from wartime efforts. Many women actively and even enthusiastically cooperated with the state. Even if they did not actively fight on the battlefield and kill people on foreign soil, many women were part of the total war structure, helping to stir up the patriotism that drove Japanese to fight in the war. This thesis looks at how Japanese women, through patriotic women's organizations, were involved in the Pacific War, and what they actually believed during the war, in contrast with their recollections of the war in their *sensō taikenki*.

JAPANESE WOMEN'S WARTIME PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS AND POSTWAR MEMOIRS:  
REALITY AND RECOLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

There are many accounts of Japan during the second world war. However, most of the research in English concerns political or military history. Only a few studies in English survey the social history of the Japanese people in wartime.<sup>1</sup> The Japanese people's lives and how they viewed and understood the war during wartime have been invisible, overshadowed by the emphasis on politics and combat.

Japanese-language accounts of the home front are more extensive. However, they tend to fall largely into the category of *sensō taikenki*, or published memoirs of Japanese people's personal wartime experiences. Ordinary Japanese have not only written books of personal experiences of the war (*sensō taikenki*), but they have talked about their experiences of the war in documentary programs on television and in newspapers, especially every year around August 6 (the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima) and August 15 (the anniversary of the end of the Pacific war), dates too important to forget. Yet, as Carol Gluck writes in *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*, "The emphasis on personal recollection ... affects the way in which views of the past are transmitted to future generations."<sup>2</sup>

In *sensō taikenki*, Japanese people look at themselves as victims. They write about their suffering as if it were their only memory of the war. When

\* In this thesis, I follow the East Asian practice of giving surnames first.

we read *sensô taikenki*, moreover, it almost sounds as though the last stage of the war was their sole experience of it.<sup>3</sup> Since the end of the war, many Japanese have blamed their victimization on the military authorities for the war; there have even been people who have thought of Japan itself as a victim due to their view that the Pacific War was a "holy war." Authors of *sensô taikenki* see themselves as "passive victims" who were helplessly dragged into the war because of somebody else's mistake. To quote Carol Gluck again, "they' make history; 'we' suffer it."<sup>4</sup>

When we consider the huge scale of the war, however, we must wonder whether it was possible to carry it out without civilian cooperation of one sort or another. Civilians, including women, might not have actively participated in the war, but the war could not have been prosecuted without their collaboration. Even if women did not fight on the battlefield, their help in other ways must have been necessary to conduct the total war. Even if circumstances during the war did not allow Japanese to resist the war openly, if all the people had been against the war, they might have been able to stop it or at least end it sooner. Gluck suggests that "it takes both states and societies -- which is to say the individuals who comprise them -- to make a total war."<sup>5</sup>

Despite Japanese women's contemporary pacifist stance, their opposition to war has been rooted mainly in their image of themselves as victims who played a passive role in Japan's last war. They have not closely questioned their actual role in that war. They have tended to place themselves outside politics. William Wetherall criticized this victim's stance in his book review of *Women Against War*: "Women who have wielded political power, while playing their conjugal and maternal roles," he wrote, "have also been as willing as

men to resort to war as a means of gaining wealth and glory for themselves and their family, tribe, or nation."<sup>6</sup> *Women Against War*, Wetherall contends, "shows signs of having been written under the illusion that preventing war is mainly a matter of reminiscing about its horrors," and he questions "how many wars have been avoided by tears shed or fearful forebodings of the 'cruelty' or 'heinousness' of war?"<sup>7</sup> Wetherall asks why "many of the wives, mothers, and daughters who have written so convincingly of the agonies of war, with so much hope for eternal peace, are as proud as they are sorry that their husbands, sons and fathers did not come back?"<sup>8</sup>

Women's role in war is currently a "life-and-death issue" in German women's history, which revolves around women's agency (control over one's destiny) and victimization during World War II under the Third Reich.<sup>9</sup> Claudia Koonz argued in *Mothers in the Fatherland* that women comprised "half of the Germans who made dictatorship, war and genocide possible....Far from remaining untouched by Nazi evil, women operated at its very center."<sup>10</sup> Now we might also have to ask about Japanese women's role in the war.

This thesis asks whether Japanese women were simply victims of the war or whether they may be called "participants" and, in some cases, active supporters of the war? This is a large subject, with many facets. Women's role in wartime involves various kinds of issues, such as women's factory labor, women protesters, state ideology pitched specifically to women, and the various women's organizations active in the 1930s. All of these topics must eventually be studied. Here, however, I will focus on the contrast between women's memoirs of the war, which cast them as passive victims, and their actual role in one aspect of wartime mobilization -- the women's patriotic organizations that contributed to the spiritual mobilization of the country.

Beginning in the early 1930s, ordinary women were mobilized into special patriotic organizations. By the end of the war, there were more than twenty million members in *Dai Nihon Fujinkai* (Greater Japan Women's Association). What did they do? Why did they participate? What were their personal motives and feelings at the time?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to understand the position of women in prewar Japanese society. A Law on Association and Meetings (*Shūkai Oyobi Kessha Hō*) enacted by the cabinet in 1890 barred women from attending political meetings or joining political organizations. Further, the Security Police Law (*Chian Keisatsu Hō*) enacted by the Home Ministry in 1900 redrafted the ban. Feminists succeeded in abolishing the ban on women's attendance at political meetings in 1922, although women's membership in political organizations was prohibited until 1945. Although the women's suffrage leaders, centered on the Women Suffragist's League (*Fusen Kakutoku Dōmei*), persisted in fighting for women's rights, they failed to gain voting rights for women, despite the passage of universal male suffrage in 1925. After the Manchurian Incident of 1931, the government ignored women's demands for the vote. Thus, legally, women were excluded from politics before and during the war.

At the same time, the state's policy emphasized women's role of preserving the family system, which was the basis of the family-state ideology. This ideology, articulated during the Meiji period, taught that the individual stem family formed part of the patriarchal familial nation with the emperor as the patriarchal head, a father of all Japanese, who were his subjects. The Meiji Civil Code, issued in 1898, legally substantiated the state's ruling order of the patriarchal family-state, putting women under the

authority of the patriarchal family head. In addition, Japanese state policies in Meiji called on women to contribute to the state as "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*). Meiji state propaganda "exhorted women to contribute to the nation through their hard work, their frugality, their efficient management, their care of the old, young, and ill, and their responsible upbringing of children."<sup>11</sup>

However, the family-state ideology started to weaken by the 1920s due to the emergence of individualism and capitalist economic development. After the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, which took away men from the home, women's role was emphasized to strengthen the family system. For this purpose, the Cardinal Principles of the National Policy (*Kokutai no hongī*, 1937), The Truth of the Subject (*Shinmin no michi*, 1941), and The Guidelines for Home Education (*Senji katei kyōiku shidō*, 1942) published by the Ministry of Education spread the idea that Imperial Japan was sustained by the family system in which benevolent mothers served the state with "motherhood-in-the-interest-of-the-state" (*kokkateki bosei*).<sup>12</sup>

Thus, during the 1930s and 1940s women were expected to play the role of ideal mothers, and they tended to be shut out of politics. The only way for them to participate in politics was through semi-official organizations which enabled them to play a civic role. Participation in patriotic women's organizations "for the country" justified political activities outside the home. Such activities, for many women, were stimulating. They brought opportunities for leadership experience, group solidarity, and public recognition. Yet, they go unrecorded in women's *sensō taikenki*. It is this discrepancy between women's memories of their wartime lives and the reality of their participation in the war that forms the subject of this thesis.

## ONE

VOICES OF JAPANESE WOMEN ON THE PACIFIC WAR:  
SENSŌ TAIKENKI (MEMOIRS OF WAR EXPERIENCES)

Toward the end of World War II, a number of Japanese men began writing fiction based on war experiences.<sup>1</sup> There is a long history of such *sensō bungaku* dating back to feudal times.<sup>2</sup> After 1945, a large number of memoirs of the war (*sensō taikenki*), written by men who had served in the military, were also published. Women at first were invisible. In 1952, however, some women started contributing their memoirs to the *Asahi* newspaper, when a column invited women's contribution to the subject of war and peace. The Introduction to *Onna ni totte no sensō* (War for women), which compiled the contributions to the *Asahi* newspaper from 1952 to 1982, describes how, "women's spouting feelings came to light like a flood... as if the sunlight had streamed into the room through the window."<sup>3</sup>

*War For Women* was compiled with the goal of assuring peace for the younger generation by teaching them about the Fifteen-Year War and by providing opportunities to think about what the war had meant to women. It mainly emphasized their suffering. The analysis was not deep enough to examine the reasons for the vulnerability of the women, who depicted themselves as having been dragged into the war. The contributors took the position that Japanese were forced to believe in the rhetoric of "a holy war," and they were told that they had to sacrifice themselves to the war effort "in order to protect the country." Other accounts of wartime experiences by women, published mostly in the 1970s and 1980s, similarly focused on their suffering on the home front and in Okinawa and Manchuria during the last stage of the

## Pacific War.

Typical of this approach to the war is *Senchū sengo boshi no kiroku* (Record of Mothers and Children During and After the War), published in 1978, with the aim of handing down to the next generation the wartime experience of mothers and children in order not to repeat the tragedy of war again. Significantly, the ten volumes of this series were published by Kasahara Masae at her own expense. When the journal *Gurafikku Sadō* introduced her books in its issue of August, 1978, many accounts of the Pacific war were already being published. However, most of them were by men who actually fought on the battlefield, whereas the suffering of women on the home front (*jūgo*) had not yet been recorded.<sup>4</sup> As Kasahara Masae wrote, "It was not only men who suffered in the war. If we women who lived in the wartime die in the future, that experience would be buried forever."<sup>5</sup> When Kasahara asked a newspaper office to publish an announcement inviting accounts of women's wartime experiences, they turned her down. She finally persuaded them to issue the advertisement. This story tells us women's wartime experience for the most part had been neglected until the 1970s.

*Women Against War*, published in 1986, also recorded Japanese women's suffering in the war and also assumed a pacifist stance. Their underlying theme is that the best way to prevent wars in the future is to transmit their horrible wartime experiences to the younger generation. The authors include women who made their way back to Japan from Manchuria in the chaos after the war, who evacuated to the countryside from the fire-bombed cities, who became victims of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, who became widows in the war, and who prostituted themselves to American soldiers.<sup>6</sup> The impact of their confessions is devastating. The words on the book's dust jacket describe the cruel nature

of the Japanese women's war experience: "Can there be anyone, anyone at all, who will remain unmoved after reading these accounts, who will continue to be indifferent to the cruelty of war? Perhaps a few, a very few people -- those who are in effect no longer human."<sup>7</sup>

In *sensō taikenki* Japanese people remember the war in terms of their horrible experiences. Civilians who survived air-raids, atomic bombs, and even battles -- Okinawa, where the decisive ground battle was fought, involved civilians -- recall horrifying, unbearable events. They feared being killed by bombs or by enemy soldiers even if they were not in the battlefield or directly exposed to the bombing. Needless to say, for the people who lost their homes, families or friends, or for the people who were exposed to scenes of brutal destruction, the war was a long, cruel, merciless event.

Contrary to this view of the Japanese people as victims is the picture of them as "aggressors" overseas. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East after the war labeled Japan the aggressor in World War II, and Japanese soldiers' cruelty in foreign lands is well documented. Overshadowed by the conduct of their men outside of the country, Japanese civilians' suffering has often been ignored outside of Japan, although some might say that they deserved it because civilians in foreign lands suffered from Japan's aggression.

Nevertheless, when Japanese people talk about the war, they often imply that "we" suffered because of "them." "Them" can be the military authorities who are believed to have dragged Japan into the war, but people do not express who exactly was responsible for their suffering. Their view of themselves is more or less as victims of an unidentified "other," who brought hard times on the Japanese people. In addition, many Japanese tend to equate wartime

experience with the final and most painful year of the war, and do not describe the earlier years, when Japan's armies enjoyed one success after other.

As the cover of *Women Against War* claims, however, there were undoubtedly Japanese women who endured horrible experiences. The memoirs of Japanese women who survived in the war reveal that there was no end to their suffering. Their physical pain as well as their mental anguish is beyond imagination. In order to understand how Japanese civilians have written about their experiences, I will briefly mention some of their memoirs, drawn from accounts of the war in Osaka, Tokyo, Okinawa, Hiroshima, and Manchuria.

#### Osaka and Tokyo

Osaka was bombed by U.S. B29 planes about fifty times from December 1944 to August 1945. Each time the air-raid alarm sounded, people either fled, running under the planes, which flew at low altitudes, or they lay down flat on the ground. There were corpses as far as the eye could see.<sup>8</sup> The incendiary bomb attacks of 272 B29 planes on March 13 and 14, 1945, damaged about 136,000 houses and the whole city was reduced to ashes. Oda Yoshiko was seventy-seven years old when she described how she had sought shelter from the fires all over Osaka. She carried one child on her back, wheeled another in a baby carriage, and pulled her third child by the hand. Her daughter, her body on fire, cried, "It is hot, Mom!" On the next morning, after B29 planes left Osaka, it rained. Her sons, exposed to the black rain after the bombing, did not even cry and died vomiting blackened blood. After her daughter died, Oda thought about killing herself, but she did not because she was pregnant.<sup>9</sup>

Imoo Chizuko, fifty-nine years old, lost her mother by an incendiary bomb when she was little. Her house was burned. She kept crying for six months. Forty-six years later, she reported that she cries whenever she remembers the war.<sup>10</sup>

Yoshino Shizue, sixty-one years old, was a student in Matsuyama when she was mobilized to work in an Osaka factory making *fūsen bakudan* (balloon bombs) and parts of planes. It was not easy to find the air-raid shelter while running away from enemy bombs, and most of the shelters were full, with people inside shouting at her when she tried to enter. She kept crying as she ran to find a shelter with space for her.<sup>11</sup> Even innocent children were taken away from their home in the *gakuto dōin* (mobilization of students) to serve their country and to die in a "war without mercy."<sup>12</sup>

When Tokyo was bombed on March 1945, the city was reduced to ashes. Hirasawa Setsuko reports that in the districts of Kikugawa and Tategawa in Tokyo, the population was reduced from 2,500 to 500.<sup>13</sup> When children came back to Tokyo from the countryside where they had been evacuated, the wards had turned into burnt fields. The children found their houses by first locating the school, whose burnt shell still stood. Crying and screaming "Mama! Mama!" they looked for their parents, even searching in the air-raid shelters.<sup>14</sup>

