WAITING FOR THE COOL MOON

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES *in the* HEART *of* JAPAN'S EMPIRE

WENDY MATSUMURA

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STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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To those fighting

SO THE LAST SHALL BE THE FIRST

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like many spaces built to perpetuate settler colonialism and imperialism, academia often feels like a shallow pool of fire where some enthusiastically feed the flames while others are sacrificed as kindling to keep them alive. Even as I perform my work duties, I carry deep anger and resentment at technocrats, financial managers, and leaders of my own institution who, under the cover of an immense bureaucracy of their own making, created the conditions under which a graduate student, in the middle of a pandemic, was forced to continue working in order to maintain their health insurance to undergo a serious medical procedure. The uneasiness I feel about my complicity in this structure of exploitation and routinized, normalized cruelty is magnified as I prepare the long list of people without whom I would not have been able to complete this book.

I am fortunate to have found people in and around University of California, San Diego (UCSD), who are committed to collectively carving out spaces that not only are safe, albeit temporarily, from this pool of fire, but also might one day extinguish it. In addition to Shaista Patel (who, in calling out the university as "white colonial Zionist Brahamanical property," has been subject to casteist violence in banal and extraordinary ways), Katie Walkiewicz, Shannon Welch, Amie Campos, Simeon Man, Zach Hill, Rhianen Callahan, Kevin Aguilar, Niall Chithelen, Essence Carrington, Thomas Chan, Sal Nicolazzo, Muhammad Yousuf, Andrea Mendoza, Jessica Graham, Kerry Keith, and many, many others whom I have been lucky to meet while working outside of formal university structures, have my deepest respect. The most important lesson that organizing with them in multiple spaces has taught me, as it pertains to this book, is that our so-called activism against the settler colonial university cannot be an alibi for unethical research practices we engage in elsewhere. The difficult lessons we learned along the way have provided me with a clarity

that I wouldn't trade away—the clarity to see that attempts to pull ourselves out of our shallow pool of fire through collective acts of place making, if undertaken without extending such care to the communities that we involve in our research, are nothing more than a deferral of crisis—that is, a colonial act par excellence.

In addition to my named and unnamed coconspirators at UCSD, I would like to thank Huma Dar, a fierce scholar and activist fighting for the liberation of Kashmir, her home, for being such a generous teacher. Huma has patiently taught me about Kashmir and has gifted me invaluable lessons about the importance of intellectual honesty as the weight we carry as teachers, mentors, and colleagues. It has also been an honor to meet Zainab Ramahi, without whom I would not have survived this past year as the university weaponized its discrimination policies, institutionalized in the aftermath of the so-called Black Winter of 2010, against those of us on the Critical Gender Studies Program's executive committee who decided to disaffiliate a scholar whose research practices in Kashmir were antithetical to our shared vision of the program. The institutional procedures mobilized against us, particularly against Shaista Patel as the only Dalit Muslim and untenured scholar in the UC system, have interrupted important work. It remains necessary to rethink, as a program and a community of scholars, the standards that we adhere to and teach our students to adhere to as they relate to our research practices. If there is a silver lining, the entire ordeal—most of all, witnessing the powerful role that the language of civility and collegiality plays in punishing those of us who shed light on the coloniality of research practices—has taught us the futility of appeals to justice. I now understand the urgency of systematic and broad-based political education around the invisiblized issue of caste discrimination in US higher education and around the way that the Indian state's settler colonialism in Kashmir is bound up with issues of caste and religion. Meeting Dia Da Costa, Diyah Larasati, and Fuifuilupe Niumeitolu in the course of my learning on these issues has been an honor. While it is not my place to write about Kashmir or caste, thinking about how I, as part of the Okinawan diaspora, living and working on the stolen lands of Native communities, can connect Okinawan struggles against US and Japanese (neo)colonialism to freedom struggles in Kashmir has shaped, and will continue to shape, where I choose to devote my energies.

I am grateful to, in addition to those named above, interlocutors old and new who have helped me think critically about the kind of work it is appropriate for me to do as a researcher based in the United States, the country that continues to rule Okinawa militarily. The work that Mayumo Inoue, Kaori

Nakasone, Satoko Nema, Shinjō Ikuo, and the rest of the las barcas collective have done to dismantle the shallow representations of Okinawa and easy analyses that derive from them, which do little more than legitimate liberal policies of inclusion, continues to be an inspiration. I continue to think with and about the uncompromising, yet generous, political vision they have expressed through prose, poetry, theory, photography, and other art. I thank Satoko Nema for allowing me to use an image from her photo book, *Paradigm,* published on June 23, 2015—the seventy-year anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, also known as Okinawa's Day for Consoling the Spirits (*Irei no Hi*)—for the cover.

Many others whom I've met over the years in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Okinawa have, through their work and our conversations, shaped the questions I bring to my research on Japanese imperialism, including the ways people living under it organize themselves against and beyond its violences. In Tokyo, Okamoto Koichi, Gabe Masao, Katsukata-Inafuku Keiko, Uechi Satoko, Umemori Naoyuki, and many others provided great company and institutional support, especially in my early years as a researcher. I also thank the archivists at Hōsei University's Ōhara Institute for Social Research for access to their vast collection of movement documents. In Kyoto, I would like to thank Tomiyama Ichirō and his former students Mori Akiko, Asako Masubuchi, Asato Yōko, Okamoto Naomi, Kiriyama Setsuko, and Mairead Hynes for many years of often intense engagement. I am grateful to have met Ariko Ikehara at one of the weekly seminars run by Professor Tomiyama at Doshisha University. The research year that I was able to spend in 2017–18 as a Japan Foundation Research Fellow at Kyoto University's Faculty of Agriculture through the support of Adachi Yoshihiro and Itō Atsushi allowed me to think alongside their students about how bureaucratic instruments, such as the Farm Household Survey ledgers that appear in this book, served as counterrevolutionary instruments able to transform small farmers into conquistador humanists. I thank them, as well as the Faculty of Agriculture, for allowing me to take part in their seminar and for granting me access to the ledgers, which are held in the Faculty of Agriculture library. I would not have been able to do my work in Okinawa without the support of the archivists at the Okinawa Prefectural Archives, in particular Nakazato Kazuyuki; the librarians at the Okinawa Prefectural Library; Nakamura Mika at the Ōhara Institute for Social Research, Hōsei University; Ayano Ginoza at the Research Institute for Islands and Sustainability, based at the University of the Ryukyus; and Narisada Yōko at Okinawa University.

