

**SOUTH KOREA-JAPAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK
CONTROVERSY: IMPACT ON BILATERAL
RELATIONS**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that dissertation entitled **SOUTH KOREA-JAPAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY: IMPACT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any university and is my own work.

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Dedicated
To
Maa and Papa

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Preface

South Korea and Japan are yet to resolve controversial issues having roots in the past. One of the reasons for disagreement is Japanese textbooks. Textbook discrepancies have triggered several debates. At the centre of the history textbook debate is Japan's interpretation of its history of colonial rule. There has been a great deal of cultural, economic, and other exchanges between South Korea and Japan for a long period of time. The neighboring countries share number of commonalities such as democratic form of government and liberal economy. The great paradox in the South Korean and Japan is the strong economic ties despite the long drawn unsettled political conflicts. The friction over history between the two countries has heightened the concerns affecting peace in the East Asia, which is a militarily volatile region. Despite the commitment and agreement from both sides to resolve controversial matters through dialogue, both countries have a long distance to cover.

There exist several other issues correlated to or independent of history textbook controversy. Issues like Dokdo Islands, Yasukuni Shrine, compensation, apologies and comfort women have affected the bilateral relations, time and again. Both countries have resorted to the means of promoting nationalism including school curriculum and textbooks. The conspicuous desire of both the countries, to assert themselves internationally, has shaped their strategies and responses. From both sides, steps are being taken to minimize issues that could lead to serious confrontation. The confidence building measures and encouraging reactions show eagerness of both the countries to resolve issues amicably.

Given the economic and strategic interests of both the countries, the need of the hour is to either subside or ignore such issues and emphasize peace and friendship. The present study has highlighted the controversial issues and concerns prolonging between both the countries. Therefore, attempts to resolve and minimize each other's concern are critically analyzed. The domestic and political compulsions have resulted in the manipulation or distortion of historical facts. These domestic compulsions have even influenced the respective foreign policies of the

South Korea and Japan. By taking into account the efforts from both sides, this study has also provided some alternatives to resolve controversial matters.

ABBREVIATIONS

APHEN	Asian Peace and Harmony Education Network
DP	Democratic Party
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
GHQ	General Headquarters
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JCP	Japan Communist Party
JTU	Japan Teachers Union
KDP	Korean Democratic Party
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
NSL	National Security Law
NKWP	North Korean Workers Party
PM	Prime Minister
ROK	Republic of Korea
SCAP	Supreme Command for the Allied Powers
TCOG	Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations Human Rights Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Person
WW	World War

GLOSSARY

<i>Ch'ondogyō</i>	A movement that evolved from Tonghak
Chongryon	Japan through its informal relationship with North Korea established a secret Organization
Darake no chūgaku kyōkasho	Middle School Textbooks with Lots of Doubts
Gimon Gwangbokkun	Restoration Army
Guksa gyobon	History Textbook
Gyosu yomok	Syllabus of Lectures
Hangul	Korean Language
<i>Higaisha ishiki</i>	Victim Consciousness
<i>Jugun Ianfu</i>	Comfort Women
Monbukagakusho	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
Munhwajeongchi	Enlightened Administration
Shinkō	Advance
Shinryaku	Invasion
<i>Tenka-Fubu</i>	Under a single sword
Tsukurukai	New history textbook
Ureubeki Kyōkasho	Deplorable Textbooks

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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

The historical problems have apparent impact on the domestic politics which at times impacts foreign relations as well. The year 2005 was officially declared the “year of Korean-Japanese friendship.” However, it turned out be the “year of conflict between Korea and Japan,” especially with regard to history. The circumstances which led the people of Korea and Japan to mistrust and apprehensions about each other are required to be studied. Taking their past experiences and the education into account one can not only understand the problem but also offer reconcilable solutions. The present study deals with some of the issues, including textbook controversy, having implications on the bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan .

History textbook controversy has conspicuous impact on the bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan since 1980s. The roots of controversy can be traced back to the latter half of the 19th century. The contentious bilateral relations between Korea and Japan began since 1876, with the Treaty of Ganghwa during the Joseon Dynasty of Korea. The relations between both countries further deteriorated owing to the subsequent assassination of Empress Myeongseong by the Japanese agents in 1895. It was culminated with the 1905 *Eulsa* Treaty and the 1910 Annexation Treaty, which were eventually declared ‘void’ by both the countries in 1965. However, Japanese control of Korea ended with the Japan’s surrender to the Allied forces in 1945 at the end of World War II. The Korean Peninsula was subsequently divided into North Korea (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) and South Korea (officially known as Republic of Korea). The memories of the Japanese occupation of (undivided) Korea continue to trigger disputes between Japan and the two Koreas.

In order to establish basic relationship between Japan and the South Korea, on 22 June 1965, the Treaty on Basic Relations between Republic of Korea (ROK) and Japan was concluded by the then president of South Korea Park Chung-Hee. The treaty was signed as a normalization of bilateral relations effort. As a result, the relations between Japan and South Korea improved. Japan transferred the property of Japanese empire in the Korean peninsula to South Korea, and

gave 800 million dollars.

The Japanese aggression over Korea was an adverse event in East Asian region. The Japanese control over Korea from 1905 to 1945 is a major event on which several passages has been written in the history textbooks in Japan. Laura Hein and Mark Sheldon (1998: 3) points out that the “Textbooks provides one of the most important ways in which nations, citizenship, the idealized past, and the promised future are articulated and disseminated in contemporary societies”. So far History textbooks serve as nationalist primers that selectively highlight elements or incidents of the past to build up an official story or viewpoint. It is widely accepted that education is an integral part to nation building, and plays a key role in the shaping of national consciousness, the articulation of state-society relations and clarifications of the boundaries and terms of citizenship. Michael W Apple (1992: 4) observes, “The school curriculum is not neutral knowledge. Rather, what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relation, struggles, and compromises among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups.”

This introduction chapter highlights the role played by education and textbooks, in particular, in shaping the future of a nation and its response to domestic and international issues. In this chapter historical background of the textbook controversy between Japan and Korea is discussed.

1.1: Textbooks: as a Source of Knowledge or Controversy

The formal and informal institutions to impart basic education from generation to generation are usually governed and run by the government in all the modern nation states. Schools are one of such institutions. This chapter deals with various issues related to the collective memory of the people and how the incidents are remembered and passed on from one generation to other and role played by the government in institutionalizing the collective memories of the people. Schools hold significance as they are the duly governed and regulated formal institutions. Schools are important for the overall personality development of the children in their formative years. In order to establish a collective national identity, a government disseminates information deemed proper for the people through textbooks in schools, ignoring

the different perspectives of individuals. A history textbook is, thus, the tool of a government to officially institutionalize the experiences of members of a group of a specific nation (Sin Ju-Baek, 2005: 179).¹

The situation and political environment during a particular time have impact on thoughts and behaviour of the people. This is also true of institutionalized memories approved by the movement. Japan and Korea each have had different memories of the occupation of Korea by Japan from 1910 to 1945 and these memories have changed through time as political needs have demanded.

1.2: Korean History Textbooks through Various Phases

The Korean people could not publish textbooks and provide history education immediately after independence. The US military government announced the “Teaching Guidelines” in September 1946 and suggested the direction of history education. In May, several months before the announcement, the History Textbook by Jindanhakhoe came into use temporarily in middle schools. By December 1946, only 17,000 copies of the Jindanhakhoe textbook were printed by the military government, inadequate to fulfill the total requirement. To address the shortage, the military government encouraged private companies to publish new books. From 1948 to 1972, the textbook publication system in Korea shifted from a national textbook system, under which textbooks were compiled by the government, to a government authorization textbook system. In 1974, it shifted to a national textbook system and finally to both a national textbook system and government authorization textbook system in the 7th phase educational curriculum.

The US military governments stated policy for publication of social life textbooks was to help students clearly and in a positive way to understand the relationship of the people, nature

¹ There were five goals of middle school history education during this period, including making students recognize the mission of unification of the land as a homogenous nation and contributing to the development of democracy by teaching them to understand the formation of a nation and development of the nation. Ten different publishing companies produced history textbooks. There was opposition from the general public as the curriculum was based on the experiences of social life and not social science.

the environment and society so that they can grow into responsible and productive members of society. Korean history was also included as part of the social science curriculum. The middle school social life curriculum included distant countries for seventh grade, neighboring countries for eight grades, and Korea for ninth grade. In 1949, social life textbooks were published by seven companies (Korean Textbook Research Foundation, 2000: 98 as cited in Sin Ju-Baek, 2005: 191).

The first phase of the educational curriculum began to be taught in 1955. The educational curriculum was affected officially as the curriculum in 1954 and was the first statute on curriculum formulated independently by the Koreans.² The second educational curriculum was proclaimed in 1963. The social life curriculum was changed into the social science curriculum. The division of geography, civic duties, and history under the first phase educational curriculum was reclassified into social science 1, social science 2, and social science 3. Social science 2 was about history and addressed Korean history and world history together. The second phase educational curriculum had for goals for social science education. One of them reads as follows: “Upholding the indomitable spirit of our ancestors, who strived for the development of our motherland, increasing the motivation of students to build a new nation and ensuring their understanding the status of our nation, thereby fostering their love for the nation and the belief in need for the construction of an anti-communist, democratic nation” (Sin Ju-Baek, 2005: 192).

The second educational curriculum clearly emphasized on love for nation and anti-communism. The goal of social science 2, that is history education, was also to teach students to understand the spirit of the Korean people upheld in the course of development of Korea in order to foster the spirit of love for native place and love for country. World history and Korean history were integrated. In 1969, it was deemed necessary to improve Korean history education in order to cope with situations both at home and abroad.

² There were five goals of middle school history education during this period, including making students recognize the mission of unification of the land as a homogenous nation and contributing to the development of democracy by teaching them to understand the formation of a nation and development of the nation. Ten different publishing companies produced history textbooks. There was opposition from the general public as the curriculum was based on the experiences of social life and not social science.

The third phase educational curriculum for middle school was announced in 1973. In 1972, the Yusin constitution (Restoration Constitution) was promulgated, and the Yusin system was established by the Park Chung Hee administration. The emphasis was laid on Korean history education for the succession and development of traditional culture and the importance of building a new image for the Korean people that could suit Korean-style democracy.³

The fourth phase educational curriculum took effect in 1982, but it differed little from the third phase one. Korean history textbooks for middle and high schools were in two volumes, 1 and 2. Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2001) says “Volume 2 started from Sirhak (practical learning) philosophy of the late Joseon period to serve the purpose of better clarifying modern Korean history.”

Although, the basic standard for content remained unchanged but the fourth revision described the changes that took place in Korean society under Japanese occupation, the Japanese invasion and exploitation of Korea resulting in underdevelopment and anti-Japanese movement during the Japanese occupation in a systematic manner. These kinds of description in history textbooks in the fourth phase continued until the sixth phase educational curriculum. Few Korean historians made an issue of the perception of historians towards ancient Korean history so much so that the debate on this issue was eventually, taken up by the national assembly as a political issue. The government went on to organize the Korean history deliberation committee in 1986. The deliberation committees were further divided into five sub-committees to prepare standards for school education on Korean history. The committee came out with the proposal for Korean history textbook compilation standards (Sin Ju-Baek, 2005: 194-5).

³ For this, history was regarded as the core of education to teach students values along with Korean language and moral education. The textbook approval system was changed to government approval. The park administration intended to teach uniform and objective thinking of students on Korean history through government approved textbooks. The Korean history education committee established in 1971 to improve Korean history education presented its opinion to the government, insisting that Korean history be separated from the social science curriculum and be included in state examinations as a required subject. The government accepted the opinion and made further changes to the Korean history textbook publication system, shifting from system of authorization of textbooks produced by publishers to a state-textbook publishing system.

Sin Ju-Baek, (2005: 195) contests that in 1990, when the fifth phase curriculum came into effect, “this standard proposal was referred to in addition to the curriculum in preparing new Korean history textbooks. In fact, in writing of the “modern times of Korea” in the seventh phase curriculum of the Korean history textbook, the authors referred to the details of the proposal for Korean history textbook compilation standards more carefully.”

In the post-occupation Korea the history textbooks and curriculum is designed in a way to promote nationalism and uniformity. Anti-Japanese feelings due to the collective memories of the people and specifically designed educational curriculum/textbooks remained strong.

1.3: Japanese History Textbooks through Various Phases

Benjamin C. Duke (1976: 480) observes, “The administration and supervision of the education represents one of the most controversial issues in post-War Japanese education.” After defeat in the World War II, Japan was placed under the control of Allied Occupation in 1945. On 31 December 1945, the Allied Occupation ordered to the Japanese government to collect all the textbooks of three different kinds that had been in use in schools up to that time. Completely new Japanese history textbooks were published in 1946 for elementary, middle, and college level education.

In 1952, the authorized history textbooks were first used in Japan as part of the Social Science curriculum. After the Allied Occupation in 1951, Japan attempted to produce textbooks. All the textbooks were published by the eight publishing companies under the guidance of government of Japan. The first edition of the history textbooks were published by the Tokyo Publishing Co. in 1954 (Sin Ju-Baek 2005, 200).

In 1955, Japan included its domestic and foreign policy goals into educational policy. A teaching guidance manual was formulated. As for the history curriculum, the ratio of world history and Japan’s history was flexibly set at around 7:3. In 1958, revised teaching guidance manual was introduced. Provisions of teaching geography in seventh grade, history in eighth grade, politics/economics/sociology in ninth grade were made.

In the same year (1955), the Japanese government established the textbook inspection committee system. It even tried to establish a national textbook system under which elementary school textbooks, which had been inspected in accordance with the third edition of the teaching guidance manual, would be compiled by the government. The first history textbooks for middle school produced according to the third teaching guidance manual of 1958 came out in 1962.⁴

In 1969, once again the teaching guidance manual was revised. New manual was applied to textbooks that were published in 1972 and afterwards. Eight publishing companies continued to publish history textbooks until 1980. The new teaching guidance specified to foster the potential and capacity of individual students. It also emphasized on the modernization of education on social science in order to keep up with the rapid economic growth of Japan. The international order in the Cold War era was also taken into consideration. Sin Ju-Baek (2005: 187) “Until 1980, Japanese middle school textbooks were so tightly controlled by the Japanese government that textbook authors hesitated to describe the 1931 invasion of Manchuria as an invasion and the 1937 Japan china incident as the Sino Japanese war.” The fifth revision of the teaching guidance manual was done in 1977. It was made clear that history textbook were meant to teach Japanese history. The world history was taught to the students in a way that it helps them to understand the Japanese history. The visible change in the policy reflected the increasing influence of Japan in the international community as an economic power.

The most noteworthy changes in the 1981 history textbooks relating to Korean history were the explanation of the invasion and rule of Japan. Sin Ju-Baek (2005: 188-90) says “Chapter 3 addresses the increasing tendency of middle school history textbooks published after 1981 to describe the impressments of Korean and Taiwanese as ‘forceful seizure’ and the Manchuria incident and Sino Japanese War as invasions. The description changed noticeably from those in the previous versions. The movement to provide more conscientious description can be seen in seven different kinds of textbooks that passed authorization inspection in 1997. That is, all the textbooks defined the Sino Japanese war, Russo-Japanese war and Asia-pacific

⁴ The number of publishing companies decreased from twelve in 1962 to nine in 1966, and eight in 1967, when Nihon Publishing withdrew from the textbook market.

war as acts of aggression. Forceful seizure, especially 'sexual slaves' for Japanese soldiers were mentioned as major cases of aggression and assault under colonial rule."

The concerned historians and people tried to provide more accurate explanation of the Japanese invasion and occupation. The major reactions from the people came particularly in 1982, 2001 and 2005 for distorting history. The first incident started in 1979, when an attack on the second revised textbooks was launched. The movement was led by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Ministry of Education, and Tsukuba University group. The 1982 history distortion incident drew international attention for the first time. Sin Ju-Baek (2005: 189)

"A right wing civic group, the Japanese society for history textbook reform and right wing politicians in support of this organization began to attack the third revised textbooks. And this attack continues into 2005. Unlike the attack in previous years, the new attack in 2005 is led by right wing civic groups with the Japanese society for history textbook reform and Japanese league at the center, and it is supported by right wing politicians and mass media, such as Sankel Simbun and Daily Yomiuri. More aggressive groups who have not been satisfied with only criticizing specific textbooks have published their own history textbook as seen in the case of Fusosha publishing co., the publishers of new history textbook in 2002 and 2005. These publishers are waging an aggressive campaign for all Japanese society with their distorted history textbooks. Their movement is very different from the less aggressive distortion incidents in the past. This implies that Japanese society is fast becoming more right-wing and that conservative and right-wing politicians are using history education for political ends."

1.4: Debates over Textbook Revision within Japan

In Japan system of screening and approving textbooks dates to pre-War period when official narratives such as the Imperial Rescript on Education played a crucial role in Japanese identity formation. After the Japan's unconditional surrender Japanese bureaucrats altered textbook policy by blotting out passages that they felt might offend the American occupiers. By 1946 the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP), in an effort to discourage emperor-

worship and militarism, imposed on the nation a system of government “certification” of schoolbooks which is still prevalent in Japan. According to the governmental provisions the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbukagakusho), in every four years, offers a list of seven or eight authorized history textbooks out of which each public and private school selects one history textbook. This screening process then lasts one full year (Kathleen Woods Masalski, 2001).⁵

General public opinion within Japan seems to be divided over the history textbook issue. Prominent historians like Ienaga Saburo have filed lawsuits against the Ministry of Education, over the constitutionality and legality of the textbooks approval. However, the Ministry had rejected Ienaga’s history textbook as the officials felt that his work contained illustrations representing darker side of the Japanese pre-War imperialism. In 1982 the screening process in Japan became a diplomatic issue when the media of Japan and neighboring countries gave extensive coverage to changes required by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry’s objections, suggestions and orders to use milder words such as ‘advance’ and ‘uprising’ instead of ‘Japanese aggression in China’ and ‘March First Independence movement of Korea’ had to face severe criticism not only of the progressive sections of Japanese people but also from the neighboring countries. Owing to the pressure applied by China and Korea the Ministry backed off introduced a new authorization criterion: that textbook must show understanding and international harmony in their treatment of modern and contemporary historical events involving neighboring Asian countries (Murai Atsushi, 2001).⁶

Ienaga’s lawsuits witnessed wide ranging support from the different sections of the Japanese people. Although, he could not win the fully in the courts but in the mid- and late-1990s most prescribed textbooks contained almost all the issues raised by him including

⁵Japanese textbook companies submit manuscripts to the Ministry of Education, whose appointed committees examine them according to prescribed criteria. The Ministry offers the textbook companies opportunities to revise their drafts, and copies of the Ministry-approved manuscripts are then available for consideration by the local districts.

⁶Ienaga’s lawsuits lasted thirty years. Although in 1997—in response to Ienaga’s third lawsuit instituted in 1986—the Supreme Court of Japan unanimously upheld the Ministry’s right to continue screening textbooks, Ienaga and his fellow critics enjoyed a partial victory. The court requested “that the Government refrain from intervening in educational content as much as possible.”

references to the Nanjing Massacre, anti-Japanese resistance movements in Korea, forced suicide in Okinawa, comfort women, and Unit 731 (responsible for conducting medical experiments on prisoners of war).

On the contrary, in the early 1990s, Fujioka Nobukatsu and his Liberal View of History Study Group initiated a movement toward reform in the Japanese history curriculum. This group was predominantly a conservative one and many would argue that they were ultra-conservatives. Fujioka, a professor of education at Tokyo University, set out to correct history by emphasizing a positive view of Japan's past and by removing from textbooks any reference to matters associated with what he calls dark history, issues such as the comfort women, which might make Japanese schoolchildren uncomfortable when they read about the Pacific War (Kathleen Woods Masalski, 2001).

By early 2000 Fujioka and his group had joined with others to form the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, now headed by Nishio Kanji. It is the Society's textbook, *The New History Textbook* (one of eight junior high school history textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education in April 2001), that has caused such debate in Japan over the past year. Nishio summarized the views of the Society in an article in the August 2001 *Japan Echo*, a bimonthly journal of opinion on a wide range of topics of current interest within Japan. The article maintained that rather than asserting the Society members' personal views of history the textbook aims to restore common sense to the teaching of the subject. Nishio insisted that "history stop being treated like a court in which the figures and actions of the past are called to judgment" (Nishio Kanji, 2001).

Several scholars have tried to analyze the textbook controversy from the nationalistic perspectives. While addressing the question of Japan's textbook revisionism and the rise of nationalism in Japan, Frances Rosenbluth et. al., (2007) have noted that, "only 18 schools out of over 40,000 nationwide chose to adopt the particular textbook that provoked such furor in 2001 and 2005. This means at most 0.04% of Japanese middle school students learn history through this lens. To the disappointment of the right wing publishing company that produced the book, the vast majority of Japanese school boards have rejected the textbook in favor of others that

give a more full-bodied account of Japanese brutality in Asia. Even in most of the municipalities where the new textbook was adopted, groups of parents and concerned citizens petitioned against the book's use. Some LDP politicians and Japanese government officials are sympathetic to self-congratulatory history, to be sure, but opposition parties in the Diet have challenged the government at every turn and the textbook disputes do not appear to signal a rising tide of militarist nationalism among the Japanese public at large.”