### Okinawa

The Battle of Okinawa took place in April, 1945. The Himeyuri (Lily) Student Corps fought the brutal battle to the end. Many female students who were enrolled in Okinawa's high schools and middle schools were called up to serve in this Himeyuri corps. The Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum, built with

funds raised by the survivors of the Corps, marks the site of the several fights. As one of the survivors of the Corps, Miyagi Kikuko, wrote, "If that war hadn't happened, all my friends and classmates would have led peaceful lives with their children and grandchildren."<sup>15</sup>

Miyagi was mobilized to Haebaru Army Hospital, which was called a military "hospital," even though it was actually in caves scattered around the town. A large number of wounded soldiers were carried into the caves. "They petrified us all. Some didn't have faces, some didn't have limbs. Young men in their twenties and thirties screaming like babies. Thousands of them."<sup>16</sup> Wounded soldiers were carried into the caves until they were filled, and even after that more soldiers were carried into the caves. Some soldiers hemorrhaged to death, and others, who were laid out in the empty fields, were hit again by showers of bombs. Miyagi removed from the wounded soldiers the pus squirting in their faces, infested with maggots. The soldiers with brain fever tore off their clothes and dressings due to their pain. When the rain of bullets, which was falling from morning to night, quieted down a little, Miyagi carried limbs and corpses to heave them into a hole. Later she heard that the medics offered the surviving soldiers cyanide capsules, saying, "Achieve your glorious end like a Japanese soldier."<sup>17</sup>

In May 1945, the Americans used gas bombs to kill people in the caves. Miyagi saw students and teachers perish when their bodies swelled up and turned purple. When they tried to escape individually (since escaping in a group made them more visible to the U.S. forces), there was no way to take the injured people, and the injured knew that they would be left behind. Three teachers and sixteen students including Miyagi crawled out of the cave together. When they heard the voice of Americans under heavy bombardment, they

thought they heard the voice of demons because they were taught that the enemy would strip the girls naked and do with them whatever they wanted and run over them with tanks. Miyagi says, "I can never forgive what education did to us! Had we known the truth, all of us would have survived."<sup>18</sup> Fleeing instead of surrendering, they climbed to the top of the cliff. Although they had struggled very hard not to express their agony and grief, they all sobbed "Okaasan (Mother)!" Miyagi was eventually rescued by American soldiers, but not before she saw the body of a Japanese soldier who had been chased by American soldiers, drop to the ground, and students hit by arms fire.

After the war, Miyagi tried to forget her cruel memories. When young people ask "Why did you take part in such a stupid war?", she replies, "For us the Emperor and the Nation were supreme. For them, one should not withhold one's life....We had been trained for the Battle of Okinawa from the day the war with America began. I hate to admit it, but that spiritual training taught us how to endure."<sup>19</sup>

Before they had experienced the war first-hand, the teachers and students were utterly ignorant of its real terror, and firmly believed the slogan, "Our army is always superior!" This suggests that the psychology of victimization emerged not only due to the physical hardships suffered when the homeland became the battlefield but also due to the psychological manipulation of civilians by the military government. Civilians came to see themselves as victims of both the enemy and their own military, as suggested by the title of volume two of the *Asahi* newspaper's anthology of women's wartime experiences: "The Enemy Was Japanese" (*Teki wa nihonjin datta*).

Kinjō Shigeaki, a professor of religion at Okinawa Christian Junior College, confirms this perception that the real enemy was the Japanese

military. He lived in Okinawa during the war and after the war he started supporting efforts for telling Japanese school children through their textbooks about the Japanese army's cruelty to Okinawans during the fight in Okinawa. During the war the term "shūdan jiketsu" (group suicide) did not exist because people used the militaristic euphemism "gyokusai" (crushing of jewels), which meant 'people giving up their lives joyfully for their country rather than succumbing to the enemy or falling into their hands.'<sup>20</sup> Kinjō argues that 'It's a term easily subject to misinterpretation. The state now wants to say these deaths were 'voluntary deaths.' But that isn't the way it was. The people of Okinawa never killed themselves on their own initiative.'<sup>21</sup> Although it has often been argued that the military did not issue orders to civilians to commit suicide, the military gave grenades to each of the members of the village and told them to await orders from the military. Crying, people swore to die together and prepared themselves for their deaths. In this desperate scene, men started bludgeoning their wives and children to death in order to avoid capture by the enemy. Those who had blades cut their wrists or severed arteries in their necks.

When we raised our hands against the mother who bore us, we wailed in our grief. I remember that. In the end we must have used stones. To the head. We took care of Mother that way. Then my brother and I turned against our younger brother and younger sister. Hell engulfed us there.<sup>22</sup>

Japanese civilians were told that if they were captured, they would be chopped to pieces and then run over with tanks, and women would be raped. 'We

determined we would choose a way of dying appropriate for subjects of the Emperor." <sup>23</sup> Contrary to people's faith in the country, however, the army was cruel to them. When the residents of Kinjō's hamlet, Aharen, moved back to their hamlet without permission from the army, the Japanese army issued an order to execute all remaining residents. In Mr. Kinjō's island, Tokashiki, the military never engaged in combat and only the residents engaged in group suicide. Due to his extreme disillusionment with the patriotic rhetoric of glorious death for the country, he suffered from acute mental torment after the war. Although he was too young to criticize the war, his mind was occupied with doubts about why his mother, brother, and sister had to die so violently. Even though he came to believe in his later years that survivors must testify, he could not talk about this "shūdan jiketsu" in public for more than twenty years. <sup>24</sup>

### Hiroshima

Hiroshima is well known as the site where humankind experienced the atomic bomb for the first time in history. The date of the atomic bombing, August 6, 1945, is a very significant day for Japanese, and is remembered annually with a city-wide ceremony to console the spirits of the people who perished in Hiroshima as victims of the atomic bomb. <sup>25</sup>

Izumiro Izumi wrote her memories of Hiroshima in *Cries For Peace*. She saw people dragging what looked like white cloth; it was actually skin peeled from their bodies. When she went out to look for her children and her husband, all around her lay people dead or dying, calling for water, for help, for their mothers. <sup>26</sup> Matsumuro Kazuo, bleeding from his ears, nose, and mouth,

fled in the flames. He saw refugees swarming to the shore and dead bodies floating in the river. The sight of a little girl, lying on her back on the road with many slivers of glass buried in her chest, broke his heart.<sup>27</sup>

Nobody in Hiroshima looked like human beings. Yamaoki Michiko says that everyone was so stupefied he lost the ability to speak. People could not even scream "It hurts!", but just sat, in flames. "There were people, barely breathing, trying to push their intestines back in. People with their legs wrenched off. Without heads. Or with faces burned and swollen out of shape. The scene I saw was a living hell."<sup>28</sup> When she went to America after the war for treatment and plastic surgery for her face, she hated Americans. When she asked why Americans had chosen to end the war by destroying human beings, she was often told, "Well, you attacked Pearl Harbor!" Still, she believes it was inexcusable to harm human beings with an atomic bomb.<sup>29</sup>

Tsutsui Kumiko, a first grader in elementary school, talks about her mother's experience in Hiroshima when her mother was fourteen years old.<sup>30</sup> At the moment the bomb flashed, the towns became rubble and the surface of human bodies peeled off like rags with ashes on them. Running away, she saw people whose bodies were burned all over and could not move, people who were walking with their burned skin hanging from their bodies, children shrieking because their mothers were caught under the buildings. A young woman, whose body was swollen like a fat woman, was tottering and moaning, "Mother. Mother." She was shocked when she met an officer whose eye was hanging from its socket. Tsutsui writes, "In peaceful countries, if a person is killed, the one who killed him is sentenced to death. Is it permissible to kill old people and children if it is in the war?" Tsutsui remarks that the people who decided to wage the war were in a safe place, but the civilians who were mobilized got hurt and died,

and innocent children's lives were robbed. She says that she does not ever want to experience war.<sup>31</sup>

### Manchuria

In Manchuria women and children fled from Soviet troops after the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 9, 1945. Over 300,000 Japanese civilians and agricultural pioneers lived in northern Manchuria and in areas along the Soviet border to the east.<sup>32</sup> Most of the men among the settlers were called up by the Kwantung Army, while women, old people, and children were left in disarray in Manchuria. They scattered around the towns and villages. Women were raped and murdered by Soviet soldiers, people killed each other in mass suicide, and people in Manchukuo, who had been dispossessed by Japanese settlers, started taking revenge on the conquerer.<sup>33</sup>

Ayuda Sato took refuge with a group of other women and children fleeing Manchuria.<sup>34</sup> During the day, suffering from the heat, starvation, and thirst, they stumbled on like sleepwalkers. The young people and those who did not carry much were told to run away, leaving the group behind. Many people became sick due to malnutrition. Ayuda's three-year old daughter died. She remembers that the children who died did not even have soil to cover their bodies, and the dead children were left in the mountains and in grassy places.<sup>35</sup> Another survivor, Maki Sakie, remembered:

...at the end of our physical and mental resources, we wandered about without any sense of direction or time, listening to a mixture of sounds blown on the wind: the voices of Soviet soldiers, the

shouting of Japanese women, and the sobbing of Japanese children looking for their parents.<sup>36</sup>

Other survivors recall how a woman was raped in front of her children and killed, and her children were crying and clinging to her dead body.<sup>37</sup> Soviet soldiers raped another Japanese woman on the top of a tank and afterward the tank crushed the naked body.<sup>38</sup>

The recollections of Hayashi Michiko, sixty-five years old, of the time she fled from Manchuria to Kyushu by ship, explains the relation of the military police to the civilian population.<sup>39</sup> The ship was attacked by torpedo and the lifeboat which took on her arrived in Korea. When they were discovered by Koreans and the military police came, they expected that the military policemen would be happy to find them safe. However, the military police said, "It is extremely annoying to be troubled by civilians in this emergency. If you tell this to other people, we will try you by court-martial." After that, nothing was reported about how many people were on the boat, how many were rescued, how many were dead, and who were dead. Ms. Takagi Tomeko also talks about the inhuman conduct of the military police.<sup>40</sup> In July 1945, there was an air-raid in Ichinomiya City. Running away with her mother from the fires caused by incendiary bombs, Takagi met a military policeman who shouted, "Hey, are you running away? *Hikokumin* (literally unpatriotic person)!" and hit her mother.

All of these wartime experiences tell us undeniably that not only men, but also women were victims of the war. The role of men and women was

different, but in the sense that most of them firmly believed the nationalist ideology and endured terrible hardships, they were quite similar. The psychology of their victimization also has a lot in common. Their memoirs claim that Japanese military authorities dragged Japan into the war and forced Japanese people to endure the brutality and deprivation that ensued.

Wartime memoirs tell us that Emperor-centered ideology penetrated Japanese people's minds and made them believe the state's rhetoric, which taught them to devote themselves to the Emperor and country, and to kill themselves for the glorious cause or the "holy war." During the war, most of the people, including both men and women, did not, or were not, allowed to question "*kokutai*" (national polity) due to the thorough education which indoctrinated people with patriotic nationalist ideas, centered on the Emperor, from the time they entered elementary school. Fear of the *kenpei* (military policemen) and arrest was also a big factor which controlled people from questioning or opposing the war. Now, as Japanese people remember it, "We were forced to believe [all of] that." They say they were involved in a war that was out of their control. Certainly, they were taught that the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere centered on the Japanese Emperor and justified Japan's overseas military ventures, even though they themselves did not actually know what was going on.

In *sensō taikenki*, some people express their indignation over the strict governmental control and social pressure of the wartime structure. During the war, if Japanese civilians showed conduct that was not supportive of the state ideology, they were called unpatriotic. Whatever they said or they did, if it sounded unpatriotic, they were punished. Driven by both their fear of the police and their faith in their country, their feelings seem very

complicated.

At school children were indoctrinated with fanatic patriotism. They were scolded by teachers severely when they did not properly answer their teacher's questions. For example, when they were learning the concept of proportion in arithmetic class, the teacher said, "The amount of work is not proportional to time because human beings get to be tired as time passes and the amount of work decreases."<sup>41</sup> When the teacher asked the same question about the Japanese soldiers a few days later, Baba Akiko raised her hand and answered, "The amount of work is not proportional to time." The teacher was outraged and said, "Japanese soldiers are *kôgun* (Imperial army). They are not human beings. It is a god's job. They do their job correctly like a machine. Therefore, their work is directly proportional to time."

When students entered the school gate, they bowed to the picture of the Emperor in the lecture hall at first, and struck with a fist as hard as they could the wooden board on which the portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston S. Churchill was put before they entered the classroom. In morning assembly, all the students shouted, "We are children of the Emperor. Our bodies are to be devoted to the Emperor...." In the oral interview test for admission into junior high school, Baba was asked why she had to strengthen her body and answered, "For the Emperor." She was also asked, "What is the determination of the soldier when he leaves home and goes to the front? Do you know the poem that expresses the soldier's feeling?" She answered, "From today I am departing to be a brave shield for the Emperor without looking back."<sup>42</sup>

Nagano Ai recalls how high school student were taught to fight to the bitter end.<sup>43</sup> In geography class, the teacher asked them, "If the enemy comes to attack us, what will you do?" When they answered, "We will run away with

our staff," the teacher shouted threateningly, "Why is it the only answer you can find?" When one of the students answered, "We will bravely die in honor," the teacher said, "That's right. When the enemy comes, we should fight to the end." Now Japanese denounce such education as wrong, and as imposed on them: they were forced to believe it and to obey it.

In most of the stories I introduced here people talk mainly about the hardship and cruelty they experienced through the war, rather than argue who should be blamed for the war and who should be responsible for their sufferings. The same is true of history textbooks in junior and senior high school in Japan. Consequently, the causes of the war and the responsibility for it are very unclear in people's minds. Japanese history textbooks covering World War II are written in such a way that the war appears to have started automatically. People did not know or think about why the military came to power or why ultranationalist ideology came to dominate their thinking. But they firmly believe that Japan should have never engaged in the war and should never do so in the future.

It is important for us to realize that what people wrote in *sensô taikenki* is only the part of their experience which they wanted to preserve, not necessarily what really happened or all that happened. It is very difficult, for example, to find a memoir which offers any positive recollections of the war. If we rely only on Japanese people's wartime memories, we must conclude that the sense of victimization comes from the belief that the country deceived them. This is common for both men and women. But did all Japanese hate the war from the beginning to the end? What they came to think of the war afterward should be distinguished from what they thought and did during the whole period under discussion. If they firmly

believed at the time that the war promoted the glory of the nation because 'they did not know' the truth, do we not have to question why they were so susceptible to being deceived by the state?