My relationship to Okinawa has shifted quite a bit since I published my first monograph, *The Limits of Okinawa*, in 2015. Ever since my colleague Michael

Provence insisted that I join him on a panel at UCSD called "From Japanese Internment to the Muslim Ban" in 2016, I have been grappling with the history I uncovered: that my paternal grandmother, Hideko Matsumura, was from Naha, the capital of Okinawa prefecture, and moved to Hawai'i following her eldest sister, Tamayose Shizue, who arrived there in 1926 with her husband to establish a Buddhist temple. Prior to seeing my grandmother's FBI file, which I found in the course of preparing for the panel, I did not know that our family had deep roots in Okinawa. I have been thinking about the ways my grandmother's silences around her hometown have shaped my scholarly relationship to Okinawa, and how learning about this history will bring with it new, perhaps more difficult, questions around complicity and obligation. Tze Loo, Shō Yamagushiku, Sam Museus, Sam Ikehara, and Wesley Ueunten have listened to me process what all of this means and have shared their own stories with me. Shō's insight, that what I experience as a severed connection is actually a deeply submerged one, has changed the way I think about relations that some definitions of diaspora occlude or frame as losses. The thinking and writing that Tze and I have done together for close to a decade sustain and challenge me.

The support of mentors, colleagues, and friends has made the publication of this book possible. I sent an early draft to my longtime mentor Harry Harootunian in February 2021. Since then, with the swiftness that is legendary among his students, he not only read the full draft but also shared it with Carol Gluck, who also responded with enthusiasm and generous advice. In addition to Harry and Carol, Louise Young, Keith Camacho, Tze Loo, Simeon Man, and Sharad Chari read full drafts of the manuscript through a University of California Humanities Research Institute–funded manuscript workshop. I thank the five of them not only for enduring what was probably an extremely painful read, but also for providing me with feedback from their specific areas of knowledge, which I have tried to address in this final version. I also want to thank Rebecca Karl, someone I deeply admire as a Marxist scholar and mentor, for providing me with extensive feedback as one of Duke University Press's expert readers. At Duke, my gratitude extends to a second (anonymous) reader, Ken Wissoker, Ryan Kendall, Livia Tenzer, Courtney Berger, and everyone else who brought this book to publication. I also thank Laura Keeler for their careful edits and Sophia Massie for compiling the index. For opportunities to present parts of the chapters at other institutions, I thank Tom Lamarre at Duke University; Michael Bourdaghs at the University of Chicago; William Marotti at the University of California, Los Angeles; Hyun Ok Park at York University; and Yukiko Hanawa at New York University. Thanks to Kōta Kimura of the *Against Japanism* podcast for allowing me to share my work with his audience.

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I got into the rather obsessive habit of checking in on my mom three times a day during the pandemic. I thank her for putting up with my only-child anxieties of needing to know she was okay from across the ocean and for trying to understand why I became so interested in tracing the roots of my grandmother—someone I know was the source of much difficulty for her. My sweet but embarrassingly territorial Rosa is my constant writing companion. My final thank-you is reserved for Paul, for whom all the words in the world are not enough.

INTRODUCTION

The Longue Durée *of White Supremacy*

Worlds are burning, but that, too, is becoming normalized.[1] Liberal forms of recognition that drove the discourse of human rights during much of the last century have revealed themselves to be useless, even as a political tactic.[2] Entire communities are left to die without any true claim to life, and this is considered a necessary condition for the continued prosperity and self-actualization of others. That mass racialized killings are the result of nothing but the obvious, predictable, and devastating manifestation of historically rooted, layered, and complex modes, structures, and relations of the logics of capital, colonialism, and white supremacy is an uncomfortable truth. However, this truth is infrequently taken seriously as a problem that implicates *all of us*. The inability to connect mass death and genocide *over there* with the modes of sociality and kinship that must be honored *over here* is a product of modes of rationalization and extraction that persist through the ongoing, relentless erasures of the knowledges, arts, and ways of life of those people deemed expendable in each site, though differently.[3]

As Lisa Yoneyama teaches us, to insist on a humanism that gained its place as liberal apologia through the denial of the *longue durée* of white supremacy and its accomplices gets us nowhere close to abolishing the foundations of our daily violence. Abolishing these foundations requires that we understand both the way that liberal humanism blunts the political demands of those whose lives are torn apart through ongoing colonial violence, particularly in its heteropatriarchal forms, and, crucially, the way that people refuse these conditions through their rejection of the politics of inclusion in the rights-based regime.[4] Different weapons have to be sharpened to destroy what Alexander Weheliye

calls, in *Habeas Viscus*, "our extremely uneven global power structures defined by the intersections of neoliberal capitalism, racism, settler colonialism, immigration and imperialism."[5] These structures render regimes of state-mediated killing—by medicine, law, surveillance, flooding, industrial pollution, language, the barrel of a gun, or a signature on a sheet of paper—natural and therefore not prosecutable. In addition to making these scenes visible, a more capacious ability to apprehend, and therefore learn from, moments when political communities coalesce to draw blood from their oppressors is needed.

Historical narratives crafted by scholars of bourgeois and Marxist persuasions alike that pursue narrative closure through their belief in the possibility of archival mastery reinforce rather than free us from murderous structures, processes, and grammars. This is not least because closure is closely tied to (social) scientific assumptions about historical transformation that fail to reckon with the implications of narrating change over time in ways that, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot explained over fifty years ago, are circumscribed by the positivism-constructivism dichotomy.[6] The inability of historical narrativization to unsettle this moment of mass global death is related to the fact that dominant conventions of academic history writing, broken into fiefdoms and subdisciplines, have not seriously reckoned with the logics and structures of white supremacy that implicate us all—even those of us whose institutional homes orient us to the so-called non-West.[7] Black radical intellectual genealogies offer a comprehensive critique and guide against structural, willful ignorance.

