

# **REPORT ON THE HATE SPEECH AGAINST MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN JAPAN**

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**Submitted:** The International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination  
and Racism – Japan Committee – IMADR-JC

To the CERD Secretariat:

We are pleased to submit the report concerning the hate speech against minority communities in Japan hoping that this could contribute to the CERD thematic discussion on hate speech of August 30, 2012. The report covers the propaganda of hate speech and dissemination of derogatory messages against some minority communities in Japan, namely Buraku, Zainichi Koreans and migrants. The present report does not cover the other minority communities such as Ryukyu-Okinawans and the Ainu, but we believe that a similar manifestation would be demonstrated against them when they face the challenge of hate speech.

When we discuss about the hate speech in Japan, it is nothing but only a problem under no control. The main reasons rest with the absence of criminal code that prohibits and sanctions racist hate speech. Unless a committed hate speech has some connections or implications to other crimes, there is no legal means that forces an immediate halt of such act. Hate speech could constitute an illegal act under the civil law and only when it is aimed at specific individuals.

As indicated in several cases contained in this report, perpetrators of hate speech have been arrested, charged and convicted for the crimes of defamation, forgery of private documents, damage to property, and etc. that are not intended to sanction hate speech. Racially motivated acts are only sanctioned as petty crimes under the present law in Japan, thus, conviction of such acts is less effective in terms of prevention of crimes.

As Japanese governments at both national and local levels have no legal system to control hate speech, and more importantly no policies for the elimination of racial discrimination, training programs designed for the elimination of racial discrimination are not in place and given to law enforcement officers and public officials. This is also one of major reasons why hate speech is uncontrolled in Japan.

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                     **Part C: Hate Speech Against Zainichi Korean**

Reports contributed by:

The Association of Korean Human Rights in Japan

Japan Network for the Institutionalization of Schools for Non-Japanese Nationals and Ethnic Minorities

International Network against Discrimination on the Internet (INDI)

Buraku Liberation League

Anti-Discrimination Network - Human Rights Group

The International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism

## Part A. Hate Speech - Buraku Discrimination

### Case I. Continued Mass-Sending of Discriminatory Postcard

#### Outlines of the Case

The perpetrator kept sending letters and postcards containing derogatory words and intimidating messages to individuals with Buraku origin whose addresses were found out by the perpetrator through different ways. The ultimate purpose of sending these postcards was to drive each individual into moving out of the neighborhood where the individuals lived.

Sending the intimidating letters/postcards continued for 18 months (from May 2003 to October 19, 2004 when the perpetrator was arrested). The total number of postcards/letters was 400, and 275 out of 400 were concentrated in Tokyo.

The number of victims amounted to 15 from Tokyo and 16 outside Tokyo. They were persons with Buraku origin, and were intimidated by the perpetrator with many derogatory words. Besides, there were many people who were mistakenly considered to be Burakumin by the perpetrator and threatened with postcards, and those who received intimidating letters sent by the name of victims (actually the perpetrator sent it using the victims' names).

#### Harassments (the case of the victim living in Tokyo)

- \* Once pinpointed, the perpetrator continually sent letters or postcards to the targeted person stating, "You, as non-human or *eta* (many filths – the derogatory word against Burakumin), are not entitled to live in the metropolitan Tokyo. Until you move out from your neighborhood, I will send a postcard to your neighbors informing them that you are Buraku," and actually he did,
- \* The perpetrator purchased expensive products using victim's name and arranged it to deliver the victim's home with the cash payment on delivery.
- \* Using the name of victim, the perpetrator sent intimidating letters to other Burakumin, sent opinion letters to political parties, and sent an application for membership to a religious organization.
- \* The perpetrator pretended to be the victim and notified the utility company (gas and electricity) to stop the supply due to the planned moving

#### Problems in the public authorities' reactions and in the law

As Japan has no law that prohibits discrimination, committing discrimination does not constitute a crime. When the intimidation started against the victim, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police and the Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau responded to the complaint brought by the victim saying, "Sorry, but we cannot do any as there is no law to deal your case." Meanwhile, under the present law system, the following acts constituted a crime: letters of intimidation to the victim could constitute an intimidation crime; discriminatory agitation against the victim in his neighborhood could constitute a

crime of defamation; and letters of intimidation or assault against others using the victim's name could constitute a crime of forgery of private documents.

After six months from the intimidation started, the police officially accepted the complaint from the victim. Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau made the official accusation only after the perpetrator was arrested.

#### Arrest of the perpetrator:

On June 29, 2004, a public employee of Ohme City happened to find the perpetrator writing the intimidation letter in the canteen in the city hall. The witness immediately called the police, and the perpetrator was asked questions by the police that quickly came to the scene. He denied the fact. Since then, however, all intimidation acts stopped. October 6, 2004, the perpetrator started again the intimidation. On October 19, the police conducted the search in his house, and discovered two letters addressed to the victim, and many other evident materials. On the same day, the perpetrator was arrested. His finger-print was found to be identical to the one left by the perpetrator. Immediately after the arrest, he made a full confession. November 8, he was indicted on the charge of intimidating the victim by the Tokyo District Court.

#### Judicial contest:

On July 1, 2005, the case was concluded by the Tokyo District Court. After a profile question to the defendant, the judge announced, "The defendant is sentenced to two years in prison with time served for 140 days." The judge continued, "Committing the crime under multiple aliases, the defendant wrote postcards containing extremely abject and discriminatory expressions, evidencing his strong will to perpetrate the crime against the victims, who suffered from defamation, intimidation, psychological distress and anxiety."

#### The truth about the incident:

The perpetrator committed the crime innocently and with no feeling of guilt. He had no personal connection with Burakumin nor knowledge about the reality of Buraku discrimination. He simply believed that Burakumin were lower than him. He started to intimidate the victim when he found the victim's name in the official document of BLL. He committed the crime for dispelling his personal displeasure.

Here again, it is the serious problem that there is no legal system to respond to violation of human rights and discrimination. There was no legal way to resort, but to bring a suit for "defamation."

#### Case II. Discriminatory Street Propaganda Against Buraku

Outside the Levelers Association Museum (a human rights museum on the history of struggle against Buraku discrimination initiated by the Levelers Association)

#### Outlines of the case:

1. January 5, 2011: Mr. K came to the Levelers Association Museum with the national flag in his hand. Mr. K was the then vice-president of "Zai Toku Kai" (*meaning "a civil*

*group that does not allow privileges granted to Korean residents in Japan.” It is the nationalist, racist and right-wing group. For more details, see the report about “Hate Speech against Koreans in Japan.”* Mr. K complained about the exhibit of the history of the Japan’s annexation of the Korean Peninsula.

