

BURAKU LIBERATION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

1-6-12, Kuboyoshi, Naniwa-ku, Osaka City, 556 Japan.

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A series of discriminatory graffiti **Incitement to Kill and Injure Burakumin**

Extremely vicious and discriminatory graffiti have been found one after another. Judging from the wording, it seems that they are the work of the same person. The words "Kill Etta (a discriminatory name for Burakumin)" appear among them and they call openly for the massacre of Burakumin.

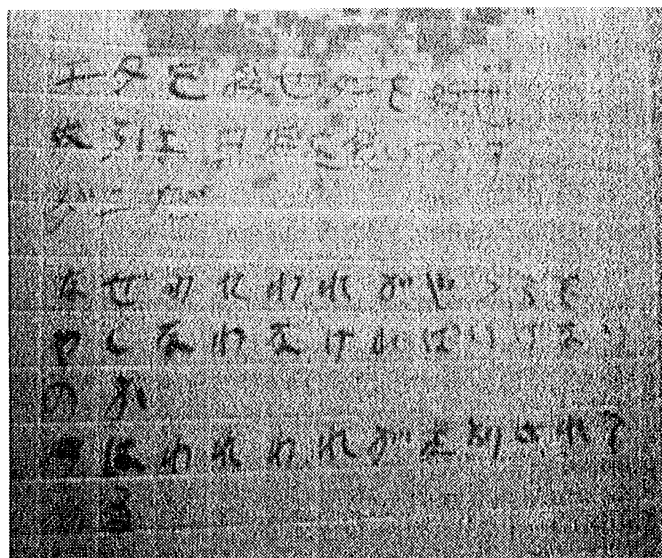
The following graffiti have appeared in the prefecture this year: in February, "a nest of Etta," in the public toilet at the Kochi Cycling Stadium; in April, "Etta, Etta, Etta only," in the public toilet at the Kochi Race Track; and also in April, "Don't come to the library, Etta!," at three places in the prefectural library.

These graffiti are extremely vicious and unprecedented. They were written with red paint or bold magic marker ink in conspicuous places. Instances were found at 21 locations within Kochi City, including the neighborhood bulletin board, the pump house, the public library, the local culture museum, Kochi Castle, an electricity pole, a bridge parapet and a park around a junior high school ... the Josei Park Outdoor Stadium.

One case was discovered on June 20th, two on the 23rd, five on the 24th, three on the 25th, and two on the 26th. As for the wording, the shortest was "Kill Etta"; the longest was the one found in the Kochi public library, which covered the west, east and north walls of the upstairs men's toilet. It read: "Kill Etta. They are leeches. Let us fight against them with courage. Unless we kill Etta, Japan will vanish." (south wall). "Kill Etta! Kill the leeches. They are leeches devouring Japan. Why do we have to feed them? Now we are the ones being discriminated against!" (east wall). "The city hall is not the Etta's." (north wall). The graffiti found last at the Josei Park Outdoor Stadium call for the massacre of Bura-

kumin: "Fight against Etta with courage. Let's write this down, everybody!"

After this series of discriminatory graffiti was found, the action taken by the department for the protection of human rights in the Legal Affairs Bureau was simply shoddy ... merely going to see them.



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The Buraku literacy movement

Many buraku people in their 40's and 50's were unable to receive even compulsory education in the postwar days due to poverty and discrimination against burakumin. They remain illiterate even to this day.

The statements that follow portray how illiteracy limits the scope of their life: "I didn't consider newspapers as an information source but only as wrapping paper." "It is really annoying to be unable to teach my children when they ask me how to read some characters." "In the workplace, I am sometimes asked to fill in the names of articles we sell. I never do it, making the excuse that I am a bad writer." "I am afraid of vending machines."

As the buraku liberation movement grew in the 1960's, buraku literacy projects were initiated with the collaboration of school teachers. The first one started in 1963 in Fukuoka. Literacy was defined not just as an endeavor to learn to read and write but also as a practice by which the learner critically views his or her life and the discrimination woven in it so the learner acquires the perspective to cope positively with various programs for liberation.