1.5: Textbook Controversy between ROK and Japan

The dispute between Korea and Japan on the textbooks of History emerged in 1982 for the first time when it was reported in the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper in Japan. It became major issue in the year 2000 when the revised history textbooks were published and ROK had serious objections. ROK stressed that Japan is trying to glorify its militaristic past through the textbooks. The protests were not only confined to the governmental level, however, they were even visible in the general public sentiment. This became more evident when widespread anti-Japanese protests were staged in ROK in 2005 which was officially declared Korea-Japan friendship year.

Various controversial issues were cited in the history textbook of Japan, some of them were associated directly with ROK. During World War II, hundreds of thousands of Korean men were conscripted for forced military service or to work as slaves in Japanese industries. As many as 100,000 Korean women (approximately 80 percent in comparison with China), were transported to military brothels to function as sex slaves or “comfort women”. The historical facts are not presented in a right form. Such is the gravity of the controversy that more than two countries have been involved. China also seems not to be happy with the kind of remarks and factual description given in the history textbooks which are prescribed by several schools. It appears that nationalists in Japan are trying to promote their agenda of reviving Japanese pre-War glory and by omitting references like war time atrocities. ROK has reacted to such deliberate omissions and distortions of the facts because Japanese children, who are in their formative years, are taught wrong things about their countries past. If unchecked, this will definitely produce ill-informed generations.

According to South Korean historians, there are 35 passages in the eight books (including 25 parts in *The New History Textbook*), passages or omissions in the Japanese textbook that distort the history of Japan's occupation of Korea from 1905 to 1945. In 1982, Japanese history textbooks under the system of governmental authorization changed various expressions relating to the colonial past. For example, the term "invasion" to refer to Japan's entry into Korea and other Asian countries was changed to "advance," "exploitation" was changed to "transfer," "Korean independence movement" was changed to "rioting" and "demonstration," and so on (Dong-Hoo Lee :7).

The Japanese textbooks covering construction of a Russian military base in the northern part of Choson, provide distorted information. South Korean historians counter that it was merely a lumber camp built by Russia in the Northern Korea. Japanese books say that, Korea had to be annexed to guarantee Japan's security and protect the interests of Manchuria. The Great Britain, the United States, and Russia held each other in check to prevent their rivals from strengthening their influence on the Korean Peninsula. They did not oppose Japan's annexation of Korea because they believed it would help stabilize East Asia. Japanese books also mention that there were some voices of support within Korean people that endorsed Japanese annexation of Korea. Koreans have confronted this argument. They have deliberately highlighted a limited number of pro-Japanese Koreans. The Japanese books have minimized the descriptions of nationalist struggle of the Koreans and the individual patriotic activities, including the assassination of Ito Hirobumi by Ahn Jung-gun.⁷

The Japanese textbooks also have mentions that Japan started several development projects such as railroads and irrigation in the colonized Korea. The description reflects the opinion of the Japanese colonialists who insisted that Japan's development projects contributed to the modernization of Korea and benefited its people. On the contrary Korean historians

⁷ Ahn Jung Guhn, was the Korean independence activist who killed Ito Hirobumi, the archenemy of the Korean people. Ito served as the first Prime Minister of Japan, president of the Privy Council and president of the House of Peers. In 1905, he became the first resident general of Korea. It was Ito who had planned and carried out Korea's annexation. At 9:30 AM, October 26, 1909, Ahn Jung Guhn shot and killed Ito at a train station in Harbin, Manchuria. The Japanese executed Ahn at 10:00 am, March 26, 1910.

believe that these development projects were designed to facilitate Japan's colonial rule and exploitation of Korea.

Koreans also claim that the massacre by the Japanese military and police to suppress unrest among Koreans and socialists, on September 1, 1923, when the great earthquake occurred in Kanto region, has been covered up. They say that "despite that most of those killed were Koreans (about 7,000); the victims are lined up in the order of "socialists, Koreans and Chinese" for the purpose of playing down the sacrifice of Koreans that was the core of the incident."

Japanese textbooks also do not clearly reflect the issues like conscription for wartime labour and military service. In fact, in Korea, a voluntary draft system was implemented... Many ordinary Koreans, including women and children fell victim to the policy. The forcible nature of the draft system is distorted to suggest that Koreans voluntarily participated in the war. Japanese textbooks have omitted sexual slavery or the "comfort women" issue as well. Two special reports on military slavery and sexual crimes in wartime, which have recently been submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, denounced Japan's use of the "comfort women" as a wartime crime against humanity.⁸

On of the Japanese history textbooks highlight that Japanese assimilation policy was targeted to spread Japanese values and culture among Koreans. The policy of Japanization of Korean people in Korea is not being clearly explained. The Japanese highlighted that Koreans were forced to assimilate in ways worthy of being considered "people of the Emperor". But, how Koreans were assimilated have been ignored in the Japanese textbooks. "It must be stated that Koreans were forced to pay homage at Shinto shrines, adopt the Japanese family names and learn Japanese, etc" (Kiyohara Masao, 1981: 48). The issues surrounding Korean people are vaguely treated as part of the Japanese nation, thereby misrepresenting the nature of Japan's colonial policy.

On the topic of Korean War, the Japanese historians have highlighted that "the UN forces under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur made a counterattack...Chinese troops sided

⁸ The Japanese government also admitted in a statement in August 1993, that the Japanese army was involved in the establishment and operation of military brothels and that the "comfort women" were mobilized, moved (to the battlefields) and managed against their will both by coercion and cajolery.

with the North Koreans. However, South Korean forces are ignored as the war is depicted as a conflict between the UN forces against the allied forces of China and North Korea. The war situation became stalled near the existing borderline of 38 degrees north latitude.” Japanese textbooks show that, the 38th parallel is mistakenly referred to as the national border, giving the impression that Korea has been divided for a long time (Choe Yong-shik et. al., 2001). Table 1.1 shows few history textbook issues that are predominantly controversial in nature. Both South Korea and Japan differ when it comes to representation of historical facts.

Table 1.1

Textbook Controversy: Analysis of Korea’s requests to Japan

Subject	What Japanese Textbooks say	What Korean Analysis say
Russia-Japan War	Russia constructed a military base in the northern part of Choson.	It was not a military base but in fact lumber camps that Russia built in northern Korea.
	It was evident that Russia's military in the Far East would grow so powerful that Japan could hardly match it ...The (Japanese) government decided to wage a war against Russia before it was too late.	Although Japan instigated the war against Russia, it is erroneously stated that the war broke out because Japan felt threatened by the Russian military.
	After the war ended, Russia recognized Japan’s rule of Korea (Choson)...It was a momentous war that brought victory to a non-white race of people over Russia, an empire of white people with the world's largest army. The victory inspired tremendous hope for independence among the oppressed nations around the world.	It is erroneously stated that Japan gained recognition of its domination of Choson and at the same time gave hope for independence to other oppressed nations
Development of the colonized Korea	For the colonized Korea, Japan pushed ahead with development projects, building railroads and improving irrigation facilities	The description reflects the opinion of the Japanese colonialists who insisted that Japan’s development projects contributed to the modernization of Korea and benefited its people. But they were in fact designed to facilitate Japan’s colonial rule and exploitation of Korea.

The Great Earthquake in 1923 and Koreans	At the time of the Great Earthquake that shook the Kanto region on Sept.1, 1923, rumors spread that Koreans and socialists were attempting to exploit the chaos to engage in subversive activities. Therefore, Japanese civilian security forces killed Koreans and Chinese.	The massacre by the Japanese military and police has been covered up. Despite that most of those killed were Koreans (about 7,000); the victims are lined up in the order of “socialists, Koreans and Chinese” for the purpose of playing down the sacrifice of Koreans that was the core of the incident.
Forced conscription	Conscription for wartime labor and military service also took place in the colony.	It is not clearly stated how the conscripted workers were exploited.
	Young Korean men who volunteered for conscription (picture caption). In Korea, a voluntary draft system was implemented... Many ordinary Koreans, including women and children fell victim to the policy.	The forcible nature of the draft system is distorted to suggest that Koreans voluntarily participated in the war.
Sexual slavery	Omitted	Two special reports on military slavery and sexual crimes in wartime, which have recently been submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, denounced Japan’s use of the “comfort women” as a wartime crime against humanity.
		The Japanese government also admitted in a statement in August 1993, that the Japanese army was involved in the establishment and operation of military brothels and that the “comfort women” were mobilized, moved (to the battlefields) and managed against their will both by coercion and cajolery.
Assimilation policy	In Korea, Japan stepped up its policy to assimilate Koreans into the Japanese society.	The policy to Japanize the Korean people is not clearly explained. Nor is it sufficiently described how Japan exploited Korea. The Korean people are vaguely treated as part of the Japanese nation, thereby misrepresenting the nature of Japan’s colonial policy.

	Koreans were forced to assimilate in ways worthy of being considered “people of the Emperor”.	Details of the assimilation policy are ignored. It must be stated that Koreans were forced to pay homage at Shinto shrines, adopt the Japanese family names and learn Japanese, etc.
Korean War	The UN forces under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur made a counterattack...Chinese troops sided with the North Koreans. The war situation became stalled near the existing borderline of 38 degrees north latitude.	The South Korean forces are ignored as the war is depicted as a conflict between the UN forces against the allied forces of China and North Korea. The 38th parallel is mistakenly referred to as the national border, giving the impression that Korea has been divided for a long time.
Independence Struggle	Japanese books termed it as “rioting” and “demonstration”.	It was a freedom struggle
Few Terms	Japan’s entry into Korea Transfer	Invasion Exploitation

Source: *The Korea Herald*, May 9, 2001

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) reviews and approves the content of school history textbooks available for selection by Japanese schools. Nevertheless, foreign scholars, as well as many Japanese historians, have criticized the political slant and factual errors of some textbooks that have been approved. In 2001, South Korea demanded to no avail, the revision of 25 passages in the textbook (Lee won-deong, 2001). Korea’s demand aroused resentment among those who felt that Korea was interfering in Japanese domestic affairs. So far, Tsukurukai’s (formed in 1996) textbook has been adopted by less than 0.1 percent of the schools in 2002, has become a bestseller in the general book market, and has caused the viewpoint of textbooks to shift to the right such as, omitting reference to Comfort women (Lee won-deong, 2001: 7).

Widespread protests against the textbook erupted much earlier in Japan, China, and North and South Korea. By December 2000, reacting to a draft textbook circulated by the Society and shown on national television, a long list of Japanese historians and history educators expressed misgivings about the content of The New History Textbook and its rendering of Japan’s past. Their complaints centered around the text’s presentation of Japan’s foundation myths as

historical fact and its characterization of wars launched by modern Japan as wars to liberate Asia.

Japan was criticized by China and Korea at different levels. An article in a biweekly magazine, reported that, “as Seoul prepared to celebrate its Liberation Day (celebrating Korea’s liberation from Japanese colonization and the establishment of the Republic of Korea) on August 15, angry Koreans continued to stage anti-Japan protests ignited by the new Japanese “textbooks that allegedly gloss over atrocities by Japanese soldiers during World War II” (August 25, 2001 Korea Now).

The intellectuals’ appeal to people inside and outside Japan appeared on the internet prior to authorization of the textbook by the Ministry. Following authorization, their voices were joined by an international group of scholars. This “International Scholars’ Appeal Concerning the 2002-Edition Japanese History Textbooks” aimed to “ensure that textbooks are consistent with values of peace, justice and truth.” It declared The New History Textbook “unfit as a teaching tool because it negates both the truth about Japan’s record in colonialism and war and the values that will contribute to a just and peaceful Pacific and World community” (“International Scholars’ Appeal Concerning the 2002-Edition Japanese History Textbooks,” Center for Research and Documentation on Japan’s War Responsibility).

Reactions in China and Korea took various forms. China Radio International announced that the Chinese government and people were “strongly indignant about and dissatisfied with the new Japanese history textbook for the year 2002 compiled by right-wing Japanese scholars.” Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Banzao warned that the Chinese people would not accept the interpretation of wartime events put forth by the new textbook. (“China and South Korea Urge Japan to Correct Textbooks,” 2001) An article in the August 25, 2001 issue of Korea Now, a biweekly magazine published in English, reported that as Seoul prepared to celebrate its Liberation Day (from the Japanese) on August 15, angry Koreans continued to stage anti-Japan protests ignited by the new Japanese “textbooks that allegedly gloss over atrocities by Japanese soldiers during World War II.”

1.6: The Role of Media in Keeping Wartime Memories Alive

The media plays a vital role in keeping past memories alive and also provide a place for historical discourses that compete with that memory. Dong-Hoo Lee contests that, “For people in Korea, which was under Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945, their thirty-six year experience of the Japanese as colonialists has been an unsettled diplomatic issue.” The colonial past still has influence over the media which reflects in its portrayal of Japan in the domestic as well as international front. Even if Japan thinks that the 1965 treaty has solved the problem of legal indemnity, majority of Koreans feel other way round. They feel that Japanese pre-War imperialistic designs are still not vanished completely. Japan should refrain from glorifying and justifying its war time atrocities. Koreans also feel that the apologetic statements released by various Japanese leaders every now and then are inadequate. As the leaders have delivered less than what they promised. There are many other issues than textbook controversy due to which anti-Japanese feelings have been aroused in Korea. These feelings were manifested through anti-Japanese protests in various parts of Korea. All sort of protests and objections are duly covered by the media. Due to the strategic location of the region even a small incident makes big news internationally, as well.

Dong-Hoo Lee observes that, “The content of the 2002 Japanese middle-school textbook was unveiled in Korea in mid-2000, restarting the battle between Korea and Japan over what part of the past to remember and what to forget. The Korean media have mediated this battle over memory and have constructed and reconstructed the image of Japan; they have reported the advent of Japanese history textbooks that disregard the collective memories of the colonized in their record of the colonial past and have been a window through which people recognize Japan’s revision of history. They have made the Japanese history textbook controversy a national and international issue.”

1.7: Dispute over Liancourt Islet

Another issue that is controversial for Korea-Japan relations was appeared in history text books of Japan associated with the Liancourt islet in 2006. The Liancourt Rocks are a group of islets in the Sea of Japan whose ownership is disputed between Japan and South Korea.⁹ South Korea currently occupies the islands, an action that continues to draw official protests from Japan. There are valuable fishing grounds around the islets and potentially large reserves of natural gas.

The Koreans claim that the islets are historically Korean with the earliest Korean records of it dating back to 512 AD under the Silla Kingdom. Although this claim is questioned by the Japanese since the documents refers to Usan-do, not Liancourt Rocks. The Koreans claims 'Usan-do' is Liancourt Rocks although the Japanese claims that Usan-do is another name for Ulleun-do or that there is no proof that makes Usan-do Takeshima .

Korea exercised sovereignty over the islands by incorporating Liancourt Rocks into Ulleung County in the year 1900. Japan claims that the 1900 incorporation was over a different island that is now called Kwaneum-do, an islet nest to Ulleung-do in Korean. The Japanese claim of the islets is through the incorporation of the islets into Shimane Prefecture in 1905 under the doctrine of 'terra nullius'. However, the Koreans have rejected this claim by arguing that the Japanese claim over the islets was the first step towards Japan's eventual claim over the rest of Korea. Korea was then forced to become a Japanese protectorate in 1905 after King Kojong was forced to abdicate his throne.

In January 1952, South Korea's Syngman Rhee line declaration included Liancourt Rocks as Korean territory. Moreover, South Korea killed several Japanese fishermen who had worked around the islets tens of years or more. Since September 1954, Japan has proposed adjudicating this problem in the International Court of Justice, nonetheless, South Korea has

⁹ The islands are called Takeshima in Japan and Dokdo in Korea.

refused to accept this proposal based on various grounds. North Korea supports the South Korean claim.

Historically Japanese-controlled, some highly nationalistic Koreans claim this island to be Korean, although the South Korean government does not make this claim. This island was briefly Korean-controlled during the Joseon Dynasty, and possibly during the Silla era. In 2005, when Japan's Shimane Prefecture announced Takeshima Day claiming Liancourt Rocks as part of its jurisdiction, Korea's Masan city council proclaimed Daemado Day and declared Tsushima Island Korean territory. In 2007, Japan proposed to South Korea to bring the matter to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), however the offer was rejected by the South Korean government. Tsushima remains a very important matter of diplomatic relationship between Japan and South Korea.

There is no doubt that history textbook controversy and Liancourt islet dispute remained major hindrances in the political and economic relations between ROK and Japan. ROK's demand to reconsider the passages of books has intensified since 2006.

Following research questions have been raised at the beginning of the research. Why Japan still unable to come out in terms with its pre-war history? Is there any domestic political compulsion to rake up these issues over and over again in South Korea? What is the nature of controversy and interest of Japan to mention it in the history textbooks? What would be the impact of this controversy on the bilateral relations of both the countries? What are the policy tools to solve this dispute and maintain the smooth bilateral relation?

This study tests three hypotheses: First, the textbooks controversy is negatively affecting bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan; because it brings back focus towards the bitter colonial era. Second, it invokes nationalist sentiments in both the countries. Third, the controversial history textbook of Japan would impact the foreign policies of both the nations.

1.8: Methodology

The study is based on both descriptive and theoretical analysis. Primary as well as Secondary sources are being used, which include government documents, reports, articles and other published materials. The study is largely relying on the critical analysis of available sources. It proposes a critical enquiry into the various facts that surrounds the controversy and assesses the reasons why problem persists and why the parties or nations involved in the controversy have been unable to settle the dispute amicably. Also, the existing literature on the subject would be minutely analyzed to bring out the role played by vested interests on either side to prolong the dispute. The aim is to demystify the ultra nationalist claims of either of the parties at the heart of the controversy. The introduction chapter outlines the controversial texts and passages

In chapter 2; the endeavor is to understand the contesting theoretical perspectives in the context of textbook controversy. In this chapter, the two major approaches of international relations theory; Neo-Realist and Liberal Approaches throws light on the various dynamics of the textbook controversy thereby attempts a best possible explanations at various levels. These theoretical models are further supplemented by the continued debate between the progressive and conservative theories in the context of textbook controversy.

Chapter 3 mainly involves the critical analysis of the history of bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan. This is purely based on the historical method. This study is important since the analysis of historical evidences is critical to understand the current state of relations between the two neighbours. The entire controversy between the neighbours has the historical underpinnings makes it imperative to enquire the history that largely shapes the current state of bilateral affairs.

Chapter 4 analyzes the underlying controversial causes affecting bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan. It analyzes the dynamics at the domestic and international level that appeared to be a hindrance in the reconciliation process. It brings forth the study of impacts of history textbook controversy in South Korea and Japan's domestic and international relations. The chapter mainly involves an analytical and rational approach to the impacts



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of this controversy since 1980s and explores the various ways and means to bring about reconciliation in both the East Asian countries.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of the study so as to conclude briefly in the form of certain policy prescriptions that can turn out to be path breaking in the bilateral relations.

Realizing the inevitability of healthy bilateral relations, both the countries have resorted to providing solutions to the existing problems. However, more is required to be done. The present study has attempted to look into some of such viable options. The fact, that Korea-Japan relationship is important not only for both the countries but also for entire region, explains the relevance of the present study. History could provide some clues to solve prevailing problems. Therefore, causes, facts and alternatives to the problems are discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER – II

THEORETICAL DEBATES ON HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY

Bilateral relations between the states are often seen from various perspectives. As far as the academic debates in South Korea and Japan are concerned, they can be distinguished mainly as the Marxists and the conservatives. However, they provide inadequate explanation on how ideological division affects bilateral relationship. In the present context, in order to understand the bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan two different approaches namely neo-realism and liberalism are also looked into. The neo-realists emphasize that the need of the state to develop its capabilities, in order to maintain and then to sustain its security and influence, explains partly how controversial issues between two states can hamper the interests of each other.

Nationalism and other domestic factors like vested interests of the individual states play a significant role in defining their foreign policies in general and behaviour with the neighbouring states in particular. In the present context, Korea's policy towards its neighbour Japan is also governed by its national interests and historical experiences. Japan's conservatives are attempting to promote nationalism through various means. It is blamed that Japan has systematically omitted and distorted important historical facts specifically from the textbooks. Although Japanese are divided on this issue however, the state's role in patronizing such attempts is quite conspicuous.

South Korea always sees Japan with suspicion. The education and curriculum related issues are also not free from it. Other than the constitutional provisions the presence of strong lobby of rational thinkers and intellectuals in Japan ensures the freedom of expression for its citizens. Ienaga Saburo who is considered as a historian with leftist bend of mind is the key figure among the rational Japanese. This group is not averse to looking at the past mistakes of Japan with contempt. As discussed in the previous chapter the conservative historians consider glorification of the past as a normal process.