The main theoretical problem that animates the current project, *Waiting for the Cool Moon*, is informed by these critiques. I ask, what of Walter Benjamin's historical materialism can remain intact if we accept as theory, thought, and praxis that anti-Blackness is inextricably linked to the way that we conceptualize relations between pasts and presents?[8] Christina Sharpe's *In the Wake* teaches me that the suture of the world brought forth by the Middle Passage is an epochal and ongoing event that poses an unbearable challenge to the discipline of history, in all its versions, including historical materialist ones. The method and project of historical materialism I problematize here is defined by Benjamin in "Theses on the Philosophy of History":

> The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency" in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is keeping with this insight. Then we shall clearly realize that it is our task to bring about a real state of emergency, and this will improve our position in the struggle against Fascism. One

> reason why Fascism has a chance is that in the name of progress its opponents treat it as a historical norm. The current amazement that the things we are experiencing are "still" possible in the twentieth century is *not* philosophical. This amazement is not the beginning of knowledge—unless it is the knowledge that the view of history which gives rise to it is untenable.[9]

Sharpe's formulation poses a challenge. It insists that for those who grapple with the world-shifting implications of the Middle Passage, the ongoing state of emergency—fascism—that Benjamin calls the norm under modernity is not the only or most important condition of oppression for everyone. In fact, what Benjamin recognized as a state of emergency might be better understood as an enduring condition since slavers, accountants, navigators, kings, planters, priests, and philosophers set out to conquer distant lands—much earlier than he acknowledges and continuing still today. Sharpe insists that recognizing an epochal break in the fifteenth century must take precedence over debates on shifts, for example, to the organic composition of capital, or even of processes that led to the revolutionary overthrow of regimes. That break continues to overwhelm, structure, and shape our present—in other words, anti-Blackness remains the weather.[10] Put more concretely, the "we" who accept Benjamin's exhaustion with people who continue to be surprised that atrocities are "'still' possible in the twentieth century" have to contend with our own ignorance about how the conditions that made the Middle Passage thinkable in the first place are the yet-to-be-broken grounds upon which contemporary fascisms, colonialisms, imperialisms, and genocides (as well as our understandings of them) continue to thrive.[11] Studies of the politics of knowledge production in modern Japan have to contend with anti-Blackness, as well as anti-Indigeneity, not as additive context but as the very grounds on which our understandings of imperialism, colonialism, and total war must stand.[12]

In order to trace the ways that units of analyses that Marx identified as building blocks for his critique of political economy, including surplus value, the commodity, and labor power, are imbricated in knowledge structures, production regimes, and discursive representations of the human that are reified through the erasure of their embeddedness and indebtedness to capital's bloody encounters with noncapitalist worlds and relations, I draw on a rich tradition of scholarship that has theorized capital's use and production of racialized and gendered regimes of accumulation in its ceaseless drive to overcome its own limits. Sylvia Wynter's writings on the *pieza* conceptual frame are indispensable for understanding the ways that colonial and metropolitan disavowals

of Blackness as a category that was forged during the Middle Passage infused categories of work that Japanese thinkers and policy makers invoked to differentiate themselves from their early modern predecessors and Asian neighbors from the late nineteenth century. I discuss this in detail in the first chapter.

This project is also indebted to the scholarship of Saidiya Hartman, Shona Jackson, Denise Ferreira da Silva, and Lisa Lowe, who have shown how the building blocks of bourgeois and Marxist categories of analysis like land, capital, and labor are always already burdened by assumptions about place, wealth, and people that efface the dehumanizing violence wrought through the enslavement of people of African descent through the Middle Passage. Jackson's linking of the specific relations among the genocide of Indigenous peoples, the labor performed by enslaved and indentured people in extractive industries, and settler claims on land and nation as a condition of "nineteenth-century economic humanism" is particularly important for my understanding of the way that the first generation of Japanese settler scholars' disavowal of the state's colonization of Ainu Mosir and the Ryūkyū Kingdom was the foundation upon which they authorized genocidal practices in the Pacific Islands.[13] Situating the formation of the Japanese nation-state qua empire as part of this shared context of nineteenth-century economic humanism opens up lines of inquiry that can aid in unearthing the tangled roots of our monstrous presents.

Waiting for the Cool Moon asks why coevalness has yet to figure meaningfully in analyses of Japanese capitalism qua imperialism even though the historical record is replete with trenchant critiques and militant action against the consequences of imperialism for and by racialized, gendered, and colonized people in the Japanese empire.[14] This is not a problem of paucity of evidence, but rather, as Yoneyama argues, an indication of the need to clarify "through what structural access, and under what personal, social, and historical conditions" we understand and assign value to particular narratives of the past.[15]

Japanese Grammar and the Social Sciences

Harry Harootunian argued in *Marx after Marx* that Japanese Marxists of the 1920s and 1930s did take seriously the inability of Marxism to fully capture the meaning of dizzying transformations to social and economic life that were unfolding before them. They did not, however, respond to the interwar spectacle of unharnessed development on the one hand and the persistence of forms of extra-economic compulsion on the other by proposing fundamental reworkings of the genealogy of bourgeois revolution to center the Haitian Revolution,

as C. L. R. James did in *Black Jacobins*. Nor did they link the establishment of the Japanese nation-state to a chronology that highlighted the interconnectedness of Spanish genocide of Indigenous peoples, capitalist encroachment in Latin America, and the consolidation of Peru as a modern nation-state offered by José Carlos Mariátegui in *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*.

Uno Kōzō, Inomata Tsunao, Yamada Moritarō, and other Marxist thinkers did grapple with the dilemma of how to reconcile paths to revolution imaginable in what they called "latecomers" to capitalist development, such as Japan, through faithful readings of Marxist theory available to them at the time. They filtered their reading practices through their understandings of Japanese realities, which, they believed, took some of those strategies off the table, at least for the time being.[16] However, their focus on debates over what constituted empirically sound diagnoses of the present conjuncture that relied on state-produced data sets made them unable to see what Cedric Robinson called revolutionary attacks on culture that were taking place before their eyes.[17] Their collective inability to see the anticolonial, anti-imperialist, and feminist critiques within and outside of organized labor and peasant struggles that people were waging in the heart of empire was tied to a shared conceptual limit: their belief that the Japanese worker and his vanguard was ultimately the protagonist of revolutionary struggle. In other words, their understandings of what constituted reliable empirical data were informed by and reinforced a methodological nationalism whose clearest and most enduring consequence was colonial studies scholars' disavowal of the colonialism at the roots of Japanese nation-state formation.