Buraku literacy projects are under way in 292 localities today, and the Ministry of Education started to provide some financial assistance in 1982.



U.S. Educators Visiting Buraku

More than 20 educators from the mid-Atlantic region of the US stayed in Osaka for two days, June 24 and 25, and visited the Buraku Liberation Research Institute, the Museum of Human Rights History and a couple of buraku communities. They were participants in MARJiS (Mid-Atlantic Region Japan -In -The -Schools Program), directed by Dr. Barbara Finkelstein, a professor at the University of Maryland. This three-year program started in 1986 with the aim of improving the quality of teaching about Japan and other countries in elementary and secondary schools in the states of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The program goals are to deepen cross-cultural sensitivity and awareness, to develop and disseminate high-quality Japan-related instructional materials, and to develop regional teams of educators knowledgeable about Japan and innovative in applying cross -cultural perspectives in classrooms.

Following last year's one -day visit to Dowa (buraku -liberation -oriented) schools and buraku communities, Dr. Finkelstein and other 21 educators, including superintendents, supervisors of instruction, staff development and program evaluation, school principals, elementary and secondary school teachers and others, visited buraku communities, Dowa schools, made overnight homestays, and compared notes extensively with buraku activists and Dowa educators this year.

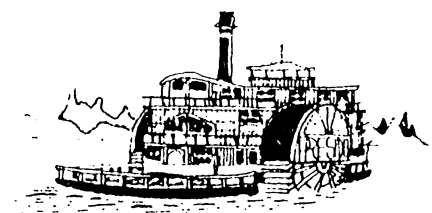
The group visited buraku (Osaka city) on the morning of June 24. They had a briefing on the history of the liberation movement at , walked through congested residential quarters in the buraku, and took school lunch at Junior-High School where children from are enrolled. After lunch, they visited Junior-High School # 3 (southern Osaka Prefecture) and observed many classes. This was followed by an hour of discussion between three groups of MARJiS members and teachers from on peace education, group activities, curriculum development and other topics. The MARJiS educators stayed overnight with various teachers, school principals, municipal curriculum supervisors and students. The next day, the group visited the Museum of Human Rights History in Osaka city, and enjoyed video and slide presentations on the theme of

peace and non-discrimination as well as many exhibits portraying struggles for human dignity in Japan and elsewhere. In the seminar that followed, the secretary-general of BLRI, Kenzo Tomonaga, and representatives of BLL Osaka, Osaka Dowa Projects Association and Osaka Prefectural and Municipal Dowa Educators Associations gave welcome speeches. Prof. Katsura of Osaka City University then talked on "Dowa education and its challenges". A number of books, brochures and other documents describing various aspects of Dowa education practice in schools were presented to MARJiS as gifts. Dr. Finkelstein, MARJiS director, told the hosts that their stay in Osaka had been productive and informative and suggested that the exchanges be continued to mutually deepen multi -cultural understanding. To conclude the seminar, she contributed art works by black students and other commemorative articles to the Museum and other organizations represented.

The MARJiS members left for Tokyo to visit the Ministry of Education and communicated their positive impressions about Dowa education in Osaka.

Dr. Finkelstein stayed in Osaka for another two weeks after the group returned to the States on June 30 to conduct research on Dowa education. She interviewed Mr. Terasawa, president of National Dowa Educators Association, many elderly buraku people, women, young people, children and community activists in Osaka and Nara. She is determined to produce several articles on Dowa education, focusing particularly on its transformative processes.

This was a truly meaningful cross -cultural exchange at the grassroots level. At a time when the buraku liberation movement is actively defining its new mission in the era of internationalization, this kind of networking is both enlightening and encouraging.





Who Taught Hatred Against Jew?