The political and academic debates on history textbook in the modern Japan can be dated back to 1955. Miki Y. Ishikida (2005: 4-3.5) contests,

“The conservative Democratic Party (a predecessor of the Liberal Democratic Party) published a series of reports called “The Deplorable Textbooks” (ureubeki kyōkasho) in 1955. The authors complained that the proliferation of textbooks were biased “red” textbooks which praised labor unions, the Soviet Union, and Communist China while criticizing Japan. In the early 1980s, a conservative group from the University of Tsukuba published a critique, *Gimon darake no chūgaku kyōkasho* (Middle School Textbooks with Lots of Doubts), that claimed that scholars who wrote the textbooks were promoting the views of the JIU and the Japan Communist Party.”

2.1: Liberals/Neo-liberals Versus Neo-realists

Liberals generally take a positive view of human nature. Liberals believe in the right of every individual to enjoy the essential human liberties. It is also important for the free exchange of ideas, news, goods and services between people, as well as freedom beyond boundaries. Liberals generally oppose censorship, protective trade barriers, and exchange regulations. As far as South Korea and Japan is concerned, it is essential that the controversy should be settled in peaceful manner and may be by talks and agreements.

As far as Neo-Realists are concerned, they focus on the structure of the system, and not on the human beings, who create or operate the structure of the state system and its deterministic logic that dictates in their conduct of foreign relations. States are assumed at a minimum to want to ensure their own survival as this is a prerequisite to pursue other goals. This driving force of survival is the primary factor influencing their behavior and in turn ensures states develop offensive military capabilities and hard statements, as a means to increase their relative power. Since states can never be certain of other states' future intentions, there is a lack of trust between states which requires it to be on guard against relative losses of power, which could enable other states to threaten their survival.

States are deemed similar in terms of needs however, not in capabilities for achieving them. The positional placement of states in terms of abilities determines the distribution of capabilities. The structural distribution of capabilities then limits cooperation among states through fears of relative gains made by other states, and the possibility of dependence on other states. In the context of politico-structural international system in operation between South Korea and Japan, the system marked by the feeling of animosity between the two parties and a sense of mistrust between the contentions parties.

2.2: Progressives versus Conservatives

2.2.1: Debates in Japan

After the sufferings of the WWII majority of the Japanese people were against war. It is believed that the bitter sense of guilt and remorse prevalent among the teachers motivated them to spread the lessons of peace through education right after World War II. The Japan Teachers' Union (JTU) which was dominated by the leftists and progressive intellectuals played a significant role in this regard.¹ This peace dominant education continued till the early 1980s. It stressed on the cruelty of war and the "victim consciousness" (*higaisha ishiki*) by giving the fair account of the tragedy of Japanese war victims.

The progressives have emphasized sufferings of the Japanese people and the importance of anti-militarism. It is also observed that many postwar intellectuals felt profound remorse and sought solutions in Marxism and progressivism. Miki Y. Ishikida (2005: 4-3.1) observes,

¹ The JTU was constituted of almost all teachers. Its 1951 conference passed the resolution "Never send our students to war!" In the 1960s and 1970s, the JTU, together with unions, and grass-roots citizens' groups, not only spread the principles of peace education, but also actively participated the anti-nuclear and anti-hydrogen weapons movements (Nihon 1989).

“Teaching Japanese children about the suffering of Japanese civilians from aerial bombardment and the tragedy of atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in history classes has been a focal point of peace education. In the 1960s and 1970s, a grass-roots movement for recording survivors’ wartime experiences became popular.... Students were also encouraged to interview family and neighbors about what had happened to them during the war. Japanese students learn about the horrors of atomic bombs in social studies classes and read stories about atomic bomb victims in their language classes. Many primary and secondary schools arrange school trips so that the students can see the remnants of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki’s Atomic Bomb Museum. Students are expected to assume that the Japanese people are spearheading the international movement for the elimination of nuclear and hydrogen weapons because Japan is the only country that has suffered atomic attack. The slogan of peace education, created in 1982 by a survivor of the atomic bomb, is “No more Hiroshima, no more Nagasaki, no more war, no more atomic bomb victims.”

The peace education also helped in reviewing the past mistake with rationality and objectivity. In 1979, the JIU created a study group on “Peace and Ethnic Education” in order to improve the teaching of peace education. It is believed that after the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989, the debate over Japan’s involvement in the war revived. Japanese progressives argued that Japan should acknowledge war time atrocities and forcible expansion of its empire. They stressed that Japanese government should compensate war victims. Due to the persistent support from the progressives, in the 1990s, Asian war victims, including the former comfort women, filed many lawsuits against Japanese government demanding formal apologies and compensation. In order to find out the truth about war crimes, various study groups were formed. All these developments were mainly supported by the progressives with strengthening the claims of the plaintiffs as one of the motives. Nichikan (1993:104) observes

“Fujiwara Akira, a leading leftist historian, who was inspired by a joint German-Polish history textbook research group, organized a similar research group of Japanese and Korean historians. The Japan-Korea Textbook Joint Study Group held four conferences in 1991 and 1992. All participants agreed that history textbooks should emphasize Japan’s invasion and Korea’s resistance from the Korean perspective. Japanese historians argued that accounts about a few “good” Japanese people who opposed the policies of their country needed to be added to the story of Japan’s war crimes. Korean historians reluctantly agreed so they could

complete the project and accomplish the overall goal of bringing together future generations of Japanese and Koreans.”

1990s also witnessed a change in the public manifestations of the history related, issues. The wartime efforts of the mass media, civil societies and religious groups are being highlighted. During this time only regional history museums started sponsoring exhibitions on Japan’s war crimes. The Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima and the Atomic Bomb Museum in Nagasaki have even displayed the war time atrocities through the eyes of the conquered or victims. Within Japan a considerable number of people have agreed that the Asia-Pacific war was to fulfill Japanese imperialistic ambitions.²

The conservatives, on the other hand, feel that “In Japan, the depiction of history and society in school textbooks has long been a subject of dispute” (Daiki Shibuichi, 2008). Daiki Shibuichi (2008) further states that,

“Japanese conservatives, especially intellectuals, have regarded this issue as an ideological struggle against Japanese progressives who – according to the conservative view – are trying to use public education to mold students into leftist cosmopolitans who feel no affection for their country, traditions or history. The conservatives have also opposed Korea and China for presuming to ‘interfere’ with Japanese sovereignty by pressuring the Japanese government to modify the contents of school textbooks. Conversely, Japanese progressives have perceived this issue as a struggle against conservatives who – in their eyes – wish to make the students reactionary chauvinists oblivious of Japan’s modern history of oppression. As foreign participants in the dispute, Korea and China are concerned with how Japanese imperialism and invasions are depicted in Japanese textbooks. Korea and China have strongly protested to the Japanese government when they deemed it necessary.”

²According to a 2000 survey, 51 percent of respondents agreed that the Asia-Pacific War was a war of aggression; 15 percent disagreed. Half of the respondents said that the postwar generation should take responsibility for World War II while 27 percent said that it was not necessary. Forty-three percent of respondents believed that the Japanese people were victims of a war that had been caused by the government and military leaders, while 29 percent believed that the Japanese people were victimizers because they actively supported the war (NHK, 2000).

The leftists' predominance on the education suffered for the first time in 1982.³ Since 1980s the revivalist factions in Japanese politics have become more influential and vocal. They also feel that liberals and leftist historians and journalists have portrayed Japan less as a victim and more of a victimizer.⁴ Both the leftists and conservatives are trying to exert more and more pressure on the policy makers through various means to get their demands through.

Commenting on the debates over the Japanese history textbooks Terri Seddon (1987: 220) said, "The domestic struggle in the present history textbook dispute represent opposition to the conservative trends in Japanese education and the defense of democratic constitutional rights, particularly pacifism and freedom of speech."

2.2.2: Debates in Korea

In South Korea after the Korean War politics was mainly dominated by the right wing. Be it National Security Law or any other similar laws, the government and politics were inclined towards conservatives.⁵ It will also be useful to define conservatism. Budge et al. (2004: 429) underscore, it (conservatism) is primarily about "preserving what is thought best in traditional society" and "opposes radical change." Kim Dae Jung introduced neo-liberal economic policies seeking to dismantle the *Chaebol* system under the IMF restructuring guideline in the early year of his presidency. It was only after the beginning of the democratization process that the liberals and progressives could gain influence in the government and hence in the policy making.

³ In June 1982, major Japanese newspapers announced that a new high school textbook, screened by the MOE, had changed Japan's "invasion" (*shinryaku*) of China during the 1930s into an "advance" (*shinkō*). This charge directed international attention at the textbook authorization system and at descriptions of war in Japanese history textbooks. The Chinese media followed the textbook controversy, and noted the Japanese newspapers' report of the change in wording (Miki Y. Ishikida, 2005).

⁴ For details of victims and victimizers debate, see Roger B. Jeans (2005).

⁵ The NSL was often misused to repress opposition activists by the government. The socialists mainly pro-North Korean or anti-American were forced to serve long terms in prison.

It is obvious that the two Koreas are not only geographically and ideologically divided. Socialists and communists are predominantly the actual rulers in North Korea while, South Korea has become more liberal both in terms of economy and polity. However, at domestic front, it was only after the Kim Dae Jung administration that inter-party and intra-party ideological differences came to the fore-front. Young-mi Kim (2006) contests, "A critical point that threatened to derail South Korea's rightwing ideological consensus was reached under the Kim Dae-Jung administration, as the former president faced severely ideologically-motivated opposition over his determination to introduce the so-called 'Sunshine policy' towards North Korea in foreign policy, and to act in the domestic scene by abolishing the National Security Law."⁶

The ideological divide is evident even at the regional level (within South Korea). The East-West conflict gained popularity during the administration of Kim Dae Jung. It is often said that Youngnam and Honam regions are divided on ideological basis. Although Young-mi Kim (2006:1-25) has highlighted the ideological divide, that exists at various levels; among political parties, at regional level, between rich and poor and even internationally (particularly between North Korea and South Korea), however, Kim's analysis can also be used to understand the textbook issue. The conservatives' control over government has kept the strong anti-colonial feeling alive among the Koreans. Similarly nationalistic sentiments are promoted through education and textbooks.

⁶ The National Security Law is a South Korean law which has the avowed purpose "to restrict anti-state acts that endanger national security and to protect [the] nation's safety and its people's life and freedom." Based on the Law for Maintenance of the Public Security of the Japanese occupation of Korea, it was passed in 1948, and made illegal both communism and recognition of North Korea as a political entity. It has been reformed and strengthened with the passing of the times. The Anti-communism Law was merged into the National Security Law during the 1980s.

This law is acknowledged by some South Korean politicians and activists as a symbol of the anti-communism of South Korea's First Republic and its dictatorial period of 1964-1987. In 2004, legislators of the Uri Party, then with a majority, made a gesture as to annul the law, but failed owing to Grand National Party opposition. Many recent poll results show that more than half of the Korean people are in favor of serious amendments to the act, and the dispute continues. This law has been regularly blamed for restricting freedom of speech:

Citizens may not join an organization with aims to overthrow the government;

Citizens may not create, distribute or possess materials that promote anti-government ideas;

Citizens may not neglect to report others who violate this law (National Security Act, South Korea, 2008).

2.2.2a: Inculcating Nationalism through Textbooks in Korea

As discussed in the previous chapter the Korean people were not in a position to publish textbooks and provide history education immediately after independence (from Japanese rule). The US authorities in the Korea were instrumental in designing the education policy of South Korea. This means that the Korean education system was never free from the foreign influence. After the Korean War the conservatives dominated the political scene and they attempted to promote nationalism through all possible means. The pro-America and anti-communist stance of ruling elites flowed down to the masses as well. However, the reforms initiated by Kim Dae Jung had long lasting implications. The references like the colonized Korea was exploited and suppressed by the Imperial Japan further promote nationalistic feelings among Koreans. Anti-Japanese feelings are quite deep and obvious in the Korean psyche.

We have already seen how nationalistic and anti-colonial and anti-Japanese sentiments were promoted through the various phases of the history of history textbooks in Korea. Unlike Japan, in the initial phase, Korea dealt extensively with the colonial history even in its school textbooks. Sin Ju-Baek (2005: 192) states

“The perception evinced in Korean textbooks from the very beginning in 1945 was very different from the perception of Japan toward history, which claims that the ‘annexation of Korea by Japan’ was made through ‘consultation.’ Unlike Japan, which excluded colonial rule from history itself, Korea, dealt with the colonial period in a very detailed way in textbooks. ‘Guksa gyobon (History Textbook)’ by the Ministry of Education of the US Military Government, which was published four months before the ‘Syllabus of Lectures (Gyosu yomok),’ was announced, gave an explanation that would lead a reader to believe that a formal treaty had been signed between Japan, which had brought the righteous army under control and ushered in pro-Japanese Korean politicians. ‘That is, “On August 21, 1910, the draft’ of the annexation of Korea by Japan, which had been prepared in secret between Yi Wan-yong and Terauchi Masatake, was finalized. Through the meeting in the presence of King Sunjong, the treaty on Japan’s annexation of Korea was declared on August 29, and King Sunjong issued a proclamation ...” and the Korean people lost their country. The textbook treated the annexation as a conspiracy of pro-Japanese, Koreans in collusion with Japan. The

textbook explained (hat Koreans ‘came to suffer all sorts of oppression’ by Japan at the end.”

The main focus of the Korean textbooks in the initial phase was on the Japan’s colonial policy and anti-Japanese movements were not duly covered. Sin Ju-Baek (2005:223) argues

“In History Textbooks four pages covered the “Sovereignty Recovery Movement,” “March First Movement,” “Establishment of Provisional Government,” “Bombing incident,” and “Gwangju Student Movement.” and “Singanhoe Movement,” and mentioned the military rule and enlightenment policy of Japan in the 1910s and 1920s briefly in-between while discussing patriots Lee Bong-chang and Yun Bong-gil.”: ...history education was being used to rekindle anti-Japanese sentiment among the Koreans and not so much to foster a solid independent perception...the basic direction of understanding the history of anti-Japanese movements during the Japanese occupation in South Korea (that is, the theory of legitimacy of the Korean Provisional Government) was established, and it is maintained to this day. The theory of Korean Provisional Government legitimacy is also found in a textbook authored by Sin Seok-ho, which was published at about the same time when the government of the Republic of Korea was established in August 1948. The legitimacy theory was even promoted by Sin Seok-ho. Sin Seok-ho clearly stated the succession of the March First Movement by explaining that the Provisional Government was established to “unify and lead” the independence movements and rose in the aftermath of the March first Movement...June Tenth Independence Demonstration (1926) and Gwangbokkun (Restoration Army) to the flow of systematic independence movements.” ...first published in 1949, Lee Byeong-do accepted the theory of Sin Seok-ho when he revised the explanation on the history of anti-Japanese movements, which he had established earlier, over four pages under the subtitles of “Japanese Military Government: Independence Movement of 1919,” “Development after 1919.” The legitimacy of Provisional Government theory was, thus, linked to the Restoration Army?”

In the second phase of the history textbook writings particularly in the late 1960s, the textbooks began to address Japanese colonial policy in a more specific and systematic manner. With the normalization of the diplomatic relations with Japan in 1965 the focus of the textbooks shifted towards criticizing communism and promoting internationalism rather than Japanese occupation. However, inculcation of nationalistic values and feelings through textbooks continued. Sin Ju-Baek (2005:227) contests

“Unlike the first phase curriculum, the second phase curriculum emphasized anti-communism only, instead of anti-communism and anti-Japanese sentiment. The first curriculum stated that the second goal of ‘learning Korean history’ was ‘to make students understand the spirit of our ancestors in defending our land and their activities to overcome national crises so that the patriotic spirit will be fostered and efforts to develop the nation independently and to contribute to world peace will be made.’?” This paragraph was deleted from the second phase curriculum. In its place, the following paragraph was added as the fifth goal of history education. To make students understand the development of other countries and recognize the international status of Korea so that they will make efforts for development in the future and be motivated to contribute to world peace by strengthening international cooperation.”

The *Middle School Social Science I* (1965: 156-57) book while dealing with Japan says, “Many problems remain unresolved between Korea and Japan. Japan should fully acknowledge mistakes it had made in the past and join Korea in its anti-communism efforts, while promoting friendship between the two countries.” Thus, we see softened Korean perceptions of Japanese particularly during the second phase of the textbook writings. The third and the fourth (current) phase are already been dealt with in the previous chapter.⁷ A clear cut shift in the general perceptions of the Korean people was witnessed during 1982, 1986 and 2001 textbook controversy when a strong protest was carried out in Korea and China against the Japanese distortion of the historical facts.

Korean history textbooks are also not flawless. They have purposely evaded many such references which could go against their nationalistic spirit. Following the protests in and outside Korea the Korean government also registered its protest with the Japanese government at diplomatic level. Subsequently, it is been observed that, at the domestic front, more and more anti-Japanese references are included to cover the Korean freedom

⁷ The trends emphasizing anti-communism, independent consciousness and Korean culture are shown comprehensively in the education goals of the third phase educational curriculum. The third educational curriculum clearly stated in the first clause of the general goal “to teach students the development process of Korea, from the subjective viewpoint of Korea, raise the consciousness of students about the legitimacy of Korean history, and increase pride in cultural tradition.” The revised version was epitomized by ‘education with national identity,’ which emphasized the legitimacy of Korean history.

struggle. Sin Ju-Baek (2005: 235) characterizes the changes in the description in national middle school textbooks after 1979 as:

“Textbooks published after 1979 simply mentioned that Japan stole the sovereignty by military force rather than describing the annexation of Korea in a detailed manner. The unlawfulness of the ‘annexation of Korea by Japan’ itself is emphasized by stating that Japan accomplished it by military force.”

2.2.2b: Democratization Replacing Authoritarianism

Another important theoretical debate in South Korea is between authoritarian regime and democracy. Korean military was brought under the direct control of popularly elected (civilian) government in the early 1990s by depoliticizing it. The conviction and imprisonment of the two former generals turned presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Rob Tae Woo ended the military rule. Civilian control over the military ensured environment that was suitable for democracy. Sook Jong Lee (2005: 100) observes

“...under the Kim Dae Jung administration, the regional center of power shifted from the *Kyongsang* area in the southeast to *Cholla* in the southwest. Both the government and National Assembly have become more accountable to public scrutiny, thus paying greater attention to public welfare... The most impressive gains, however, were made in the social realm. Korea’s once rigid society has shed its extreme hostility toward different ideas and values. Traditional values of respect for authority and hierarchy are rapidly giving way to individual freedom and equality.”

The reforms were driven partly by reform minded government and partly by civil societies. Despite their political motives democratizing forces have apparently influenced social structure of the Korean society. It is contested that Koreans have become more individualistic and materialistic. Their traditional values and ethos and strong belief in hierarchy have undergone transformation. Democracy still being in the infancy stage will take some time to mature. In the recent past instances of social conflict and polarization of the society are occurring more frequently. The role of civil society in the reform

process is praiseworthy. The civil societies in South Korea are more inclined towards liberal and progressive ideology. The differences among the conservatives and progressives over the international issues are not limited to the North Korea but they include US and Japan too.

In the 1990s, conservative groups gained popularity by claiming that the textbooks overemphasize the war crimes of Japan and by blaming textbooks for making Japanese children unpatriotic. In 1996, they established the Society for the Creation of New History Textbooks. In spite of their vigorous campaigns, most boards of education, schools and teachers did not want to choose such controversial textbooks. Also, historians vigorously question the historical accuracy of the claims and analyses made by the groups.

The rise of anti-Japanese feelings among Koreans was partially due to the historical issues and partially due to the domestic and international development that took place simultaneously. These causes are dealt with in chapter 4. The civil society in Japan appears to be divided on the issue of the textbooks and in a way, endorses the demands of the civil societies and governments of the neighboring countries. One particular theory or paradigm cannot completely explain the textbook controversy. However above discussed division of civil societies in both the countries could be used as a framework to deeply study the controversy from different perspectives.

CHAPTER – III

STRUCTURE AND NATURE OF SOUTH KOREA-JAPAN RELATIONS

In more than 2,000 years of recorded history, Korea experienced many invasions by its larger and powerful neighbours. With the declining Chinese power and a weakened domestic posture at the end of the 19th century, Korea was open to Western and Japanese encroachment. The most controversial colonial rule of Japan over Korea began in 1910 and lasted 35 years.¹ The bitter feelings of the Koreans, rooted in the past, have affected the reconciliation efforts to resolve controversial issues with Japan. It is believed that the Japanese imperialism was not only confined to the political sphere but seeped into cultural and social sphere as well. That's why memories of Japanese annexation still recall fierce animosity and resentment, especially among the older generations of Koreans. However, the younger generation in South Korea hold different viewpoint. They seem to be impressed by the Japanese popular culture, movies, music, and fashion. People of both the countries are influenced by each other's popular culture. Japanese are also equally open, receptive and fond of several aspects of Korean culture, including television shows and movies.

Despite the fact that Japan has apologized and duly compensated Korea for its war time Atrocities the Korean-Japanese relations never remained smooth. The compensation and apologies issue has not been fully solved yet. The history textbook controversy, the comfort women issue and several other similar problems with their roots in the past have affected the bilateral relations at times. In the light of these controversies this chapter highlights the structure and nature of the bilateral relations between both the countries.