## TWO

## NEW LITERATURE: QUESTIONING WARTIME WOMEN'S DEPICTION OF THEMSELVES AS VICTIMS

In Chapter I, I introduced the *sensô taikenki*, in which Japanese people talk about their painful memories of World War II. In this chapter I would like to examine another category of writing about the war, namely, essays and scholarly analyses, mainly by women, that question the focus of women on victimization, and letters, published in newspapers, also mainly by women, that raise questions about Japan's involvement in the war and express sympathy for other Asian countries' wartime suffering under the Japanese.

Critical Analyses of Wartime Japanese Women

As we have seen, until the 1970s published accounts of wartime experience were written mostly from a victim's stance. It took a while for Japanese to be able to start thinking about the war from a different angle. One of the first people to analyze the psychology of wartime victimization was the novelist and anti-war activist Oda Makoto in his 1968 essay "*Heiwa no rinri to ronri*" (Ethics and Logic of Peace) in *Ningen -- Aru kojinteki kôsatsu* (Humans -- One Personal Contemplation).<sup>1</sup> Oda argued that, in the early stages of the war, when Japan appeared to be winning and people's lives were not yet damaged, Japanese saw themselves as "loyal participants." However, toward the end of the war, when their lives were disrupted, they saw themselves as having been betrayed by the state."<sup>2</sup> Regarding themselves as victims, they were unable to recognize their guilt in having victimized others.

Beginning in the late 1970s, a few Japanese women started publishing

critical accounts of women's involvement in the war. The three-volume *Jūgoshi nōto* (Note of History of The Home Front): the Bulletin of the 'Association to Inquire about Women at Present,' published from 1977 to 1979; Kanō Mikiyo's *Josei to tennōsei* (Women and The Emperor System) and *Onnatachi no jūgo* (Women at The Home Front), both published in 1979; and Suzuki Yūko's *Feminizumu to sensō: Fujin undōka no sensō kyōryoku* (Feminism and War: War Cooperation of Women's Movement Activists), published in 1986 all discuss Japanese women's war responsibility in World War II and criticize their depiction of themselves as victims.<sup>3</sup> These female authors viewed Japanese women as conspirators in the war. They also explored the kinds of ideologies that captured women's loyalty to the war cause and analyzed women's psychology.

In *Josei to Tennōsei*, Kanō Mikiyo analyzed the glorification of motherhood during the war. Her analysis of the way "*hahagokoro*" (mother's heart) was connected to "*ōmikokoro*" (Emperor's heart) is intriguing. She argues that the notion of a mother's compassionate and selfless love for her children became entwined in Japanese people's minds with the heart of the Emperor, who also gave compassion and benevolence (*jīnji*) to Japanese, his children. By revering women who dedicated their children to the Emperor as his children, the state's wartime ideology encouraged Japanese women to aspire to become "*Yasukuni no haha*" (Mother of Yasukuni).<sup>4</sup> She argues that linking the glorification of motherhood with nationalism through benevolence an emphasis on the virtues of compassion and self-sacrifice that made it impossible for women to see themselves or the Emperor as victimizer to view themselves critically. Rather, they sought sympathy and praise for their devotion. Thus, wartime ideology created the psychology of the victim.

In her book *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, Kanō analyzes another aspect of women's

motivation -- the desire to be liberated (*kaihō*), which led women to join the war effort by participating in patriotic women's organizations. Suzuki, in her book *Feminizumu to Sensō*, also argues that women's movement activists saw cooperation as "liberation." These essayists' critical views of Japanese women are tersely summed up by Tsurumaru Sachiyo, a member of the Association to Inquire about Women at Present, in the *Note on The History of the Home Front (Jūgoshi nōto)*: "Without doubt mothers were victims of the war. But at the same time they were women of *jūgo* (at the home front) who supported the aggressive war. Why couldn't they help playing that role?"<sup>5</sup>

Tsurumaru voiced criticism of a number of books on wartime women. In one, *Japanese Women and Fascism (Nihon josei to fashizumu)*, published in 1977, Yoshimi Kaneko and Toki Kumiko expressed nostalgia for the war. Yoshimi wrote, "There were many unpleasant things, but whatever I did, I was young and full of enthusiasm (*kimochi no hari*), thinking that somehow we would win. That was what I lived for, and it is a feeling that I do not have now."<sup>6</sup> Toki added: "I was too small to think about it, but when I try to remember carefully, the society was united as one and there was a lively atmosphere."<sup>7</sup> Taking issue with these recollections, Tsurumaru argues:

It is good to be enthusiastic, aiming at victory, and to have something to live for with people united and full of vigor, but shouldn't we question what made people have such feelings of unity to carry out the aggressive war? Further, shouldn't we question we ourselves who made ourselves feel that way? I believe we should not solve this issue by saying the power of education was fearful, but we should carefully think about the existence of humans who were

intoxicated with the fascism of the emperor system and the illusion of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Without reflecting on why we got intoxicated, we cannot have any prospects of being tied to people in Asia on whom Japan stamped in the war.<sup>8</sup>

Tsurumaru called for an examination of the reasons for women's involvement in the war. She charged that Japanese women's heroic, admirable, and diligent activity as "women at the home front" represented a false kind of women's liberation which, women believed, would free them from "ryōsai kenbo" (Good wife, Wise mother), the feminine ideal that helped maintain the patriarchal family system. It was through their cooperation in the war that women were recognized outside the home for the first time. Women's eagerness to work outside of their homes was realized through their involvement in the war.

Another critic of conventional *sensō taikenki* is Sano Noriko, who, in her essay "Japanese Women's Movements During World War II," published in 1980, pointed out that Japanese women "showed no understanding for the Chinese women assaulted and killed by these same [their] husbands, sons, and fathers, or for the Korean women rounded up to serve as army prostitutes."<sup>9</sup> Her argument touched on something not seen earlier from people who wrote memoirs of their war experiences: If Japanese women cooperated with the aggressive war which transformed Asia into a bloody field involving innocent people, even if Japanese women did not know the truth, they still have to question what made it happen. Why were Japanese women put in a situation of being completely indoctrinated? Why could they not avoid being incorporated into the wartime structure? Even if they did not fight on the front, as long as they did not

oppose the war, it is not accurate to say they were in no way responsible for or connected to Japan's aggression.

Hardly any women have been in the front lines of aggression. Yet it is wrong to say that women were simply dragged into war as helpless victims. Even if they do not take up weapons and kill, as long as they cannot check aggression on the part of their own nation, as long as they give tacit approval, women are as guilty as men. They cannot evade responsibility.<sup>10</sup>

Without doubt Japanese women were victims of the World War II, or they might be victims even now. But at the same time, they were also "jūgo no onna" (women at the home front) who supported and cooperated for the aggressive war.

One author who departs altogether from the theme of victimization is Kodama Kuniko, whose Master's thesis, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Japanese Women's Attitudes Caused by World War II* (1980), argues that women's wartime experiences significantly contributed to changes in their attitudes in the postwar years. She claims that from their wartime experiences they came to realize the need for change in their lives. Her interviewees reported that they wanted to engage in cultural and academic activities after the war because their wartime experiences made them aware of their lack of education. Further, by going through the same ordeal as men and coming to know various kinds of male figures in factories where they worked, they were able to respect their husbands on the basis of mutual communication and understanding rather than blind obedience.<sup>11</sup> Kodama thus concludes that "their

self-consciousness about the lack of education and cultural activities because of the war and the work during mobilization enhanced their traditional eagerness for excelling in cultural and academic activities."<sup>12</sup> Kodama's thesis suggests that women's wartime experience could have represented something positive.

Examples of various women who enthusiastically became part of the war effort appear in Kawana Kimi's book, *Onna mo sensō o ninatta* (Women Also Carried the War), published in 1982. She attempts to capture how Japanese women actually cooperated during the war. What she describes in this book is women who enthusiastically devoted themselves to war efforts, not the ones who only have sad memories. Iida Kikuyo, whom Kawana interviewed, talks about the wartime nostalgically:

There are often people in our generation who say, "Our youth was robbed because of war," but it is a ridiculous idea. Our youth was not robbed. I devoted my youth to the country. Therefore, I have not regretted anything at all....The time will never come any more when a people were so full of enthusiasm -- never. All the people, from babies to the old, made desperate efforts. We can never get back the time when we were burning with passion.<sup>13</sup>

Iida's feelings on August 15, 1945, the day of Japan's surrender, were sympathy for Japanese soldiers and responsibility for not having been able to do more on the home front: "I felt sorry for the soldiers. They fought in the battlefields and so many people died, but we lost. I thought that meant our power at the home front was not enough at all. I felt sorry...."<sup>14</sup>

When women talk about their war experiences, they often explain their participation with the expression "for the country." But, as Kanō Mikiyo charges, "when women try to look at themselves only as victims, nothing is more effective than this indulgence 'for the country.'"<sup>15</sup> She points out that Japanese women have been buried in the emotion of "misfortune" as mothers and wives, which has made them unconscious of "the country" which conducted inhuman atrocious actions in Asia.

Specific criticism has been leveled at women's activists who tried to avoid responsibility for their wartime cooperation. In her book *Feminism and War (Feminizumu to sensō)*, published in 1986, Suzuki Hiroko attacked women's movement activists who lacked a sense of pain for their responsibility in having drawn people into the war. For example, Yoshioka Yayoi (1871-1959), who occupied important posts such as councilor of the Patriotic Women's Association and advisor of the Greater Japan Women's Association, encouraged many women and young people to cooperate with the war effort. By praising women as mothers of Japanese men who dared to die for the country, she contributed to the glorification of motherhood in the interests of nationalism. However, she considered the postwar purges of officials to be unjust, and expressed no sense of responsibility for her cooperation in the war.<sup>16</sup>

Suzuki also singles out the attitude of Ōtsuna Kotaka (1884-1970), who looked at herself as a victim of the war. Ōtsuna was a founder of the prestigious women's college Ōtsuna Gakuin, where she actively taught Japanese women to cultivate their motherhood for the good of the state. She was purged from the teaching profession after the war. Women's colleges in pre-war times, with few exceptions, cultivated the "ryōsai kenbō" (Good wife, Wise mother) ideal. Especially during the war, these schools educated women to become

mothers who would produce many children and raise them for the country. Ôtsuma Gakuin was known for its cultivation of "ryôsai kenbo" in accordance with state policy. In her autobiography Ôtsuma did not mention her activity during the war, but in the chapter titled "Purge and its Removal," she expressed surprise, sadness, anxiety, and bewilderment about being purged for her role in many women's organizations. She grieved over her lonely life, and described how much suffering she went through.<sup>17</sup>

Ôtsuma's virtual proclamation of her victimhood and Yoshioka's lack of a sense of war responsibility are, in Suzuki's view, a "perversity." She labels both Yoshioka and Ôtsuma "attackers" in the war against people in those Asian countries that Japan invaded and also as leaders who lured pure and innocent female students into wartime mobilization.<sup>18</sup> Although the sense of "victim," not "attacker," characterizes most Japanese civilians' feelings about the war, Suzuki calls for an examination of the ideological soil which produced Japanese people's understanding of the war in this way.

Suzuki also criticized Murakami Nobuhiko's approach to women's history of the wartime period. In her very interesting comment on Murakami's *Nihon no fujin mondai* (Women's Issues in Japan), Suzuki disagreed with his appreciation for women who fought with all their might for the country. Murakami wrote that histories of the period tend to emphasize how women's lives were overwhelmed by the authority of the militant nation and how they were forced to cooperate in the war and urged to participate in production work. He argued that the reason for the lack of research on Japanese women in wartime is this negative aspect of their wartime cooperation. Since Japanese women gave in to the military authorities and cooperated with them (or were forced to), the history of this period offers nothing positive for women's history, which purports to

be the history of women's liberation. Murakami himself regretted the failure to recognize women's valor and dedication.<sup>19</sup>

While Suzuki agreed that Japanese women's history had neglected the wartime period, she challenged Murakami's sympathetic assessment of women during this period, arguing that if we praise their wartime enthusiasm and service spirit, then women leaders who actively cooperated with the war will escape responsibility for it. Suzuki reminds her readers that the Women's Voluntary Corps (*Joshi Teishintai*), which Murakami praised, were attached to the munitions industry and mobilized to make weapons, which were used to kill people in China and Southeast Asia. What evoked the "enthusiasm" and "serving spirit," she asks, and what was brought about as a result?<sup>20</sup>

#### Public Discussion of the War in Newspapers

In the early 1990s, two different newspapers solicited the views of ordinary Japanese people about the war. The responses in many cases were different from *sensō taikenki* written earlier. More Japanese people started viewing the war in the whole context of Asia, exposing Japan's overseas aggression. The discussion of the war was considerably expanded. One of the most recent and most controversial examples of the new literature is a book titled *Onnatachi no Taiheiyō sensō* (Pacific War For Women), published in 1991.

*Onnatachi no Taiheiyō sensō* started as a collection of *sensō taikenki* of women in Asian countries such as China, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as women in Europe, Hawaii, and Japan, who were around fifteen years old during the Pacific War. The contributors wrote about their experiences in the Pacific War at the invitation of the *Asahi* newspaper in

1991, exactly fifty years after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and the series of articles was compiled into a book. One of the main purposes of the project was to listen to the voices of those women, Japanese and non-Japanese, who could not help participating in the war, and who have been paid little attention, in comparison to the many accounts of the war written by soldiers.<sup>21</sup>

After reading women's contributions, men also started writing to the column, as did young students who were responding to the older generation's explanation of their wartime behavior. The result was a kind of ongoing public dialogue on the war. Some contributors expressed remorse or guilt. For example, Nakano Shōji, who was attached to the headquarters of the Japanese Army in Tian-jin, where he made maps of China, wrote about being seized with remorse whenever he remembers that the map he made was used for the air-raids that attacked the innocent Chinese people. He regretted his indirect participation in the war.<sup>22</sup> Other men who contributed their essays to the column *Onnatachi no Taihenyō sensō* expressed regret for having raped women in China and for their treatment of the comfort women.

Not everyone felt remorse. Itō Kōkichi, a sixty-six years old man, argued that the critical opinions expressed by some of the contributors were too self-torturing.

I question to what extent the Asahi newspaper wants to implant a 'negative legacy' for us Japanese, and I feel sick.

In China many civilians got entangled in the ravages of the war. But what about the Japanese who suffered every time they were evacuated to the countryside due to the U.S. scorched-earth strategy for

mainland Japan? Did those who were the victims of atomic bombs deserve to be killed?