Labor, Subjectification, and Colonial Commonsense

Dionne Brand's writings play an indispensable role in the way I understand colonial violence, its erasure, and my own task as a witness to these realities. Brand's work shows that there are many ways to communicate what Wynter also explicated theoretically—that colonial violence is embedded in the narrative structures of texts, in language, and in the velocities of imperial time that cohere as commonsense.[18] K'eguro Macharia's explication of the concept of sociogeny, as articulated by Frantz Fanon and Wynter, allows them to examine the way that heteropatriarchal anti-Blackness grounds commonsense notions of the self in modernity. Macharia emphasizes that the concept, which "directs how family, society, and nation are experienced," exposes the difficulty of uprooting structures of racial and colonial domination precisely because they take hold as commonsense:

> The commonsense experience of whiteness is as a generic human while the commonsense experience of blackness is as defect in relation to whiteness, which is, then, defect in relation to humanness. Commonsense is not only intellectual . . . but also the whole ensemble of how the senses experience the world, especially how ideas and experiences of pleasure and unpleasure, beauty and ugliness, good and bad, are framed.[19]

As aesthetic experience, Macharia explains, commonsense is "marked by the fractures created by colonial modernity."[20] In the context of modern Japan, commonsense as aesthetic experience, expressed through print, philosophy, art, literature, history, surveyors, soldiers, and storytellers, naturalized the state's denial of its genocidal beginnings and shaped peoples' understandings of who was fully human and who was not.[21] This, as much as conditions we understand as structural, has to be accounted for in our examinations of the entrenched nature of white supremacy and its accomplices as they took hold in the heart of Japan's empire.

It is not surprising, given the thickness of colonial commonsense, that the struggles of groups like the Suiheisha fighting for buraku liberation, the Japanese branch of the Korean feminist organization Kinyūkai/Kŭnuhoe, and a group of activists in Okinawa affiliated with the Labor Farmer Party, who all fought to dismantle grammars of social analysis that legitimated their oppression, went largely unrecognized by radical intellectuals who were brought up in the imperial university system and saw the colonies and colonial struggle as qualitatively different from antagonisms in the metropole. The conceptual gulf was even wider in their analyses of the agrarian question, where they treated colonial and national spheres as separate due to their acceptance of the boundaries that state authorities drew and tirelessly adjusted between "Japan proper" and places like Taiwan, Korea, northern China, and the Pacific Islands.[22] Assumptions of territorial fixity that accompanied Japanese Marxists' acceptance of the concept of the imperial division of labor structured their delimitation of agrarian struggle to Japanese small farmers in the metropole. Japan studies scholars have yet to fundamentally challenge these assumptions.[23]

Franco Barchiesi and Shona Jackson's introduction to a special issue of *International Labor and Working Class History* addressing "Blackness and Labor in the Afterlives of Racial Slavery" offers a starting point for thinking about the relationship between colonial erasure and the valorization of certain kinds of struggles against capital. Their essay problematizes how labor historians, in their placement of "changes in the status of work at the core of the very meaning of captivity and freedom, their epochal watersheds, and institutionalized

or unintended overlaps" unwittingly serve as apologists for colonialism.[24] Barchiesi and Jackson argue that rather than accepting the establishment of waged labor relations as evidence of a step that a society has taken on the path to freedom, labor historians would do well to contend with the "fundamental antiblackness of labor itself, its categories, and its forward motion in history."[25] That recognition allows for an interrogation of the field's valorization of organized, working-class resistance over refusal, escape, play, or waiting, which are considered passive acts that ultimately do not produce the class antagonism required for transformation to a higher stage of capital. Barchiesi and Jackson's critique of political economy's bestowal of "ontological prominence on work as the terrain from which something globally essential, not just situationally contingent, can be enunciated about the meaning of freedom, indeed on the very definition of the human"—resonant with Lisa Lowe's assertion in *The Intimacies of Four Continents* that "the social inequalities of our time are a legacy of these processes through which 'the human' is 'freed' by liberal forms, while other subjects, practices, and geographies are placed at a distance from 'the human'"—helps me understand why an analysis of how anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity are inscribed and reproduced in the grammar of Japanese political economic critique is indispensable to making sense of the way that trenchant critiques of colonialism, racism, and patriarchy issued by the aforementioned organizations and others failed to register in the minds of most Japanese intellectuals and activists as indispensable to their own struggles.[26]

The Post–World War I Agrarian Question

The state, in contrast, understood the destabilizing force of interwar anti-imperialist struggles organized through alliances between tenant farmer unions and radical labor unions, especially those with feminist or anticolonial divisions. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (after 1925, the Ministry of Agriculture) worked with the Home Ministry to combine policy with physical repression to bring order to an empire in crisis. A central component of the former's counterrevolutionary project was its promotion of protectionist policies whose primary objective was to transform the head of the small farm household into a conquistador humanist—a figure who successfully overcame a lowly position in the chronically undercapitalized agricultural department through training, hard work, and the ability to manage other peoples' labor time.[27] The ministry's enthusiasm for this project makes clear that, by the 1920s, policies that relied solely on inculcating a pioneering spirit in the hearts of embattled and heavily indebted Japanese small farmers could not resolve the

structural and spiritual problems of agrarian crisis. It had to dig deeper into the organizational form of the small farm household and enact policies that political theorist Angela Mitropoulos calls *oikonomic*—those that promote the actualization of unequal household relations as the fulfillment of a primordial, authentic relationship that "made the extraction of surplus labor possible by the affective registers and architecture that legitimated the implied contractualism of the *oikos* [household] . . . as species of unbreakable covenant."[28] Within the ministry's ideal small farm household, surplus labor was to be offered freely by members of the family—especially women—as "obligation, indebtedness, and gift."[29]

Writings by Black radical thinkers alert us to the way that feminist critiques of state oikonomic policies need also to attend to the fact that major transformations to notions of family as they are tied to nation are always already racialized. This analysis in turn alerts us to how normative categories of the family work to reinforce white supremacist norms as commonsense. Angela Davis, for example, exposes an irreconcilability between the kind of woman and family form assumed to be the object of struggle and the protagonist of a revolution-to-come in *Women, Race and Class*. Pointing to the enduring effects of the history of enslavement to explicate the way that Black families' gender dynamics were not comparable to those of white families, Davis writes, "As a direct consequence of their outside work [during slavery] . . . housework has never been the central focus of Black women's lives. They have largely escaped the psychological damage industrial capitalism inflicted on white middle-class housewives, whose alleged virtues were feminine weakness and wifely submissiveness."[30] Hortense Spillers explores the consequences of this history in "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," arguing that feminist analyses that do not recognize that (white) womanhood and the (white) family are predicated on the denial of womanhood to Black, Indigenous, and colonized peoples reproduces a universal woman whose primary purpose is to uphold the logic of domination that Wynter calls "Man-as-human."[31] In short, the abstract category of woman, as well as hegemonic definitions of family, exist in antagonistic relation to, and are maintained by, the labors and lives of people who are excluded from theorizations of this purportedly universal category.[32]