¹ As discussed in previous chapters Japan always projected the treaty of *Eulsa* as the result of Korean acceptance of Japanese rule. While Koreans contest that it was part of Japanese Imperial design.

3.1: Korea under Japanese Rule

Historically, Japan was better placed in terms of economy, governance, modernization, military might, literacy and development. Korea, on the other hand, in addition to its domestic problems and political instability, was surrounded by three major countries i.e. Japan, China and Russia. Thus Korea always remained under the threat of foreign attack. The first attempt to invade Korea by Japan was made in 1592, by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a general fighting for Oda Nobunaga.² His armies invaded Korea and captured Seoul within a few weeks; however, they were pushed back again by Chinese and Korean forces in the following year. Hideyoshi stubbornly didn't give in until the final evacuation from Korea in 1598, the same year in which he died. Korea underwent drastic changes under Japanese rule.

Even before the country was formally annexed by Japan in 1910, the Japanese caused the last ruling monarch, King Kojong, to abdicate the throne in 1907 in favour of his feeble son, who was soon married off to a Japanese woman and given a Japanese peerage. Japan then governed Korea under a residency general and subsequently under a governor general directly subordinate to Japanese prime ministers. All of the governor generals were high-ranking Japanese military officers.

The Koreans were treated unequally and their basic freedom of speech and expression was strictly controlled by the Japanese. This subjugation led to the rise of nationalistic feelings among Koreans and subsequent protest and demonstration at different levels. Nationalist sentiments gave rise to a Korean student demonstration in Japan, and on March 1, 1919, to a Proclamation of Independence by a small group of leaders in Seoul.³ Pankaj Mohan says "After the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919, in which almost all Koreans took to the streets, Japan came up with a new policy called Enlightened Administration (*munhwajeongchi*) in 1920. Japan even allowed Hangul

² Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) was the first individual to attempt to unify Japan at the end of the Warring States period; his ultimate goal, though he never realized it, was to bring all of Japan "under a single sword" (*tenka-fubu*). For details: <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/TOKJAPAN/ODA.HTM>

³ With the consolidation of what became known as the March First Movement, street demonstrations led by Christian and *Ch'ondogyo* (a movement that evolved from Tonghak) groups erupted throughout the country to protest Japanese rule.

(Korean Language) newspapers, and many civil groups were formed for various social activities. The Japanese colonists asked Korean to cooperate and support Japanese efforts to promote development and enlightenment in Joseon.

In the wake of the protest, Japan granted considerable freedom to Korea. As historians have noted, the ensuing intellectual and social ferment of the 1920s marked a seminal period in modern Korean history. Many developments of the period, including the organization of labour unions and other social and economic movements, had continuing influence into the post-liberation period. This freedom was short lived and the strengthening of the Japanese imperialistic designs the Koreans were denied freedom.

The policy of assimilation was implemented by the Japanese in order to Japanize Koreans. This policy was seen as an attempt of elimination of Korean language and culture.⁴ Andrew C Nahm (1998: 224) observes “In order to achieve their objectives, the Japanese introduced many programmes such as the use of Korean Language was discouraged and later forbidden, the study of Korean history was forbidden, and the Koreans were forced to abandon their traditional family names and adapt Japanese style names”. It is often said in Korea “had Japanese rule not ended in 1945, the fate of indigenous Korean language, culture, and religious practices would have been extremely uncertain.”

Koreans were forced to fight for Japanese army. Particularly after 1937, when Japan launched the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) against China, the colonial government decided to launch a policy of mobilizing the entire country for the cause of the war. Warren I. Cohen (2000: 383) observes “The Japanese took away their food to feed their own people. They took every metal object they could find for their war effort. They conscripted Korean women to provide sex for their troops”. Initially, in 1938 the

⁴ From the late 1930s until 1945, the colonial government pursued a policy of assimilation whose primary goal was to force the Koreans to speak Japanese and to consider themselves Japanese subjects. In 1937 the Japanese governor general ordered that all instruction in Korean schools be in Japanese and that students not be allowed to speak Korean either inside or outside of school. In 1939 another decree “encouraged” Koreans to adopt Japanese names, and by the following year it was reported that 84 percent of all Korean families had done so. During the war years Korean-language newspapers and magazines were shut down. Belief in the divinity of the Japanese emperor was encouraged, and Shinto shrines were built throughout the country.

Koreans were forced to volunteer as Japanese soldiers. However, it was made mandatory for them to serve Japanese army as conscription law was passed in 1943. The Japanese dominance did not stop there but the Korean soldiers were expected to even worship at Shinto shrines.

The Korean economy witnessed a significant change during Japanese colonial rule. Japan emphasized on increase in agricultural production in Korea to meet its growing need for rice. Japan had constructed large-scale industries in Korea in the 1930s to support its expansion designs and also to attain economic self-sufficiency. Japanese policies helped Japanese enterprises to flourish while Koreans were over burdened. Japanese rule did help Korea to modernizing and promote the nationalistic sentiments among Koreans. David Brudnoy (1970: 155),

“During its forty years’ rule in Korea, Japan took a backward nation with one of the world’s least efficient, most corrupt governments, and brought important elements of modernization to her. In place of the capricious rule of the House of Yil and the large parasite yangban class, Japan established a government efficient in accomplishing certain material aims, one in the long run probably less arbitrary than that which existed before. Japan created a rationalized tax structure, telegraph and telephone systems, undertook steps to increase agricultural yield, and gave a start to technology. Unintended by the Japanese, but of significance since the post-World War II partition, southern Korea benefited more from the agricultural advances, while the north, with its minerals and chemical factories, hydroelectric plants, and textile and steel mills, was the main field for technological modernization... Japan, through her conquest and rule of Korea, awakened and sustained Korean nationalism. Japan provided the negative and yet most powerful symbol for Korean nationalism,....”

Not even a single aspect of Korean way of living could remain free from Japanese intrusion. Japanese forcefully influenced the Korean way of life. This influence was even

seeped into religion, culture, art, literature and society as a whole.⁵ However Japanese suppression and interference also covertly helped in promotion of new ideas.

“In the 1920s and 1930s, socialist ideas began to influence the development of literature. In 1925 left-wing artists, rejecting the romanticism of many contemporary writers, established the Korean Proletarian Artists’ Federation, which continued until it was suppressed by Japanese authorities in 1935. One of the best representatives of this group was Yi Ki-yong, whose 1936 novel *Home* tells of the misery of villagers under Japanese rule and the efforts of the protagonist, a student, to organize them. Poets during the colonial period included Yi Sang-hwa, Kim So-wol, and Han Yong-un. But the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War marked a period of unprecedented repression in the cultural sphere by Japanese authorities, which continued until Korea’s liberation in 1945.”

The Japanese militarists crushed internal Korean resistance after they began their expansionist drive in the 1930s. As a result, of strict surveillance and policing the freedom attempts by Koreans virtually came to a halt. Due to Japanese policies Korean people were left with little or no choice. This kind of relationship primarily based on the force and repression, between Japan and Korea, continued till the Japanese surrender in the World War II.

3.2: World War II and Korea

With the Soviet Union’s declaration of war against Japan on August 8, 1945 already shattered Japan lost its control over Manchuria and Korea. Atomic bombing of

⁵ The works of Russian, German, French, British, American, and Japanese authors were read by the more educated Koreans, and Korean writers increasingly adopted Western ideas and literary forms. Social and political themes were prominent. *Tears of Blood*, the first of the “new novels,” published by Yi In-jik in serial form in a magazine in 1906, stressed the need for social reform and cultural enlightenment, following Western and Japanese models. Yi Kwang-su’s *The Heartless*, published in 1917, stressed the need for mass education, Western science, and the repudiation of the old family and social system. Ch’ae Man-sik’s *Ready Made Life*, published in 1934, protested the injustices of colonial society.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and August 9, respectively, followed by Soviet declaration of war paved the way for the Japanese unconditional surrender. These developments ended the Japanese colonial rule and made Korean Peninsula one of the most important geographical regions as all the big powers had strategic interest there. Korean independence was decided much before the Japanese surrender.⁶ However, some improvised plans were ultimately proposed by US which was agreed upon by USSR.

On August 15, 1945, President Harry S Truman proposed to his Soviet counterpart, Stalin the division of Korea at the thirty-eighth parallel. Stalin's acceptance of the Truman's plan showed Soviet reluctance to confront the United States by occupying the entire peninsula. Stalin was also hopeful of gaining control over Northern territories of Japan. On December 7, 1945, in a meeting of the allied foreign ministers held in Moscow establishment of a trusteeship for a five-year period was agreed upon (Warren I. Cohen, 2000: 383). In the meeting it was decided that a Korean provisional government would prepare for full independence and a joint United States-Soviet commission would assist organizing a single provisional Korean democratic government.⁷ This proposal was majority of Koreans, particularly conservatives who were led by Syngman Rhee. Rhee used the issue to strengthen his political base within Korea. The leftists in Korea changed their stance under the Soviet influence and did not agree to the terms of proposal.

⁶ At the Cairo Conference of December 1943, it was decided that the Allies would strip Japan of all the territories it had acquired since 1894. The United States, China, and Britain had agreed at Cairo that Korea would be allowed to become free and independent in due course after the Allied victory. The Soviet Union agreed to the same principle in its declaration of war against Japan. Although the United States president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Marshal Josef V. Stalin of the Soviet Union had agreed to establish an international trusteeship for Korea at the Yalta Conference of February 1945, no decision had been made on the exact formula for governing the nation in the aftermath of Allied victory.

⁷ The joint commission met intermittently in Seoul from March 1946 until it adjourned indefinitely in October 1947. The Soviet insistence that only those democratic parties and social organizations upholding the trusteeship plan be allowed to participate in the formation of an all-Korean government was unacceptable to the United States. The United States argued that the Soviet formula, if accepted, would put the communists in controlling positions throughout Korea.

3.3: Establishment of the Republic of Korea

Against this backdrop, the Korean problem was submitted to the United Nations (UN) in September 1947. In November 1947, Eventually, Korea's claim to independence, government formation and the withdrawal of occupation forces were recognized by the UN General Assembly. Election of a national assembly was held in May 1948 under the supervision of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. With the Soviet Union objection to the entry of commission in the Soviet-controlled zone in the north it became more evident that no single regime could control the entire peninsula. This led to the political turmoil among the Korean leaders. They were left with two choices one was immediate independence at the price of indefinite division and second was postponement of independence until the deadlock between the United States and the Soviet Union was resolved. Few of the South Korean leaders mainly conservatives tried to opt for second option by boycotting elections and trying to talk with the leaders of the north, but their efforts could not yield desired results.⁸

In May 1948, the provision of a presidential form of government and four-year term for the presidency were introduced through a written constitution. On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was proclaimed. Syngman Rhee being the head of the National Assembly assumed the presidency. Within four days communist authorities stopped power transmission to the south and thus ended north-south relations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) was proclaimed under Premier Kim Il Sung. It was a communist regime. The Korean Peninsula was divided into

⁸ Rhee had campaigned actively within Korea and the United States for the first alternative since June 1946. Other major figures in the right-wing camp, including Kim Ku and Kim Kyu-sik, decided to oppose the separate elections in the south, hoping to resolve the international impasse by holding talks with their northern counterparts. The group led by the two Kims made their way to Pyongyang, the future capital of North Korea, in April 1948, boycotted the May 1948 elections, and were discredited when Pyongyang cut off electricity, leaving Rhee a clear field though he lacked grass roots support apart from the Korean Democratic Party (KDP). By this time, the communists in the south had lost much of their political following, particularly after a serious riot in October 1946; most of their leaders congregated in the north. The moderate left-wing camp was in disarray after their leader, Yo Un-hyong, was assassinated in July 1947. Kim Kyu-sik had been the clear choice of the United States military government, but he could not be dissuaded from his fruitless trip to Pyongyang.

Koreas because of ongoing domestic conflicts and vested interest and interference of the big powers. North Korea launched its attack on South Korea in June 1950.

Japan was under the allied occupation from 1945 to 1952. This was the time when several reforms took place in Japan. At the international front particularly vis-à-vis Korea Japanese response in the initial days was controlled and governed by US. The biggest problem that both countries face was of repatriation of Koreans who were settled or working in Japan during the WWII. Chong-Sik Lee (1970: 315) has characterized these problems and controversies into following four categories; (1) questions arising out of the Japanese occupation of Korea, (2) rights over territorial waters and an island, (3) treatment of Korean residents in Japan, and (4) the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea.

3.4: The Korean War, 1950-53

Amidst of such developments as rebellions, division of nation and government formations South Korea proved to be a weaker state unable to defend itself. Uncertainty in South Korea and communist victory in China made US less eager to provide support to South Korea.⁹ Meanwhile, the communists in North Korea under the aegis of the Soviet command had better political structure as well as defensive and offensive capabilities.¹⁰

By June 1950, North Korean forces numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 troops, organized into ten infantry divisions, one tank division, and one air force division.

⁹ By June 29, 1949, US occupation forces had been withdrawn, save for a handful of military advisers, and Korea had been placed outside of the United States defense perimeter.

¹⁰ They had created a regional Five-Province Administrative Bureau in October 1945, which was reorganized into the North Korean Provisional People's Committee in February 1946 and shed the provisional component of its name twelve months later. The communists also expanded and consolidated their party's strength by merging all of the left-wing groups into the North Korean Workers' Party (NKWP) in August 1946. Beginning in 1946, the armed forces also were organized and reinforced. Between 1946 and 1949, large numbers of North Korean youths--at least 10,000--were taken to the Soviet Union for military training. A draft was instituted, and in 1949 two divisions--40,000 troops--of the former Korean Volunteer Army in China, who had trained under the Chinese communists, and had participated in the Chinese civil war (1945-49), returned to North Korea.

Soviet equipment, including automatic weapons of various types, T-34 tanks, and Yak fighter planes, had also been pouring into North Korea in early 1950. These forces were to fight the ill-equipped South Korean army of less than 100,000 men--an army lacking in tanks, heavy artillery, and combat airplanes, plus a coast guard of 4,000 men and a police force of 45,000 men.

Following the North Korean invasion, South Korean military could not resist and fell within three days. By early August, South Korean forces were confined in the southeastern corner of the peninsula to a territory 140 kilometers long and 90 kilometers wide. The rest of the territory was completely in the hands of the North Korean army.

The North Korea's military designs suffered a serious jolt when US committed military support to South Korea. On June 26, 1950, Truman ordered the use of United States planes and naval vessels against North Korean forces, and on June 30 United States ground troops were dispatched. US intervention was mainly due to the increasing influence of communist powers, particularly Soviet Union, in the region.

The Korean War was not confined between two Koreas. US, China, and Soviet Union were also involved. Douglas MacArthur, the commanding general of the United Nations forces in Korea, launched his amphibious attack and landed at Inchon on September 15, the course of the war changed abruptly. Within weeks much of North Korea was taken by United States and South Korean forces before Chinese "volunteers" intervened in October, enabling North Korea to eventually restore its authority over its domain. The war lasted until July 27, 1953, when a cease-fire agreement was signed at P'anmunjom. By then, the war had involved China and the Soviet Union, which had dispatched air force divisions to Manchuria in support of North Korea and had furnished the Chinese and North Koreans with arms, tanks, military supplies, fuel, foodstuffs, and medicine. Fifteen member-nations of the United Nations had contributed armed forces and medical units to South Korea.

Impact of the Korean War was not merely confined to the Korean Peninsula but changed the regional politics as well. High death toll on both sides and economic and

military losses were difficult to judge.¹¹ The probability of reunification of two Koreas was low. It was the separation of land, people and ideologies as South Koreans became anticommunists while North Koreans remained staunch supporters of communist ideology. The big brother rivalry and ongoing arms race intensified these feelings. The Chinese involvement in the Korean affairs because of the presence of its troops in North Korea continued until October 1958. Meanwhile, the presence of US troops in South Korea heightened the tension in the region. North Korea always criticized US strategic presence and interests in the Korean Peninsula. The Korean War benefitted Japan immensely. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Japan's industrial recovery and the United States' decision to rearm Japan were the major outcome of the war.

3.5: Normalization Treaty: A Breakthrough in ROK-Japan Relations

The biggest paradox in the South Korean and Japanese relations is strong economic ties despite unsettled political conflicts. The Sea of Japan, the Yasukuni Shrine, and the Liancourt Rocks¹² are the prominent examples of disputed issues. On January 18, 1952, Syngman Rhee, the first president of South Korea claimed that the vicinity of Liancourt Rocks as part of his country. South Korea even captured Japanese fishermen in the following years which hampered the bilateral relations. The 1965 Normalization treaty was a major breakthrough in the bilateral relations of both the countries.

3.5.1: Normalization Treaty and Aftermath

“Korea is geographically close, yet emotionally distant from Japan,” this paradox very well defines the relationship between South Korean and Japan. Despite the Korean War, and other disagreements which prevented normalization of the diplomatic relations, bilateral trade and several other negotiations between Japan and South Korea continued.

¹¹ The war left almost three million Koreans dead or wounded and millions of other homeless and separated from their families. (Facts about Korea,2007.28)

¹² Liancourt Rocks are known as Dokdo in South Korea, Takeshima in Japan.

The junta under Park was keen to normalize relations. The normalization treaty between Korea and Japan, as well as several other agreements, was officially signed in the Office of the PM of Japan at 17:00 on June 22nd 1965 (Oh Jay-hee, 2006: 52). With the signing of this treaty 14 years long arduous negotiations which began with the 1st round of preliminary talks, held on October 20, 1951, came to a logical end. The treaty provided base for the healthy bilateral relationship and favorable environment for future developments.

Seung K. Ko (1972: 49) observes, “following the South Korean-Japanese normalization pacts of 1965, a fresh hope was kindled that the two nations would exert their utmost efforts to construct a new relationship, burying the bitter memories of colonial experiences which both referred to as an ‘unhappy era’.”

Hong N. Kim (1987: 498) highlighting the importance of the normalization treaty in the bilateral relations of both the countries observes,

“The basic framework of Japan’s Korea policy was laid down at the time of the signing of the 1965 Japanese-Korean normalization treaty. In the treaty, Japan recognized the government of the Republic of Korea as the “sole legal” government in Korea as defined in U.N. General Assembly Resolution 195 (111) of 1948. At the same time, Japan agreed to extend US\$800 million in economic assistance to South Korea, including \$300 million in outright grants, \$200 million in government-administered soft loans, and \$300 million in private credits. Diplomatic ties between the two also were established that year and since then significant progress has been made in improving bilateral relations. To facilitate cooperation, Tokyo and Seoul agreed to hold annual Japan-South Korea ministerial conferences beginning in 1967. In addition, a number of other organizations such as the Japan-South Korea Cooperation Committee, the Japan-South Korea Parliamentarians’ League, and the Japanese-Korean Economic Cooperation Committee were formed. Through periodic meetings of these organizations, Japanese and South Korean leaders exchanged views on matters of common interest and frequently worked out plans to promote economic cooperation between the two countries.”

Several issues including reparation and access to Japanese fishermen for fishing in South Korean waters outside of the three-mile territorial limit were taken up and mutually agreed upon. Park reversed his predecessor Rhee's several decrees, thus, expanding the scope for negotiations and dialogues. Under the treaty, the Japanese government agreed to provide the capital necessary for an industrialization program and to open up ever-increasing loans, investments (both public and private), and trade. The treaty was denounced as a sellout by the opposition and the intellectuals and touched off prolonged, widespread student demonstrations (Seung K. Ko, 1972: 52).¹³ The communist threat also provided a cause for renewed approach to work together which could be mutually beneficial.

President Park Jung-hee, on the following day after the treaty was signed, issued a special statement to explain the necessity and reason to normalize diplomatic relations. He stressed on the need of looking forward for the larger interest of the country, even though past would not be forgotten (Oh Jay-hee, 2006: 53).

In 1967, PM Sato's unprecedented visit to South Korea brought both countries closer than ever before. The massive inflow of Japanese capital helped the South Koreans build up their core industries such as ship building. In order to facilitate economic cooperation between the two countries, an agreement was made to hold annual South Korean-Japanese ministerial conferences. Its first meeting held in 1967. Despite smoothening of diplomatic ties and stronger economic relations few problems like trade imbalance in favour of Japan and Japanese pre-WWII militarism and atrocities lingered on.

Other than few issues such as the abduction from Tokyo of Kim Dae Jung in August 1973, South Korean-Japanese relations since normalization have been amicable. In 1979 South Korean-Japanese relations attained a new height when both countries decided to start dialogue even on the strategic front with the beginning of the Korean-Japanese Parliamentary Conference on Security Affairs. (Edward A Olsen, 1981)

¹³ In accordance with the 1965 agreement. South Korea was entitled to receive a total of \$800 million from Japan-\$300 million in grants, \$200 million in government loans, and additional private commercial loans not exceeding \$300 million.