Ms. Luti Joscovitch, a French Jew living in Tokyo, found a copy of her work Jewish in Myself (Published Shueisha by) in the mailbox on May 5, 1987. She was utterly shocked when she found derogatory scribbles all over it. They went like this: "Go away from this country, ugly Jews!" "You'd better be burnt in gas chambers!" "Jews have committed all kinds of crimes. Do not pretend to be good." She immediately guessed the identity of the scribbler. About a month before that, a Japanese woman aged about 30 came and asked her to teach her French. She borrowed the book from Ms. Joscovitch. The woman said that Jewish people are smart and successful in business when she learned that Ms. Joscovitch was a Jew. What changed her view? It is clear that the flood of anti-Jewish publications this past year have biased her image of what is Jewish.

Most of those publications are far from being true studies of Jews. They just sustain the prejudiced image of Jewish people as symbolized in Shylock in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. Some books have further inflated that by portraying Jewish people

as though they were master-minding a conspiracy against Japan by manipulating trade friction problems and the yen's strength. They 'predict' that Japan will 'reach the end of her success' in the 1990's as a result.

Why the anti-Jewish chorus? There is a feeling that Japan is being made a target of criticism in the world community. The sense of being victimized is now being redirected to hard Jewish people by way of scapegoating.

Ms. Joscovitch lost her relatives in the Holocaust. Her work tells us of the process of her discovering her identity. "I have never experienced this kind of act of hatred in the past 17 years of my life in Japan. I feel this is directed not merely against me personally but against Jews as a whole. Prime Minister Nakasone's racist remark is another example of what appears to be a prevailing trend in a Japan heading for exclusionism."

Hoping to discover the motives that had driven the woman to commit such an act, Ms. Joscovitch visited her at her home. Through the door, she heard the reply; "There's freedom of speech, isn't there?"

The 40th Anniversary of the Japanese Constitution and Human Rights Law for the Ainu

Giichi Nomura

Chairman of the Board Hokkaido Utari Association

Thirty years after the war, the first seven-year Utari measure was finally implemented (Utari means "comrades" in the Ainu language) by the national and Hokkaido governments, followed by a second seven-year measure in 1981. In fiscal 1987, the second Utari measure will come to an end.

According to a 1986 fact-finding survey, as the result of 13 years of enforcement of the Utari measures by the Hokkaido government, whereas the ratio of students going on to high school among the general population reached 94 percent, the figure for the Ainu ("human being" in the Ainu language) was only 78.4 percent. Turning to the proportion of students going

on to college, the average figure works out at 27.4 percent, as against 8.1 percent in the case of the Ainu. Economic conditions are still poor, too. Even if the Utari measure were to be continued for 50 more years as it is, we still don't think the differential would be reduced.

But the national administration and the Hokkaido government didn't listen to us when we demanded a drastic measure. So, after much consideration, we came to the conclusion that our last resort was to appeal for the occupational rights of the indigenous inhabitants, the rights possessed by our ancestors who have lived here in Chishima, Hokkaido from long ago.



We submitted this proposal to the general assembly of the Utari Association in May 1984 and resolved to call for a Law For The Ainu Race. This means that we shall insist on a guarantee of our rights not on benevolent protection or aid like that granted by the 1899 Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin Hogo Ho (Law for the Protection of the Former Aborigines) or by the Utari measures.

The first thing we are demanding in this new law is the protection of our fundamental human rights. This comes from the bitter voices of Ainu who have been discriminated against and not treated as human beings for a long time. Obviously, our Constitution declares that there should be no racial discrimination and that all human beings are equal ... but we have faced discrimination and our human rights have been violated in our daily lives.

Just as our human rights are guaranteed in the Constitution, which officially acknowledges the existence of the Ainu race, we would like to create a society in which we Ainu can speak our own language openly, treasure our culture, practice our social customs in anybody's presence throughout Japan, and have Japanese people approve this.

We believe that this is the responsibility of the government and of the Japanese people, who took Hokkaido from the Ainu and have been exploiting them. And we want not only ourselves but also both North and South Koreans, Chinese and Okinawan residents in Japan to build up a society where we can all practice our own cultures and customs freely.