Also illuminating are works by historians such as Jennifer Morgan, who argues in *Laboring Women* that the reproductive labor of enslaved women was central to profit calculations of slaveowners in the early English colonies that shaped both men's and women's experiences of enslavement and understandings of kinship, family, and distinctions between private and public spheres. Additionally, Sarah Haley argues in *No Mercy Here* that late nineteenth and

early twentieth-century formations of the "gendered-racial-sexual order" were shaped by white supremacist ideas about "white feminine sexual vulnerability" and associations of imprisoned Black women with "sexual antinormativity."[33] The calcification of the gendered-racial-sexual order in the New South was inextricably linked, argues Haley, to societal fears in the United States around white women's entry into the wage labor market.[34] One question beyond the scope of this project that emerges from these works is how the entry of a larger number of migrant workers from various Asian countries (including Japan) to the United States and to areas that Southern plantation owners also sought fortunes in globally (thinking with Gerald Horne's *The White Pacific*, for example) impacted the dynamics that Haley traces. As chapters 6 and 7 will show, sociopolitical configurations into which Okinawan migrant workers entered starting in the first decade of the twentieth century significantly altered the way that Okinawans abroad and at home were positioned within the Japanese empire's gendered-racial-sexual order.

This project is indebted to these scholars, who have given me the depth of perspective required to understand the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce's interwar oikonomic policies as more than just a shoring up of small farm households suffering the effects of chronic recessionary conditions after World War I. I trace the hardening of new boundaries between communities within the agrarian village who were deemed worthy of protection and those classified as expendable and think about how the categories of the small farm household came to operate in service of Japanese supremacist ideas. That is, I tie state protectionist policies toward these units to the entrenchment of colonial commonsense in the metropole's agrarian villages. This perspective helps me make sense of my findings in chapters 2 and 3, that consensus, not state policy, drove the expulsion of racialized burakumin households from their village communities. In later chapters, I trace how this commonsense that small farm households honed at home helped to legitimate genocide, including military sexual slavery throughout Asia and the Pacific. In clarifying the relation between the ministry's oikonomic policies at home and Indigenous genocide on an ever-expanding scale, which coincided with the securing of the borders and financial foundations of the early Meiji regime and were rooted in (settler) colonialism and its disavowal, I expose the Japanese empire's side of what Haunani-Kay Trask, in "Setters of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," described as the denial of Japanese settler ascendancy in Hawai'i, "made possible by the continued national oppression of Hawaiians" through the ideology of the "local nation" after statehood.[35]

In addition to clarifying the relationship between the state's enactment of oikonomic policies in the metropolitan countryside and its dispatch of conquistador humanists to the Pacific islands, *Waiting for the Cool Moon* makes visible multiple forms of struggle that people who were rendered disposable in new ways after World War I waged. Despite their violent expulsion from the body politic, which was authorized by the law, enabled by sensibility, and enacted through consensus, the people and organizations whose stories I share here insisted on radically different relations that rejected their expulsion from village community but did not pin their political hopes or desires on state recognition.[36] Their most devastating critique—that "Japan" is a fantasy shored up through the disavowal of colonial relations at the heart of empire—continues to be politically relevant today, not least because the field of Japan studies continues to operate as though it is a stable unit of analysis. In other words, their critiques shed light on our complicity as scholars who have not managed to obliterate the fantasy of Japan as only temporarily and uncharacteristically a perpetrator of colonial genocide.[37]

Struggles against concrete processes and logics of enclosure that were tools of racialized and gendered expulsions took the form of strikes, petitions, and other recognizable actions, but they also appear in more amorphous, hard-to-trace moments of world making like refusal, play, flight, and waiting.[38] I view each instance as a revolutionary attack on the state's cultivation of the national subject's fascistic interiority, packaged in a grammar refined from the Middle Passage, its acquisition celebrated as a hallmark of successful transformation into a protagonist in the forward march of Japanese history. While collective struggles for freedom rarely make their appearance in the vast archives of imperialism, their traces are nevertheless abundant.[39]

As Lisa Lowe illuminates in *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, seeing and attributing what states do not want us to see takes creativity, as archives tuck away and classify challenges to the unholy triad of capital, nation, and family in ways that occlude interconnections between numerous, often small, but meticulously organized wars against colonial barbarism across nations and empires.[40] I also recognize, however (as Lowe does), that illuminating the structures and enactments of a dominating Japanese social grammar through a promiscuous reading of and across state archives is inadequate for understanding the power of these experiences of world making and refusal. Without attending to the violence of our own imperial gaze, we risk reinforcing colonial logics that inform archival production and excavation.

Brand's *The Blue Clerk: Ars Poetica in 59 Versos* guides my skepticism toward freedom dreams that scholars locate in archives of struggle.[41] Her proposal for opacity, multifocality, and flux, which I expand on in chapter 7, cautions us from devoting too much of our energies to describing liberatory projects, as they are always at risk of being co-opted by ever-accommodating imperial projects.[42] Secrets, Brand's blue clerk suggests, have to be guarded in order for acts of world making that lie beyond the reach of the logic of European Man-as-human to cohere, evade reabsorption, and sharpen their blades. Brand's clerk is constantly preparing, making room for, waiting, guarding, and resuscitating the bales of papers that contain secrets (and green aphids) still very much alive. They demand acknowledgment, emitting the "the sharp, poisonous odour of time."[43] Careful readers will notice that the blue clerk is multiple women who make appearances in photographs, diary entries, and the clerk's memories—subject and safekeeper of the continually shifting line that separates the cargo's right- and left-hand pages.

I approach the women (and some men) who appear in the archives I read as keepers of secrets who cannot rest even in death because vultures are constantly circling, and acknowledge that neither right- nor left-hand ledgers are mine to excavate, collect, claim, or consume. What is visible to me as a reader of texts to which I have varying degrees of proximity limit and shape the form and content of this text.

The Refusal of Representational Violence

The methodological and ethical challenge I came up against repeatedly while writing about acts of refusal against colonial commonsense concerned representational violence. I wanted to avoid making the named and unnamed buraku, Korean, and Okinawan people who appear in the text into what Sharpe calls a metaphor: a figure that "appears only to be made to disappear."[44] While neither the place from which I write nor the people about whom I write are the same as Sharpe and her interlocutors in *In the Wake*, the communities I write about also appear in some studies simply to move forward a narrative of suffering or resistance or to clarify the character of the Japanese imperial formation. That is, they are made to appear without any apparent authorial commitment to dismantling those violent structures or grammars.