2. January 22: Mr. K again came to the museum accompanied by one man, and started the street propaganda with a loud speaker. While he was complained about the exhibit and making the most noise about the history of Korea-Japan relation, he made a lot of insulting and derogatory expression against Buraku. The other man was shooting video of his street speech, which was later uploaded to the video site on the Internet.

3. Nara Prefectural Association of Buraku Liberation League brought the issue to the Nara Legal Affairs Bureau and requested for official actions.

4. February 23: Osaka Legal Affairs Bureau and Nara Legal Affairs Bureau jointly conducted the investigation into the museum.

5. April: The Kyoto District Court made a judicial decision on the case of attack on the Kyoto Korean First Primary School with the conviction of Mr. K (the same person in question) giving him one and a half year prison term with four years’ suspension. His other three fellows were also convicted in this court case.

6. August 22: Levelers Association Museum sued Mr. K for slander at the Nara District Court.

7. October 17: The first oral argument was held at the Nara District Court. Mr. K as the accused made the counterargument rejecting the claim, and expressed his wish for amicable settlement with the plaintiff.

8. December 16: Mr. K. submitted his brief to the court.

9. December 19: The second oral argument: Some supporters of Zaitoku-kai got together at the district court, and asked for a permission of the plaintiff to upload the brief prepared by the defendant on the Internet.

10. March 5, 2012: The third oral argument: Attny Furukawa, the plaintiff’s legal representative, made an oral allegation about the brief prepared by the museum as plaintiff. The counterargument “brief” to be prepared by the defendant was submitted in an incomplete form.

11. May 7: The fourth oral argument: Attny Furukawa made an oral allegation about the second brief. He revealed that Mr. K’s speech constituted discrimination as defined in Article 14 of the Japanese Constitution, the International Covenant on the Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention against All Forms of Racism and Racial Discrimination, and the Report of the Dowa Council (Dowa is an administrative term of

Buraku). The judge concluded the oral argument only through exchanging written statements, and announced that the court would declare a decision on June 25.

12. June 25: The court decision was declared. It ordered the defendant to pay 1.5 million yen for the compensation to the Levelers Association Museum on the ground that the defendant had expressed unjust discriminatory words and defamed the Museum. The Museum as plaintiff announced its view on the court decision; "We highly appreciate the decision that confirms the illegality of discriminatory street propaganda. We urge the defendant as well as the group he belongs to to accept with sincerity the court decision and to immediately stop unfair propaganda acts to express, facilitate and stimulate discrimination against not only Buraku but also all forms of discrimination"

13. July 9: Mr. K did not appeal the court ruling by the deadline, thus making the court judgment final and binding. With the final judgment, the Museum officially made a request to delete the video of his street propaganda to the You-tube.

### **Problem:**

As Mr. K. made the discriminatory remarks using a loud speaker on the street and his speech was uploaded on the video site of the Internet, there were no effective legal measures to stop him from doing so. There were also no legal mechanism to provide the victim with remedy. This is because of no law to prohibit racial discrimination and human rights violations in Japan. In this case, the victim had no way, but filing a suit against the defendant for the defamation. It is deeply concerned that Japan has kept the reservation of Article 4- a) and b) of the ICERD since it signed. When asked about restriction on incitement to discrimination, the Government of Japan has repeatedly responded by saying, "We have the freedom of speech under the Constitution of Japan. Restriction on speech may lead to the violation of the Constitution." The Government must accept that the freedom of speech and prohibition of discriminatory expression are compatible.

### **Case III. Discrimination on the Internet**

On July 5, 2007, Aichi Prefectural Police arrested a 26-year-old unemployed man for the charge of defamation. The man made defamatory remarks about a company located in a Buraku district in Aichi Prefecture on his website. He admitted to the crime and stated, "I did it just for fun."

According to the police, the man created a personal website in February and uploaded information that included the actual names of Buraku communities in Aichi Prefecture. About the company in question, he wrote, "It is a dubious factory. It gives off a terrible smell." The police investigated into the connection records of the host server company, the suspect was emerged.

The suspect located many Buraku districts in Aichi, took photos of the buildings in the districts, and uploaded the photos along with maps indicating where they were located.

He also created a bulletin board on which visitors to the site could post messages. Some visitors posted messages that included the names of Buraku districts in neighboring prefectures.

The company hosting the server deleted the website upon the request of the Nagoya Legal Affairs Bureau in February 2007. However, the site had already been visited more than 10,000 times. In March, BLL Aichi filed a criminal complaint with the Aichi Police alleging that the suspect, who was unknown at the time, had caused mental suffering in the company and its employees. His website contained a lot of information equivalent to 320 pages when printed it out. In addition to the map and many photos, it also contained the video films which he shot while cycling the street of the Buraku districts.

After two times of judicial proceedings, the Nagoya District Court convicted the defendant with the sentence of one year in prison with four years' suspension. The sentence read: "Motives of the crime are immature and shallow. The defendant wrote abusive remarks of no basis in fact, and tremendously impaired the honor and social reputation of the victim company. It is deeply concerned that his acts facilitated discrimination against Buraku. From the preventive viewpoint, it is unacceptable not to hold him criminally accountable, however, taking the defendant's intension to have human rights training at the Legal Affairs Bureau and to find a job, the court decides to give him a parole."

#### Opinion: Buraku Discrimination on the Internet

by Anti-Discrimination Network - Human Rights Group

According to the survey the "Anti-Discrimination Network," 14,564 cases of discrimination on the Internet were reported. Among all, 4,523 cases were in relation to Buraku discrimination. This figure is relatively small in comparison with the records of the past 15 years, however, the contents are very versatile.

For example, unlike the past several years where most of discriminatory messages were uploaded on the large-scale bulletin board, currently these messages are distributed through Twitter or Facebook.

This is freely done without any legal intervention since Japan has declared reservation on Article 4 a) and b) of the ICERD. There is no law to provide remedy to victims of discrimination and human rights violations.

Among others, it has again become a serious problem that newly elaborated "Buraku Lists" are on the Internet and easily downloaded, so far, at least more than 10,000 times. It is not possible to find who have downloaded, however, it is very probable that downloaded data is used for personal background investigation.

In the past, the hard-copy “Buraku List” was made by private investigative agencies and sold at a high price. Now, with the free access to the Internet, anybody can update the old Buraku List by adding whatever information or data they find through their own ways. These lists are also browsed through i-phone or smart-phone.

One boy committed suicide when he found that he was from Buraku through information on the Internet. The problem rests with the abuse of freedom of expression and the abuse of anonymity. It is important to respect freedom of expression as well as respect human rights.