For thousands of years innocent civilians are the ones who have gotten involved in wars and have cried. Unfortunately, it cannot be helped that civilians from countries which fight against each other are damaged. To treat the Japanese military only as 'evil' is not right.... The Japanese military authority was responsible for the war, but most of the soldiers who constituted the military were our grandfathers and fathers who were mobilized. When the young people read these articles, they will think that their fathers and brothers did atrocious acts and they will be depressed. I am wondering if this will lead them to lose their confidence in the Japanese people. Recently they are in utter confusion without knowing their policy for the Gulf war and were laughed at by other countries.

I think that the *Asahi* Newspaper is striving for the 'mobocracy' of Japanese people under the name of telling the truth, but is there a future for a country that does not have pride in its people? What kind of Japan do you want to make, by raising youth who do not have confidence in their country's history?

Further, the comfort women for the army were different from what the *Asahi* newspaper says. Most of them were women who were lured by the high wages and applied for it [the job]....

You are disclosing the bad part of the Japanese military just for fun, but have you ever thought about the death of millions of unknown soldiers, that is, the feelings of our father and brothers who died in China and in the South [Pacific] just because it was an

order...?

Every time I read self-torturing articles, I wonder what was the meaning of the death of my brother in the war, and I am moved to tears.<sup>23</sup>

Some contributors to the Asahi newspaper agreed with this opinion. At the same time, there were men and women who opposed it. Only several contributions concerning Itō's opinion are listed, so we cannot know the exact number of people in each category among those who disagreed. However, Nomura Shin, an eighty years old man, questioned whether the Sino-Japanese war can be explained away by saying that civilians on both sides naturally became victims, or whether comfort women, whom he personally witnessed, fit Itō's depiction of them. Nomura argued that, if Japanese want to educate the young so that they can be confident of their country, they should teach the truth.<sup>24</sup>

As for Itō's "self-torturing" comment, Oda Satsuki, a fifty years old woman, retorted that people began looking at Japan's role as an assailant only after hearing stories from the countries which were invaded by Japan.<sup>25</sup> She pointed out that the timing of the discussion of Japan's aggression was a bit too late. She further argued that in Japan it has been taboo to disclose the real facts of the past in schools and the mass media. The Education Ministry has removed pictures of ruined Hiroshima and references to Japanese aggression from junior high school textbooks. Oda concluded that it was not self-torturing to disclose the fact that people were forced to believe in the sacred war and in the divinity of the Emperor, and that they were killed or captured if they tried to reveal the truth. Their belief in the sacred war brought the death of three million Japanese and twenty million South and East

Asians.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to the variety of opinions expressed among the older generation, young people in their teens or twenties and thirties, who did not experience the war, might conceivably be more critical of Japan. Unfortunately, in *Onnatachi no Taiheiyō sensō* it is difficult to categorize contributors' opinions by their age. Further, as not all the contributions are listed in the book, we cannot know the exact number of people who held the same view. Nevertheless, the book contains the writings of two students, identified as seventeen and twenty years old respectively, who expressed criticism of Japan. Their argument, in a nutshell, is that the guilt of the past cannot be forgiven just because Japanese also suffered. It is shameful to cover up what the Japanese did by pretending not to know. People who do not know how to make amends for their mistakes cannot have any pride.<sup>27</sup>

These young people are the product of postwar education which emphasizes the importance of peace without war. Against these young people who never knew the reality of the war, another women who lived through the war sought to defend other Japanese survivors. Jōno Tokuko asked, "What could civilians do at that time?"<sup>28</sup> They were indoctrinated with the spirit of patriotism and their freedom of speech was severely limited. They were arrested as *hikokumin* if they criticized the war even a little bit. It was a dark age when they could never express the sadness in their heart.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time, among the women who experienced the war are those who expressed sympathy for the sufferings of civilians in other Asian nations. Katō Atsumi, sixty-two years old, questioned why nobody criticized and censured the Emperor and the Emperor system, even though many contributors expressed hatred toward the Soviet soldiers.<sup>30</sup> But, she added, it was

understandable when she thinks of the women's position in that system during the war. When Imperial Japan was at the height of its prosperity with the Emperor at the head as a god, Japanese women were robbed of their social life and did not know what their menfolk and the country were doing abroad. Women thought that the prosperous life of Japanese in the colonies was natural. When this prosperity was lost, they thought of themselves as victims. When they realized the state's teaching was incompatible with what actually happened, they thought they had been betrayed by the state and in their own minds became victims. Katô argues that this myopic vision was a result of the structure of the emperor system. People cannot even think of attributing responsibility to the Emperor, and women cannot see how the Emperor system, which worked for aggression, turned the history of Asia into a sea of blood. In that sense, she concluded, Japanese women are co-conspirators in the war.<sup>31</sup>

*Chûgoku* newspaper issued a similar kind of series about the Pacific War beginning February, 1993. Entitled 'Asia to Asia,' the series reported the war damages and sufferings of people throughout Asia. After reading these articles, many people sent letters to the paper expressing their ideas about war and peace.

Here viewpoints ran the gamut from support of the war to criticism of it. Naruto Masanobu's view about the Pacific war shows that he still believes the wartime indoctrination. 'Isn't the Pacific War a fight against the Great Powers such as the U.S., Britain, France, and Holland, not against Asian countries? I still believe that that war was for independence and development of the Southeastern Asian countries and their prosperity with Japan.' He feels sorry for other Asians who became victims, but he argues that Japanese became victims for their independence. It is a fact that Japan troubled (*meiwaku o*

kaketa) Asian nations, but the reparation issue is already settled. "Japanese died honorably in many places, and there were many victims in Okinawa and from the atomic bomb. Japanese were judged for war responsibility in the Tokyo Tribunal by the Allies and by military trials in local places. In terms of sacrifice Japan will be the country who suffered most."<sup>32</sup>

In contrast to Naruto's defense of Japan were others who expressed pacifist sentiment. Niimi Sachiko, sixty-eight years old, remembered how, in her youth, she too had been intoxicated with the stirring slogans "accomplishment of holy war" and "for the peace of the East." She could not know at the time how much the people in the invaded countries had suffered. "Even if we say we should not fight a war [again], how can we know the terror of war without teaching the true history of Japan's past?"<sup>33</sup> Others, such as a teacher, reflected on the wartime militaristic education and wished to "treasure our life and peace." Someone else carried in her own mind the guilt of her grandfather, who had executed many people "for the country" during the wartime. A mother swore that she would hand down her war experience to the next generation as a lesson. There was also a letter from a classroom where they were learning history using the series of articles in the *Chûgoku* newspaper as teaching materials.<sup>34</sup> The series ended on June 6, 1993, with an article titled "The heart to wish peace is freshened by knowing the realities of invasion."

Different from earlier *sensô taikenki*, a number of these writers had obviously started viewing Japan's aggression critically. However, what is common in these contributions from ordinary citizens in newspapers is that they still do not articulate any clear ideas about who was responsible for the war and why Japanese could not help becoming involved in the war. While some

people blame the military authorities, most do not have clear idea of whom they should blame. Women who wrote *sensô taikenki* are inclined to see themselves and in some cases, other Asians as victims of the war, and they believe it is imperative never again to go to war. Their way of avoiding another war is to describe the suffering of all the war's victims to the next generation. However, they have not analyzed fully enough how Japan got involved in the war or the role of Japanese women in the war. They view Japanese women merely as helpless victims of the military or the state and its ideology. They distance themselves from politics.

As we have seen in this chapter, however, some women have started questioning the victim's stance of wartime survivors and asking what made women vulnerable to the ideological justifications manufactured by the state to garner women's support for the war. In the following chapter I would like to address these questions by examining in greater detail one aspect of women's wartime activity -- their participation in patriotic organizations. This is not a subject commonly discussed in women's *sensô taikenki*. Yet, a large number of adult women were members, in many cases enthusiastically so, and their involvement in these associations helps shed light on attitudes toward the war in the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties.

## THREE

## JAPANESE WOMEN AND PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS

The women's patriotic association called *Dai Nihon Fujinkai* (Greater Japan Women's Association), established in 1942, was for its size unprecedented in Japanese history. A huge women's organization with more than twenty million members, it was created by the military authorities, who pulled together three separate women's organizations, *Aikoku Fujinkai* (Patriotic Women's Association), *Kokubō Fujinkai* (Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), and *Dai Nihon Rengō Fujinkai* (Japan Federated Women's Association).<sup>1</sup> The official establishment of women's patriotic organizations can perhaps be attributed to the auspices of the military and government, but there is no doubt that their scope can be explained only by Japanese women's willingness to contribute to the war cause. Moreover, The Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association and the Patriotic Women's Association were originally started by Japanese women's voluntary efforts. This chapter explores the attitudes and activities of the members of women's patriotic organization in order to determine how and why women contributed to the war effort.

Aikoku Fujinkai

One of the first women's organizations to support the government's overseas military ventures was *Aikoku Fujinkai* (Patriotic Women's Association). It was established in 1901 by a woman named Okumura Ioko with support of the Army; Konoe Atsumaro, the chairman of the House of Peers; and

Shimoda Utako, a women's movement activist and founder of Women's Practical College (*Jissen Jogakkō*). Until it was merged into the Greater Japan Women's Association, the Patriotic Women's Association was primarily a volunteers' association aimed at helping bereaved families of soldiers. Okumura Ioko, the daughter of a noble family, had made an on-the-spot inspection of the front in the southern part of China during the Boxer Uprising in 1900, and had seen the sites of battles involving Japanese soldiers. She was especially impressed with the devoted activity of the wife of a consular attaché. These experiences motivated her to establish a women's association.<sup>2</sup>

The main purpose of the Patriotic Women's Association was to give comfort to families of the war dead and wounded soldiers. Members saved their *han'eri* (half-sleeved kimono) to make money to pay their membership fees and also to contribute condolence money. As seen in the slogan "Let's save one half-sleeved kimono for strategic assistance," the association was for the stratum of women who could afford to buy several kimonos, which was a luxury at that time. The leading members were from upper-class families. Imperial family members and peeresses served as president and chairman, and all the Imperial family members became honorary members of the Association, which was managed by retired bureaucrats.<sup>3</sup>

Over the years, the Patriotic Women's Association expanded its membership. In the early years of its existence beginning in 1901, the Association asked the Home Secretary to notify prefectural governors to appeal to women to join; the Army Minister was also asked to urge wives of generals to join. In addition, Okumura herself went about the country stumping for new members. As a result, the membership had increased to over 13,000 by the end of 1901. During the Russo-Japanese war between 1904 and 1905 the number of

members increased tremendously to almost 464,000.

Okumura's devotion seems to have contributed significantly to the expansion of the Association. In August 1905, representing the Patriotic Women's Association, she visited soldiers in Manchuria and Korea. After she returned, the fervent speech about her visit that she delivered to a meeting of the Association brought tears to the eyes of noble ladies in the audience. After the first world war, the Association started expanding its activity to public welfare service, such as children's health consultation and job introductions for women. In 1929 the membership was almost 1,500,000.<sup>4</sup>

The name of Okumura Ioko appeared in biographies, newspapers articles and magazines after she died. Praised as a woman who devoted herself to the country, she became a role model for a generation or more of women. Her life was made into movies and plays. Further, her ambition of establishing a school in Korea became good material for the government to utilize in inspiring other Japanese women to cooperate with Japan's colonization of Korea. In the morals textbooks of female high school students published in 1931, there was a description of Okumura and the scene of the inaugural meeting of the Patriotic Women's Association in 1901. Okumura's biography was issued in serial form in the monthly women's magazine *Shufu no Tomo* from November 1929 to August 1930. Toward the end of the war, the number of biographies about her increased, and her name was evoked for the spiritual mobilization of Japanese women.<sup>5</sup>

However, Okumura's organization also had detractors. Japanese socialists criticized the semi-official nature of the Patriotic Women's Association, whose members, they claimed, exemplified "subjecthood for women." The women were called "servants of the state" and "helpmate[s] to the militarist state" by the socialist press as early as the Russo-Japanese War

(1904-1905). But women were more than 'passive supporters of militarism.'<sup>6</sup> As we shall see, by the 1930s and early 1940s, organized women had goals of their own as well.

#### Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai

The *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai* (Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association) was established in March, 1932. Unlike the Patriotic Women's Association, it attracted ordinary women, including women who were at the bottom of the society. For this reason, although it began much later than the Patriotic Women's Association, it rapidly developed into a much larger organization.

The roots of the organization go back to a group of thirty or forty women from Minato-ku in Osaka who called themselves *Osaka Kokubō Fujinkai* (Osaka National Defense Women's Association). At their center was Yasuda Sei, wife of the master of a metal factory in Osaka. When Yasuda went to Osaka port to see off the draftees of her town, she found many poor conscripts who did not have anyone to see them off, while others had brass bands playing for them. She started supplying clothes and underwear to needy soldiers and going to the port to see them off. With a housewife named Mitani Hideko, Yasuda also fixed tea with a teakettle brought from her home, and did laundry and darning for them.<sup>7</sup> Yasuda's activity on behalf of Japanese soldiers was strongly motivated by the suicide in early 1932 of her nephew's wife, Inoue Chiyoko, who allegedly killed herself in order to encourage her husband's departure for the front, and left this note:

I am too moved with happiness. I do not know how to express this happiness. Preceding tomorrow's departure to the front, I am happy to leave this world. Please do not worry at all. Although it is beyond my powers, I will try my best to protect everyone. Therefore, please work for the country to your heart's content.<sup>8</sup>

Despite his wife's death, Lieutenant Inoue departed for the front on the next morning. Yasuda Sei attended the funeral service. Hotta Toshi, who was a classmate of Lieutenant Inoue in the military academy, wrote that at a memorial service on the forty-ninth day anniversary of Chiyoko's death, Yasuda said, "We cannot leave her honorable death as it is. The Manchurian Incident will expand and it will become a great war which cannot be solved only by men. Therefore, not only women, but even dogs, cats, and grasshoppers have to help the war."<sup>9</sup>

Chiyoko's suicide, which happened right after the fifteen-year war began, made headlines as a beautiful story of patriotism. This incident occurred at a time when ultranationalist societies were drumming up support for overseas expansion. After the Shanghai Incident in January 1932, the "Bakudan Sanyūshi Jiken" (Three Brave Soldiers Bombing Incident) was treated as top headlines. The story of the soldiers who did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives on the battlefield fueled Japanese people's support for military causes.<sup>10</sup> Chiyoko's suicide was used by the military to further stimulate patriotic nationalism. The story was even made into a film. Like Okumura Ioko, she became a moral exemplar for wartime women.