A significant change in South Korea's relations with Japan was observed under the Chun government. After attaining the power Chun tried to suppress his political opponents including opposition leader Kim Dae-Jung.¹⁴ One of the main charges on which Kim was indicted was his alleged founding and subsequent assumption of leadership of Hanmintong (the Japan-based South Korean Congress for the Rehabilitation of Democracy and Promotion of Reunification). However under the persistent pressure from Tokyo his death sentence was changed in to life imprisonment.¹⁵ Hong N. Kim (1987: 500) observes,

“President Chun’s decision to commute Kim’s death sentence to life imprisonment on January 23, 1981, eased much of the tension between Japan and South Korea and this was followed by growing signs of improvement in relations. The Suzuki government not only unfroze US\$94 million worth of credits to Seoul on January 31, 1981, but also indicated its willingness to hold a bilateral ministerial conference in the latter part of 1981. However, the outbreak of the textbook controversy the following summer exacerbated tensions once again.”

After continuous efforts and US support Chun government succeeded in obtaining a US\$4 billion low-interest loan. This loan helped South Korea's economic recovery from the foreign debt that had culminated to US\$41 billion by 1983. Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro's historical state visit to Seoul in January 1983 further strengthened the relationship between both the countries.¹⁶

The usual issues discussed, during the annual foreign ministerial conferences, have been “trade, the status of the Korean minority population in Japan, the content of textbooks dealing with the relationship, Tokyo's equidistant policy between Pyongyang and Seoul, and the occasional problems. At the first of three ministerial conferences held in 1987 (in Seoul, New York, and Geneva, respectively), the two countries' foreign ministers discussed pending issues, including Seoul's trade deficit with Tokyo. The

¹⁴ Kim's trial was based on sedition charges in connection with the Kwangju uprising.

¹⁵ Tokyo threatened Seoul that if Kim would be executed then all the economic and technical aid coming from Japan to South Korea would be cut.

¹⁶ While other Japanese prime ministers had visited Seoul for inaugurations or funerals, this was the first state visit to South Korea by a Japanese leader since the country was liberated from Japan in 1945.

Japanese minister of foreign affairs pledged to assist Seoul in its role as host of the Olympics. Seoul and Tokyo signed a bilateral agreement on sea rescue and emergency cooperation.”

In the 1988 foreign ministerial conference which was held in Tokyo, both South Korea and Japan agreed to increase youth exchange programmes including students and teachers. It was also agreed upon to establish the 21st century committee and a joint security consultative committee for the Seoul Olympics between the two countries.¹⁷

The bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan had to suffer from time to time because of various factors. Textbook controversy as discussed in the previous chapters caused tensions between both countries following protests and unrests in South Korea.¹⁸ Japanese informal relationship with North Korea also affected its relationship with South Korea.¹⁹

The treaty was a reconciliation effort from both sides to bridge the gap between past and present with focus on the future. Assessing the role of normalization treaty after 40 years Oh Jay-hee (2006: 52) has observed

“Human and material exchanges between Korea and Japan have now reached a level that would have been hard to imagine 40 years ago. Although Japan’s fabulous development during this period resulted in its becoming the second largest economy in the world, it would be no exaggeration to state that the degree to which Korea’s would be no exaggeration to state that the degree to which Korea’s economy developed during this same period has been nothing short of miraculous. There can be no denying the

¹⁷ At the first of three ministerial conferences held in 1987 (in Seoul, New York, and Geneva, respectively), the two countries’ foreign ministers discussed pending issues, including Seoul’s trade deficit with Tokyo. The Japanese minister of foreign affairs pledged to assist Seoul in its role as host of the Olympics. Seoul and Tokyo signed a bilateral agreement on sea rescue and emergency cooperation.

¹⁸ See Chapter 4 for details.

¹⁹ Japan through its informal relationship with North Korea established a secret organization called Chongryon. On August 15, 1974, a member of Chongryon Mun Segwang failed in an assassination attempt on then-President of South Korea Park Chung-hee. However, Japan did not hold the Chongryon responsible due to its informal relationship with North Korea. President Park was enraged at this Japanese attitude, and the relationship between Japan and South Korea became distant again.

exchanges and cooperation between Korea and Japan since the normalization of diplomatic relations have been one of the factors behind the emergence of Korea, a country that could barely provide its people with the basic necessities at the beginning of the 1960s, as one of the largest economies in the world.”

Reconciliation efforts were made from both sides and every time a Korean President visited Japan during the 1980s, the Emperor in a subtle way expressed remorse and regret for the war-time atrocities. In August 1993 Japanese Prime Ministers Tomiichi Murayama and in October 1998, PM Keizo Obuchi, issued public apologies. Japanese PMs have apologized time and again for the Japanese aggressions and atrocities time and again. Jon M. Van Dyke (2006: 229) says, “these statements are significant, but are not sufficient. “In Japan, while the apology is a central form of resolving disputes, an apology without accompanying reparations is often considered to be an empty gesture.” Dyke further points out,

“In August 1993, Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama made a personal apology to the comfort women, saying “On the issue of the treatment of the many comfort women, and the damage done to their honor and dignity, I would like to take this opportunity once again to express my profound and sincere remorse and apologies”... in August 1995, Prime Minister Murayama issued a statement on the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, apologizing for “Japan’s colonial rule and aggression” and acknowledging that it inflicted “immense harm and suffering upon people in many countries, especially in other Asian countries”...in October 1998, Japanese Prime Minister, Keizo Obuchi, apologized more specifically for Japan’s occupation of Korea, in a statement that gained added importance because it was included in a joint declaration issued after his meeting with Korean President, Kim Dae-jung. Prime Minister Obuchi acknowledged that “the Japanese colonial rule inflicted unbearable damage and pain on Korean people”... on 15 October 2001, Japanese Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, said “I sincerely regret and apologize from my heart for the losses and pain inflicted on the Korean people by Japan’s colonial rule” when paying respect at a memorial tablet at the Seoul Independence Park, which had once been a prison where Japan had tortured and killed Koreans fighting against the Japanese occupation... in 2002, when Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea, he made a similar statement, ...and expresses deep remorse and heartfelt apology.”

Table 3.1a and 3.1b shows the dignitaries visiting each other's countries, from 1997 to 2005.

Table 3.1a

VIP Visits: From Japan to Republic of Korea

Year		Name
1997	Foreign Minister Director General, JDA Foreign Minister	Ikeda, Kyuma, Obuchi
1998	Foreign Minister	Obuchi
1999	Prime Minister Foreign Minister Foreign Minister	Obuchi, Koumura, Kono
2000	Foreign Minister Prime Minister	Kono, Mori
2001	Prime Minister	Koizumi
2002	Prime Minister Foreign Minister	Koizumi Kawaguchi
2003	Foreign Minister Foreign Minister	Kawaguchi, Machimura
2004	Foreign Minister Prime Minister Foreign Minister	Kawaguchi Koizumi Machimura
2005	Prime Minister Foreign Minister	Koizumi Machimura

Source: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/index.html>

Table 3.1b**VIP Visits: From Republic of Korea to Japan**

Year		Name
1997	President Foreign Minister	Kim Young Sam, Yoo Chong Ha
1998	President Prime Minister Foreign and Trade Minister Foreign and Trade Minister Defense Minister	Kim Dae Jung, Kim Jong Pil, Park Chung Soo, Hong Soon Young, Cheon Young Taek
1999	Prime Minister Foreign and Trade Minister	Kim Jong Pil, Hong Soon Young
2000	President Foreign and Trade Minister Defense Minister	Kim Dae Jung, Lee Jun Bin, Cho Seong Tae
2002	President	Kim Dae-jung
2003	President	ROH, Moo Hyun

Source: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/index.html>

The most observable changes in the bilateral relations is the increase of governmental and nongovernmental dialogue channels between Japan and South Korea. Table 3.2 shows that from 1965 to 1985, the annual Joint Ministerial Conference was held on only regular basis and provided platform for official government exchanges.

TABLE 3.2

Japan-ROK Bilateral Policy Fora

Date	Type	Established	Comments
1965-1985	Joint-Ministerial Conference	1967	Annual
	High Level Foreign Policy Council	1984	Annual
1986-2000	Foreign Ministers Meeting	1986	Annual
	Twenty First Century committee	1988	Occasional
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Asia Bureau Directors Meeting	1991	Occasional
	Trilateral Assistant Secretary Meeting with US on North Korea	1992	Occasional
	Korea-Japan Forum	1993	Occasional
	Director General Security Dialogue	1997	Annual
	Executive Summit: President Kim and Prime Minister Obuchi	1998	Annual
	Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group	1999	Quarterly
	Hotlines	1999	Ministry of National Defense(Korea) and Japan Defense Agency
	Defense Ministers Meeting	2000	Annual(periodic prior to this)
	Joint Chiefs Meeting	2000	Annual ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff and Japan Joint Staff Council

Source: Victor D Cha, "Hypotheses on History and Hate in Asia: Japan Korean Peninsula in Reconciliation in Asia Pacific" edited by Yoichi Funabashi (Institute of Peace Press, 2003)

The most impressive change could be seen in the institutionalization of bilateral discussions on security from the working level to the ministry level, and an increasing array of military exchanges and joint exercises.

The first start was the 1997 director-general-level security consultations. Then, in 1999, Japan and South Korea established communication hot-lines between the Korean

Ministry of National Defense and the Japanese Defense Agency, as well as between air and naval components. Korean and Japanese air force chiefs held successful meetings in Seoul. And, in the same year, the two sides' Navies conducted unprecedented joint exercises and good-will port calls. The U.S., South Korea, and Japan also created the Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) for quarterly meetings to manage policy on North Korea in April 1999. Yangmo Ku (2006) feels that both Koreans and Japanese perceptions toward each other have changed. It is not as bad as reported in the media. However, some varying degree of differences reflected in public opinion polls are more due to external factors than domestic.

Table 2 and 3 show the public opinion polls from 1996 to 2003. These surveys were carried out by *Donga Daily* and *Asahi Shimbun*. The results indicate that Korean and Japanese view for the positive prospects of relations changed from 42% and 47% in 1996 to 59% and 65% in 2003. Japan's history textbooks aggravated Koreans' emotion toward Japan in 2001, but this did not last long. Also, the drop-off in perceptions of positive prospects between 2002 and 2003 stemmed mainly from overly high expectations of co-hosting the 2002 World Cup.

TABLE 3.3

Korean Prospect for Japan-South Korea Relations

Year	Positive	Negative
1996	42%	48%
1999	67%	33%
2001	48%	52%
2002	79%	15%
2003	59%	30%

Source: www.donga.com

TABLE 3.4**Japanese Prospect for Japan-South Korea Relations**

Year	Positive	Negative
1996	47%	38%
1999	62%	29%
2001	64%	24%
2002	79%	14%
2003	65%	25%

Source: www.donga.com

The dialogue initiated between the two countries has pierced more areas including culture, education and people to people level contacts. Korean celebrities are very much popular in Japan. Korean actors and singers are leading an unprecedented Korea boom in Japan called the “Hanryu” or “the Korean Wave.” Bae Yong-jun, one of the Korean actors is very popular in Japan particularly among women. The controversies over various issues could do no harm to Yong-jun’s popularity in Japan. Besides, many young students in South Korea are learning Japanese to play Japanese computer games and see Japanese cartoons and movies. Table 4 shows that the percentage of Korean high school students studying Japanese as their second foreign language has increased from 29.3% in 1991 to 54.7% in the 2003. It is not that other foreign languages are not preferred by Korean students but Japanese language has occupied more than half the space.

TABLE 3.5**Second Foreign Language Studies of Korean High School Students (unit: percent)**

Year	German	French	Spanish	Chinese	Japanese
1991	42.7	23.8	1.1	3.1	29.3
1994	42.8	25.1	0.7	4.3	27.1
1997	41.1	25.2	1.5	5.8	25.7
2000	35.9	22.5	1.4	9.1	31.1
2001	30.2	18.8	1.4	10.5	39.1
2002	24.6	15.8	1.2	12.9	45.4
2003	16.2	10.9	1.1	17.0	54.7

Source: <http://std.kedi.re.kr> (Korean National Center for Education Statistics & Information)

The number of visitors from one country to other has significantly increased and continuously rising. Table 5 show that the number of Korean visitors to Japan drastically increased from 144,424 in 1982 to 321,526 in 1988 to 1,051,865 in 1994 and to 1,569,176 in 2004. The number of Japanese visitors to South Korea, compared with the period in the late 1970s, doubled during the 1980s and quadrupled during the 1990s.

TABLE 3.6

Number of Korean and Japanese Visitors in Japan and South Korea

Year	Korean	Japanese
1976	60,217	521,128
1979	77,156	649,707
1982	144,424	518,013
1985	166,523	638,941
1988	321,526	1,124,149
1991	914,155	1,455,090
1994	1,051,865	1,644,097
1997	1,126,573	1,676,434
2000	1,100,939	2,472,054
2004	1,569,176	2,443,070

Source: www.knto.or.kr (Korea National Tourism Organization)

The successful co-hosting of the 2002 World Cup Soccer Games further improved people to people level contact and improved bilateral relationship. In 2002 Japan and South Korea even signed a criminal extradition treaty and the Korea-Japan Investment Agreement. Thus, one can say that the scope of improved Japan-ROK relations is broad, covering the security, economic, cultural, and social areas.

The most important outcome of the ongoing confidence building measures is increase in the partnership between local governments of South Korea and Japan. This could happen because of the democratization decentralization and democratization undertook by South Korea. These local level partnerships have strengthened the bilateral relationship and brought local governments and the people of both countries closer than ever before. Table 6 shows that number of partnerships between local governments of

South Korea and Japan are constantly expanding. Such developments have provided a favorable environment in which both people shared ideas, culture, and pragmatic concerns, thereby improving Japan-ROK relations.²⁰

TABLE 3.7

Partnerships between Local Governments of South Korea and Japan

Period	Number established	Total
Before 1969	1	1
1970 – 1974	4	5
1975 – 1979	6	11
1980 – 1984	8	19
1985 – 1989	13	32
1990 – 1994	21	53
1995 – 1999	6	59
2000 – 2004	17	76
Other	2	2
Total	78	78

Source: <http://www.klafir.or.kr> (Korea Local Authorities Foundation for International Relations)

Despite all the confidence building and improved relations few controversial issues are still lingering on and are required to be addressed without hurting the sentiments of the people of either country.

²⁰ For instance, Namhae in South Korea, which in 1991 formed a partnership with Oguchi in Japan, has since 1994 regularly conducted exchanges between high school students during summer vacations. To elevate mutual economic cooperation, the two cities also set up special sales areas in markets for each other's products. Cultural exchanges have also been pursued between the cities of Anyang and Dokorojawa since 1996. Many traditional art experts from these cities have visited the counterpart city and taught local residents, contributing to the promotion of mutual understanding. These cities have also dispatched local officials to each other to share information to develop better policies concerning the environment, construction, and overall well-being. At the province and prefecture level, South Kyungsang province and Yamaguchi prefecture have consistently pursued special exchange programs for college students to experience Korean and Japanese culture through seminars and home-stays. In the realm of economic cooperation, a trade office was established by the South Kyungsang province in the international economic center of the Yamaguchi prefecture. Also, the Yamaguchi prefecture has consistently participated in the annual International Machine Exhibition held by the South Kyungsang province (Yangmo Ku, 2006).

3.6: Controversial Issues

3.6.1: Textbook Controversy and Comfort Women

Textbook controversy is dealt with in the following chapter. Among the several reasons for Koreans' hatred for Japanese, is issue of comfort women (*jugun ianfu*). Many women from Korea and other South East Asian countries were sexually tortured and humiliated by the Japanese soldiers during the war. As discussed earlier that several Japanese PMs have apologized for the contentious historical issues, one of them is comfort women.²¹ Jon M. Van Dyke (2006: 234) observes, "The comfort women atrocities are perhaps the most visible remaining legacy of the Japanese control of the Korean peninsula... it has been estimated that more than 80 per cent of all the women commandeered to service the Japanese soldiers fighting in Asia were Koreans... Japanese apparently considered the Koreans to be an inferior race and suitable for prostitution. Many of the Korean women were forced to the frontlines where conditions were harshest and many were killed by Japanese soldiers at the end of the war."

Japan, on the issue of comfort women, faced severe criticism not only from the South Korea but also from other neighboring countries and world community as a whole. The issue is still lingering on and comfort women (sex slaves) are still not paid compensation. Scholars and leaders of both countries are divided on whether the compensation can be paid retroactively or not. Japan stand claims that then prevailing international laws did not cover these crimes/offences therefore, demands of compensation are not genuine. However, the international community has criticized Japanese stand (Jon M. Van Dyke, 2006:235).

²¹ During the colonial rule Japanese forced as many as 200,000 mostly Korean women to serve as "comfort women," or prostitutes, for the Japanese army (Esther Pan 2005).

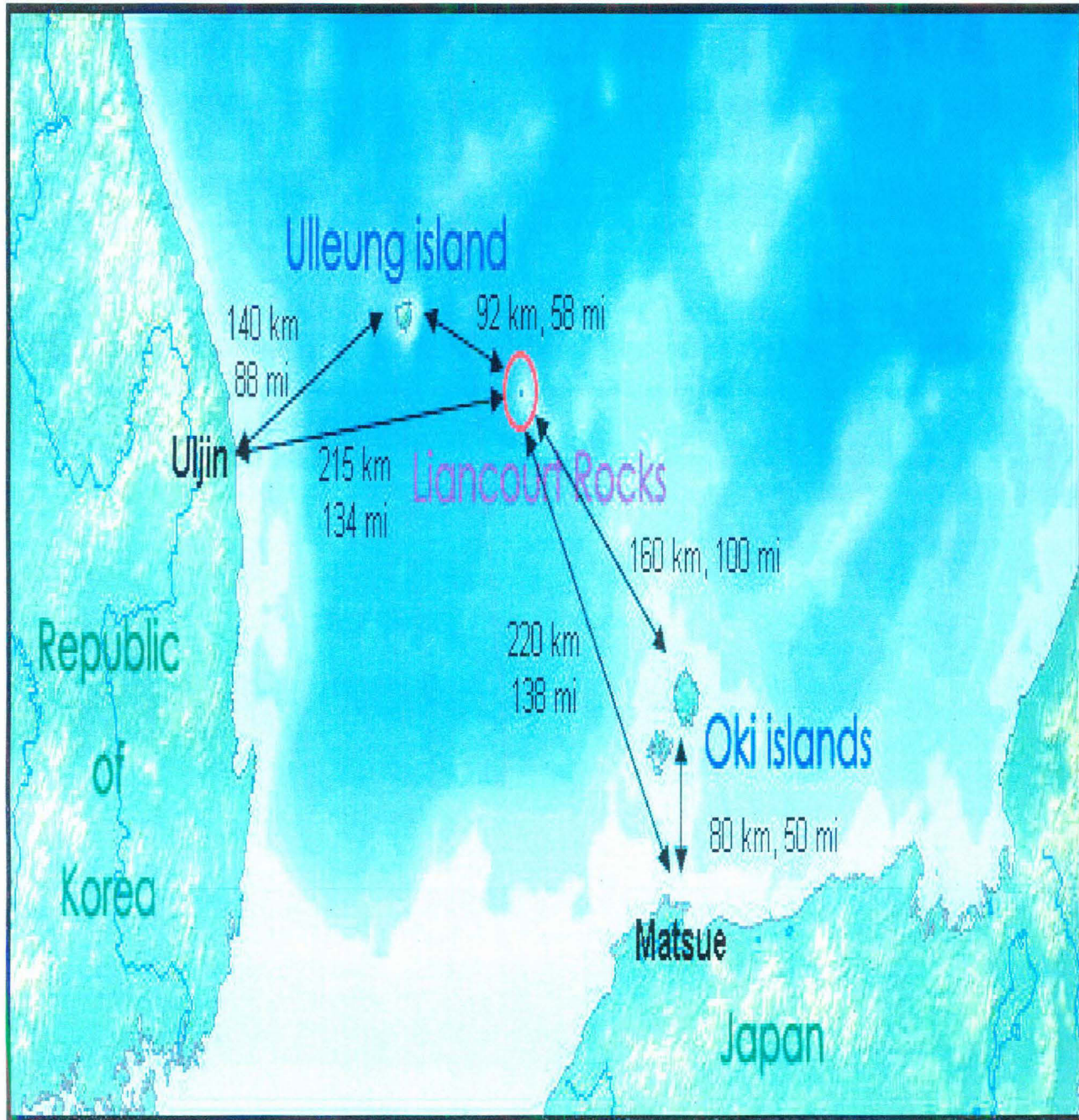
3.6.2 Takeshima/Dokdo Islands

Japan and South Korea has yet to resolve the ownership issue of a group of remote, rocky islets in the Sea of Japan.²² Like other problems this issue also has its roots in the past. In 1946, after Japan's surrender in WWII, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Allied Forces removed Japan's administrative authority over the Takeshima islets. However, the islets were not mentioned in a list of islands to which Japan renounced its claims in the Treaty of San Francisco signed in 1951. Koichi Kosuge (2007: *Asahi Shimbun*) says, "may be that is why Syngman Rhee, South Korea's first president, drew the Syngman Rhee line (Peace Line in South Korea) in international waters before the treaty took effect in 1952 to claim the Takeshima islets as South Korean territory." Since then, the Takeshima/Dokdo issue has been a bone of contention between Japan and South Korea. The issue was put on hold with signing of normalization treaty. Koichi Kosuge (2007: *Asahi Shimbun*) rightly points out that, "Japan tends to regard the problem as a territorial dispute, but it is a historical issue involving ethnic pride in South Korea."