In the Wake is concerned with breaking this commonplace, anti-Black representational logic that cannot apprehend the suffering of a young Black woman, Aereile Jackson, who appears in a 2010 film by Allan Sekula and Noel Burch, *The Forgotten Space*, in its specificity.[45] Linking Jackson's erasure to the structure

of a world that places Black people as its constitutive outside, Sharpe reiterates the importance of writers, poets, and artists who have taken up the task of bringing people with "no bones to recover" to the surface for air.[46] Sharpe proposes that, while the logic of anti-Blackness is all-encompassing, there is something that haunts the screens, the texts, and the photographs where recognition takes place, but only between those who are engulfed by the ecological terrain in ways that are legible to each other. Sharpe writes, this time upon encountering a photograph of a little girl with the word *ship* on her forehead in a collection of materials following the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, "I had to take care."[47]

In untangling the logics that made actually existing struggles waged by Okinawan, Korean, and buraku women unseeable in different ways to colonial intellectuals and activists, my own place in the world sets limits on my ability to share the stories of ordinary women in the archives of Japanese imperialism who haunt and shape the text. I write about what I am meant to see, what my own position in the world demands that I see.

My paternal great-grandmother, Tamashiro Kama, is from Haebaru, Okinawa, and her daughter, my grandmother Hideko Matsumura, was born in Wakasa, Naha, where her father was the head priest at a Buddhist temple. I was not aware of even the faint outlines of this family history until I accessed my grandmother's FBI file from the US National Archives while researching the reasons for my father's repatriation to Japan from Honolulu as a small child in 1943. It has been a strange experience doing academic work on Okinawa before and after this knowledge, a condition I know will continue to bring me waves of discomfort and joy. My alienation cuts deeper the more that archival records illuminate all of the things I was never privy to as family stories. The main proposition I laid out in my first monograph, *The Limits of Okinawa*—that tracing the complex and antagonistic relations that accompanied the emergence of a reified category, Okinawa, is a necessary part of honoring the intense battles over living labor that took place as the former region became a site of capitalist extraction and exploitation—stands. Still, I often think about how much that line of argumentation contributed to, or obstructed, ongoing struggles for freedom in Okinawa. That is, I wonder how much of the analysis I offered there unwittingly naturalized colonial commonsense, including the silences that run through my own family's histories. I continue to position myself primarily as a researcher from the United States—a country that continues to exercise colonial rule in Okinawa and one that is responsible for massacres carried out in the name of democracy throughout territories the Japanese state and capital ruled until surrender—whose work can easily become extractive and mobilized

to violent ends even as I try to operate from a place of solidarity. Still, I remain untethered by this new knowledge. Reading the transcript of a conversation between R. A. Judy and Fred Moten published in *boundary 2* over the question of the relationship between the "I" and the "we," I ask myself, Where is the ensemble, or the collective, that I hold myself accountable to, and that shapes and holds me? Still in the process of arriving at a satisfying answer to this question, I work unsteadily with what I am certain about: since academic work does not have to be directly funded by the Department of Defense to be an effective tool of counterinsurgency, when in doubt, restraint is preferable to narrative abundance.[48]

Structure

Waiting for the Cool Moon is divided informally into four parts. Read together, they invite the reader to see the depths of the colonial violence and struggles to live otherwise at the heart of an empire in crisis. The first part, chapter 1, examines the relationship between Wynter's *pieza* conceptual frame—which refers to the mode of domination composed of philosophies, logics, and practices that made the unit of the *pieza* possible as a standard of exchange for enslaved peoples from the fifteenth-century slave trade onward—and concepts such as laboring capacity (*rōdō nōryoku*) and labor efficiency index (*rōdō nōritsu*) that emerged in Japan in the early 1920s as additional tools for the violent abstraction of labor and were utilized by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.[49] While I do not trace a straight line between these concepts, Wynter's *pieza* conceptual frame helps me think through how understandings of the human embedded in the conceptual building blocks formed in the wake of the Middle Passage were baked into categories like those that enabled Japanese thinkers and policy makers on all sides of the political spectrum to understand the economic calculations they were making about wages, labor power, and productivity as entirely separate from compulsion. The second half of the chapter introduces an apparatus developed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce called the Nōka Keizai Chōsa (Farm Household Survey), which many social scientists, then and now, have unquestioningly used as a reliable data set for understanding class differentiation in the countryside. I argue, in contrast, that through its differentiated use of laboring capacity and labor efficiency to ascribe values to labor performed in the farm household, the survey actively produced participating small farm households as conquistador humanists in ways that establish a genealogical relationship between the *pieza* as an instrument of dehumanizing accounting during the slave trade, the

imposition of colonial rule over territories that became Hokkaido and Okinawa, and the remaking of small farm households into apparatuses through which fascism instantiated itself in the body politic of Japan.

The second part comprises chapters 2 and 3, which examine how conflicts that erupted between burakumin and ippanmin communities following the state's enactment of a new round of enclosures produced and reinforced colonial sensibilities in the Ise region of Mie prefecture. While these new enclosures destabilized many agrarian communities through the contraction and privatization of vast tracts of communally held and managed lands, they also produced new distinctions between racialized farm households. Chapter 3 argues that when buraku communities and organizations refused to accept their collective erasure, they were not simply or even primarily fighting for inclusion in the rights-based system of common lands (*iriaiken*) but were refusing a sensibility that figured them collectively as a threat to the nation.

The third part, chapters 4 and 5, illuminates the relationship between the housewifization of Japanese women in small farm households, the employment of Korean migrant workers who were denied the resources to guarantee the reproduction of their own families, and the erasure of non-wage-earning Korean women from the Japanese economy altogether. Chapter 4 argues that despite their small numbers, Korean men and women agriculturalists were indispensable for the self-actualization of the Japanese small farmer as conquistador humanist in the metropole. Chapter 5 traces the imperial fertilizer circuit of Taki Seihi, one of the country's leading fertilizer companies whose product aided in the transformation of Okayama's small farmers into fruit producers. Korean workers that the company recruited to expand its operations created spaces of solidarity throughout the very same imperial circuit that rendered them disposable.