The Army regarded the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association as a splendid organization to mobilize women's cooperation for

military causes, and almost from the beginning it backed the Association. The *Osaka Asahi* newspaper reported on March 19, 1932:

One of the initiators, Mrs. Yasuda Sei, is an aunt of Lieutenant Inoue, whose wife killed herself in order to encourage the departure of her husband. Mrs. Yasuda was moved by the death of the Lieutenant's wife. Just when she wanted to devote herself to the country, she found, when the best members of the Utsunomiya Army division quartered in Nishi Osaka on the fifth of this month, that most of the brave soldiers had not said a farewell to their parents due to their sudden summons and they had not brought a charm with them. Yasuda stood on the street in the cold weather in order to send *senninbari* (needles of one thousand persons) to as many as possible, but seven out of ten women passing in the street avoided her and passed by without even a glance. When Yasuda was indignant at this, the inauguration of the Osaka air defense movement further stimulated her patriotism and Major Fujiwara in the eight regiment and Chief of Police Oka in Kobayashi city helped development of the organization.<sup>11</sup>

The *Osaka Asahi* newspaper reported the activity of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association with an article entitled "From Kitchen to Street" ("*Daidokoro kara Gaitô e*"). As was shown in this slogan, the white aprons that members wore symbolized their emergence from their homes into public life.<sup>12</sup> Members also wore sashes with the words "*Kokubô Fujinkai*" printed on the shoulder. The apron -- the uniform of the Association -- was

the clothing that a housewife wore in the kitchen. The implication was that the Association was not intended for women wealthy enough to employ maidservants, but rather appealed to the stratum of ordinary housewives. Further, their national service, in contrast to the Patriotic Women's Association, was in the form of labor, or as they put: "by heart and body, not money."<sup>13</sup>

Started by the desire of some Japanese women to do something for the country, this voluntary service was quickly incorporated into the Army's overall militarist policy of national mobilization. Indeed, the opening of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association on October 24, 1932, was held under the auspices of persons connected with the military and the police, and the rapid development of the Association was due to the strong support of the Army, which considered the women's voluntary service as an "unlooked-for piece of luck."<sup>14</sup>

By December, 1932, the Association had developed into a national organization. Thereafter it grew rapidly under the strong support of the Army, which aimed at establishing a total war system (*sōryokusen taisei*).<sup>15</sup> The Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association declared in its founding prospectus, "It is the appointed task of Japanese women to do away with the national crisis in order to consolidate the national defense, and to devote their whole life to the prosperity of the Imperial country."<sup>16</sup> The aim of the Association, stated in the "Declaration of Six Articles" issued by the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, was as follows:

1. Let us win fame for Japanese women's virtue, which is unparalleled in the world and use it as the consolidated basis

for national defense and power on the home front, avoiding the influence of bad customs and wicked thoughts.

2. Let us bring up children of sound health mentally and physically to help the needs of the Imperial country.
3. Let us manage the kitchen and let us not complain in any emergency.
4. Let us comfort the people who are at the front in the national defense and free them from anxiety about their home.
5. Let us take care of soldiers, wounded soldiers, and their bereaved families as though we were their mothers and sisters.
6. Let us always be prepared so that we will not get confused and be perplexed.<sup>17</sup>

As we can see from this Declaration, the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association advocated a doctrine that evoked women's domestic, nurturing roles and respected women's will and labor service. Its doctrine was made to attract ordinary women who had a desire to devote themselves to the country. The Declaration indicates that work for soldiers, family, and the country constituted an expression of maternal love, which included selflessness in caring for others. This doctrine, which played on the domestic ideal of femininity, could stir up women's enthusiasm to work for their country.

When members of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Organization heard that there were soldiers who were going to the front, they would collect *senninbari* (needles of one thousand persons) to be worn by soldiers as bags around their waists. The fifteen centimeter wide strips of white cloth were sewn a stitch at a time by women stopped on streetcorners. This *senninbari*

suggested "thousands of Japanese women's trust and faith."<sup>18</sup> They put daily necessities into the bags, called *imon bukuro* (comfort bag), and sent them to the soldiers at the front. About the size of a knapsack, it held medicine, a towel, canned food, and a folding fan with *hinomaru* (the mark of the Rising Sun Flag).

Uesaka Fuyuko remembers how, to encourage the soldiers, she included a letter and a photograph of herself taken when she was an elementary school student. In this way she felt she contributed something to the country.<sup>19</sup> In *Showa no nihonshi* (History of Japan in Showa) there is a picture of the members of *Jūgo Hōkōkai* (Home Front Service Society) of Handa City in Aichi Prefecture, standing with members of the city assembly and women from the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association in front of a truck which is fully loaded with boxes of *imon bukuro*. The drop curtain on the truck says, "Contributions of *imon bukuro*, Home Front Service Society in Handa City."<sup>20</sup>

After 1932, the Association grew rapidly. The numbers had increased to 1,230,000 by the end of 1934, to 2,550,000 at the end of 1935, and to 6,850,000 at the end of 1937.<sup>21</sup> By the end of the 1930s it was a large organization of 8,300,000 members; it grew to 10,000,000 in 1941 when the Pacific War started. One out of every two adult women was a member.<sup>22</sup> (A regular member was a woman who was older than twenty-five years old or who was married.)<sup>23</sup> There were eleven headquarters and 11,150 branches all over Japan by 1934.<sup>24</sup> *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai* (often called simply *Kokubō Fujinkai*) had become a nation-wide organization.

From the very beginning of its foundation, the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association had competed with the Patriotic Women's Association to increase their membership. In their bulletin, *Dai nihon kokubō*

*fujinkai jūnenshi* (Ten Years History of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), they explained that the white apron, the uniform of their Association, set them off from upper-class women, who boasted of not having aprons, which were for maidservants,<sup>25</sup> and took pride in doing social work, such as relief of the poor and welfare work for mothers and children. Being a member of the Patriotic Women's Association was regarded as a status symbol, though the Association was criticized in public as "an organization which just paid money" and "a place of costume competition for upper-class women."<sup>26</sup>

After the beginning of war with China in July 1937, these two organizations' competition became intense. By this time the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association had won more members. The Patriotic Women's Association started performing labor service like the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, and both organizations competed to see off soldiers, dedicate branches of sacred trees in memorial services for war dead, and collect donations for national defense. When the Patriotic Women's Association dedicated a warplane named "*Aikoku-gō*" ("The Patriotic Women's Association"), the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association also dedicated warplane, named "*Kokufu-gō*" ("The Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association").<sup>27</sup>

Ichikawa Fusae, a major activist in the women's movement, describes the excitement surrounding the inaugural meeting of a local *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai* (Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), held in the elementary school of a village in Aichi in August 1937:

The members, from girls of fifteen to sixteen to old women of

seventy, are outside forming groups. I can hear their murmuring, "Such a thing is the first time since my navel string was cut [I was born]," "It is like a show," "Can I look a bit better with apron and sash?" Everybody looks shy, but they also look happy. It is a farm village with one thousand houses, but about seven hundred to eight hundred people have gathered and there are people who cannot get into the lecture hall. Such an event is the first time since the beginning of this village.<sup>28</sup>

The scene described here suggests that farm women were happy to wear the uniform of the Association, whose activities seemed fresh and exciting to them.

In *Dai nihon kokubō fujinkai jūnenshi* (Ten Year History of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), published in 1943, members described how they felt they were in rivalry with the women in the old order, who did not have to work in the kitchen.<sup>29</sup> Most of the women in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association had been confined to the house and spent all their time on housework and child care. The organization of women who wore aprons in the kitchen gave them a chance to go outside of the home, if only to see the soldiers off and to visit bereaved families to console them. Members found such activities stimulating. Ichikawa Fusae expressed pleasure in the expansion of the Association from village to village, saying it was a form of women's liberation for farm women, who never had listened to a lecture, to be free of their house work for half a day.<sup>30</sup>

A similar impression of women's enthusiastic participation is seen in the documentary book of photographs entitled *Showa no rekishi* (History of

Showa). In one picture, women in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association are practicing how to operate machine guns on the Japanese Army's commemoration day on March 10, 1934.<sup>31</sup> One sees expressions of curiosity; some women are smiling. None are sad or even worried-looking; rather, their faces reveal liveliness and vitality. Another picture shows women, also smiling, celebrating the fall of Singapore in 1942.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, as Kanô Mikiyo points out in *Onnatachi no jûgo* (Women at the Home Front), women's journals and magazines during the war, such as *Shufu no tomo* (Friend of Housewife), *Fujin no tomo* (Friend of Women), and *Fujin kurabu* (Women's Club), depict women on the home front (*jûgo no onna*) who seem to be enthusiastically cooperating in the war effort.

This impression is furthered by an examination of magazines, newspapers, and even films and songs in the nineteen-thirties and forties that extolled women's many war-related activities. One newspaper article described a seventy-eight-year-old woman who wished to dedicate herself to the country, so she went to the shrine every day to pray for the success of the Imperial army. She had lost her husband and two sons. Her town praised her family as "*gunkoku no katei*" (family of a militant nation).<sup>33</sup> The newspaper also described soldiers who were overjoyed with packages and letters from mothers sent to the front.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the figure of mothers and wives who tried to serve the country with a self-sacrificing spirit, "strong women" was also praised. A newspaper showed a picture of women walking with *kendô* weapons carried on their backs. (*Kendô* is a traditional martial art).<sup>35</sup> It also described a large group of women practicing with bamboo spears to prepare for the battle at home.<sup>36</sup> And in a series of articles entitled "Fighting Japan," a female factory worker expressed the joy she felt at the end of a day for

having worked with all her might for the country: when she heard male workers singing the "Patriotic March" (*"Aikoku Kōshinkyoku"*), she could not help singing along with pleasure.<sup>37</sup> The article titled "Follow this Women's Volunteer Labor Corps (*Joshi Teishintai*)" praised patriotic women who were working in shipyards to produce ships.<sup>38</sup>

Women were not only active, but they were visible on the home front. The *Asahi* newspaper published advertisements of movies with such titles as "*Josei no kakugo*" ("Women's Resolution") and "*Haha wa shinazu*" ("Mothers Would Not Die").<sup>39</sup> There were advertisements for novels such as "*Nihon no tsuma*" ("Japanese wives") and "*Ōinaru haha*" ("Great Mother"). The latter depicted an old mother who sent her only son to the battlefield.<sup>40</sup> Advertisements also publicized musical records of patriotic songs like "*Gunkoku no haha*" ("Mother of Militant Nation") and "*Kono haha o miyo*" ("Look at This Mother").<sup>41</sup> An advertisement for a recording of the song "*Mikuni no haha*" ("Mother of Imperial Japan"), which became the theme song of a movie, was accompanied by a drawing of a mother with a baby on her back and the Japanese national flag in her hand.<sup>42</sup> "*Josei shingunka*" ("A Song of the Women's Frontier Army") contained the words "Women and girls, prepare for the 'victory,' pray for the guns fighting on the battlefield, the pure Japanese-blooded woman, it is the moment of blossoming."<sup>43</sup> Even the advertisement for a hair lotion addressed "*Daitōa no haha*" ("Mother of the Great East Asia").<sup>44</sup> Thus, during a time of unprecedented total mobilization it was inevitable that women be drawn into the war cause.

Patriotic women's organizations were thus one of many areas where women on the home front were drawn into the war, and thereby given new roles to play. For example, women who had never thought about making speeches in public

had to speak as members of the Association.<sup>45</sup> For some women, the white apron may even have become an object they longed for, as Ichikawa Fusae wrote. True, its use as a symbol of the housewife's everyday life was mandated by the Army. However, for women from farm villages, whose daily dress was patched old clothes and baggy pantaloons (*monpe*) worn in the fields, the apron was a fashionable uniform, far from a symbol of everyday life. For them, the white apron symbolized their envy of urban housewives, who only had to do housework at home.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, housewives, who were ordinarily confined to the house, now had an excuse to leave their home, saying "for the soldiers." They tasted the feeling of liberation for the first time, although it was only an illusion. The Association's appeal, writes Sheldon Garon, "was unquestionably related to the growing aspirations of ordinary women to undertake public roles as the nation's mothers and housewives."<sup>47</sup>

The Association drew in not only housewives and farm women, but also female spinners at cotton spinning companies and women of the red-light districts. In Osaka, where the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was founded, geisha and prostitutes from prostitute quarters in Imarishinchi and Hida joined the Association in groups. In Tokyo women from prostitute quarters in Tsukushima and Shinozaki joined the Association in a body. The Association's policy of devotion to the country with "heart and body," not with "money," helped significantly in expanding its membership to various classes of women. For those who were ordinarily despised or pitied, Association membership gave the illusion of equality with other, more respectable women.<sup>48</sup>

Women of different classes were thus incorporated into the wartime structure as "*jūgo no onna*" (women on the home front). By becoming active on

the home front, they were allowed to work outside the home. It is true that the rank-and-file members' activities in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association were basically the same as women's work at home. They served tea, did darning, and collected *senninbari* for soldiers. The only change was that they started doing these tasks outside the house. Nevertheless, during wartime, if their job was outside the house, Kanō Mikiyo claims, women considered it 'liberation' (*kaihō*).<sup>49</sup>

Even within these organizations, women were basically playing a supportive role for men (soldiers) and there was no real change in their status. Women's traditional job was to support men so that men could do a good job outside the house. In the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association women were serving men so that they could do a good job on the battlefield. In their activities they continued to assume roles subordinate to men. Even Yasuda Sei had to get the written permission of her husband before she could assume the position of director of the Kansai branch of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association.<sup>50</sup>

At the same time, women evidently obtained the cooperation and even assistance of their husbands in order to work outside the home. When women became officials of the Association and had to attend meetings away from home, they would have had trouble justifying such activity if they had not enjoyed their husbands' cooperation. Significantly, the fund for maintenance and development of the Association was provided by monthly contributions from medium and small-sized steel enterprises. Yamashita Chiyoe expresses her thanks to her husband for providing her with a truck which he had been using for his construction company. Yasuda Sei's husband also helped her by designing the uniform of the Association and the flag of the Osaka National

Defense Women's Association.<sup>51</sup>

Japanese women's activities in the 1930s were thus more complicated than the word 'passive' suggests. Sheldon Garon describes relations between women's organizations and the imperial Japanese state as 'dynamic and interactive.' While he questions whether prewar women's groups 'affected the basic policies of the wartime regime,' he rightly asserts that 'within the realm of everyday life, ... thousands of women -- serving as deputies of the state -- gained unprecedented influence over the lives of other women, children, and the elderly men who remained at home.'<sup>52</sup>

#### The Military and Women's Organizations

Although the development of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association owed a lot to the support of the Army Ministry, which took control of it in 1932, we should be aware that leaders of the Association themselves insisted that they voluntarily started it. Especially in Osaka, where the Association originated, the power of the members remained strong. This section examines the relationship of the Association to the Army and shows how each tried to control the other.