²² Sea of Japan is called the East Sea in South Korea. These two tiny rocky islands situated midway between the main land territories of Japan and Korea have a combined land area of 0.23 square kilometres, or 58 acres.¹¹⁴ They have limited water sources, and have been uninhabited historically.¹¹⁵ Since 1954, about 45 South Korean marine police have been stationed there (and one family stays there in the summer) in order to support Korea's claim to sovereignty over the islands. Once a year, Japan sends a protest note rejecting South Korea's claim to ownership of these features. Their location in the middle of the East Sea/Sea of Japan—50 miles east of Korea's Ullungdo and 90 miles northwest of Japan's Oki Islands—gives them an importance and status if they were deemed to have an effect on the delimitation of marine space. They have served as a fishing station for harvesting abalone and seaweed and hunting seals, and they are near rich fishing grounds. Korea's claim to sovereignty over the islands is stronger than that of Japan, based on the historical evidence of the exercise of sovereignty and the principle of contiguity (because the islets are closer to Korea's Ullungdo than to Japan's Oki Islands), but most importantly because of Korea's reiteration of its sovereignty over the islands just prior to its annexation by Japan and because of Korea's actual physical control of the islands during the past 60 years (Jon M. Van Dyke, 2006: 236).

Map 3.1

Map of Dokdo/Takeshima Island



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Liancourt-rocks_distances.png

3.6.3: Japanese PM's Visit to Yasukuni Shrine

Yasukuni Shrine is a memorial to Japanese war dead. Many of Japan's neighbors, particularly South Korea and China, see the shrine as a glorification of Japanese militarism. The shrine has venerated the souls of 2.5 million of Japan's dead soldiers. In 1969 the priests of the Shinto Shrine clandestinely venerated the souls of fourteen convicted Class-A war criminals. Asian countries that were invaded and occupied by Japan see the shrine as an insulting tribute to Japan's decades-long quest to dominate the region militarily.²³ With the reemergence of the conservatives under the leadership of former Japanese PM Koizumi, the shrine came into limelight for wrong reasons. The neighbouring countries which were once colonized by Japan see Koizumi's visit to the shrine with full media coverage as efforts to revive of Japanese WWII militarism. South Korea has raised this point time and again at different levels including diplomatic. Interestingly no PM after Koizumi has visited the shrine again.

So severe was Korean protest that the South Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki Moon postponed a trip to Japan as a result of the shrine visit. However, later on he visited Tokyo and held talks with his Japanese counterpart and even PM Koizumi as well. Despite diplomatic bumps, scholars and diplomats remained hopeful of improving bilateral relations between the two countries.

Japanese neighbours are well aware of the fact that Koizumi's visits to Yasukuni Shrine were more for domestic reasons than international. Scholars of international studies feel that Japan under the leadership of reemerging nationalists like Koizumi were preparing the grounds for more assertive Japan. They want to revise their constitution and amend Article 9 particularly, which prohibits Japan to maintain any armed forces.

²³ Japan occupied Taiwan from 1895-1945 and colonized the Korean peninsula from 1910-1945. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937. During World War II, Japan committed atrocities throughout the region, including killing up to 350,000 people during the brutal 1937 takeover of the city of Nanking, conscripting Taiwanese and Korean civilians to fight in its army (Esther Pan 2005).

Korea's strong reaction was mainly due to the surging nationalism which is essentially directed against Japan. Scholars were of the opinion that Roh came out very strongly against Japan because he had to respond to a bloc of young, liberal voters in South Korea that was and still is very critical of Korea's cooperation with Japan during the colonial period.²⁴

The feelings of nationalism and conservatism are very high in both the countries. The controversial issues are kept alive and rolling not only because of the ill feelings about the past but also due to political compulsions of leaders of both the countries. Koizumi could not ignore the conservative factions within LDP and Roh wanted to prove himself different from his predecessors. Few scholars think that issues such as Yasukuni Shrine are required to be sorted out with utmost care. Successors of Koizumi and Roh have understood the necessity of healthy political, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations. They have been refraining from politicizing such issues. Reconciliation efforts have started yielding results.²⁵ However, the recent developments show that the Dokdo Islands issue would create more tension between both the neighbours. Both the countries are required to handle this issue more carefully. Despite number of controversial issues the pragmatism demands smooth and healthy relations between both the countries.

²⁴ Adding to their disgust was the revelation in January that South Korea's post-war government accepted a secret reparations package from Japan worth some \$800 million in 1965, when the two countries established diplomatic contact.

²⁵ For reconciliation efforts see Chapter 4.

CHAPTER – IV

IMPACT OF THE HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONS

The course of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan has never remained smooth for a considerable amount of time. On various occasions South Korea has warned the Japanese government of dire consequences, if latter does not review its textbooks glorifying and justifying imperial past. History textbooks served as the reason on such occasions, more than twice. The current Japanese history textbook issue has triggered several citizen protests not only in Korea but also in China. As discussed in the previous chapters, new history textbook, *Tsukurukai*, prepared by one of the Japanese conservative historian groups initiated several debates within and outside Japan. From the first time eruption of such anti-Japanese sentiments in Korea, in 1982, till the public protests of 2005, a host of other issues have also diluted the strength of bilateral relationship.

In September 2001, while attending the Seoul Foreign Correspondents' Club Press Conference, the then President of General Assembly, Han Seung-soo observed, "This issue has caused the recent unwelcome aggravation of bilateral relations between Korea and Japan. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Japanese government to take steps to resolve this matter so that the relationship between Korea and Japan may be restored to one of friendship and cooperation."

Korean government under the leadership of President Kim Dae Jung has even gone to the extent of recalling its ambassador in April 2001 and publicly reprimanding Japan.¹ It is believed

¹ South Korea has protested even in the international institutions like United Nations' Human Rights Commission in Geneva. At the 53rd Session of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, which was held for 3 weeks from July 30 to August 17, 2001, in Geneva, the delegation of the ROK raised the issues of "comfort women" during the World War II and the distortion of Japan's history textbooks, and expressed its concern on Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine. On August 14, 2001, through his statement regarding the agenda of "contemporary form of slavery," Minister of the ROK Mission in Geneva Yun Byung-se stressed that "Without a correct perception of the past among nations, particularly between neighbors, we cannot expect them to cultivate genuine friendship and cooperation in the truest sense," and demanded appropriate measures to correct the distortions in Japan's history textbooks. He also stated that "Partial and distorted history teaching explains the public's inability to accept or recognize historical reality, and fosters an atmosphere which allows government leaders to pay homage to war criminals who inflicted indescribable damage to neighboring countries." Secretary Kim Young-ho, as a representative of the DPRK, also stated "My delegation...strongly urges once again that the Sub-Commission should pay due attention to the current situation and explore the effective ways and means with a view to countering and preventing the attempts of evading accountability and denial of history by

that the South Korean government took such measures because of the immense public pressure built up by the anti-Japanese sentiments. The domestic compulsions of Korea and rising nationalism badly affected the bilateral relations. Repeated requests of Seoul and cold response of Japanese government resulted in the several incremental countermeasures and increasing diplomatic pressure. Not only diplomatic relations but cultural, military, political and economic relations also suffered severe setback. Lee Won-deog (2001: 26) observes,

“The hard-line policy includes discontinuing the next phase of the Korean market opening to Japanese popular cultural items, suspension of military exchanges between Korea and Japan, and drastically-reduced civilian and youth exchange programs between the two countries. Meanwhile, the National Assembly, taking into consideration the anti-Japanese sentiments of its constituents, has unanimously passed a resolution to annul the historic “Korea-Japan Joint Declaration of Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century” signed at the 1998 summit meeting. Clearly, the textbook controversy has cut short the honeymoon period of Korea-Japan relations, and has sullied the 1998 joint declaration of partnership as well as any other chance to improve Korea-Japan relations. And this will likely exacerbate with Japan’s Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi’s official visit to Yasukuni Shrine.”

4.1: Impact of History Textbook Issue on the Bilateral Relations

Nobutaka Machimura, Japan’s Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, asserts, “the Japanese government does not support the view of history of any particular textbook, and the government’s historiographical consciousness has no bearing on the certification of the new textbook.”

As already discussed the 1982 controversy arose when it was learned that the Ministry of Education, during the screening process, had ordered the publishers to change the word “aggression” to “advance.” Evelyn Colbert (1986: 275) says “...in 1980, ROK-Japan relations went into another period of decline.... in mid-1982, new bitterness was aroused by officially

the state responsible for the crime.” The ROK government had also raised the issue of distortions in Japan’s history textbooks through statements by the ROK delegation at the 57th UN Human Rights Committee in April 2001, and the 161st UNESCO Executive Council in May 2001.

sponsored Japanese textbook revisions that Koreans charged were glossing over the brutalities of the colonial era.” However, following the protests by China and South Korea the then Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, changed the Ministry of Education’s order.² The continuous diplomatic pressure from China and Korea, in fact relatively improved the content of Japanese history textbooks. At the domestic front also the progressive’s criticism decelerated conservative’s designs. Nakasone as the PM and the statesman realized the importance of peaceful and friendly relationship with neighbours. Nakasone’s visit to Yasukuni Shrine also triggered series of protests at various levels. Persistent pressure from and growing anti-Japanese sentiments in Korea and China made Nakasone to change his mind. He not only apologized but never visited Yasukuni again.

The second controversy hit when a right-wing group named “National Council to Protect Japan” compiled *New Edition of Japanese History* fraught with right-wing historical views aiming to foster pride in Japanese history. Protesting neighbours made Japanese government to take the unprecedented action. This time apologetic government ensured that corrections were made. The issue was settled, however, it was a temporary settlement.

At the top leadership level the Japanese have often rendered their apologies and even provided compensation for Japanese wartime atrocities. In January 1992, the then Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, during his visit to Korea, announced the Japanese government’s commitment to look into the controversial matters including the comfort women with utmost care. He affirmed that based on the findings of the historians his government would take appropriate measures. The then Minister of State Yohei Kono, on his government’s behalf apologized for the role of government in military system to provide comfort women. This trend has continued and even today the visiting dignitaries from Japan do not forget to regret atrocities committed by the Japanese in the past.

² After the 1982 textbook controversy, the Ministry of Education adopted the “Neighboring Countries” Article in its screening standards. The “Neighboring Countries” Article stipulates that information on modern history related to what took place between Japan and its neighboring countries, should be approached from the perspective of mutual understanding and cooperation with due consideration for neighboring countries.

When socialists formed a coalition government in 1993 under the leadership of Morihiro Hosokawa, for the first time in official capacity any Japanese PM admitted that wars instigated by Japan, before and during WWII, were wars of aggression. This was a new turn as far historically controversial issues were concerned. Lee Won-deog (2001:26) observes,

“In addition, during his visit to Gyeongju, Prime Minister Hosokawa expressed remorse for the harsh Japanese colonial rule in Korea, citing as examples, the policy to force Koreans to adopt Japanese names, the forced war mobilization, the annihilation of Korean culture, and other atrocities. Moreover, on August 15, 1995, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, formerly a member of the Socialist Party of Japan, who had achieved some success in his push for the apology resolution of the war’s end in the Parliament, acknowledged Japanese aggression during the Asia-Pacific war as “a mistaken national policy” and released a statement of heartfelt remorse for the harsh Japanese colonial rule, a statement that expressed the highest degree of remorse for war atrocities of any such document since the end of the war.”

The rise of socialists, in a way, increased the numbers of apologies offered by the ministers. They also publicly criticized pre-War Japanese atrocities. These apologies were widely covered by domestic and international media both. The decline in the conservatives due to the defeat of LDP reduced them to helpless opposition. They disapproved and criticized socialist government’s moves and public addresses.

“When Prime Minister Hosokawa referred to Japanese involvement in the Asia-Pacific war as “a war of aggression,” politicians launched an immediate protest. In a meeting, three factions within the LDP created the History Review Committee to rectify the tarnished historical view and to establish correct historical awareness. Among the Committee members were Ryutaro Hashimoto and Yoshiro Mori, who both later became prime ministers, as well as other prominent members of the LDP. The History Review Committee hired the expertise of right wing intellectuals in an attempt to establish a historical view that justified both invasion and colonial rule, and they conducted various activities to propagate that view.”

Although the socialist could not retain the political power for long, however, they provided enough fuel to the progressives within Japan and anti-Japanese groups in the neighbouring countries to raise their dissent vis-à-vis history distortion. Amidst the divided

opinion on history textbook issue, Japanese government, time and again, has taken several steps to dissuade protests.

While explaining the deceleration in bilateral relations of both the countries several other factors, are required to be taken into account, such as the end of the Cold War. With the collapse of the Soviet Russia, the anti-Communist alliance that acted as a binding force in ROK-Japan relations weakened. This change has raised the nationalist conflict that was otherwise low in intensity. Issues like “comfort women,” insulting nationalist remarks about the past, the Yasukuni Shrine controversy, disputed islands and the emergence of history revisionism, are although politicized to some extent but affected the bilateral relations. These issues also aggravated the Korea-Japan history dispute.

In fact, the transition of ROK from military regime to democratic form of government also intensified the history dispute. Lee Won-deog (2001:38) observes, “There was a violent outburst of anti-Japanese sentiment that had previously been suppressed under the military regime.” Lee further contests that the public sentiment influenced the foreign policy of ROK vis-à-vis Japan. Thus one can say that the 1998 Declaration of Korea-Japan Partnership had unstable base.

4.2: Japanese Apologies and Korean Protests

Owing to their feeling of guilt about the colonial past, Japanese have time and again apologized to all the colonized countries. The Koreans criticism has its roots in the past. Their criticism has often turned out to be anti-Japanese protests. Japanese confidence building measures could not pacify the Korean feelings. Japanese apologies are followed by either compensation or relaxation to the Koreans. Japanese are apparently divided over several controversial issues. Japanese conservatives’ steps to promote nationalism or to glorify their militaristic past have always provoked Koreans to protests. These issues have been lingering on for decades, and affected the bilateral relations. Evelyn Colbert (1986: 276) observes

“In the long and difficult normalization negotiations, this view of Japanese guilt formed the basis for Korean demands upon Japan to acknowledge that the agreements under which it had exercised sovereignty over Korea had been illegal from the very date of their signing, to apologize explicitly for the past, to pay reparations, to make restitution for Korean losses sustained during the colonial period and the post-surrender evacuation, and to abandon its own claims for restitution for property seized in Korea after the war. Since 1965 the guilt thesis has remained an important ingredient of Korean claims on Japan for economic assistance and more generous terms of trade, with Koreans arguing that this is one way that Japan can atone for past crimes. Koreans have been alert, also, to any signs that the Japanese are seeking to gloss over their past misdeeds, as was alleged in 1982 in the textbook case. The Japanese have found it difficult to agree that their colonial occupation of Korea was either illegal or immoral. Instead they see it as consistent with international acceptance in an earlier day of rule over colonies as an attribute of great power status. They have seen no more reason for Japan to apologize to Korea than for the United States to apologize to the Philippines or Britain to Burma. While some have been willing to agree that Japan’s colonial rule was relatively harsh, most Japanese also believe that it made an important contribution to the country’s modernization for which Koreans should be grateful. Japanese have found it difficult also to recognize any uniquely Korean contribution to their own culture; they have preferred, at most, to acknowledge Korea as a transmission belt between China’s culture and their own.”

When the apologies offered and promises made by various Japanese leaders regarding history textbooks were not strictly followed, the concerns of the neighbours heightened. The Joint Declaration on the New Partnership for the 21st Century, signed in October 1998 at the summit between President Kim Dae-Jung and Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, apparently covered the idea of providing right information about history to present and coming generations. Prime Minister Obuchi, humbly accepted the historic fact that Japanese colonial rule inflicted unbearable suffering and pain on the Korean people and expressed painfully deep repentance and heartfelt apology for the ordeal. President Kim Dae-Jung appreciated Obuchi’s view on history and mentioned stressed on building future-oriented relationship based on the spirit of reconciliation and friendship (Joint Declaration on a New ROK-Japan Partnership for the 21st Century, 1998). The futuristic promises made and positive changes brought in by the 1998 Joint

Declaration could not last long. The declaration was indeed a positive step however, it soon took a downturn. Yong-Chool Ha (2001: 63) observes

“South Korean Japanese relations had seemed to be developing successfully since the 1998 agreement on Korean-Japanese partnership. But in April 2001, the Japanese Ministry of Education approved a new history textbook that Korean officials claimed contained at least 35 distortions of historical facts and interpretation. Japan’s response to the strong protests of the South Korean government was considered unsatisfactory and the Korean side responded with an interruption of cultural exchanges, including some that had only recently been initiated, and opposition to Japan’s inclusion as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council.”

The Tokyo metropolitan government’s approval to a new version of Fusosha’s textbook, in 2005, further intensified the history issue. This was followed by the Korean and Chinese protests. The most noteworthy opposition to the new textbook came from a Korean non-governmental organization, the Asian Peace and Harmony Education Network (APHEN). APHEN highlighted the phrases and incidents where history was believed to be distorted. David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 75)

“The book claimed that Koreans participated in colonial institutions, such as the imperial army, for commercial reasons. That is, the textbook gave the impression that Koreans voluntarily joined the Japanese army to further their careers. Also implied is that the so-called comfort women were not victims of war, coerced into sexual slavery by the imperial army. Instead, the textbook suggests that they were simply professional prostitutes who chose to work in the Japanese army, which adequately paid them. APHEN also claims that the revised history textbook makes no mention of those Japanese who opposed the war effort, as well as Koreans and Chinese who resisted Japanese rule. The overall impression is that there was little or no resistance to Japanese domination. Japanese schoolchildren could thus surmise that other countries in East Asia welcomed and benefited from Japanese rule (Asia Peace and Harmony Education Network, 2005).”

David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 76) analyze Japanese response in the following words, “In response to these accusations, Japan’s minister for education claimed that the old depiction of history in school textbooks was simply too “self-torturing” for the country. It

stressed, instead, that Japan should be proud of its history.” Interesting thing to note was that like their earlier approach to all controversial issues Japanese officials including the minister apologized for his remarks. The ministry, however, did not use its powers to prevent the publication of the revised version of Fusosha textbook.

The textbook controversy of 2005 changed Korean conciliatory approach towards Japan. Unlike Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyun took a different track. David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 76) observe,

“Seoul explicitly opposed the reemergence of Japan as an active regional power unless Tokyo first acknowledged its wartime past and assumed responsibility for ensuring that current and future generations of schoolchildren have access to a full account of relevant historical facts about their country’s involvement in the war. Roh stressed that “we can no longer stand by and just watch [Japan’s] intentions to realize hegemony once again.” In concrete terms this meant that South Korea would oppose a stronger global role for Japan, such as a possible permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.”

It is a proven fact that the new textbook, and the public debates surrounding it, remain a major source of tension in relations between Japan and Korea. Although there are number of steps taken as reconciliatory measures however, the two countries have got a long way to go before any mutually agreeable milestone can be achieved.

4.3: Resolution of the Dispute

4.3.1: Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee

On the basis of bilateral summits on October 15 and October 20, 2001, the ROK and Japan agreed to establish a joint research organization to resolve history issues (“Members of the Joint Support Committee for Japan-ROK Joint History Research Pays Courtesy Call on Prime

Minister,” 2005).³ Since then, the foreign ministries of Korea and Japan have led close consultations and have established the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee for history research, and the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to support such research activities at the government-level. The committee’s prime focus was to promote an accurate and mutual understanding of historical facts and historical perspectives regarding the issue of history textbooks. The active participation and support by both governments and scholars/historians enhanced the significance of this committee.⁴ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) in one of its reports has suggested that one of the most significant outcomes of the 6th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Steering Committee was the agreement between both the countries to make it available to general public. “The two countries agreed to go through the necessary editing procedures for the publication of the report in order to release it to the general public at the earliest possible time. Moreover, they agreed to promote the wide distribution and utilization of the report at all sections and levels of both countries to ensure the appropriate application of the research results” (Outcomes of the 6th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Steering Committee MOFAT, May 5, 2005).

During their two-hour summit meeting, the South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun and the Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi exchanged their views on history issue. After the summit, Roh Moo-hyun announced a two-point “low level” agreement that the two countries had already reached even before the summit through diplomatic talks. The Korean president affirmed that Japan would consider an alternative memorial for the Yasukuni Shrine. The most significant development was that the two countries agreed to launch a second joint research committee to investigate history concerning the two nations and establish a task force to develop joint school textbooks for use in the two neighboring countries (“History Issue Deeply Discussed at Seoul-Tokyo Summit,” 2005). Roh asserted “We agreed to make a joint effort to make the outcome of the cooperative research of the history known widely to the peoples of the two countries and become a guideline for the writing of history books.” The summit raised the hopes to improve bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan which were affected when Japan authorized a

³ Seoul and Tokyo launched the committee in 2002 under a bilateral summit agreement after a dispute over Japan’s alleged distortion of history in school textbooks.