To address the problems, it is urged that Japan waives the reservation of Article 4 –a) and b) of the ICERD. As a civil society group, we continue our efforts for the promotion of human rights education and calls for the establishment of a national human rights institute.



## Part B: Racial Remarks by Public Figures

### A. Brief Summary of Cases

#### 1. Obsession that the Racial Monopoly is the Base of Japan's Economic Success and Security of Society

Cases of racial remarks by public figures in Japan can be generally categorized into the following two cases: remarks that target particular racial or ethnic group abroad; and, remarks that target racial or ethnic minority groups in Japan. In both cases, racial remarks are often based upon obsession that “Japan is a racial monopoly nation.”

As an example, in 1986, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, then Prime Minister, stated in his speech at a national gathering of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Shizuoka Prefecture, “Japan has become a highly educated nation and the society has become intelligent – much more so than those of the US. In the US, there are many blacks and Puerto Ricans and so on. As a result, their intelligence level is yet to be very low.” His remarks were severely criticized in the US. In the Japan's diet, he later tried to explain: “I meant to say that things are easier in Japan because Japan is a nation of racial monopoly,” and, “No ethnic minority group who have Japanese nationality is discriminated in Japan.” Mr. Nakasone faced criticized in Japan for ignoring the Ainu.

As another example, in 1995, Mr. Taku Yamasaki, who was then a member of House Representatives and had held senior positions of LDP and a minister, made comments on relief efforts in the event of the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, “Japan, which is a nation of one ethnicity, one nation and one language, has made such a strong national power.”

In July 2001, Mr. Muneo Suzuki, who was then a member of House Representatives, stated in his speech at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, “(Japan can be considered as) One nation, (with) one language and one ethnicity. The Ainu people live in Hokkaido but they are completely assimilated.” Mr. Suzuki was elected from a district in Hokkaido, where the Ainu people have resided for ages, and he must have well known the situation of the Ainu. His remarks were severely criticized by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

On the same day Mr. Suzuki made such racial remarks, Mr. Takeo Hiranuma, who was then Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, stated, “Japan is packed with 126,000,000 people of high-level one race. That's the most outstanding things of us in the world.” He also faced criticism from the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

#### 2. Foreigners as Scapegoats

Remarks on Japan as a state of “one race that keeps the order and high economic performance” are tied with statements to make foreigners into scapegoats in the event of social or economic problems in Japan. In September 1990, Mr. Seiroku Kajiyama,

who was a member of LDP and then Minister of Justice, commented on an increase in the number of Asian workers in the Shinjuku area of Tokyo by saying, “Bad money drives out good money.... The Shinjuku area has now become a mixed zone, just like in the US black people have moved into a white neighborhood and, as a result, the white get kicked out.” His remarks are discriminatory against people in both Japan and the US.

In January 2010, former Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Takeo Hiranuma made comments at a political fundraising party on a female member of the House of Councilors who was then serving as a budget screening inspector in one of the working groups of screening process to reduce the national budget which was set up by the Cabinet Office, “A campaign girl became a Japanese citizen and then became a lawmaker in Japan.” In an interview after the party, Mr. Hiranuma explained, “His statement was not discriminatory because she now holds Japanese citizenship,” however, such ideas is based upon obsession that Japan is a nation of a single race.

Mr. Takami Eto of LDP states in 1995, when he was Management and Coordination Agency Director General that Japan, that Japan had also done good things in the Korean Peninsula during the colonial area. This statement was off-the-record but some media covered it and he was forced to resign. On July 11th, 2003, in his speech at a meeting of an LDP branch in Fukui City, Fukui Prefecture, Mr. Eto said, “If war breaks out in the Korean Peninsula, tens of thousands of people will pour into Japan by ship. And in Japan, there are one million foreigners who are illegal immigrants, thieves or murderers” with no statistic grounds. Human rights NGOs including the Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan protested Mr. Eto’s remarks and published an open letter to Mr. Eto and Mr. Junichiro Koizumi, who was then President of LDP. Mr. Eto even stated, “The Kabukicho District in Shinjuku, Tokyo is now lawless and ruled by *sangkokujin*. Recently, illegal immigrants who are from China, South Korea and other countries commit robbery in crowds. Is there any other country like this?”

### 3. Racial Remarks by Public Figures in Local Government

It is not limited to public figures in the national political arena who make racial remarks.

In his speech at a ceremony of the Nerima Garrison of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF), Mr. Shintaro Ishihara, who has served as Governor of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government since 1999, stated, “In Tokyo these days, many *sangkokujin* and foreigners, who entered into Japan illegally, have committed atrocious crimes over and over. In an event of a major earthquake, they are expected to get involved in riots. The capacity of the police is limited; I like JGSDF to make commitments to not only disaster responses but security maintenance.” Originally, the word “*sangokujin*” is a general noun and it means “people of countries other than the country concerned.” The word was briefly used after WWII to refer to people from the Korean Peninsula, China and Taiwan who were forced to become a Japanese citizen due to the colonial rule of Japan during WWII and brought to Japan. Since then the word “*sangokujin*” is associated with discrimination and biases implications such as criminals. Towards the

media, Mr. Ishihara made bold remarks including “What was I so wrong (about using the word *sangokujin*)?” “Crimes in Tokyo have become more heinous. Those who committed such heinous crimes are all *sangokujin*, that is, foreigners who entered into Japan illegally and continue to stay.” On the other hand, in his letter to Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) of the Tokyo Metropolitan assembly, Mr. Ishihara explained, “I did not mean to hurt the feelings of “ordinary foreigners” including Koreans in Japan” and swore that he would not use “inappropriate and misleading words.”

Governor Ishihara’s racial remarks have not ended. On May 8th, 2001, he contributed a front page opinion column titled “To Japan: Defense inside the country” to a newspaper. In his article, he stated with regard to a murder which was committed by a Chinese, “I cannot deny a possibility that such crimes which show their ethnic DNA could eventually alter the nature of the Japanese society as a whole.” In addition, he insisted, “Annually, 10,000 people illegally enter into Japan. Out of them 40% are Chinese. Because they came to Japan illegally, they cannot go legitimate. Such situation will inevitably trigger crimes.” On November 1st in 2003, he made a speech in Kagoshima Prefecture and mentioned a China’s success of a launch of a manned missile, “In China, a manned spaceship was launched, and people got stunned. The Chinese people are so simple that they celebrated the success by screaming ‘Aiyaa!’ That was so out-fashioned. If Japan is going to try it do the same, we can do it in one year.”

Furthermore, in April 2010, at a national rally of local assembly members against recognition of voting rights for foreigners with permanent resident status, Mr. Ishihara stated, “Many heads and main members of ruling coalition parties are naturalized Japanese citizens,” and “I don’t know whether they think it is a way to show their loyalty to their ancestors, but they are now trying to pass a bill that will change the destiny of Japan.” Based upon such groundless delusion, Mr. Ishihara agitated racial discrimination.