The women in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association proudly insisted that they started the Association on their own. As they wrote in *Dai nihon fujinkai jūnenshi* (Ten Year History of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), published in 1943:

This Association was created by volunteers rising from among women. This is an association of women who have truly stood up. The Association's mission did not come into being merely as an expression of strategic assistance or perfunctory work. The women who have the fundamental mission of establishing the defense of the country stood behind the country, and they have stood up with the national mission to establish the defense of the country.<sup>53</sup>

These words suggest that members believed in what they were doing at the time, even if the military and the state viewed them and other women's groups as well as 'intermediaries in the state's programs of social management.'<sup>54</sup> The Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was obviously started by women who wished to serve the nation's soldiers. The energy and motivation that propelled women into organizational activity, however, was not exactly what the Army officials intended when they advocated women's chastity and motherhood in the patriarchal family system.<sup>55</sup> Women hoped to acquire influence in the public sphere -- to play a public role.

Almost from the very beginning, the role of the Army in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association came under attack by parts of the media. In October 1934, when the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association had already gained more than one million members and was surpassing the Patriotic Women's Association, two magazines, *Nihon oyobi nihonjin* (Japan and Japanese) and the weekly *Fujo Shinbun* (Women's newspaper), published articles criticizing the Army. The writers, who were not identified, argued that since there was already one women's organization, the Patriotic Women's Association, there was no need to complicate matters by creating

another one. They implied that the Army was forcing women to join the new Association to help it gain more members. The Army should not interfere with politics, the writers further argued, and should not get involved with women's organizations.<sup>56</sup>

Against this criticism another unidentified writer, in the December 1934 issue of *Nihon oyobi nihonjin*, advocated the necessity of the new women's Association and stated its formation was based on women's voluntary will (*jihatsusei*), not forced by the Army. The writer reasoned that, since present and future wars would not simply be military, but also ideological and economic, women, who were half of the nation, needed to be trained and spiritually cultivated for the significant role they would play. A February 1, 1935, issue of *Nihon oyobi nihonjin* contained an article labeling the Patriotic Association unnecessary, because it was "a mere funding association."<sup>57</sup>

By around 1936, the opposition to the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was fading away. By that time it was almost impossible to oppose the development of the Association, which was rapidly growing into a huge organization, surpassing the Patriotic Women's Association. The Army supported this growth by asking organizations of ex-soldiers, mayors, and village chiefs to help increase membership. However, the Army initially advocated the separation of the two women's associations, which they saw as having different roles: the Patriotic Women's Association was "a funding organization by bourgeois class women" and the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was "an organization in which ordinary women did spiritual activities."<sup>58</sup>

The growth in the "ordinary" woman's national defense association, as

we have suggested, was also facilitated by the women's husbands. Most of the husbands of the Osaka-area activists within the Association when it was founded, according to Kanô, were *nouveaux riches* small businessmen. Kanô argues, though with insufficient evidence, that it was helpful to have contact with the military through their wives' activities in the Association. She further claims that the rivalry between Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association and the Patriotic Women's Association involved not only the women but also their husbands. In other words, the competition between the two major women's associations reflected the struggle between a newly-emerging power (the Army), bent on reform, and the old power structure -- the political parties and bureaucrats -- dependent on large capitalists and landowners. The greater influence of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association around 1936 symbolized that the center of the ruling structure had changed.<sup>59</sup>

As the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association grew, the Army tried to gain greater control over it by preserving women's role in the family system. The Army was aided in promoting this goal by widespread criticism of the Association in 1934, after a Vice-President of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association committed suicide. She was the wife of a chief medical officer of a hospital in Osaka, and she had been torn between domestic obligation and her leadership role in the Association. This incident showcased the dilemma of the housewife who had to work both inside and outside the home. Under public criticism, the Association agreed to change its slogan from "From Kitchen to Street" to "National Defense is From the Kitchen."<sup>60</sup> The change in slogan reflected concern that a strong organization of women would undermine the family system, which was perceived as the basis of the nation.

The military's increasing control of the conduct of wives whose husbands were at the front shows another aspect of the military's dominance over the Association as well as women's continued inferiority to men. In 1938, at the request of the Army, the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association in Kobe gave instructions to its branches about "protection and proper guidance" of family whose menfolk were away, and especially of wives of the soldiers who were at the front.<sup>61</sup> The instructions ordered the branches to take effective and proper measures to control the behavior of wives of soldiers in the Imperial Army. Hyōgo Prefecture sponsored associations such as "Yūshi tsuma no kai" (Society of Brave Soldiers' Wives) and "Jūgo haha no kai" (Society of Mothers at the Home Front), which protected and guided young wives, and they assigned staff members to each overseas soldier's wife in order to keep close watch over the women so that they would remain faithful to their husbands and preserve their chastity.<sup>62</sup>

Chastity of wives was strictly enforced in order to ease the minds of their husbands at the front. Of course, no such system of surveillance existed for soldiers, who were subjecting *ianfu* (comfort women) in *ianjo* (prostitute houses) at the front to untold horrors.

Although the activities of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association may have seemed, at first glance, to represent the liberation of women, the women were actually exploited by the Army. What women believed to be the enhancement of their status was merely another example of their inequality. Nevertheless, organized women's groups provided women with an opportunity to participate in civic life. Women at the top echelons of the Association acquired public recognition and leadership experience.

After October, 1937, when the government started a campaign for

national spiritual mobilization (*Kokumin Seishin Sôdôin Undô*), those women's suffrage leaders who cooperated with the government were appointed to governmental positions.<sup>63</sup> Thus, in exchange for their cooperation, women were given access to political roles. The government assigned women as leaders of various new committees or groups as a sign of women's political integration. Takeda Shigeru became the only female member of the National Spiritual Mobilization Committee. In 1939 the government named to the Saving Promotion committee, an auxiliary body of the Finance Ministry, the educator Hani Motoko, founder and head of a unique girls' school called the Freedom Academy (*Jiyû Gakuen*). The government assigned to its Central Price Committee Yamada Waka, a leader of the Motherhood Protection League. For the Emergency National Livelihood Committee, the government chose eleven prominent women such as Ichikawa Fusae, Yamada Waka, Kawasaki Natsu, educator Ôtsuma Kotaka, and Yoshioka Yayoi, a doctor and founder of Tokyo Women's medical School (*Tokyo Joi Gakkô*).<sup>64</sup> Many prominent women were active in obtaining seats on the board of directors of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei Yokusankai*), and many ordinary women took male occupations as work in such the Japanese National Railways. Thus, through their cooperation with the state, women activists hoped to promote the improvement of women's status by helping women acquire civil roles, even if they did not have political rights.<sup>65</sup> As the ensuring debate over reorganization of women's association shows, they had become a force to be reckoned with and they fought strenuously to maintain their Association's influence.

In September, 1940, when Prime Minister Konoé Fumimaro announced the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association as a means of rationalizing public administration in wartime, the structure of women's

associations in the new political re-organization became an issue for top-level cabinet discussions. Konoe's plans called for new national organizations merging the numerous women's organizations already in existence, including the Patriotic Women's Association, the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, and the Japan Federated Women's Association (*Nihon Rengo Fujinkai*), which also started the patriotic activities on the home front in 1937 after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. The plan promised to facilitate the government and Army's greater control of these women's groups, whose leaders had become influential enough in some instances to confront Army officials.

Thus, while the Army had welcomed women's patriotic activities and had supported the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association's development as part of the overall effort to secure control of the country, women's energy turned out to be stronger than they had expected. General Ishii, who helped the Association at the beginning, mentioned in *Ten Year History of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association* that the name "Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association" itself gave the impression that the Association went further than had been expected.<sup>66</sup> The Government started to fear that the virtue of the Japanese family system was being undermined by women's political activities. They were afraid that the basis of the patriarchal family-nation, with the Emperor at the top, was becoming shaky by allowing women to go outside of the home. For the government and the Army, the merger meant re-establishment of women's role at home. Tanaka Kōkichi, the Army Ministry official who directed the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, agreed to the proposed merger at a deliberation of the House of Representatives on February 13, 1941, and the merger was formally decided at a

June 10, 1941, Cabinet meeting, though the inauguration of the new organization was delayed for one year due to the opposition of women's associations.<sup>67</sup>

Leaders of womens' organizations were opposed to the government's plan for a number of reasons. While it was true that a single women's service organization would reduce the pressure on hard-pressed rank-and-file members, some of whom were obligated to work for two or three women's organizations, the leadership had a number of concerns about the proposed re-structuring. First, they questioned who would become the official supervisor of the new organization. At the June 10, 1941, cabinet meeting, upper-level supervision was assigned to six ministries including the Army and Navy, and local supervision was turned over to prefectural governors. The issue of whether the local supervisor was the Army or the prefectural government was a grave one for both women's organizations. Since the Patriotic Women's Association had been supervised by prefectural governors and the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association had been supervised by the Army, the new unified organization's supervision would determine which of the two organizations would take the initiative in the new merger.<sup>68</sup>

As soon as the unification of women's organizations was announced, women in the Kansai area held a meeting to review the issue. As reported in the June 18, 1941, issue of *Asahi* newspaper, they criticized the new name "Greater Japan Women's Association" as too weak, arguing that "National Defense Women's Association" better expressed the high spirits shown by Japanese women wishing to help defend their country. Further, they decided that, in order to energize the activities of women who sent their sons to battlefields, the local supervisor should be from the Army, and not the

prefectural governor. Pushed by these women, General Ishii Yoshiho persuaded the headquarters of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association to ask Army Minister Tōjo Hideki to press the government for the dual supervision.<sup>69</sup> The Cabinet agreed in August 1941, though not without further delays due to pressure from the Patriotic Women's Association, which opposed this change.

Women's groups had other concerns as well. The Patriotic Women's Association was reluctant to integrate its membership with women from lower social strata, while the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, with its vast membership lists, resisted losing its numerical superiority in the proposed merger, and also regretted having to dissolve a unique organization of "ordinary women" that offered a place where housewives for the first time could justify political activity outside the home. The merger of women's organization was thus a complicated issue which involved a struggle among bureaucrats, the Army, and various women's groups and activists. What we have to notice here is the power of the women's organizations to change or postpone Cabinet decisions.<sup>70</sup> Even before Konoe's announcement of the "New Structure Movement," Ichikawa Fusae called a meeting of women's organization on August 31, 1939, in Hibiya, where about forty women gathered from fifteen organizations, such as the Patriotic Women's Association, the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, the Japan Federated Women's Association, and the Association of Female Teachers, and debated plans for reorganization.<sup>71</sup>

Women were not simply following instruction from above; they were trying to assert themselves. The strength and persuasiveness of the women in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association in the Kansai area, the

birthplace of the organization, is especially evident. Thus, although it seemed at first glance that the Army and the government were manipulating the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association, women in the Association were not altogether the puppets of either. Women at the top of the organization, and especially women in the Kansai area who had started the organization of their own free will and had devoted themselves to its development, were not passively following directives handed down to them. The Kansai headquarters, centered on Yasuda Sei and Mitani Hideko, even succeeded in removing General Namba Mitsuzō from his position as executive director of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association because he was acting arrogantly as a military man ("*gunjinkaze o fukaseru*"). Further, after the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was dissolved, Yasuda Sei and other female directors negotiated with the Army to keep a place for the ex-members of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association in their meeting hall after it was transferred to the care of the Army.<sup>72</sup>

We should also note the fervent sense of commitment shown by the Association members. The eventual dissolution of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was an emotional event for the members. A speech at their farewell party, held at the Kansai headquarters on January 12, 1942, reveals how important their organization had been to them and how disappointed they were to lose control of it:

...Finally, the time has come when we should use our spirit. From now on we have to polish this spirit. Let's encourage ourselves! Let's proceed holding our hands with one another. When we are in trouble, worried, or puzzled, let's arouse this spirit and this

power, and let's proceed with all our might, without looking back. This spirit is the Japanese woman's spirit in the land of the gods, the duty of Japanese women in order to construct the Greater Asia, and the honor of the members of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association....<sup>73</sup>

Everyone started sobbing. All the staff shed tears of chagrin for the unwilling dissolution. Although the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was to disappear, it left to the members the unforgettable memories of having actively engaged in a public cause outside their home for the first time.<sup>74</sup>

In February, 1942, the Greater Japan Women's Association (*Dai Nihon Fujinkai*) was formed by merging the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association (*Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai*), the Patriotic Women's Association (*Aikoku Fujinkai*), and the Japan Federated Women's Association (*Dai Nihon Rengō Fujinkai*) into one single national patriotic association. With it, the government, dominated by the military, tried to return to a definition of women's role as housekeeper -- the "Good wife, Wise mother" first enunciated at the turn of the century. The June 11, 1941, issue of *Asahi* newspaper published an article on the newly-merged women's organization with the headline "Women should return to home: The aim of new organization."<sup>75</sup> It said that the new organization would emphasize women's responsibility at home in order to free their husbands from their anxieties about home. It urged women to promptly carry out work at home to raise and educate children, and to care for the health of the family, and manage their households. In addition, it expected women to join national defense training such as air defense drills,

fire defense drills, and the assistance of the bereaved family of soldiers and neighbors.<sup>76</sup>

### Dai Nihon Fujinkai

The Greater Japan Women's Association into which the three women's organizations merged was directed by nationally prominent men and women. The presidents were three women who were the chairs of the previous three organizations before the merger and a wife of an intellectual. Advisers were ministers of the Army, Navy, Education, and Home and Health and Welfare ministries; Cabinet members; and female educators such as Yoshioka Yayoi from Tokyo Women's Medical School, Inoue Hide from Japan Women's College, and Yasui Tetsu from Tokyo Women's College. Among the directors were Hani Motoko, Kawasaki Natsu, Yamataka Shigeri, and Muraoka Hanako.<sup>77</sup> At a ceremony held to commemorate the inauguration of the Greater Japan Women's Association, Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki, offered congratulations in the form of praise for the "traditional Japanese woman's virtue":

The honorable history of the Yamato race is largely dependent on women's power. The reason why man can do a good job without anxiety about home is thanks to his virtuous wife's self-sacrificing spirit. At this unprecedentedly crucial time for the Empire I hope that you will make efforts to cultivate and fully use traditional Japanese women's virtue in order to free the soldiers at the front from their anxiety about home. In addition, I hope that you will make full use of women's utmost ability in order to strengthen the domestic

wartime social structure.<sup>78</sup>

As Tōjō's speech shows, the new organization emphasized women's household responsibility and self-sacrificing spirit, not their political skills or organizational ability. The meeting ended on a patriotic note, with the audience shouting, "Tennō Heika, Banzai!" ("Long live the Emperor!"). Immediately after, some representatives went to Yasukuni Shrine and Meiji Shrine (*Meiji Jingū*) to report the founding of the Greater Japan Women's Association to the spirits of Japan's dead war heroes and to the Meiji Emperor. Now all Japanese women, except unmarried women who were less than twenty years old, but including women in Japanese-held Sakhalin, Korea, Taiwan, and the South Sea Islands, were obliged to be members of the Greater Japan Women's Association. By March, 1943, the organization had swelled to more than twenty million members -- nearly one-third of Japan's total population.<sup>79</sup>

The main activities of the Greater Japan Women's Association were to visit the wounded in hospitals, to supply soldiers' comfort kits, to escort the coffins of war dead, and to arrange for religious ceremonies. The Association stressed "cultivating the self, regulating the family, and serving the public in accordance with the traditional ideas of womanhood in our imperial country."<sup>80</sup>

Although the slogan was different from the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Associations, there seemed to be no change in activity and training at the lower level. While membership in the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association enabled women to participate in seemingly noble national causes, it also caused great strain in members' lives. Interviews

that Kōjiya Mikiko conducted with about sixty women reveal that being members of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association was no easy task.<sup>81</sup> Although there were regional differences, many women were forced to join the Association. They were even called "*hikokumin*" (an patriotic person) if they did not join.<sup>82</sup>

Under changed slogans and different leaders, women who had in the previous Association shown enthusiasm for their activities now lost some of their zeal. Women in the upper levels were disappointed by the new organization. The selection of staffs was delayed, and it took almost half a year before local headquarters started activities with newly selected staffs. Meanwhile, members of the Greater Japan Women's Association were linked to *tonarigumi* (neighborhood associations), which were conducting training sessions for air defense and distribution, and which could not be bothered with the 'women's virtue' (*fudō*) that Tōjō advocated.<sup>83</sup> They were too tied up with their daily life as the war effort intensified.