The fourth part, chapters 6 and 7, considers the consequences that the mode of the Ryūkyū Kingdom's incorporation into the Japanese empire as a prefecture had upon the people of the region. It takes as emblematic of these violent processes the recruitment of Okinawan workers into the phosphate industry in the Pacific prior to the Japanese state's colonization of the northern Mariana, Marshall, and Caroline islands. By starting with the over three hundred workers from Okinawa who were transported to Banaba Island between 1908 and 1910 to toil as semi-skilled workers for the Pacific Phosphate Company (PPC), chapter 6 rejects prevailing understandings of mainland Japanese and Okinawan workers as merely differentially privileged agents of settler colonialism in the Pacific.[50] Highlighting the latter's historical role as a disposable, colonial workforce allows me to read the extension of the Farm

Household Survey project to Okinawa in 1930 as an instrument of colonial rule rather than as evidence of national inclusion. Chapter 7 directly engages Brand's work and reads the colonial ledgers as repositories of contestation and refusal rather than faithful assimilation. In this chapter, as in the rest of the book, I pay close attention to the importance of what people withheld from the colonial gaze as a necessary part of building spaces of retreat, sites of mourning, and repositories of joy while living through counterrevolutionary terror.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Northern California continues to burn, and prisoners-turned-firefighters battle the blaze for a dollar a day. Who will treat their lungs? Tim Arango, Thomas Fuller, Jose A. Del Real, and Jack Healy, "With California Ablaze, Firefighters Strain to Keep Up," *New York Times*, October 28, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/28/us/getty-kincade-fires-california.html.

2 Or to be more precise, as Petero Kalulé has argued in "Being *Right-With*," "human rights law is a paradigm of unfreedom."

3 This is inextricably linked to the allegorical treatment of the plight of certain populations rather than an analysis of how those relations came to be, in much of humanistic scholarship. On the flip side, social scientific scholarship tends to reify these categories as stable units of analysis. See Shinjō, "The Political Formation of the Homoerotics and the Cold War" for a critique of the former in the United States-Japan-Okinawa relation and Patel's "Complicating the Tale of 'Two Indians'" on the relationship between caste oppression, anti-Blackness, and Indigenous dispossession in the Americas and outside of it.

4 Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*.

5 Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*, 1.

6 Trouillot explains, "Whereas the positivist view hides the tropes of power behind a naïve epistemology, the constructivist one denies the autonomy of the sociohistorical process." *Silencing the Past*, 6.

7 Maile Arvin's work, *Possessing Polynesians*, underscores the importance of extending our analysis of whiteness to settler colonial contexts beyond the so-called West.

8 In verso 16.1 of *The Blue Clerk*, Dionne Brand lists the ways that Charles Baudelaire's muse, Jeanne Duval, is represented by Benjamin in *The Arcades Project*. Benjamin characterizes her, among other descriptions, as "the consumptive Negress" who taught Baudelaire the truth about French colonialism. Her clerk says, of the need to include her in this way, "all the bitterness toward Duval and all the jealousies, but most of all the secret architecture of modernity. Of poetry, itself." *Blue Clerk,* 88.

That is what reveals itself in *The Arcades Project*. We have to ask what secret architecture of modernity is contained in his version of historical materialism as well.

9 Benjamin, "Philosophy of History," 257.

10 The rejection of historicism to "seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" was one of the most important aspects of my own methodology in *The Limits of Okinawa,* 15.

11 Robin D. G. Kelley reminds us of the importance of attending to the genealogies of struggle against capital that Cedric Robinson writes about in *Black Marxism* in the quote he pulls from the text in his foreword: "Marx had not realized fully that the cargoes of laborers also contained African cultures, critical mixes and admixtures of language and thoughts, etc. . . . these were the actual terms of their humanity." Robinson, *Black Marxism*, xiv. How these closely guarded terms of humanity of the living and the dead are incorporated into theorizations of historical transformation in the historical materialist mode is one of the main questions animating this project.

12 See Yoneyama, "Transformative Knowledge," 331, for her presentation of Benjamin's critique of additive modes of universal history.

13 Shona Jackson, in her book *Creole Indigeneity*, explores these dynamics in the context of nation-building in Guyana and settler colonial discourse more broadly.

14 This is all the more puzzling since Lisa Lowe published the essay that preceded her monograph, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," which called for an examination of the connection between Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas in the co-constitution of modernity, in 2006.

15 Yoneyama, "Transformative Knowledge," 331.

16 James, *Black Jacobins*; Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays*; Uno, *Nōgyō Mondai Joron*; Inomata, *Kyūbo no Noson*; and Yamada, *Nihon Shihonshugi Bunseki*. See Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*; Endō, *Science of Capital*; Walker, *Sublime Perversion*; Barshay, *Social Sciences in Modern Japan*; and Hoston, *Marxism* for analyses on the debate over Japanese capitalism in the interwar period.

17 Robinson, "First Attack." I explain this in detail in the conclusion, but revolutionary attacks on culture take place against imperialist attacks on culture. The former, he explains, take place before the so-called vanguard declares it to be so.

18 This is not to suggest a strict boundary between theory and poetry, but to simply point out that Brand's poetry is a demonstration of how rich and varied the writing must be because exterminating colonial sensibilities require much more than critiques of structures and processes. Brand discusses the difference between *The Blue Clerk* and *Theory* in an interview with Canisia Lubrin; Lubrin, "Q&A: Canisia Lubrin speaks to Dionne Brand."

19 Macharia, *Frottage*, 37.

20 Macharia, *Frottage*, 37.

21 Michele Mason's "Writing Ainu Out/Writing Japanese In" analyzes one early example of this process through a reading of Kunikida Doppo's "The Shores of the Sorachi River," which was written in 1902.

22 This was especially true after the state's implementation of the rice increase production policy (1920–1934), which directed colonial agricultural departments to prioritize the production of rice with the intention of lowering its price to urban consumers in the metropole. See Doi, "Chōsen Nōkai"; Shin, *Peasant Protest*; and Park, *Proletarian Wave* for more on the impacts that this policy had on local agrarian organizations and the development of organized peasant struggles.

23 Economists and economic historians have questioned the usefulness of the rather simplistic notion of an imperial division of labor by focusing on the relationship between rice and millet production, circulation, and consumption during the colonial period. This analysis, which examines the relationship between the metropole, the peninsula, and southern Manchuria, has shown that things were much more complicated than the proposed triangular structure in which Manchurian millet was sent to Korea, where rice producers consumed it while they cultivated rice for export to Japanese cities. The general structure could not, according to the scholars listed below, get at the specific impacts of imperial agricultural policies that were regionally specific and changed over time. See Tōhata and Ōkawa, *Chōsen Beikoku Keizairon*; Araki, "Foxtail Millet Trade"; and Takeuchi, "Kokumotsu Jyukyū." Neeladri Bhattacharya makes a similar call for regionally specific analyses in debates over the agrarian question in India in *The Great Agrarian Conquest*.

24 Barchiesi and Jackson, "Introduction," 1.

25 Barchiesi and Jackson, "Introduction," 9.

26 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 3.