On November 2nd, when Mr. Shigefumi Matsuzawa, then Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, was delivering a campaign endorsement speech, he said, “Those who enter into Japan with a working visa from countries like China are all thieves. They all do bad thing and go home,” and “Prisons (in Japan) are equipped with air heaters. They feed prisoners. These foreigners are not afraid of committing crimes. In consequence, break-ins and stealing (by foreigners) rapidly increase.” After the speech, he explained to the media “I made that speech to call for the necessity of immigration control reform. I did not mean that all immigrants must be thieves.”

One of local chief executives of Japanese local governments whose remarks draw attention is Mr. Toru Hashimoto, Mayor of Osaka City. In March 2010, when he was Governor of Osaka Prefecture, he decided to inspect Osaka Korean High School to consider whether a national policy on eliminating high school tuition fees should be applied to high schools for North Korean residents in Japan. Mr. Hashimoto told reporters, “I want to see a relationship of these schools with North Korea, the country caused abduction problems,” and “North Korea is no different from gangsters. Is it right

to aid a school that has a relationship with gangsters?” Mr. Hashimoto criticizes not the people of North Korea but the national system of North Korea; however, a group of mothers whose children go to high schools of North Korean residents in Osaka Prefecture feared that Mr. Hashimoto’s remarks could trigger harassment or threats against their children and they submitted a petition to the Osaka Prefectural Government to request to take some measures to protect the safety of their children.

On April 5th, 2012, Mr. Hashimoto tweeted, “Those who disrespect public opinion should go to North Korea! The more they have a know-it-all attitude and disrespect public opinion, the more likely they are going to go to jail in North Korea!” His statements, despite protests against him in the previous year from human rights groups or those who are concerned, have not changed.

On February 20th, 2012, Nagoya City Mayor Takashi Kawamura received a delegation of the Chinese Communist Party from Nanjing City, which is a sister city of Nagoya, and told the delegation “I don’t think so-called ‘Nanjing Massacre’ ever happened.” Mr. Kawamura’s statement was heavily criticized in China. On February 27th, he held a press conference at the city hall and explained, “I meant to say that an organizational massacre in which the Japanese Imperial Army killed as many as 300,000 unarmed Chinese did not happen.”

## B. Problems Associated with Racial Remarks by Public Figures

First, a problem of discriminatory remarks by public figures in Japan lies in obsession that Japan is a nation of a highly capable single race. Such obsession considers minority groups in Japan as “non-existent.”

As the second problem, it can be pointed out that racial remarks make a “scapegoat” of foreigners in Japan for the deterioration of social order in Japan. “The Chinese who entered into Japan are all criminals,” remarks by Mr. Ishihara and Mr. Matsuzawa, are examples of such case. This problem is also related to frequent media coverage on crimes by Chinese crime syndicates in 1990s and 2000s caused biases against the Chinese to spread nationwide.

Another problem, which can particularly be seen in hate speech against Koreans and Chinese, is the denial of the colonial rule and a history of invasions by Japan during WWII. It is impossible that politicians don’t know remarks like “During the colonial rule by Japan, Japan also committed good acts of establishing infrastructures,” and “There was no Nanjing massacres” often resulted in diplomatic disputes; however, various public figures make such discriminatory remarks over and over.

Discriminatory remarks by public figures are problematic in a sense that such remarks incite bias and discrimination in Japan; another problem is that such discriminatory visions could reach to a level where racial remarks make some impacts on policies. For instance, in March 2010, Mr. Hiroshi Nakai, then the chairman of the National Public Safety Commission that is responsible for solving abduction issues, made a speech at a

gathering of DPJ in Tsu City, Mie Prefecture, to express opposition to application of the elimination of high school tuition fees to schools for North Koreans in Japan. He argued, "Schools for North Koreans in Japan are categorized as the miscellaneous school, and we cannot confirm their curriculum is generally in line with the course of study set by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology," and "(In such schools,) North Korean textbooks are used and teachers' salaries are paid by the General Association of Korean Residents (*Chongryon*)."

In the former statement, "miscellaneous schools" also include American schools or International schools; they are screened and granted the elimination of high school tuition fees. His latter statement is just not true. A situation in which hostility against schools for North Koreans in Japan grows and racism influences on policies through disseminating racial hate based upon false information against schools for North Koreans in Japan has not changed. Although Japan ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, racial remarks which do not target a particular individual are not subject to punishment.

Racial remarks are forms of abuse of freedom of creed and freedom of expression by public figures. In the current legal system in Japan, who makes remarks is a public figure or not, racial slurs are not punishable in Japan. In France or Germany, simple denials of Nazis' conducts during WWII can be subject to criminal punishment. On the other hand, such legal system has yet to be established.

No public figure has even been forced to take a responsibility for their discriminatory acts, by receiving heavy criticism from other public figures or by being forced to resign a position. As above described, racial remarks by public figures have been currently left untouched, both legally and socially.

## **Part C: Hate Speech Against Zainichi Korean (Resident Korean)**

### **I Zainichi Korean**

Zainichi Korean or Resident Korean are those former colonials and their descendants who have come to and settled in Japan for the reasons relating to the Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. Today, there are over 1 million Zainichi Korean, accounting to nearly 1 % of the Japanese population. A half of them have North or South Korean nationality, while another half has Japanese nationality.

The Japanese government has not provided Zainichi Korean with compensations for damages caused by the colonial rule. Immediately after the Japan's defeat in the war, it has taken the policies that are discriminatory against Koreans and effective for watching over Zainichi Korean as aliens. Through the struggle led by Zainichi Korean themselves, some discriminatory and unjust treatments have been improved. Yet, discrimination against Koreans is persistent and deeply-rooted.

### **II Hate speech by public figures (See Part II)**

### **III The mass media, publications, the internet**

#### 1. Hate speech in the mass media

In September 2002, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) admitted and apologized to Japan for having abducted over ten Japanese citizens in the 1970's and 1980's at the Japan-DPRK Summit meeting. Then, all of Japanese mass media had incited aversion to DPRK by reporting the abduction issue sensationally every day for several months. The media had just reported DPRK and Japan as a perpetrator and a victim and hardly reported the fact that DPRK apologized to Japan and the backgrounds of the abduction issue like the historical relationship between Japan and Korea and the division issue of Korean peninsula. Moreover, the media scarcely reported the nationwide assault on students of Korean schools caused by such sensational news.

Parts of Japanese media like television, newspaper and magazine have been denying the Japan's responsibility of colonization and war in the past. Regarding the issue of Japanese military sexual slavery (the so-called "comfort woman"), those media has been campaigning to deny the facts that Japanese government admitted.