The Association eventually broke down and disappeared from people's lives. Especially after the start of the Pacific War in December, 1941, activities such as seeing off soldiers to the front and welcoming the deceased were restricted because they were too costly. Toward the end of the war, women were called upon to practice water bucket relays for air defense drills. Photographs of members who were practicing fighting with bamboo spears in 1943 show much grimmer expressions.<sup>84</sup> Impoverished by air raids, people started to experience first-hand the reality of war, something they did not learn from Ōmotomiya, the broadcasting department of the Army.<sup>85</sup>

Having started originally with women's desire to devote themselves to the country, women's organizations were developed under the auspices of the

Army. Japanese soldiers' fighting spirit and Japanese people's patriotism was further exalted by women's support. Although it seemed that Japanese women were given status outside the home, the real aim of the government and the Army was to make women conscious of their responsibility for "jûgo no mamori" (defense at the home front), and to use them for spiritual mobilization to make the people cooperate with the total war. However, many women believed that for the first time ordinary women were recognized and encouraged officially by the government to participate in activities outside the home. Women in patriotic organizations gained a modicum of power by working "for the country," and their influence grew more than the Army had expected. Women in the top echelons of these organizations gained public recognition and leadership experience.

Yet, women do not write in *sensô taikenki* about patriotic women's associations, nor do they represent themselves as active participants in the war effort. They do not present any positive memories of the war. However, we should be aware that women in organized groups supported the state's goals sometimes rather enthusiastically, especially in the 1930s. Women interviewed by Kôjiya Mikiko for her book *Sensô o ikita onnatachi* (Women Who Lived the War) were mostly enthusiastic about their activities in women's patriotic associations in the early years of its establishment. When asked what kind of activities they did, they answered, "seeing off soldiers to the front, visiting wounded soldiers, welcoming war heroes, and labor service." Some women remembered their activities to have been fun because they could go out of their houses and they could work for the country. They were proud of their participation, and fondly recall how women from all walks of life were connected to the same aim of serving the country.<sup>86</sup>

How can we explain this discrepancy between women's postwar memories and the wartime reality of their active participation in patriotic women's organizations? Kōjiya Mikiko found that when women were asked to talk about the 1940s, they rarely mentioned patriotic women's associations and tended to criticize the war. As the war progressed and they came to suffer fear and deprivation, the Association itself changed, and women could not longer care about it.<sup>87</sup> They no longer described it as an "enjoyable, refreshing activity" but rather as "necessary hard work in the emergency" which if they referred to it at all, they described as part of their tragic wartime experience.

It is nearly impossible to find *sensō taikenki* that describes members' enthusiastic cooperation for the war efforts in the patriotic women's organizations. This may be because women tend to describe only the last stage of the war, not the time when they still had the energy and enthusiasm to fight for the country. It might be human nature to write only about what one wants to write, consciously or unconsciously. Japanese women wrote what they wanted to convey most about their war experiences; and this did not include any positive attitudes toward the war. However, we should be aware that *sensō taikenki* represents only a part of their experience in the war, not the full story of their experience in the war.

## CONCLUSION

Japanese women until recently have been invisible in accounts of wartime Japan. Even after women found their voice, what they described in *sensô taikenki* tells us only about the last stage of World War II, from the point of view of victims. Reading their memoirs we do not get a picture of women who actively cooperated with wartime efforts. All we see are women who were helplessly dragged into the war and became its hapless victims.

We cannot deny that Japanese women suffered during the Pacific War. It is no wonder that, since 1945, they have loudly proclaimed their abhorrence of all war, even those fought for "national defense," and have supported pacifism. However, we should recognize that the total war could not have been carried out without civilians' cooperation, and Japanese women were part of it. We have to question why and how they became involved.

To pass judgment on Japanese women for their role in the war, however, is not my purpose. Some writers have indeed attempted to criticize them for their wartime cooperation, while others have praised them for their passion, bravery, and self-sacrifice in defense of their country. But rather than making moral judgments, it is more valuable to try to figure out what happened and why, and to assess the significance of women's activities for women's history. We cannot do this by relying solely on *sensô taikenki*.

This thesis represents a preliminary study of a complicated question that goes beyond tales of suffering and allocation of blame. Before attempting to answer the question we should be aware that we cannot generalize about all Japanese women. We have to recognize the differences among different classes of women. Moreover, the many changes in women's organizations and their

relations with the state and military over the fifteen-year period requires close periodization.

One conclusion that emerges from studying patriotic women's associations is that women's wartime memoirs, with their focus on the terror and deprivation of the last two or three years of the war, provide only a partial, limited explanation of their wartime experiences. It is not entirely accurate to say that throughout the entire Fifteen-Year War all Japanese women were helplessly coerced into the war effort. There were women who actively supported the war. Not all women were apolitical. Not everyone was passive. There were some -- perhaps many -- who enjoyed their service work, at least at first. Mobilized, organized, recognized and even glorified, though they did not fight on the battlefield, they helped to stir up the fighting spirit of Japanese soldiers. They had enthusiasm and energy to fight for the glory of the country. Their service activities surely count as participation.

Women participated in patriotic organizations for a number of reasons. Throughout the nineteen-thirties and forties, one of the few ways open for all women to participate in activities outside the home -- in the public sphere -- was to join women's associations. Women activists sought immediate gains for women by cooperating with the state. Rank-and-file members relished the sense of liberation from their domestic routine. Lower class women welcomed the opportunity to participate in social activities with respectable housewives. For a variety of reasons, differing according to the status of the woman, membership in these organizations had a certain attraction. This is the part most Japanese women have forgotten in *sensô taikenki*. This is the side of women's lives during the Fifteen-Year War about which we learn almost nothing from *sensô taikenki*.

Women's wartime cooperation was made possible by appealing to them on both traditional and modern grounds. Multiple and overlapping ideologies appealed to different women in different ways or even to the same women in different ways. Reverence for the Emperor and glorification of motherhood evoked varying female roles. So too did the mobilization of women outside the home to work at traditionally male jobs or to serve in patriotic organizations. The very multiplicity and ambiguity of these ideologies and activities enhanced their attractions for women who may have themselves felt ambiguity about their roles. By serving in a patriotic organization, a woman could advance the national interest and her own interests as well.

Membership in patriotic women's organizations lent legitimacy to civic activity outside the home while also enhancing the role of women as mothers. It was possible to follow the state's definition of the feminine ideal while also performing in a public capacity. Women's public role -- their integration into national life -- was widely recognized and lauded in the nineteen-thirties and early nineteen-forties in the media. Magazines, newspaper stories, films and even songs celebrated women's contribution to the war cause and depicted them in various activities: practicing fighting with bamboo spears, praying to the spirits of the war dead, working in munitions factories. They were holding up the home front. During the war, Japanese women did not appear passive; they were not invisible.

Public recognition of motherhood turned women's grief over the loss of their menfolk into pride. Recall the words of one woman who remembered the wartime as "precious time which would never come back." This was a time when the Japanese people were united in one body and stood side by side to fight for their country, united as children of the sacred, inviolable Emperor. The

image of the Emperor, conflated with the image of "motherhood," fueled the soldiers' fighting spirit, and at the same time, planted in Japanese women the desire to be admired as "mothers of Yasukuni."

The glorification of motherhood may have something to do with Japanese women's view of themselves as victims. Their sacrifice of their sons and husbands to the Emperor for a lost cause evoked their desire for sympathy. Having sacrificed themselves and their kin to a cause, it is difficult for people to see themselves as aggressors. It is all the more difficult for women trained to be self-sacrificing and glorified as saintly mothers to regard themselves as anything but victims. Furthermore, even after the war, many Japanese continued to see themselves as subjects of an Emperor who remained on the throne, untainted by war guilt. Rather than understanding the suffering, agony, and grief of people in Asia due to Japan's aggression, writers of *senjō taikenki* thought of themselves, the Emperor's sacred children, as hapless losers.

Yet, it is important to close the gap between memory and reality because in doing so we can assess the question of victimization and domination. Women's wartime memoirs are not the first example in Japanese literature of women cast as victims. Female factory workers in the nineteen-twenties were described as pitiful in such classic works (by a male factory worker) as *Jokō aishi*. But, as one author writes, "Literature emerging from marginalized groups that is only a chronicle of pain can easily act to keep in place existing structures of domination."<sup>1</sup>

Seeing the discrepancy between memory and reality helps shed light on the "blind spots" in wartime Japanese history in general, and the role of civilians, including women, in particular. The study of women's wartime

patriotic organizations contributes to our total picture of the total war by demonstrating the role of civilians. It also helps locate the roots of women's postwar organizations and their interactions with the postwar government.<sup>2</sup> In addition, it may also contribute to our understanding of changes in women's status and values as a result of their wartime experiences -- experiences which cannot be captured solely by the words "passive victims." *Sensō taikenki* should thus be read as only one small part of a complex historical phenomenon.

## ENDNOTES

## INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Thomas R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (Lanham, New York, and London: University Press of America, Inc., 1986), Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: The New York Press, 1992), Women's Division of Soka Gakkai, ed. *Women Against War: Personal Accounts of Forty Japanese Women* (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kōdansha International Ltd., 1986), *Cries for Peace: Experiences of Japanese Victims of World War II*, compiled by the Youth Division of Soka Gakkai.

<sup>2</sup> Carol Gluck and Stephen R. Graubard, eds. *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito* (New York and London: W·W·Norton & Company, 1992), 21.

<sup>3</sup> For this thesis I will define the wartime years as lasting from 1931, when Japan started colonizing Manchuria until 1945, the end of World War II. This is what the Japanese call the "Fifteen-Year War." Some authors, such as Ienaga Saburō, use "World War II" and "Pacific War" synonymously with the period from 1931-45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>6</sup> William Wetherall, "Priming the Peace Industry," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 135 (January 1987): 41

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Kathleen Canning, "Dialogue: Gender History/ Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* (Spring 1993): 107.

<sup>10</sup> Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, The Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), quoted by Kathleen Canning, "Dialogue: Gender History/Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* (Spring 1993): 107, n 36.

<sup>11</sup> Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 152. For details of the Meiji state's policy toward women, refer to this article.

<sup>12</sup> Miyake Yoshiko, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, 270-271.

## CHAPTER 1

<sup>1</sup> Examples of fiction written by men based on war experiences are *Ikiteiru Heitai* [Soldiers alive, 1938] by Ishikawa Tatsuzō, *Kaisen* [Sea battle, 1942], by Tanba Fumio, *Hana no Machi* [Town of flowers, 1943], by Ibuse Masuji, *Furyoki* [Prisoner's memoir, 1946], by Ōoka Shōhei, *Sakurajima* [Sakura Island, 1946], by Umezaki Haruo, and *Kumo no Bohyō* [Headstone of cloud, 1955] by Agawa Hiroyuki.

<sup>2</sup> This genre, called *gunki monogatari* (war tales), includes such famous works as *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike).

<sup>3</sup> Kusanomikai, ed., *Onna ni Totte no Sensō: Hitotokiran no Sanjūnen Kara* [War for women: Thirty years of the column "One time"], vol.1. (Tokyo: Tahata Shoten, 1982), 4.

<sup>4</sup> "Kyō no Hito" [Women in Kyoto], *Gekkan Gurafikku Sadō* [A monthly

graphic "Tea ceremony"] (August 1978)

<sup>5</sup> "Hito" [People], *Asahi Newspaper*, 27 August 1979, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Women Against War: Personal Accounts of Forty Japanese Women*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Asahi Shinbunsha ed., *Onnatachi no Taiheiyô Sensô* [The Pacific War for women], vol.1, *Higaisha soshite Kagaisha* [The sufferer and the assailant]. (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1991), 118-119, 133.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 133-134.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 121-123.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 119-121.

<sup>12</sup> The phrase "war without mercy" is from John W. Dower's book, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Onnatachi no Taiheiyô Sensô* [The Pacific War for women], vol. 2, *Teki wa Nihonjin datta* [The enemy was Japanese], 252.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 252-253.

<sup>15</sup> *Japan at War*, 354.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 356-357.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 360.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 363.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 364.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 365.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>25</sup> Nagasaki is less frequently mentioned in wartime accounts.

<sup>26</sup> *Cries for Peace: Experiences of Japanese Victims of World War II*, 161-162.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-166.

<sup>28</sup> *Japan at War*, 385.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 387.