27 This phrase is from Tiffany Lethabo King, who defines the term: "Rational 'Man,' or the ideal version of the human, was being invented through a construction of the sensuous and irrational Negro and Indian as 'a category of otherness or of symbolic death.' Western European men wrote and represented themselves (through cultural production such as Shakespeare's *The Tempest*) as conquerors in this era." King, *Black Shoals*, 16.

28 Mitropoulos, *Contract and Contagion*, 65–66.

29 Mitropoulos, *Contract and Contagion*, 65–66. Matsumura, "Rethinking Japanese Fascism," discusses the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to reorganize the household through the standardization of the category of housework from World War I.

30 Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, 300.

31 See Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe"; and King, "Black 'Feminisms' and Pessimism." King's essay reads Spillers' essay together with Kay Lindsey's "The Black Woman as Woman" as responses to Moynihan's infamous 1965 report, *The Negro Family*, as rare examples of texts that interrogate the category of family itself as a desirable way to organize Black (feminist) relations. In so doing, King illuminates the "violent ways that the family emerges as a category of violent forms of humanism." King, "Black 'Feminisms' and Pessimism," 70.

32 Lisa Lowe's discussion of how this process includes racialized Asian workers through the multiple meanings of intimacy in *Intimacies of Four Continents* also informs my analysis.

33 Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 5.
34 Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 11.
35 Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," 4.
36 On the perils of recognition see Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.
37 I am thinking here of the ongoing historiographical erasure of Japanese neocolonialism in Asia, as well as an unwillingness to understand the way that new military alliances like the Quad (United States, Japan, Australia, and India) make Japan an active propagator of genocide and settler colonialism throughout the world. See Harsha Walia, *Border and Rule*, chapter 3, on land grabs by Japanese capital on the African continent. Japan is planning to release water from the Fukushima nuclear power plant into the sea, which the Pacific Island Forum (PIF), a bloc of seventeen island nations, is protesting. See, for example, "Pacific Islands Urge Japan to Delay Release of Fukushima Waste over Contamination Fears," ABC, January 18, 2023, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-01-18/pacific-islands-japan-delay-release-fukushima-waste-fisheries/101869592.
38 Robin D. G. Kelley's writing provides us with many models of how to do this kind of work while being attentive to the risks that privileging certain actors and certain articulations of struggle can have in reinforcing other modes of erasure. See, for example, *Hammer and Hoe*, as well as "The Rest of Us."
39 Benjamin, "Philosophy of History."
40 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*; Lowe and Manjapra, "Comparative Global Humanities."
41 Brand, *Blue Clerk*. Barchiesi and Jackson also note the fundamentally compromised nature of archival records in being repositories from which to craft narratives of freedom seeking, writing that "the facticity of slave labor's 'agency' for the historian is tributary to archival records that take notice of black agency as a white problem, while otherwise systematically expunging black voices and experiences as evidence made inadmissible by property status." Barchiesi and Jackson, "Introduction," 4.
42 Brand discusses what this practice looks like through her readings of Gwendolyn Brooks's *Maud Martha* and Wilson Harris's *Palace of the Peacock* and invoking Édouard Glissant's opacity in *An Autobiography of the Autobiography of Reading*: "The event is the event of the colonial, but all elements, all characters, are present and in flux." Brand, *Autobiography*, 43.
43 Brand, *Blue Clerk*, 5.
44 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 27.
45 I often wonder if this is foreshadowed by the writing of *Fish Story*, which contains two uncritical uses of the n-word (both citations), as well as a complete omission of the transatlantic slave trade in a section titled "Middle Passage" beginning on page 55. Like Benjamin in *The Arcades Project* (see note 8 above), the unintentional slippages are revealing.
46 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 38.
47 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 120.
48 Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*, and Lutz, "Bureaucratic Weaponry," each discuss how academic understandings of expertise and disciplinary conventions shape the

way that "knowledge" circulates publicly in ways that perpetuate militarism and historical denialism.

49 Wynter elaborates James's *pieza* conceptual frame, which I discuss further in chapter 2, in "Beyond the Categories of the Master Conception." Other scholars take up her theorization in the *Small Axe* issue devoted to a reading of her unpublished opus, "Black Metamorphosis." See also Bedour Alagraa's reading of Wynter's conceptualization in "The Interminable Catastrophe."

50 Teaiwa, *Consuming Ocean Island*.

CHAPTER 1. EMPIRE AND *OIKONOMIA*

1 Wynter, "Beyond the Categories."

2 Notably, it follows that the kinds of events and organizations that we consider to be oppositional or revolutionary need to be rethought. Cedric Robinson addresses this point directly in "The First Attack Is an Attack on Culture."

3 For writings on the *pieza* unit as well as the way that Wynter understands it, see Eudell, "From Mode of Production"; Cunningham, "Resistance of the Lost Body"; Smallwood, "Commodified Freedom"; and Bhandar, "Registering Interests."

4 Eudell, "From Mode of Production," 49.

5 Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom," 262. See also Wynter and McKittrick's conversation, "Unparalleled Catastrophe for Our Species?" for a discussion that situates Wynter's work in relation to other anticolonial writers like Césaire and Fanon.

6 Uno Kōzō's *Kyōkōron* theorizes the necessity of crisis. See Ken Kawashima's English-language translation, *Theory of Crisis*; and Kawashima and Gavin Walker's discussion of the text in *Viewpoint Magazine*, "Surplus alongside Excess."

7 Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 28. James and Robinson are also interested in constant refusals that shape this "civilization." See Robinson, *Black Marxism*, from 111, on the profitability question.

8 We see this on full display in, for example, justifications for the establishment of the phosphate industry on Banaba, or Ocean Island, by British and Australian "phosphateers," which I discuss in chapters 5 and 6.

9 *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 15–16.

10 For example, the 1871 Edict Abolishing the Ignoble Classes was justified based on the need to abolish slavery, understood as a remnant of an outmoded form of social organization not befitting a modern nation-state.

11 We see this in Marxist theoretician Yamada Moritarō's definition of Japanese capitalism in *Nihon Shihonshugi Bunseki*. Though he paid careful attention to the kinds of labor relations rooted in the Tokugawa feudal regime that remained important mobilizers of a poorly compensated workforce during what he calls the stage of primitive accumulation and argued that it merged with the massive, state-directed military and heavy industrial projects that formed the "Japanese-style" (*Nihongata*) capitalist development, embedded in his description is a sense of abnormality stemming from national specificity that ultimately reifies nation and capital.