#### 2. Hate speech in the publications

In 2005, the comic book "Hating the Korean Wave" was published<sup>1</sup>. The outline of the story is that an "ordinary young man" finds "true history" between Japan and Korea by debating with "Korean in Japan." The topics in the book are the Japan-Korea World Cup, Japan's colonial rule of Korea, Japan-Korea Treaty, the "issues" of Korean residents in Japan, etc.

The book consistently beautifies Japan's colonial rule of Korea and argues that there is no need to apologize and make reparation for the past history of Japan, as

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<sup>1</sup> Ref. Annex 1.

written on cover of the book, “We no longer need an apology and compensation to South Korea!!”

The title of the book means that one “hates” “Korean Wave,” which means South Korean pop music or dramas flowed in Japan recently, but there is hardly any content that criticizes such “Korean Wave”. The book consistently criticizes South Korea itself or Korean in general.

For instance of beautifying and justifying Japan’s colonial rule of Korea, the characters of the book say that “(Korea’s) modernization could not be achieved by themselves, but it was achieved by capital and technology of Japan and blood and sweat of Japanese” “It’s not an exaggeration to say that Japan built the South Korea of today!!”

Besides, the Korean is drawn with narrow eyes and an image of yelling at someone and the Japanese is drawn with good looks in the book. The book seems to try to stereotype Korean and Japanese as “ugly Korean and beautiful Japanese” in contrast.

Moreover, the book indicates that the assault on students of Korean school in Japan, which is one of typical racist incidents in Japan, was put-up job. “Chima Chogori (a traditional school uniform of Korean school in Japan) is cut when the public opinion in Japan gets critical of North Korea...both terrorism and nuclear arms are finally trivialized in racism” is written in the book in order to give an impression to the readers that Japanese do not force out Zainichi Korean.

The book had a large sale and three sequels followed. The series of the books finally sold over a million. Impressions of readers of the books like “I could sort out my concern and felt relieved by reading this book. I came to think that I have to brace myself not to lose a pride as Japanese” “I am really impressed with publishing such a great book” “I was really interested in the book and saw the light. ...I also took it for granted that “Japan did something wrong” because I took the media or other book’s story on trust” written in the other similar book indicates that the books are positively accepted by a wide range of readers.

### 3. Hate speech on the Internet

Hate speech against Korean can be seen in any Japanese website about Korea. For example, there are enormous hate speeches against Korea in the Japanese biggest website of electronic bulletin board, “2 channel”<sup>2</sup>. “Chong”, a discriminatory term against Korean, is often used in the website. Besides, a large number of writings like “Korean people are inferior” “Korean must go back to Korea” “The colonial rule of Korea was the right thing” “Let’s shut down Korean schools” can be seen in the website.

Hate speech against Korean residents in Japan and Korean schools is also rampant on Twitter. Hate speeches like “Terrorist Korean must get out from Japan” “Go back to Korea, you are parasite” “Japan decides whether Korean may enter into Japan or not. It’s not discrimination at all” “Korean in Japan is garbage” “Surely Korean in Japan are not entitled to any human rights<sup>3</sup>” are actually tweeted against Korean residents in Japan using Twitter<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Ref. <http://awabi.2ch.net/korea/>

<sup>3</sup> Surprisingly, this is tweeted by Japanese junior high school student.

<sup>4</sup> Ref. Annex 3.

## VI Attacks on Korean school children

### 1. Korean school

Korean schools are founded by Zainichi Korean, who were forced to come to Japan under the Japanese colonial rule of Korea and have settled in Japan after WWII. Currently, there are about 70 Korean schools in Japan. Verbal and physical attacks on Korean school students by private persons have been consistent since the end of the WWII. It has been reinforced by the DPR Korea-bashing by the mass-media. (see III- 1 )

### 2. Some cases

#### A. "Suspicion of nuclear facilities" in 1994 (Hundreds of cases were reported)

i) On her way back home, a female student of Korean secondary school in Tokyo was threatened by a Japanese middle-aged man at the train station who said to her, "Do not wear such clothes!" She wore the school uniform which was similar to the Korean traditional dress named Chima-Chogori.

ii) A Japanese young man suddenly hit a girl Korean primary school student (the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade) while she was waiting for the school bus at JR Mito Station in Ibaraki-prefecture. A taxi driver who happened to see it helped the girl and caught the man, who was then arrested by the police on suspicion of assault.

#### B. "Suspicion of missile launch" in 1998 (Tens of attacks were reported)

i) A man telephoned a Korean secondary school in Tokyo and shouted, "Why did you launch the missile? You Korean! Remember, you are not in safety!" Verbal and physical attacks on Korean school students on their way going to school occurred so frequently that school staff went to terminal stations to safeguard their students against such an attack. Despite these efforts, attacks did not stop. The school administrator requested the police for protection, and the police patrolled around the school. But, it did not effectively work.

ii) While a boy Korean primary school student (in his 6 grade) in Tokyo was waiting for a train, a man approached to him from his back, and punched him at his stomach while shouting, "You, Korean!". Out of fear, the boy could not go to school without being accompanied by his mother. His parents submitted the report of injury to Akishima Police Station in Tokyo.

#### C. Assaults triggered by the Japan-DPRK Summit Meeting in 2002

For the following six months after the Japan-DPRK Summit Meeting too place on September 2002, more than 1000 hate crimes were committed against Zainichi Koreans. According to the survey conducted with 2710 students of 21 Korean schools in Kanto area by a lawyer group, 522 respondents, or 19.3% of all, were subject to attack for the following six months.

The same survey conducted with 1768 students in 12 Korean schools in Osaka by the lawyer group, and it was found that 416 students, 23.5% of all, were subject to attack.

Some of verbal attacks on Korean children included:



“Go to hell. Your existence makes me sick.”  
“Go back to Korea”  
“I burn your Chogori”  
“Stupid Korean, Go back to Korea”  
“As you are in Japan, use Japanese!”  
“Be away from us! I kill you!”  
“Koreans are prostitutes”  
“Do not walk on the streets”

According to these surveys, 37% of attackers were male adults, 18.4% were male students, and 15.1% were school boys, who were in the same age group of the targeted Korean children.

The results also revealed that 54% of verbal attacks were committed by a single man, whereas 40.8% were committed by a group of attackers, indicating that. It shows that hate crimes were committed not only out of mass psychology.

#### D. In recent years

In recent years, a physical attack has declined since Korean school students temporarily stopped wearing school uniforms under the decision of school administrators to prevent their students from assault. But, verbal attacks still happen frequently.