<sup>30</sup> Kobayashi Keizō, ed., *Sensō no Shōgen* [Testimony about the war], vol.7, *Senka ni Ikita Fubotachi* [Fathers and mothers who lived the war] (Tokyo: Taihei Shuppansha, 1972), 106-114.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Japan at War*, 407.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Matsu Yoshiko and Koshiyamada Tsuruko, ed., *Senchū Sengo Boshi no Kiroku* [Record of mothers and children during and after the war], vol. 2, *Waga ko ni Nokosu* [For my child] (Tokyo: Kasahara Masae, 1978), 295-305.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Maki Sakie, "Higeeki no Mammō Kaitakudan," [A Pioneer Group's Tragedy], in *Ano Hoshi no Shitani* [Beneath that star], ed., Soka Gakkai Fujin Heiwa Aninkai (Tokyo: Daisan Bunreisha, 1981), 109.

<sup>37</sup> Matsuda Tsuruko, "Satsuriku to Sasori Yasen Byōin o Nogarete" [Massacre and fleeing from Sasori Field Operations Hospital], in *Haku o Kurenai ni Somete* [The angels in white who could not help], eds. Sōka Gakkai Fujin Heiwa Aninkai (Tokyo: Daisan Bunreisha, 1981), 27.

<sup>38</sup> Suzuki Noriko cited in "The Tragedy of Settlers in Manchukuo," *The East* 25 (1990), 49.

<sup>39</sup> *Onnatachi no Taiheiyō Sensō*, vol.2, 114-116.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 117-118.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 118-120.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 123-125.

## CHAPTER 2

<sup>1</sup> Oda Makoto, "Ethics of Peace," in *Authority and the Individual in Japan*, ed. J. Victor Koschmann (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978) This essay was originally published as "Heiwa no Rinri to Ronri" [Ethics and logic of peace] in *Ningen - Aru Kojinteki Kōsatsu* [Humans - One personal contemplation] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>3</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, ed., *Josei to Tennōsei* [Women and the Emperor system] (Tokyo: Shisō no Kagakusha, 1979); Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo* [Women at the home front] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1979); Suzuki Yūko, *Feminizumu to Sensō: Fujin Undōka no Sensō Kyōryoku* [Feminism and war: War cooperation of women's movement activists] (Tokyo: Maruju Co., 1986); *Jūgoshi Nōto* [Note on the history of the home front] (Tokyo: *Onnatachi no ima o tou kai* [The association to question women at present]), vol.1 (1977), vol.2 (1978), vol.3 (1979).

<sup>4</sup> Yasukuni shrine honors dead war heroes.

<sup>5</sup> *Jūgoshi Nōto*, vol.2, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Yoshimi Kaneko, ed., *Rekishi to Josei Shirizu* [History and women series], *Nihon Josei to Fashizumu* [Japanese women and fascism] (Tokyo: Gōdō Shuppan, 1977), 251.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 251-252.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>9</sup> Sano Noriko, "Japanese Women's Movement During World War II," trans. Nancy Andrew, *Feminist International 2* (1980): 78.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Kodama Kuniko, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Japanese Women's Attitudes Caused by World War II: Analysis of Women's Activities in Postwar Period" (Unpub. M.A. thesis., University of Colorado, 1980), 73-74.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>13</sup> Kawana Kimi, *Onna mo Sensô o Ninatta* [Women also carried the war] (Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1982), 40-41.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Kanô Mikiyo, *Josei to Tennôsei*, 291.

<sup>16</sup> Suzuki Yûko, *Feminizumu to Sensô*, 189. Suzuki referred to "Sensô to Fujin" [War and women], *Fujo Shinbun* [Women's newspaper], 4 January 1942 (No.2169); Yoshioka Yayoi, *Kono Jûnenkan: Zoku-Yoshioka Yayoiden* [These ten years: Biography of Yayoi Yoshioka, Continued] (Tokyo: Gakufû Shoin, 1952)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 190-191. Suzuki referred to Ôtsuma's autobiography *Gomokumeshi* (Ôtsuma Gakuin, 1978), 86-91.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 191-192. Suzuki referred to Murakami Nobuhiko, *Nihon no Fujin Mondai* [Women's issue in Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979) 164-165.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 192-193. Suzuki referred to Murakami, *Nihon no Fujin Mondai*, 177-178.

<sup>21</sup> The object for this project is explained in the preface and postscript of *Onnatachi no Taiheiyô Sensô* [Pacific war for women], vol.1, 1, 219.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 193-194.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 197-198.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 210-211.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 199-200.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 202-204.

<sup>28</sup> *Onnatachi no Taiheiyô Sensô*, vol.1, 105.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> *Onnatachi no Taiheiyô Sensô*, vol.2, 73-74.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> "Ajia kara Ajia" [From Asia to Asia], *Chûgoku Newspaper*, 6 June, 1993,

6.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

### CHAPTER 3

<sup>1</sup> This thesis describes only the first two women's organizations. The third one was smaller and is not discussed in Kanô Mikiyo's two books on wartime Japanese women. Another women's association in the colonies was the Da-lian Federation of Women's Associations (*Tairen Fujin Dantai Rengôkai*), which worked actively to exalt women's fighting spirit. They got in touch with other women's associations in Manchuria and also in Japan in order to pursue their mission as Japanese women. The Federation of Women's Associations in Manchuria (*Zenman Fujin Dantai Rengôkai*) also actively promoted the goal of establishing a "peaceful and righteous Utopia" in Manchuria. As women and mothers, they thought of themselves as doing a "holy job." The honorable

mission of women was to "lead the world to the ideal supreme world with faith and love." See *Jūgoshi Nōto* [Note on the history of home front], vol.3, 75-77.

<sup>2</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 132; *Dai Nihon Hyakka Jiten* [Encyclopedia Japonica], vol.11 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1969), 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 116; *Dai Nihon Hyakka Jiten*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-117, 120. *Nihon Daihyakka Zensho* [Encyclopedia Nipponica 2001], vol.14 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1969), 12 ; *Dai Nihon Hyakka Jiten*, vol.11, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 118-119. After the war nobody published biographies of Okumura Ioko.

<sup>6</sup> Vera Christine Mackie, "Creating Socialist Women in Japan, 1900-1937," (Unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Adelaide, 1994), 147.

<sup>7</sup> Sōga Tetsuo, ed., *Shashin Kiroku: Shōwa no Nihonshi* [Picture document: Japanese history of Showa], vol.2, 'Hijōji Nihon' [Japan in emergency] (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, Co., 1984), 34; Kano Masanao, *Fujin•Josei•Onna: Joseishi no Toi* [woman•lady•female: Questions in women's history] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 89.

<sup>8</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 56-57. The real reason for Chiyoko's suicide may have been that her relations with her husband had gone sour.

<sup>9</sup> *Osaka Hohei Daisanjūshichi Rentaishi* [History of the thirty-seventh Osaka infantry regiment], quoted in Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 57.

<sup>10</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 58-59.

<sup>11</sup> *Osaka Asahi* Newspaper, March 19, 1932, quoted in Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 55-56.

<sup>12</sup> Kano Masanao, *Fujin•Josei•Onna: Joseishi no Toi*, 91.

<sup>13</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onna tachi no Jūgo*, 79.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>15</sup> Sôga Tetsuo, *Shashin Kiroku Shôwa no Nihonshi*, vol.2, 34-35. *Dai Nihon Hyakka Jiten*, vol.11, 413.

<sup>16</sup> *Nihon Daihyakka Zensho*, vol.14, 496.

<sup>17</sup> Kawana Kimi, 108-109; Kanô Mikiyo, in *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 59, referred to *Dai Nihon Kokubô Fujinkai Jûnenshi* [Ten year history of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association], ed. *Dai Nihon Kokubô Fujinkai Sôhonbu* (Headquarters of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association), 1943.

<sup>18</sup> Nakamoto Hiroko, *My Japan 1930-1951* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), 20-21, quoted in Thomas Havens, "Women and the State in Japan, 1887-1945," *Japan Christian Quarterly* 40:3 (Summer 1974): 156.

<sup>19</sup> Sôga Tetsuo, *Shashin Kiroku Shôwa no Nihonshi*, vol.2, 142.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 142-143.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

<sup>22</sup> Kanô Mikiyo, *Onna tachi no Jûgo*, 42, 74; Kawana Kimi, *Onna mo Sensô o Ninatta*, 95.

<sup>23</sup> *Nihon Daihyakka Zensho*, vol.14, 496.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>25</sup> Kano Masanao, 91-92.

<sup>26</sup> Kanô Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 89-90.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>28</sup> Ichikawa Fusae, *Ichikawa Fusae Jiden* [Autobiography of Ichikawa Fusae] (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobô, 1974), 435.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 91-92. Kanô referred to "*Kokubô Fujinkai Hatten Hiwa*" (Unknown episode of the development of Greater Japan National Defense Women's

Association), in *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai Jūnenshi* [Ten year history of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association], edited by *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai Sōhonbu* (Head of Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association) in 1943.

<sup>30</sup> *Ichikawa Fusae Jiden*, 435.

<sup>31</sup> Sōga Tetsuo, *Shashin Kiroku Shōwa no Nihonshi*, vol.2, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Sōga Tetsuo, ed., *Shashin Kiroku Showa no Rekishi* [Picture document: Japanese history of Showa], vol.3, *Taiheiyō Sensō to Shinchūgun* [Pacific war and the occupation army], 183.

<sup>33</sup> *Asahi* Newspaper, 3 November 1937, (11) H.

<sup>34</sup> *Asahi* Newspaper, 19 October 1937, (11) H.

<sup>35</sup> "*Josankenshi Machi o Yuku*" [Three swordswomen go in town], "*Akarui Shingun*" [Cheerful march] Series, *Asahi* Newspaper, 19 September 1942, 3(2).

<sup>36</sup> "*Busō Seyo Jūgo Josei*" [Bear arms, women at the home front], *Asahi* Newspaper, 7 March 1943, 3(2).

<sup>37</sup> "*Jokōin no Shuki*" [Essay of female factory workers], "*Tatakau Nihon*" [Fighting Japan] Series, no. 12, *Asahi* Newspaper, 15 August 1942, (3) 8.

<sup>38</sup> "*Kokonimo Onna no Senjō: Kanzen-Fune e Totsugeki*" [Here is also women's battlefield: Fearless-Rush at ship], *Asahi* Newspaper, 7 February 1944, 5(2).

<sup>39</sup> "*Josei no Kakugo*" [Women's resolution], *Asahi* Newspaper, 15 May 1940, 1(E); "*Haha wa shinazu*" [Mother would not die], *Asahi* Newspaper, 19 September 1942, 3(2).

<sup>40</sup> Takeda Toshihiko, "*Nihon no Tsuma* [Japanese wives], *Asahi* Newspaper, 6 February 1938, 1 (E); Katō Takeo, "*Ōinaru Haha*" [Great mother], *Asahi* Newspaper, 7 February 1939, 1 (D).

<sup>41</sup> "Gunkoku no Haha" [Mother of a militant nation] and "Kono Haha o Miyo" [Look at this mother], both released by Teichiku Record, *Asahi Newspaper*, 6 January 1938, D (2).

<sup>42</sup> "Mikuni no Haha" [Mother of Imperial Japan], *Asahi Newspaper*, 4 March 1938, E (2).

<sup>43</sup> "On the Wrong Side," *Connexions* (Winter 1984): 22-23.

<sup>44</sup> *Asahi Newspaper*, 10 January 1944, 1 (5).

<sup>45</sup> Kanô Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 71.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* (Winter 1993), vol. 19, no. 1, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 79-80, 93.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>50</sup> Kano Masanao, 92.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95, 76.

<sup>52</sup> Garon, 39.

<sup>53</sup> Kawana Kimi, 108.

<sup>54</sup> Garon, 41.

<sup>55</sup> Yamashita Etsuko, *Takamure Itsuero: Haha no Arukeoraji* [An essay on Takamure Itsue: Archaeology of mother] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô, 1988), 169. Yamashita also referred to *Kokubô Fujinkai* [The Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association] by Fujii Tadatoshi published by Iwanami Shoten.

<sup>56</sup> Kanô Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 90-91. Kanô referred to the October 15, 1934, issue of *Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin* [Japan and Japanese], and the fourth week of October, 1934, issue of *Fujo Shinbun* [Women's newspaper].

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 91-92.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 91-93.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 93-95.

<sup>60</sup> Yamashita Etsuko, 169-170.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Kaneko Yoshimi, 145.

<sup>64</sup> Sano Noriko, "Japanese Women's Movement During World War II," 78.

<sup>65</sup> Yamashita Etsuko, 174.

<sup>66</sup> Kano Masanao, 91. He referred to "*Kokubō Fujinkai Hatten Hiwa*" [Secret story of development of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association] in *Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai Jūnenshi*.

<sup>67</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 101-102.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 101-104.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 107-108.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 98-99.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>73</sup> Kawana Kimi, *Onna mo Sensō o Ninatta*, 123-124.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 124. Kawana does not mention the source for the speech, but she refers to *Dai Nihon Fujinkai Jūnenshi* (Ten year history of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association) for the scene of the meeting.

<sup>75</sup> *Asahi* Newspaper, 11 June 1941, D(2).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jūgo*, 86-87.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 87-88.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>80</sup> Fujikawa Akira, Imai Seiichi, and Ôe Shinobu, eds., *Kindai Nihonshi no Kiso Chishiki* [Basic knowledge about modern Japanese history] (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 1972), 443.

<sup>81</sup> Kôjiya Mikiko, *Sensô o Ikita Onnatachi: Shôgen-Kokubô Fujinkai* [Women who lived the war: Witness-Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association], *Onna-Ima Ikiru* [Women liveing now] Series (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobô, 1985), 165-234.

<sup>82</sup> Kôjiya Mikiko, 165-234. Kanô Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 76. However, there were also women who claimed that participation in the Association was not compulsory; women who had many children, for example, did not join. Some of Kôjiya's interviewees professed to have joined the Association voluntarily. The reason for joining the Association thus varied, depending on the women. Different women had different feelings toward the Association.

<sup>83</sup> Kôjiya Mikiko, 186; Mikiyo Kanô, *Onnatachi no Jûgo*, 110.

<sup>84</sup> *Shomin no Arubamu: Meiji-Taishô-Shôwa "Wagaya no Kono Ichimai" Sôshûhen* [Album of the masses: Meiji-Taishô-Shôwa -- Compilation of 'Our family's shot'], ed. Asahi Shinbunsha (Tokyo-Nagoya-Osaka-Kitakyûshû: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1975), 178.

<sup>85</sup> Kôjiya Mikiko, 107-108, 166.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 165-234.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 108, 165-234. She interviewed about sixty women who were members of the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association.

## CONCLUSION

<sup>1</sup> Bell Hooks, "Narratives of Struggle," in *Critical Fictions: The*

*Politics of Imaginative Writing*, ed. Philomena Mariani, quoted in Mackie, 243.

<sup>2</sup> Garon, 41. Garon calls their interaction with the postwar government more 'intertwined' than in the U.S.

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