⁴ The Committee was constituted of members from both sides, including Mr. Taichiro Mitani, the Chair of the Japanese side, and Mr. Cho Kwang, the Acting Chair of the Republic of Korea (ROK) side.

new version of school textbooks. Despite the positive claims about mutual understanding to address several controversial issues mutual agreement could not be reached. Roh further said that “We had a very serious and frank discussions, and tried to reach consensus (on the history issue), but we failed to clinch concrete agreements in the meeting.”

It appears that political and security issues were given more emphasis during the summit. Koizumi promised that Koreans should not fear any act of aggression from Japan. He stressed that both countries should work in the direction of promoting and maintaining peace in the region. Both sides agreed to resort to peaceful and diplomatic approach and solution.

On June 22, 2007, the First Assistance Committee for the “Second Phase of the Japan-ROK Joint History Research” was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The assistance committee was consisted of academics and officials from both countries. The committee was constituted to review controversial history. Its participants were supposed to exchange views on future measures to assist the second phase of the joint history research. On June 23, 2007, the First Regular Consultation Meeting for the Joint History Research was held in Tokyo. The meeting was attended by members of the Joint History Research Committee. The participants exchanged views on future measures to conduct a joint study, to organize the committee, the schedule in the future, and other matters (First Assistance Committee for the “Second Phase of the Japan-ROK Joint History Research” and the First Regular Consultation Meeting for the Joint History Research, June 25, 2007). This shows that the bilateral dialogue and joint efforts are not completely futile.

Continuing with the joint efforts to resolve the history related issues, Japanese and South Korean historians entered into a new phase of joint history studies. Historians from both the countries, in order to minimize the differences are attempting to develop mutually agreed upon contents of history textbooks. The committee decided to take two more years to discuss and

compile a report based on their talks (History talks with South Korea enter new phase, *The Japan Times*, June 24, 2007).⁵

The textbook issue is a sensitive issue for the people of both the countries and therefore, it requires carefully scrutiny. ROK and Japan have different screening process as far as educational curriculum and textbooks are concerned. As already discussed in chapter 1, Japanese textbooks are prepared by publishers and approved by the government's screening system. In South Korea, textbooks are compiled by the government.

The diversity in the backgrounds of the scholars and academics proves the fact that utmost care has been taken to nominate candidates for the joint committee.⁶ Controversial figures are kept out of it. *The Japan Times* (June 24, 2007) reports that "The committee members are divided into four subgroups, with the subgroup dealing with textbooks an addition to this round of talks. The three others are the same as in the first round, which started in 2002; one on ancient history, another on medieval history and the third on modern and contemporary history." The joint research aims to allow experts from both countries to share their interpretations of history to better understand how and why they differ. Several experts still believe that this framework would not result in any breakthrough, given the fixed positions of both governments.

The leaders of the two states have already agreed to the second phase would cover the issue of history textbooks. The ROK's former President, Roh said "the two sides would publicize the results and make efforts to reflect them in their textbooks." The significant outcome of the first round of talk was a nearly 2,000-page report in which the Japanese and South Korean historians presented differing views on key historical events involving their nations, including Japan's 1910 annexation of the Korean Peninsula.

⁵ The 34-member research committee, comprising 17 representatives from each country, basically discussed logistical matters in the inaugural session of the talks second phase, such as how to proceed with their research. The members include university professors, history experts and researchers.

⁶ It is noteworthy that the project began prior to Koizumi's ascension to the office of prime minister. It brought together historians, educators, scholars, and NGO representatives from China, Japan, and South Korea, who collectively faced the very problem of conflicting memories of the past (David Hundt and Roland Bleiker, 2007).

Recently it has been reported that Korean and Japanese academics have launched a joint study into the shared history of both countries. Members of a Korea-Japan joint history research committee after holding a full session in Tokyo on June 7, 2008, established a sub-committee on history textbooks for the first time to develop a joint perspective on history. The committee is seeking a new way to look at the history of the two nations, which is often described by words such as repression and resistance. The territorial dispute over the Dokdo islets will not be included in the research (Korea, Japan to Jointly Research History, 2008).

4.3.2: Alternatives

The fact that history is a form of representation proves that history cannot be complete. Different historians had different interpretations of history and could cover a part of it. Few Japanese historians are of opinion that there were people and politicians alike opposing the pre-War Japanese militaristic policies. David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007) point out that, “advancing an ethics of difference does not entail abandoning the ability to judge, particularly when it comes to questions of responsibility for Japan’s imperial ambitions and colonial occupation of Korea. Not every version of the past can be sustained. Although the content of a Despite the fact that several significant steps have been taken to resolve the history textbook issue, there appears no end to it. The problem lies with the difference of opinion of the citizens of the two countries. Japanese people are visibly divided over the introduction and revision of history textbooks. Anti-Japanese feeling among Koreans has fuelled the protests at different levels. In order to improve the relations between the two countries David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 80) feel that

“...reconciliation between Japan and South Korea is still needed, even though the two countries have long normalized economic and diplomatic relations. The task ahead is not gargantuan either. Economic relations are relatively close already and no military conflict is likely to break out between these neighbors. But problems nevertheless exist and they continue to hamper collaborative efforts. Political, security, economic, and cultural relations would improve substantially if Tokyo and Seoul were to find a basic agreement on how to deal with their diverging approaches to representing and dealing with the past.”

Reconciliatory measures are needed not only for improving political and economic ties but also to check the threat from North Korea and for the stability and peace in the region. David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 80) suggest that a close working relationship between South Korea and Japan could provide substantial stability to a region that could otherwise experience serious tension and conflict. They say that, "Various scholars have agreed that the ultimate solution to this problem cannot be reached while dialogue, acceptance of differences and respect for various versions of histories are few of the alternative approaches Japan and Korea can work on. Historical account is inevitably intertwined with the values espoused by the narrator, a historian cannot simply make up events and interpretations."

Lee Won-deog (2001: 21-40) suggests that the two countries must do their utmost to overcome the present conflict and work towards building the kind of forward-looking partnership described in the 1998 Joint Declaration. Lee further suggests that confrontation because of the history dispute would be against the interests of Korea and Japan. Lee Won-deog (2001: 21-40) and David Hundt and Roland Bleiker (2007: 61-91) recommend that instead of promoting miniscule goals of nationalism both countries should concentrate on bilateral cooperation grounded in universal values. Lee Won-deog (2001: 39) while pointing about the future course of action for both the countries observes

"In order to forge ahead with building forward-looking bilateral relations, the voices for international cooperation and universal human values should be louder than those of the ultra-nationalists. It is important to note, however, that the government certification of *The New Textbook* does not mean that the majority of historians or intellectual circles in Japan sympathize with the historical view of the textbook. Nevertheless, the core of the problem is that there is no strong counter-balancing mechanism that checks the senseless actions of a relatively minor group such as the one supporting the book. The Japanese government still holds some responsibility for failing to foresee the volatile and dangerous consequences of approving the textbook. What is of greatest concern is that the voice of the right wing, which only seeks its own interests, is gaining increasing ground in Japanese society amidst the silence and apathy of the majority. The textbook controversy is no longer a matter of discussion but of waiting for selection by schools. Contrary to initial

concerns, the percentage of Japanese middle schools adopting the Fushosha textbook has not even reached 0.1 percent.”

4.3.3: Sports Diplomacy: A step to Enhance People to People Contact

The two countries by co-hosting the 2002 Football World Cup had proved that sports could provide a working and successful alternative to the controversies. The bilateral relations between both the countries were not at their high when both countries went ahead with the idea of co-hosting Football World Cup. After the successful completion of the event, the leaders of both the countries while issuing a joint statement observed,

“Through the joint hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, Korea and Japan have displayed solid ties of friendship to the world. Through the support and cooperation of the two peoples, the two countries co-hosted this internationally celebrated event successfully and safely. This will undoubtedly be a valuable asset of the two countries in enhancing Korea-Japan relations to a higher level. The peoples and governments of both countries would gather wisdom to maintain the momentum of this greater friendship brought about by the 2002 FIFA World Cup and to further strengthen our bilateral ties. Based on friendship and trust, our two countries will continue to deepen cooperation and expand the exchange between the two peoples in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. To this end, we will promote various ways including joint projects for the enhancement of sports and youth exchanges (Joint Message toward the Future by President Kim Dae-jung and Prime Minister Koizumi, 2002).”

Such noble and healthy experiments could be repeated in the future as well. More pragmatic and two-way communication is required to resolve history dispute. Commonalities, areas of mutual cooperation such as trade, investment, and tourism should be prioritized instead of raising never ending controversial issues over and over again.

CHAPTER – V

CONCLUSION

History textbooks are the integral part of educational curriculum in any given country. If the history is distorted, textbooks could become a major issue of contention within the country and abroad as well. Owing to several reasons, different ideological groups keep the issue alive and going. So is the case with Japan and South Korea. It is been observed that every prolonging bilateral conflict after attaining political dimensions usually develops fault lines. These fault lines, eventually, become the starting point of various other conflicts at the national, regional and international level. The governments of all the nation states face political challenge to sketch the uniform nationalist perspectives on history in order to translate it into a collective nationalist force. Textbooks provide political prerogative to the government so as to design and express a uniform nationalist perspective. The relevance of textbooks increase manifold as they play a vital role in shaping children's mindset in their formative years.

The mechanism to formulate curriculum varies from nation to nation. Few nations have strict control over the education, while some are liberal in their approach. In the democratic setups, government through its agencies ensure educational curriculum and textbooks represent true picture of the past and present. In the conservative setups, academicians/historians are appointed by the governmental agencies to write textbooks in a way that suits their overall political interests. In addition educational institutions and curriculum are strictly monitored by the state agencies.

In almost all the democratic countries right to speech and expression is ensured. Civil-societies and vigilant masses watch all the developments closely and act as check to the governmental policies.

Historiography has remained the domain of the learned historians. Given the vast nature and scope of the history, historians are often divided on several issues. Historians are often criticized to be selective while writing history as they cover up only those issues what they feel worth covering. Historians world over are influenced by the factors like ideology, prevailing circumstances, state or private patronage and educational background and so on, which

ultimately leads to differing opinions. Biasness in the historians approaches result in varying versions of history further confusing the readers. Historiography in any given country is not free from these shortcomings. One of the very visible and debated controversies over historiography and textbook contents has constrained the bilateral relationship between South Korea and Japan.

The textbooks controversy is negatively affecting bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan; because it brings back focus towards the bitter colonial era. The history textbook issue has time and again become a roadblock in the South Korea-Japan relationship. In the recent developments the textbook controversy has even engulfed the geography textbooks. The issue has emerged because of the Japanese geography textbooks mention that Dokdo islands (Takeshima in Japanese) are integral part of Japanese territories. It is a cluster of islands on the Sea of Japan held by South Korea. The South Korean government has threatened to take hard actions if Japan will not mend its ways. Japanese side is blamed to promote feelings of nationalism through the glorification of its past and distortion of the historical past. Interestingly, the issue has political, economic, diplomatic and strategic ramifications. These contrary and mutually unacceptable interpretations and respective claims draws the existing fault lines of tension that remains alive and very much intact with the probability of its exacerbation remains very high to be replicated in renewed future conflicts.

During the course of this study the most important change is witnessed among the Koreans. Koreans have become more and more anti-Japanese and demonstrated publicly and even at international forums. Koreans have shown their intolerance while reacting to the Japanese attempts to revive nationalism. Despite various attempts from both sides at different levels the issue could not be solved. So immense is its impact on the bilateral relations that South Korea has even called its diplomats back from Japan. At times top level summits and VIP visits were called off.

Through textbooks the suitable versions of history are presented; sometimes unduly glorified while sometimes twisted for the sake of pervert cynicism. To the heart of such a cynicism or the glorification lies the political compulsions and they are often termed by the analysts as a contrary perceptions held by countries towards each other. This plausibly explains the current history textbook controversy that rage between South Korean and Japan. Korea and

Japan pen down the contradictory but politically suitable views of each other's and their own history in their school history textbooks published immediately in the aftermath of WWII. The continued Japanese insistence on legitimizing the colonialism of the past to suit its present political objectives of domestic and foreign policy has conflagrated the anti-Japanese sentiment amongst the entire Korean population.

The controversy as relate to the history is an emotionally sensitive issue to the Koreans and therefore is not just remained confined to the school education but largely spilled over as an issues of national prestige hence creates immense domestic political pressure inside South Korea. Korea was colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945 and many Koreans even from today's generation feel deeply hurt due to Japanese Red Army's war time crimes that were committed against Korean citizens and on the highly sensitive issue of "comfort women" as well as Japan's refusal to issue an unconditional apology and failure to offer due monetary compensation. The shoddy probe and recurring reluctance on part of Japanese government to diffuse the controversy by refraining from entering into any corrections in its textbook accounts is a real cause of concern for the upcoming generations.

The textbook controversy was erupted first time in year 1982. Interestingly it took place more due to domestic factors than international. It was first reported in a Japanese newspaper that there exist several wrong instances in the history textbooks. Taking the lead, Korean and China registered their protests at governmental level. However, the issue got sorted with the timely intervention of the appropriate authorities including the then Japanese PM, Nakasone. In the mid 1990s, some Japanese politicians, journalists, and scholars began to deny the responsibilities of Japan once again. The Japanese government gave in to the pressure of anti-Japan protesters from the neighbouring countries and the anti-government progressives within the country. Anti-Japanese sentiment among the Korean people is exemplified by rivalry and anti-Japanese feeling with its roots in the history.

Few scholars have analyzed the history textbooks of both the countries and found that Korea and Japan instilled contradictory perceptions of each other's history to their respective students immediately after the war in 1945. While Japan described history textbook on the basis

of colonialism, Korea emphasized Japanese aggression against Korea in its own history textbooks.

The difference lies in the outlook and approach towards imparting information about history. Japan is believed to intentionally evade historical facts and instilling national pride. The Park Chung-hee administration made attempts to ease anti-Japan feeling among the Korean people, but Japan's continued insistence on legitimizing the colonialism of the past caused anti-Japanese sentiment to spread among the entire population in Korea regardless of school education. Korea emphasizes its national identity and Japanese atrocities and oppression.

The controversy has invoked nationalist sentiments in both the countries. Japanese citizens are divided on the question of history textbooks. There are conservatives favouring and progressives opposing the contents of the history textbooks in Japan. Japanese progressives endorse the claims of the neighbouring countries including South Korea. China and Korea were colonized by post-war imperial Japan. Japan has been blamed for the wartime atrocities and inhuman treatment of its subjects. Those bitter feelings are further promoted either through surging tide of nationalism in China and South Korea. Chinese and South Korean curriculum also comes under the scanner of criticism for promoting anti-Japanese feelings, sometimes beyond the limits. They are not letting iron out past memories. Although Korea has denied such criticism on the grounds that Japan being a super economic power, is expected to behave like one. Japanese conservatives feel that lesser developed countries particularly in the North East Asia and South East Asia have been demanding apology and compensation from Japan with Japanese capital and technology as their hidden motives. Whatever said and done, the suspicion among the neighbouring countries has still to be done away with.

The controversial history textbook of Japan would impact the foreign policies of both the nations. Both countries cannot overrule domestic constraints on their respect foreign policies. South Korea is compelled by the rising forces of nationalistic fervor. On the other hand, Japan is torn apart between strong factions of nationalists within the ruling alliance and progressives who have influential lobbies and groups in the academics.

South Korea has even raised some of the issues in international forums as well. The contentious issues like comfort women and textbook controversy have heightened the tension between the two countries. Comfort women issue reflects Japanese inhuman practice of forcing women to sexually serve their military personnel even at the war fronts. These issues have attracted the attention of international community. Several scholars from the world over has looked into the matter and found Japan guilty.

It took some time before Japan could finally admit that “comfort women” is the dark phase of Japanese pre-war history. Several comfort women are alive and still demanding compensation and apology from the Japanese government. This particular issue is not only confined to South Korea but even covers up other South East Asian countries and China too. Efforts to solve this particular problem are on.

Such issues have gained momentum particularly after the 1990s. Many foreign war victims, such as former Korean soldiers, Korean forced labourers, foreign atomic bomb victims, and comfort women have sued Japanese government to apologize and compensate them individually. Several courts have ruled out the individual victims’ cases on the grounds of their jurisdiction as they say that such issues can be decided by the legislature. However, many courts have recognized the sufferings and damages of claimants. The Japanese government has taken legal measures to compensate former comfort women, as well as atomic bomb victims living in foreign countries. Japanese move to compensate war time victims has helped in developing amicable relationship with neighbours.

In the post-WWII phase, South Korea’s antagonistic feelings against Japan mellowed down when the normalization agreement was signed. The 1965 pact between South Korea and Japan has served the mutual interests of both the countries. The agreement boosted South Korean economic development. Japan found a new market to invest its capital and export goods. With the democratization of South Korea and ensuing need for Japanese capital and technology, the former has adopted a policy to make business and trade relations top priority. When South Korea switched to democratic political setup and liberal mode of economy in the early 1980s, the history textbook issue gained prominence. The domestic politics and conservatives within South

Korea do not want to wish away with such issues which can be leveraged against Japan and their opponents at the domestic political fronts.

The diplomatic ties between South Korea and Japan have not only made both the countries solve their major pending problems but they have become an effective channel of communication during the last few decades. The closer political and economic relationship between the two countries is significant in regional dynamics of East Asia. Realizing the importance of the stronger relationship between both the countries, South Korea and Japan have taken several significant steps to resolve disputes and controversies.

Although nationalist sentiment centering on national development is still deeply rooted in history education in Korea and Japan, there is clear indication that there is a movement to overcome obstacles of different viewpoints, as seen in the textbook lawsuit in Japan and civic movement in Korea, which is somewhat different from government educational policies of both Korea and Japan. There is a movement toward education of mutual understanding and peace, respect for the right to education of the people, and truth in education.

Despite the presence of contentious issues South Korea has remained successful in extracting apologies as well as compensation from Japan. Japan has still to come out clear from its imperial and militaristic past. Judging the geostrategic, political ramifications and the prevailing situation in the Far East, Japan has left with little or no choice than to address the concerns of its neighbour.

In 2002, Japan was the second largest trading partner for South Korea, while South Korea was the third largest trading partner for Japan. The trade between the two countries has been on the rise since 2000.

Several significant measures were initiated to resolve the history textbook issue, still there appears no end to it. The problem lies with the difference of opinion of the citizens of the two countries. Japanese people are visibly divided over the revision of history textbooks. On the contrary, anti-Japanese feeling among Koreans has fuelled the protests at different levels.

Reconciliatory measures are needed not only for improving political and economic ties but also to check the threat from North Korea and for the stability and peace in the region. Various scholars have agreed that the ultimate solution to this problem cannot be reached without dialogue. Mutually agreeable solutions or alternatives could reduce the intensity of hatred and suspicion prevailing in the minds and hearts of the Koreans. More emphasis should be given to enhance and strengthen people to people level contacts. Events like co-hosting of Football World Cup could be repeated quite often. Both the governments should outline measures to promote mutual respect and trust, not only at the diplomatic level but at the masses level as well, so that misconceptions can be reduced. Both countries should think of assigning more number of joint-committees so that the solution to the existing problems can come directly from the masses. The proceedings and reports of such committees should be made public as early as possible. Given the vastness of the subject, mutually agreeable history will remain difficult to write. However, the controversial portions can be dropped from the course contents. The reports of the present joint-committee on history are still awaited and hopefully change the course of this controversy, in the right direction.

South Korea and Japan has a long way to travel. The stronger bonds of friendship and trust will promote prosperity and peace not only in both the countries but also in the region. Despite the existence of controversial issues both countries have several things like democracy, liberal economy, rule of law and good records of human rights in common. Both countries understand the importance of each other. Neither Japan nor South Korea is in a position to resort to violent means. Dialogue and peaceful negotiations can minimize the tension and provide pragmatic and meaningful solutions.