With the media coverage of the missile launch in 2006, Korean children started again to face verbal attacks. The survey conducted by the teachers union of Korean schools showed that 121 cases and 55 cases of verbal attacks on students were reported in June and July, respectively. Against this, regional bar associations announced the statement.

Also in April this year, with the heated-up media coverage on the experimental launch of satellite by the DP Korean government, attacks on Korean school children were resurgent.

### 3. Measures by the Japanese Government

To address these attacks, the Government distributed leaflets and posted posters for calling the public attention not to “discriminate against.” The Government has not conducted an investigation to find actual assaults or attacks on Koreans.

## **V Attacks by Racist Groups**

### 1. Racist groups in Japan

As stated above, verbal incitements and assaults against Korean residents in Japan have continually occurred in the post-war ear. While these were made by individuals and not in systematic or consistent manner, recently racist groups have been formed nationwide, and their targets are solely on Korean residents.

Amongst others, the leading group - Zai Toku Kai (Association of citizens intolerant to special privileges granted to Korean residents in Japan- ZAI nichu TOK-ken wo yurusanai shiminno KAI - <http://www.zaitokukai.info/>) was formed on 20 Jan 2007 by ten individuals.

The main purpose of the group is to remove “special privileges”<sup>5</sup> granted to Korean residents in Japan. They allege that Zainichi Koreans enjoy special privileges while Japanese do not, and that it constitutes discrimination against Japanese. They label anybody who is for special privileges of Zainichi Koreans as a state enemy. They argue that “forced labor of people from the Korean peninsula” and “conscripted military comfort women” are all fabrication.

The group informs gives the prior announcement of whatever attack they plan on the website, shoot video film of the attack and upload it on their website. This is how they have gained supporters.

Currently they have more than 11,000 members registered on the website. Anybody can be a member without fee. Membership includes some local government assembly members who openly join its activities. Two in Osaka, one in Tokyo and one in Kanagawa.

They act on daily basis mainly in Metropolitan Tokyo and Osaka area. Some ten members usually get together in busy areas, and do demonstration and make propaganda speech against Zainichi Koreans. Occasionally, with other racist groups they have taken a mass rally of some hundreds people together.

Their main targets are those relating to Korean residents in Japan, including Korean schools, Korean residential areas, Korean associations, and supporters for the military “comfort women” and their causes. Recently, they have extended their targets into the Chinese community, migrant communities and Buraku. They also target on any media, business companies and political party which they consider supportive to “special privileges” of Zainichi Koreans.

## 2. Cases

### A. Case of the First Primary Kyoto Korean School

#### 1) Details of the case

At 1pm of Dec. 4, 2009, 11 members of Zai Toku Kai gathered together at the South Gate of the First Primary Kyoto Korean School, and made derogatory and humiliating speech with a loud speaker.

- Korean school is not a real school.
- Korean schools train spies for North Korea.
- Agreement can be made amongst human beings. It cannot be made by Koreans as non-human.
- Koreans should eat shits.

Also, the group carried a platform of the school which was installed at the park in front of the school to the gate, then beat the door with the platform. Also, they roll down

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<sup>5</sup> As recognized by Treaty bodies such as CERD, Korean residents in Japan are publicly and socially discriminated against and they have never enjoyed such “special privileges.” The racist group insisted ally motivated group, however, insist that there are “Special Privileges for Korean Residents in Japan”: namely, the use of Japanese name aside from Korean real name as well as over-representation of the beneficiaries of welfare aid in the community.

soccer goal of the school which was also allocated at the park, and ask the school for removal of the facility persistently. Also, the group cut the cable to connect the PA system of the school which was installed at the park to be damaged ultimately.

As the school closed the main gate, they could not enter into the school building itself. Even though, their activity made a lot of school children crying with fear in the classrooms, any educational activities were disrupted then.

50 Members of Zai Toku Kai again held assembly at the park in front of the school in the next year- on Jan 14, 2012. They conducted demonstration around the school, and made appealed with loud voice with microphone with again abusive speech- such as “Dispose Korean at the Community Health Centre<sup>6</sup>”. The school suspended the class, and guided children outside of the school to evacuate.

## 2) Problems of the case

The police allocated the personnel at the school when the activities were conducted; however, they just winked at the activities. In addition, the demonstration which violates the interim order which will be discussed later of this report, Police again allocated some personnel at the site. Simply again, they winked at the activities whilst understanding that it violates the law.

## 3) Measures taken

The School accused Zai Toku Kai on Dec 21, 2009 soon after the activities conducted by the group. Kyoto Bar Association criticize Zai Toku Kai by issuing the Statement of President regarding to harassment against Korean School on Jan 19, 2010. Furthermore, School filed the motion for an order for prohibiting activities of abuse and defamation on Mar 19, 2010, and Kyoto District Court approved as such. However, 100 members of Zai Toku Kai conducted demonstration around the school on Mar 28, 2010, and made appeal with propaganda truck with PA system with, again, abusive speech; namely, “Koreans- Cockroaches and Maggots, go back to Korean peninsula”, “Lawless Koreans should be put in prison.

The school, in Jun 2010, filed the motion for an order against members of Zai Toku Kai for prohibiting discriminatory propagation, and sued them for 10 million yen for each of these 3 actions. The sessions are still continuing at Kyoto District Court.

In Aug 2010, four of the group who conducted actions indicated above were arrested and prosecuted for forcible obstructions of business, defamations, and property damages. In Apr 2011, Kyoto District Court sentenced them for one to two years’ penal servitude. Nevertheless, the judgment of guilty accompanied with a stay of execution for four years. Although one of them appealed against the decision, Osaka High Court dismissed the appeal in Oct 2011, and the Supreme Court rejected the final appeal in Feb 2012 to fix the assessment of the case.

Whilst the court dismissed the argument raised as “lawful political expression” by accused side, the court failed to reflect the racial motive into the assessment of the case.

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<sup>6</sup> Community Health Centres in Japan are launched under Community Health Act, and conduct health/hygiene related activities. As a part of Community protection from the elements of hygienic risk hazards, the centre conduct slaughter disposition of unfettered dogs and cats.

#### 4) Effects

These arrests and sentences made some members to leave Zai Toku Kai. Particularly in Kansai Area numbers of participants in the actions in the street decreased. On the other hand, even after the case, it keeps increasing number of registrants at the homepage of Zai Toku Kai.

Also, even those who found guilty continue propagation activities with hate speech after the decision as the punishment remained minimal with a stay of execution.