Next comes the question of suffrage. Although the right to vote is formally guaranteed, since the Ainu population is small, we have a hard job running for seats in a municipal assembly or town assembly. (There are nine representatives in 212 cities, towns and villages, and none at all either in the Hokkaido assembly or the national Diet). So we have been calling for quotas to be fixed in assemblies. This is a serious constitutional issue. But it is the practice in most countries that have minorities.

We also appeal for the promotion of education and culture. While securing the provision of financial guarantees for entrance into schools of a higher grade, thereby giving Ainu their rightful place in education, under the new law we would also like to see a comprehensive guarantee of education from infant level to college grade. Although adult education is also a necessity, the present Utari measure doesn't deal with it at all.

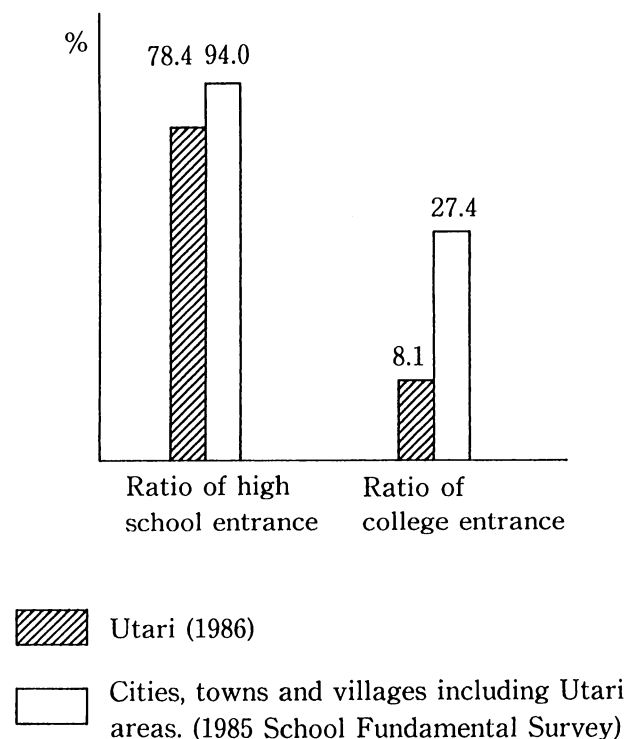
There is also the problem of college education. For example, there is no course concerning the Ainu at Hokkaido University of Education, which trains teachers. They graduate from there, knowing nothing about the Ainu problem and teach in class. How can they respond to the children of Hokkaido? Hokkaido has a race which has been living there with a history of thousands of years so education there should not be tolerated if it avoids this problem. We also appeal for the promotion of Ainu culture.

Next comes the establishment of a financial base. We would like workers in agriculture, the fishing industry, commerce and industry, and seasonal laborers to lead lives free of anxiety. For instance, to take the fishing industry, give fishing rights to those who want it. In the case of agriculture, we demand that land be given.

Right now one-third of the Ainu population are seasonal laborers. In this cold island of Hokkaido, they work for half a year and then have no work for the other half, when it snows. We have appealed to the national government and also to the Hokkaido assembly, but there is still no basic solution.

Another item is the Independence Fund. This involves the government giving us some funds in order to carry out the responsibility of solving various

Ratio of entrance into a school of higher grade





problems independently, which the Japanese government and Hokkaido cannot solve. To take an example, the indigenous inhabitants of Alaska have been greatly developing along these lines recently. Fortunately, Japan is an economic superpower and it offers money to many countries. We believe that it should offer money to the Ainu, a race which is inside the country and also very precious from the historical point of view.

And lastly, we demand the establishment of an organization that investigates Ainu problems within the national government and the Hokkaido government.

I suppose that 20 years after this law is established, really well-educated and well-off Ainu will emerge. And I feel that one day it will be a reality that Ainu will participate in every structure in our society, and there put forward our opinions and claims. That is also my dream.

And I think that we may be able to be proud of and hand down to our grandchildren's generation the beautiful culture of our race bequeathed to us by ancestors who truly loved the nature of Hokkaido.

Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin Hogo Ho

In 1869, Ezo-chi came to be called "Hokkaido" and in 1878, the Ainu started being called "Kyu-dojin" (former aborigines), a discriminatory term. From 1875, "tonden-hei" (frontier soldiers) began to settle rapidly, supplied with land, houses and equipment. Various laws and regulations allowed individuals, organizations and enterprises that wanted land to grab allotments here. But, in the case of the Ainu, their settlements were left as a State demesne.

In 1899, the government passed the Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin Hogo-Ho and compelled farmers to cultivate the land, attaching many conditions and granting lots within 15,000 tsubo (1 tsubo = 3.954 sq. yards) per family. But much of the land granted was barren, or mountain and forest that was not fit for agriculture. Even that land was exploited by devious "wa-jin" (mainland Japanese) and, after the war, a large part of it was forfeited to the government under the Land Reform. According to surveys carried out by the Hokkaido government in 1974 and 1975, the granted land handed down by inheritance amounted to less than 17 percent of the area originally bestowed. Besides a policy of economic discrimination, an extremely discriminatory education was carried out in the "kyu-dojin gakkoo" (schools for former aborigines) established under the 1899 law.

Information

New Undertaking Begun on Occupation Records

The Buraku Liberation Research Institute has begun research on GHQ / SCAP Records which have been collected by the National Diet Library in Tokyo. It is the second year of the project undertaken with the use of the Harada Tomohiko (the late former Director of the Institute) Memorial Fund.

We are planning to interview ex-staff members of GHQ / SCAP and members of the Military Government Teams, as well as those who were involved with problems regarding Buraku, Korean residents and the Ainu in Japan in those days. If you have such experiences or know someone who does, please let us know.

We have so far collected many materials related

to purges from public service, including the case of Jiichiro Matsumoto, reports of the investigation into Buraku around the period of the land reform, and other data.

In parallel with the collection of materials, we contacted some of those who were in the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander, and have received kind suggestions from following people :

* Mr. Herbert Passin (CIE)

Professor Emeritus, Columbia University

* Ms. Beate Gordon (GS)

Director, The Asia Society

* Mr. Hans Baerwald (GS)



Director, JaPREP. , UCLA

*Mr. Kurt Steiner (LS)

Professor Emeritus, Stanford University

*Mr. Justin Williams Sr. (GS)

*Mr. Jack Napler (GS)

Mr. Passin accepted our request for an interview in Tokyo, and kindly allowed us to copy some of his materials. The interview with him was published in our "Buraku Kaiho Kenkyu" bulletin with the following title: "An Interview ... on the Buraku Issue during the Occupation Period" ("Buraku Kaiho Kenkyu " No. 56, June 1987).

Also, the following articles have been published to show part of the achievement of our research up to this point :

- (1) "Postwar Buraku History and Research on the Documents of Japan's Occupation " by Toshio Watanabe ("Buraku Kaiho Kenkyu " No. 56, June 1987)

(Content)

The GHQ / SCAP Records are first -rank materials available for elucidating Japan's postwar politics and economy. But there have been very few studies made on these records from the standpoint of the struggle against discrimination and protection of human rights, and very little has been made clear with regard to the Buraku issue during the Occupation period. However, there are many descriptions related to Buraku to be found in memoirs of those who were

involved with GHQ / SCAP in those days (for example, "The Third Turn " by T. Cohen), which indicate that each section of GHQ / SCAP had actually encountered the problem. Therefore study and research into GHQ / SCAP Records will have great significance regarding research on postwar Buraku history.

- (2) "Matsumoto's Purge ... Viewed from the Occupation Records " by Toshio Watanabe ("Buraku Kaiho " No. 262, July 1987)

(Content)

The details of the purge of Jiichiro Matsumoto, who was a founding father of the Buraku liberation movement, have not been revealed even today because of the insufficiency of materials on the Japanese side. According to GHQ / SCAP Records, Matsumoto was suspected of being qualified as a purgee from public service on four occasions altogether. They also reveal that Matsumoto's purge in January 1949 did not abruptly begin with the well-known letter from the then prime minister, Shigeru Yoshida, addressed to GHQ (dated Jan. 1, 1949), but had been well under way since the middle of December of the previous year.