### **B Case of the Korea University**

#### 1) Summary of the case

Zai Toku Kai have been attacking on Korea University every autumn when a school festival of the university is held since 2008.

i) In November 2008, Zai Toku Kai called out to attack on Korea University on internet and approximately 70 people accepted the proposal. On the day of the school festival of the university, those members of Zai Toku Kai gathered and muscled into the university to demand to negotiate with a person in charge of the university. After that, they repeatedly yelled through a microphone that “Korea University is not a university but an organization which trains spies” “Let’s sink Koreans into Gulf of Tokyo” “Students of this university cannot even get the qualification of graduation of university in Japan. This university brings about discrimination which makes Korean students here be unfortunate” “Eat Kimchi, you smell Kimchi” in and in front of the university for 3 hours and obstructed the school festival.

ii) Zai Toku Kai did the same act above when a school festival in Korea University held in November 2009.

iii) In 2010, Zai Toku Kai called out to hold demonstration in advance on internet and approximately 70 members of Zai Toku Kai held a demonstration from the nearest station to the main gate of the university in spite of the school festival of the year was not held and the university was closed. They repeatedly yelled that “Destroy Korea University” at students within the university in front of the main gate<sup>7</sup>. Although the main gate was closed, tens of members of Zai Toku Kai tried to break into the university and caused a disturbance.

iv) On the day of the school festival in 2011, approximately 70 members of Zai Toku Kai also held a demonstration from the nearest station to the main gate of the university. After the demonstration, the representatives of Zai Toku Kai also repeatedly yelled that “We came here to kill Koreans” “Koreans are impertinent, we will beat you to death” and did acts of venomous provocation like treading on a national flag of DPRK in front of the university. Besides, several members tried to break into the university.

#### 2) Subsidiary problem of the case

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<sup>7</sup> Korea University is a boarding school.

Japanese police came to Korea University on the occasions above, but they never stopped the hate speech by Zai Toku Kai. On the day of the case in 2011, the police did not force to remove the members of Zai Toku Kai, though the police hampered the members of Zai Toku Kai to break into the university and kept guard at the entrance of the university to let the visitors of the festival come in the university.

## C Case of Amagasaki City Council

### 1) Summary of the case

On 26 June 2012, an “ordinance of Japanese national flag” which provides that every public facilities in Amagasaki city hoist Japanese national flag was under discussion in city council of Amagasaki city in Hyogo prefecture. Before the opening of the city council, several members of Zai Toku Kai surrounded an Korean woman resident who came there to listen to the discussion and spewed out hate speech like “Chong” “Get out from Japan” “You are not worth living” for 20 minutes.

### 2) Subsidiary problem of the case

The officer of the bureau of the city council looking at the scene did not stop the act by Zai Toku Kai and tolerated it. Besides, the officer guided them the public gallery of the council.

### 3) Measures taken

Members of a civil group including the Korean woman sent an e-mail and a letter to city authority and the Mayor of Amagasaki that demands to cope with the case and asks fundamental attitude toward human rights issues in Amagasaki. However, the reply from both city authority and the Mayor just admitted knowing the case and wrote generalities like “We have been earnestly coping with the human rights issues” but did not write apology for the correspondence of the city to the sufferer or measures to the case caused by racist group.

The members of the civil group also met and protested to the officer of the city who tolerated the scene later, but the officer excused that “it is not my duty” and pressed them to ask the responsible department which was the preservation department of the facilities of the city. However, the person in charge of the department just excused like “We knew that happening on the day, but we could not do anything because the members of Zai Toku Kai were too many to cope with”.

The civil group has been considering filing a suit against the city if the city continues not to cope with the case.

## Annex 1

— Article of New York Times (November 19, 2005)  
(<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/19/international/asia/19comics.html?pagewanted=all>)  
Ugly Images of Asian Rivals Become Best Sellers in Japan

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

Published: November 19, 2005

Correction Appended

TOKYO, Nov. 14 - A young Japanese woman in the comic book "Hating the Korean Wave" exclaims, "It's not an exaggeration to say that Japan built the South Korea of today!" In another passage the book states that "there is nothing at all in a young Japanese woman Korean culture to be proud of."

In another comic book, "Introduction to China," which portrays the Chinese as a depraved people obsessed with cannibalism, a woman of Japanese origin says: "Take the China of today, its principles, thought, literature, art, science, institutions. There's nothing attractive."



Sharin Yamano/Shinyusha

In "Hating the Korean Wave," a young Japanese woman says, "It's not an exaggeration to say that Japan built the South Korea of today!"

The two comic books, portraying Chinese and Koreans as base peoples and advocating confrontation with them, have become runaway best sellers in Japan in the last four months.

In their graphic and unflattering drawings of Japan's fellow Asians and in the unapologetic, often offensive contents of their speech bubbles, the books reveal some of the sentiments underlying Japan's worsening relations with the rest of Asia.

They also point to Japan's longstanding unease with the rest of Asia and its own sense of identity, which is akin to Britain's apartness from the Continent. Much of Japan's

history in the last century and a half has been guided by the goal of becoming more like the West and less like Asia. Today, China and South Korea's rise to challenge Japan's position as Asia's economic, diplomatic and cultural leader is inspiring renewed xenophobia against them here.

Kanji Nishio, a scholar of German literature, is honorary chairman of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, the nationalist organization that has pushed to have references to the country's wartime atrocities eliminated from junior high school textbooks.

Mr. Nishio is blunt about how Japan should deal with its neighbors, saying nothing has changed since 1885, when one of modern Japan's most influential intellectuals, Yukichi Fukuzawa, said Japan should emulate the advanced nations of the West and leave Asia by dissociating itself from its backward neighbors, especially China and Korea.

"I wonder why they haven't grown up at all," Mr. Nishio said. "They don't change. I wonder why China and Korea haven't learned anything."

Mr. Nishio, who wrote a chapter in the comic book about South Korea, said Japan should try to cut itself off from China and South Korea, as Fukuzawa advocated. "Currently we cannot ignore South Korea and China," Mr. Nishio said. "Economically, it's difficult. But in our hearts, psychologically, we should remain composed and keep that attitude."

The reality that South Korea had emerged as a rival hit many Japanese with full force in 2002, when the countries were co-hosts of soccer's World Cup and South Korea advanced further than Japan. At the same time, the so-called Korean Wave - television dramas, movies and music from South Korea - swept Japan and the rest of Asia, often displacing Japanese pop cultural exports.

The wave, though popular among Japanese women, gave rise to a countermovement, especially on the Internet. Sharin Yamano, the young cartoonist behind "Hating the Korean Wave," began his strip on his own Web site then.

"The 'Hate Korea' feelings have spread explosively since the World Cup," said Akihide Tange, an editor at Shinyusha, the publisher of the comic book. Still, the number of sales, 360,000 so far, surprised the book's editors, suggesting that the Hate Korea movement was far larger than they had believed.