We will continue to report the results of our research on GHQ / SCAP Records and other related materials, as well as interviews with the persons concerned.

Reader's Page

Dowa Education

Education has been a major weapon in the struggle for buraku liberation. Once a concept imposed by the wartime military government intended to assimilate discriminated -against burakumin, 'dawa ' is now redefined by those fighting for the cause of liberation to imply transformative resistance. The history of dowa education illustrates how oppressed and discriminated -against people can be agents of social change.

Like other minority groups in the world, burakumin were long denied equal access to quality education. The 'universal ' schooling was regarded an important strategy to modernize and industrialize Japan after the Meiji Restoration (1868), but many

buraku children did not go to school. If they did, they were often enrolled in segregated buraku schools. Most teachers were prejudiced against burakumin. Schooling was just a burdensome obligation because it took away important helpers from poor buraku families. Schools were alienating because the knowledge, values and norms of social relations represented dominant class interests.

Basically the schooling scene was not much different even after Japan was democratized after World War II. In other words, democratization was not complete enough to change the way how buraku children were perceived and treated in schools. Due to poverty, many buraku children were long absentees



or unenrolled. It was only after a small number of concerned teachers began to visit those children at their home that critical awareness developed among teachers that democratic schooling was not to be realized unless buraku children received quality education. Along with the growing power of buraku liberation movement, buraku voices began to affect educational practices and teacher perceptions in many schools where buraku children were enrolled. Usually some discriminatory incidents triggered the change process. In one school, there were teachers humiliating buraku children by ordering them to wear placards saying 'I did not bring school lunch fees.' when they did not have money at home that angered buraku parents. In another school, teachers were only concerned about teaching high-achieving pupils and buraku children raised voices of protest. These symbolically functioned to change the perception of responsibility of educators.

The Special Law for Integration Projects of 1969 made available to buraku communities budgets for renovating school buildings, assigning additional teachers, and providing scholarship grants. The buraku liberation movement and concerned teachers took the initiative to transform educational practices in the school, community and family more seriously than ever. Buraku parents' active participation in their children's education was encouraged. Supplementary texts for teaching buraku and other human rights issues in schools were developed and distributed. In many schools enrolling buraku children, the school objective was rewritten to declare that it was striving

for the cause of liberation. The fact that these are mostly public schools suggests that public schooling has been significantly transformed as voices of burakumin were raised and tied to the initiative of other change agents including teachers.

Today the National Dowa Educators Association or Zendokyo sees more than 20,000 educators participating in its annual convention. It is the largest of its kind in Japan, and symbolizes how issues of dowa education are keen concerns among educators in Japan. Just to recall the developments in the past decades, we learn how radically the views of burakumin have been reflected in the transformation processes.

Under the Nakasone administration, the past achievements are now threatened. Scholarship grants that contributed greatly to boost the rate of advancement of buraku children to highschool have been made scholarship loans. Under the call for internationalization, dowa education is given lower priority by the Ministry of Education. We are convinced, however, that for true internationalization of Japan and its people education to respect different values and viewpoints is going to be important. Dowa education has deeply sensitized teachers and students that stereotypes and prejudices have to be overcome in order to appreciate human differences.

Dowa education has grown as a weapon for human liberation. Over years, it has nurtured and acquired the properties that are essential for the pursuit of liberating education. It is time that dowa education come up to the main stage.

Letter from Dr. A. A. Boesak

Dear Mr Tomonaga

Thank you very much for your letter, and the two books which I received intact, although opened. It was indeed a joy to be with you in Japan. My only regret is that the visit had to be so short. I was deeply impressed with the commitment of the people who work for our cause in Japan. It does not matter that our numbers are still small, it is the commitments that counts.

I am hopeful that we will see each other again. Please give my warmest regards to our friends in Japan and be assured of our deep gratitude for the work you are doing.

With respect

DR A A BOESAK

(July 10, 1987)