"We weren't expecting there'd be so many," said Susumu Yamanaka, another editor at Shinyusha. "But when the lid was actually taken off, we found a tremendous number of people feeling this way."

So far the two books, each running about 300 pages and costing around \$10, have drawn little criticism from public officials, intellectuals or the mainstream news media. For example, Japan's most conservative national daily, Sankei Shimbun, said the

Korea book described issues between the countries "extremely rationally, without losing its balance."

As nationalists and revisionists have come to dominate the public debate in Japan, figures advocating an honest view of history are being silenced, said Yutaka Yoshida, a historian at Hitotsubashi University here. Mr. Yoshida said the growing movement to deny history, like the Rape of Nanjing, was a sort of "religion" for an increasingly insecure nation.

"Lacking confidence, they need a story of healing," Mr. Yoshida said. "Even if we say that story is different from facts, it doesn't mean anything to them."

The Korea book's cartoonist, who is working on a sequel, has turned down interview requests. The book centers on a Japanese teenager, Kaname, who attains a "correct" understanding of Korea. It begins with a chapter on how South Korea's soccer team supposedly cheated to advance in the 2002 World Cup; later chapters show how Kaname realizes that South Korea owes its current success to Japanese colonialism.

"It is Japan who made it possible for Koreans to join the ranks of major nations, not themselves," Mr. Nishio said of colonial Korea.

But the comic book, perhaps inadvertently, also betrays Japan's conflicted identity, its longstanding feelings of superiority toward Asia and of inferiority toward the West. The Japanese characters in the book are drawn with big eyes, blond hair and Caucasian features; the Koreans are drawn with black hair, narrow eyes and very Asian features.

That peculiar aesthetic, so entrenched in pop culture that most Japanese are unaware of it, has its roots in the Meiji Restoration of the late 19th century, when Japanese leaders decided that the best way to stop Western imperialists from reaching here was to emulate them.

In 1885, Fukuzawa - who is revered to this day as the intellectual father of modern Japan and adorns the 10,000 yen bill (the rough equivalent of a \$100 bill) - wrote "Leaving Asia," the essay that many scholars believe provided the intellectual underpinning of Japan's subsequent invasion and colonization of Asian nations.

Fukuzawa bemoaned the fact that Japan's neighbors were hopelessly backward.

Writing that "those with bad companions cannot avoid bad reputations," Fukuzawa said Japan should depart from Asia and "cast our lot with the civilized countries of the West." He wrote of Japan's Asian neighbors, "We should deal with them exactly as the Westerners do."

As those sentiments took root, the Japanese began acquiring Caucasian features in popular drawing. The biggest change occurred during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 to 1905, when drawings of the war showed Japanese standing taller than Russians,



with straight noses and other features that made them look more European than their European enemies.

"The Japanese had to look more handsome than the enemy," said Mr. Nagayama.

Many of the same influences are at work in the other new comic book, "An Introduction to China," which depicts the Chinese as obsessed with cannibalism and prostitution, and has sold 180,000 copies.

The book describes China as the "world's prostitution superpower" and says, without offering evidence, that prostitution accounts for 10 percent of the country's gross domestic product. It describes China as a source of disease and depicts Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi saying, "I hear that most of the epidemics that broke out in Japan on a large scale are from China."

The book waves away Japan's worst wartime atrocities in China. It dismisses the Rape of Nanjing, in which historians say 100,000 to 300,000 Chinese were killed by Japanese soldiers in 1937-38, as a fabrication of the Chinese government devised to spread anti-Japanese sentiment.

The book also says the Japanese Imperial Army's Unit 731 - which researched biological warfare and conducted vivisections, amputations and other experiments on thousands of Chinese and other prisoners - was actually formed to defend Japanese soldiers against the Chinese.

"The only attractive thing that China has to offer is Chinese food," said Ko Bunyu, a Taiwan-born writer who provided the script for the comic book. Mr. Ko, 66, has written more than 50 books on China, some on cannibalism and others arguing that Japanese were the real victims of their wartime atrocities in China. The book's main author and cartoonist, a Japanese named George Akiyama, declined to be interviewed.

Like many in Taiwan who are virulently anti-China, Mr. Ko is fiercely pro-Japanese and has lived here for four decades. A longtime favorite of the Japanese right, Mr. Ko said anti-Japan demonstrations in China early this year had earned him a wider audience. Sales of his books surged this year, to one million.

I have to thank China, really," Mr. Ko said. "But I'm disappointed that the sales of my books could have been more than one or two million if they had continued the demonstrations."

Correction: Nov. 22, 2005, Tuesday:

Because of an editing error, a front-page article on Saturday about the popularity of comic books in Japan that unfavorably portray Chinese and Koreans omitted the full name and background of a person who was quoted as saying that Japanese artists portrayed Russians in similarly unfavorable ways during the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese

war. He is Yasuo Nagayama, a Japanese author who has written on popular culture during that war.

## Annex 2

Examples of hate speeches against Korean residents in Japan on Twitter

1.

@bubka0401 @song1211earth Terrorist Korean must get out from Japan [ by @nihonnohana]  
(<https://twitter.com/nihonnohana/status/203986925458165760>)

2.

@song1211earth: Absolutely "@jiiko526: Prohibition of re-entry? Which is more inhumane? " "Japan is the one that decides Korean may enter into Japan. It's not discrimination at all. North Korea decides entry of Japanese into North Korea, doesn't it? It is not discrimination at all. You are an illegal entrant. [by @kuriakitkuriaki]  
(<https://twitter.com/kuriakitkuriaki/status/150110857379053568>)

3.

Well..."@peaceketch: Korean in Japan must go back to Korea. You are annoying. I'm unpleasant being with you in the same land. Really, go back to Korea. [by @song1211earth]  
(<https://twitter.com/song1211earth/status/231484879278313472>)

4.

I can't help feeling like beating Korean when I see them☆ [by @peaceketch]  
(<https://twitter.com/peaceketch/status/231467050650959872>)

5.

@double430 Zainichi Koreans are garbage, aren't they? LOL Go back to Korea, you are parasite. [by @peaceketch]  
(This tweet seems to be deleted as of August 14, 2012)

6.

I will spread the Korean scum of society @songho0125 @unilsu @kamudan @choppuru @YongCholLee @KJongl @920homiiii @riyokimu @kansu0202 @wo\_ja @yp0210 @jehokim @chungryol [by @peaceketch]  
(This tweet seems to be deleted as of August 14, 2012)

7.

@jinkenkyoukai Human rights for Korean in Japan? Surely Korean in Japan does not have any human rights. Just serve in the army soon.  
(<https://twitter.com/pakopy1206/status/169032158638391296>)