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APPENDIX I

Textbook controversy: Analysis of Korea's requests to Japan¹

Subject	What Japanese Textbooks say	Korean Analysis
Mimana: Ancient Japanese occupation post in Korea	<p>* Japanese forces from the Yamato court advanced to the Korean Peninsula across the sea and established a military outpost named Mimana.</p> <p>*The Yamato forces formed an alliance with Paekche and Silla to fight against Koguryo during the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea (in the late 5th century).</p> <p>*Koguryo suffered serious setbacks due to resistance from Japanese forces based in Mimana and Paekche</p> <p>* Yamato failed in its attempt to advance further into the peninsula and retreated from Mimana.</p>	<p>* Despite their research for the last five decades on the theory that Japan operated a military outpost named Mimana in Korea, both Korean and Japanese historians have failed to verify this theory.</p> <p>* This is a clear mistake. According to the epitaph for King Kwanggaeto of Koguryo, the forces of Koguryo participated in the battle to assist Silla on Silla's request, and drove away the invading Japanese forces</p> <p>* Such a description is possible only when it is based on the hypothesis that Japan had its forces permanently deployed in Korea. But there are no historical records from Korea relating to Japan's activities on the Korean Peninsula, not to mention its operation of a permanent outpost of any sort. So, the description must be deleted.</p>
Relations among the Three Kingdoms in the late fourth century	<p>* Koguryo made a strong offensive against the other two Korean kingdoms - Paekche and Silla - which ruled southern regions of the peninsula.</p>	<p>* This is a clear distortion of historical facts. Koguryo supported Silla in the latter half of the fourth century.</p>
Internal and external relations of the Three Kingdoms in the sixth century	<p>* Koguryo began to wane and so did Wei, a northern Chinese dynasty that supported Koguryo.</p> <p>* Koguryo and Silla formed a military alliance and stepped up their offensive against Paekche.</p>	<p>* This argument is groundless. In the sixth century, Koguryo confronted Wei militarily.</p> <p>* This is an indisputable error. In fact, the two small kingdoms of Silla and Paekche formed an alliance to cope with the southern advance of Koguryo.</p>

¹ Choe Yong-shik et. al. (2001), "Textbook Controversy: Analysis of Korea's Requests to Japan, *The Korea Herald*, May 9, 2001.

Three Kingdoms' diplomatic relations with Yamato	* Koguryo suddenly approached the Yamato court, while Silla and Paekche began to offer tributes to Yamato.	* This argument is solely based on <i>Nihon Shoki</i> , an ancient Japanese history book whose credibility is widely questioned as it combines legends and facts. (No historical records in Korea and China mention Korea's tributary relations with Japan at this time.)
Japanese pirates	* The Japanese pirates known by the name of wako included Koreans as well as Japanese. But, in fact, the majority of the pirates were Chinese.	* Wako is described as pirates who included Koreans and Chinese. in order to give the impression that wako pirates were not solely comprised of Japanese people.
Korea's state name	* General Yi Song-gye brought down the Koryo Dynasty and established the Yi Choson in 1392.	* "Yi Choson," a derogative name used by the Japanese colonialists, is used again, instead of the official name of the dynasty, Choson.
Hideyoshi Invasion of Korea	<p>* The title reads "Sending Troops to Korea."</p> <p>* Toyotomi Hideyoshi sent troops to Choson as part of his grandiose dream of conquering Ming China. The second stage of his plan was to conquer India.</p> <p>*As a result of Japan dispatching its troops, the land of Choson and the lives of the people were remarkably dilapidated.</p>	<p>* The historical fact that Japan invaded Korea is concealed with the passive description that it "sent troops."</p> <p>* Causes of the invasion are attributed merely to Hideyoshi's personal illusion of conquering Ming China.</p> <p>* Description of the damage caused by the Japanese troops is scaled down.</p>
Korean emissary to Japan	<p>* The Bakufu military government of Japan re- stored diplomatic relations with Choson (in the wake of the Hideyoshi Invasion).</p> <p>*Choson dispatched royal emissaries whenever a new shogun, or supreme military leader, took office.</p> <p>* A Japanese trading post for commercial activities with local Koreans was opened in the southern Korean port of Pusan.</p>	<p>The postwar normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan was made possible by the relentless efforts of Japan's shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu. Such a simple description of the final result might lead to the misunderstanding of the entire process.</p> <p>*Korean diplomatic delegations are simply labeled as congratulatory royal emissaries, without duly describing the purpose of their visits or Japan's purpose of inviting them.</p> <p>By stating that the trading post was set up by Japan as part of its administrative system, the fact that the Korean government permitted Japan to establish the post has been ignored.</p>
Korea's perception of Western powers and its international status	<p>* East Asian countries were, in general, not fully aware of the imminent military threats from the Western imperial powers (in the late 19th century).</p> <p>* Choson: which was a vassal</p>	<p>*Korea's response to the military threats of Western powers is downplayed by comparing it with the Japanese way of (effectively) dealing with them.</p> <p>* Korea is erroneously defined as a "vassal state" of China. There is no explanation of the</p>

	state of China, was no exception.	China-centered tributary system in dynastic times, or how a tributary state differed from modern colonies.
Korea and the pre-modern international order in East Asia	* Chosun (Korea) and Vietnam were both conquered by the successive Chinese dynasties, but Japan remained independent of the China-centered world order and enjoyed freedom.	* The nature of pre-modern relations among nations in East Asia is distorted. Recognition of new monarchs and the offering of tributes constituted a diplomatic formality between China and the smaller countries that surrounded it in pre-modern times. China never interfered with Korea's internal affairs. * Japan, in contrast to Korea, is mistakenly defined as an "independent sovereign state," omitting the fact Japan remained a part of China's tributary system until the 17th century.
Juxtaposing the social characteristics of Korea and Japan	* There is a theory that China and Chosun (Korea) couldn't successfully cope with the (military) threats from Western powers because their societies had traditionally been ruled by Confucian scholar-officials (unlike feudal Japan, which was built around military values.)	* This is an account intended to promote the unfounded view that Japan's military society was superior to the civilian social systems of China and Korea, thus implicitly justifying Japan's aggression into these countries in later years.
"Punish Korea" Campaign	* In 1873, a group of Japanese military activists contended that Japan should launch a military attack on Korea in punishment for disrespectfully refusing Japan's official request to open its ports. * Its main proponent, Takamori Saigo, volunteered to die a sacrificial death in Korea in order to provide Japan with an excuse to attack Korea.	* The overall background leading to Korea's refusal is ignored. The background is deliberately ignored to defend Japan's attempts to abrogate traditional diplomatic procedures between the two countries. * This account is misleading because it is based on a hypothesis that Saigo might have been murdered in Korea.
Kanghwa Island Incident	* A skirmish broke out between Japan and Chosun off Kanghwa Island as Japanese warships took measurements, as well as conducting other activities, in a show of force without Chosun's permission.	* It is not stated that Japanese warships intentionally provoked Chosun into opening fire, not to mention who triggered the skirmish, why and how.
Threat from Korea	* The Korean Peninsula is tantamount to a forearm protruding from the continent to Japan. * If the Korean Peninsula came under control of a nation antagonistic to Japan, it could be	* Japan's invasion of Korea is justified as indispensable for its security through the description of the Korean Peninsula as an intimidating geographical position. Likewise, both the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars were justified as inevitable for the cause of Japan's self-defense.

	used as a launching pad for an invasion of Japan.	
Japan's plans to neutralize Choson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Some Japanese government officials argue that Japan should request to other concerned nations that they sign a treaty to neutralize Choson and that Japan must strengthen its military to guarantee Choson's neutrality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A short debate on the possibility of neutralizing Choson in the Japanese government has been overstated with the intention to whitewash Japan's oppressive policy in Korea. * The fact that Japan's military buildup was aimed at occupying Choson by force has been covered up. Instead, it is incorrectly stated that Japan reinforced its military to help Choson maintain its neutrality.
Modernization of Choson and its relations with Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Since Choson opened its doors to the outside world, Japan has supported the military reforms of the Korean dynasty as part of its efforts toward the modernization of Choson. It was vital to the security of Japan that Choson developed into a modern state capable of self-defense without yielding to foreign domination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Japan's intention to expand its influence on Choson is covered up. It is portrayed as if Japan contributed to Korea's independence through its military assistance, which is a gross distortion of historical facts.
Sino-Japanese conflict over Choson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Qing China came to regard Japan as a prospective enemy for fear of losing control over Choson, which was its last potent tributary state. * In 1884, Kim Ok-kyun led a coup...but the Qing military effectively quelled the pro-Japanese forces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * This is a unilateral description of confrontation between Qing and Japan over Choson. In fact, Japan considered China to be a potential enemy. * Kim Ok-kyun and his fellow progressives are mistakenly defined as a pro-Japanese party.
Tonghak movement of farmers and the Sino-Japanese War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * In 1894, a peasant insurrection called the "Tonghak Riot" broke out in the southern region... the Tonghak Party was a group of people who believed in the "Eastern Learning" as opposed to the "Western Learning" which referred to Catholicism. * Peasant militias approached Hansong, the capital of Choson. * Choson asked China to send troops... Japan also dispatched its forces to Korea under an agreement with China... a military collision broke out between Japan and China, which led to the Sino-Japanese War. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Tonghak was a movement against the corrupt government and foreign forces, so it is inappropriate to refer to it as a "riot." It is also misleading to reduce the peasant movement to a movement of a certain religious group. * This is an unquestionable mistake. Tonghak militias did not "approach the capital," but they only occupied the city of Chonju in the south. * Japan sent its troops to Korea under a strategy to provoke a war with China. It was not a mere countermeasure to cope with China's action.

Russo-Japanese War	<p>* Russia constructed a military base in the northern part of Choson.</p> <p>* It was evident that Russia's military in the Far East would grow so powerful that Japan could hardly match it ...The (Japanese) government decided to wage a war against Russia before it was too late.</p> <p>* After the war ended, Russia recognized Japan's rule of Korea (Choson)...It was a momentous war that brought victory to a non-white race of people over Russia, an empire of white people with the world's largest army. The victory inspired tremendous hope for independence among the oppressed nations around the world.</p>	<p>*It was not a military base but in fact lumber camps that Russia built in northern Korea.</p> <p>* Although Japan instigated the war against Russia, it is erroneously stated that the war broke out because Japan felt threatened by the Russian military.</p> <p>*Japan's true aim was to secure hegemony over the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria. But it is deliberately covered up and the conflict is glorified as a "war between races."</p> <p>*It is erroneously stated that Japan gained recognition of its domination of Choson and at the same time gave hope for independence to other oppressed nations.</p>
Forcible annexation of Choson	<p>* The Japanese government believed that Korea had to be annexed to guarantee Japan's security and protect the interests of Manchuria. Britain, the United States, and Russia held each other in check to prevent their rivals from strengthening their influence on the Korean Peninsula. They did not oppose Japan's annexation of Korea because they believed it would help stabilize East Asia.</p> <p>* There were some voices within Korea accommodating Japan's annexation.</p>	<p>* The forcible nature of Japan's aggression and the process of annexation of Korea are covered up in this passage. Annexation is described as an act carried out with international recognition.</p> <p>* Descriptions of nationalist struggle by the militia and the individual patriotic activities, including the assassination of Ito Hirobumi by Ahn Jung-gun, are minimized, while a limited number of pro-Japanese Koreans are deliberately highlighted.</p>
Development of the colonized Korea	<p>* For the colonized Korea, Japan pushed ahead with development projects, building railroads and improving irrigation facilities.</p>	<p>* The description reflects the opinion of the Japanese colonialists who insisted that Japan's development projects contributed to the modernization of Korea and benefited its people. But they were in fact designed to facilitate Japan's colonial rule and exploitation of Korea.</p>
The Great Earthquake in 1923 and Koreans	<p>* At the time of the Great Earthquake that shook the Kanto region on Sept.1, 1923, rumors spread that Koreans and socialists were attempting to</p>	<p>* The massacre by the Japanese military and police has been covered up. Despite that most of those killed were Koreans (about 7,000); the victims are lined up in the order of "socialists, Koreans and Chinese" for the purpose of</p>

	exploit the chaos to engage in subversive activities. Therefore, Japanese civilian security forces killed Koreans and Chinese.	playing down the sacrifice of Koreans that was the core of the incident.
Forced conscription	<p>* Conscription for wartime labor and military service also took place in the colony.</p> <p>* Young Korean men who volunteered for conscription (picture caption). In Korea, a voluntary draft system was implemented... Many ordinary Koreans, including women and children, fell victim to the policy.</p>	<p>* It is not clearly stated how the conscripted workers were exploited.</p> <p>* The forcible nature of the draft system is distorted to suggest that Koreans voluntarily participated in the war.</p>
Sexual slavery	* Omitted	<p>* Two special reports on military slavery and sexual crimes in wartime, which have recently been submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, denounced Japan's use of the "comfort women" as a wartime crime against humanity.</p> <p>*The Japanese government also admitted in a statement in August 1993, that the Japanese army was involved in the establishment and operation of military brothels and that the "comfort women" were mobilized, moved (to the battlefields) and managed against their will both by coercion and cajolery.</p>
Assimilation policy	<p>* In Korea, Japan stepped up its policy to assimilate Koreans into the Japanese society.</p> <p>* Koreans were forced to assimilate in ways worthy of being considered "people of the Emperor".</p>	<p>* The policy to Japanize the Korean people is not clearly explained. Nor is it sufficiently described how Japan exploited Korea. The Korean people are vaguely treated as part of the Japanese nation, thereby misrepresenting the nature of Japan's colonial policy.</p> <p>* Details of the assimilation policy are ignored. It must be stated that Koreans were forced to pay homage at Shinto shrines, adopt the Japanese family names and learn Japanese, etc.</p>
Korean War	<p>* The UN forces under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur made a counterattack...Chinese troops sided with the North Koreans.</p> <p>* The war situation became stalled near the existing borderline of 38 degrees north latitude.</p>	<p>* The South Korean forces are ignored as the war is depicted as a conflict between the UN forces against the allied forces of China and North Korea.</p> <p>* The 38th parallel is mistakenly referred to as the national border, giving the impression that Korea has been divided for a long time.</p>

APPENDIX II

Statement by MOFAT Spokesperson on the Outcome of the Japanese Government's Screening of History Textbooks²

Date 2001-04-03 00:00

1. The government of the Republic of Korea expresses its deep regret about the outcome of the Japanese government's screening of junior high school history textbooks. Although the Japanese government explains that the screening process was carried out in accordance with the so-called "consideration of the neighboring countries" clause, some of the textbooks that have passed the screening process still include contents rationalizing and beautifying Japan's past wrong doings based upon a self-centered interpretation of history.

2. The Korean government is gravely concerned that the distorted view of history that such textbooks are likely to instill in Japan's growing generations is not only undesirable for Japan's future and its responsibilities in the international community but also highly detrimental to Korea-Japan relations.

3. The Korean government strongly urges the Japanese government to take fundamental measures to prevent such distortions of history, based upon the recognition of history as contained in the "Joint Declaration on a New Korea-Japan Partnership for the 21st Century" adopted on the occasion of the state visit to Japan by President Kim Dae-jung in October 1998 as well as in the "Special Statement on the 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II" made by then Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Tomiichi Murayama in 1995.

4. The Korean government will work out the necessary measures to take based on further analysis of the outcome of the screening in close consultation among the expert authorities.

Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee

Date 2002-03-14 00:00

1. Taking the opportunity of bilateral summits on October 15 and October 20, 2001, the Republic of Korea and Japan had agreed to establish a joint research organization in efforts to resolve history issues. Since then, the foreign ministries of Korea and Japan have led close consultations and have arrived at an agreement on detailed measures to establish and operate this organization.

2. The agreements are as follows:

² <http://www.mofat.go.kr/english/press/pressrelease/index.jsp>

1) The two sides have agreed to establish the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee for history research, and the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to support such research activities at the government-level.

2) Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee will be established to promote an accurate and mutual understanding of historical facts and historical perspectives regarding the issue of history textbooks. It will consist of approximately ten history academics or professionals from each country. - In Addition, subcommittees will be established on ancient history, the middle ages, and modern/contemporary history. . The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee will conduct research activities for two years on the history of Korea-Japanese relations, which provided the background for recent conflicts on the history textbook issue. The Research Committee will then submit a report on its joint research to the Korea-Japan Joint Research Steering Committee, and its activities will be extended if necessary.

3) The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee . The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee will consist of 3 director general level-government officials and 3 nongovernmental academics from each country. It will support the activities of the aforementioned Research Committee under the responsibility of both governments. It will also support various other academic exchanges between the two countries. The Steering Committee will widely distribute and promote the outcome of the research activities by the aforementioned Research Committee to the governments, research institutes including universities, history textbook manufacturers, history professionals and the press. The research results are then expected to be considered in the making of history textbooks. . Meanwhile, the two governments have agreed to exert their utmost efforts to maximize the application of the joint research results in accord with the purpose of the joint research and within the scope permitted by the institutions of both sides.

3. Significance of the Korea-Japan joint history research

1) This joint history research is actively participated and supported by both governments for a more effective research compared to previous research activities.

2) As is explained above, not only is this joint history research aimed at studying the controversial history of Korea-Japanese relations, but also both governments have clearly expressed their willingness to maximize the application of the outcome of this joint research. Thereby, it is expected to contribute to the resolution of history issues between Korea and Japan.

The 1st Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee

Date 2002-05-24 00:00 name Director of Information Management

1. The selection of members for the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee was completed by both countries. The Committee had been established as the result of the agreement between the leaders of the Republic of Korea and Japan in October 2001.

2. The Committee is consisted of 12 Korean and 9 Japanese scholars. The Japanese side is considering the additional selection of members.

3. The 1st Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee will be held in Seoul on May 25, 2002, for discussions on the management plans and course of research for the Committee.

4. The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee will conduct research for the next two years on the related history of Korea and Japan and report results thereof. The activity of this Committee may be extended if needed.

Statement on the Outcome of the Japanese Government's Screening of High School History Textbooks

Date 2002-04-17 00:00 name Northeast Asia Division 1

1. The Government of the Republic of Korea appreciates that whilst on the whole the accounts in the Japanese high school history textbooks, which have recently passed screening by the Japanese government, have been maintained intact, corrections have been made to some of the distorted descriptions.

2. However, the ROK government expresses concern that some Japanese high school history textbooks include distorted accounts of the history of neighboring countries, failing to reflect a true recognition of history.

3. The ROK Government believes that learning lessons from the past is essential if we are to truly move toward the future. In this connection, the ROK government believes that it is needed to take as a basis of history education historical perception as contained in the "Joint Declaration on a new ROK-Japan Partnership for the 21st Century" adopted in 1998 as well as in the "Special Statement on the 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II" made by then Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Tomiichi Murayama in 1995.

4. The ROK government will continue to endeavor to ensure that a true account of past history between Korea and Japan is achieved through such means as the activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, established in March 2002 following the agreement reached between the leaders of Korea and Japan.

Spokesperson of the Task Force Team on the Issue of Distorted Japanese History Textbooks

The 1st Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to be Held

Date 2002-04-05 00:00 name Director of Information Management

1. The 1st Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee, which will consist of nongovernmental academics and government officials from Korea and Japan to

support activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, will be held in Tokyo on April 15, 2002.

2. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan will take this opportunity to reaffirm agreements made between the two governments regarding the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee as declared on March 5, 2002, and exchange views on future developments. They will also discuss selection of the personnel and their itinerary for the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee.

Comments by the MOFAT Spokesperson on the Advisory Panel's Report on Japan's Commemoration for War Criminals

Date 2002-12-26 00:00 name Director for Information Management

1. The Advisory Panel on Commemorative Facilities for Memorial Services and Prayer for Peace of Japan submitted a final report to the Chief Cabinet Secretary on December 24, 2002. This report concluded that "non-religious and permanent national facilities are necessary for the purpose of nation-wide memorial services and prayers for peace".

2. Based on the view that the correct understanding of history is the keynote of the ROK-Japan relationship, the Government of the Republic of Korea has consistently expressed its position that the memorial services for war criminals must be stopped.

3. The ROK government strongly hopes that the submission of the final report by this advisory panel will provide an opportunity to resolve the issue of memorial services for war criminals, and will continue to note the measures taken by the Japanese government in the future regarding this matter.

The 3rd Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to be Held

Date 2003-07-25 00:00 name information management

1. The 3rd Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee, which is consisted of nongovernmental academics and government officials from Korea and Japan to support activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, will be held in Tokyo on July 28, 2003.

2. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan will take this opportunity to exchange views on measures towards the government-level support for the efficient management of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, which was launched on May 25, 2002.

3. The leaders of the Republic of Korea and Japan agreed to establish the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee and the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee in October 2001, for discussions on the history between the two countries.

Outcome of the 4th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee

Date 2004-03-22 00:00

1. The 4th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee, which is consisted of nongovernmental academics and government officials from Korea and Japan to support activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, was held in Seoul on March 22, 2004.
2. The participants reviewed the activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, which was launched in May 2002, and discussed measures towards the government-level support for the efficient management of the Committee.
3. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan noted the amicable management of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, and agreed to continue support by the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee.
4. They also agreed to hold the next meeting in Tokyo, on a date which will be discussed through diplomatic channels.

The 4th Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to be Held

Date 2004-03-19 00:00

1. The 4th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee, which is consisted of nongovernmental academics and government officials from Korea and Japan to support activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, will be held in Seoul on March 22, 2004. The participants will include Director-General of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, Chung Sang-ki, and Director-General of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Yabunaka Mitoji.
2. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan will take this opportunity to review the management of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, which was launched on May 25, 2002, and exchange views on measures towards the government-level support for the efficient management of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee.
3. The Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee was established in October 2001, based on the agreement between the leaders of the Republic of Korea and Japan, to support joint research activities by the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee for the promotion of mutual understanding in historical facts and awareness.

Opening of the Korea-Japan Friendship Year 2005

Date 2005-01-17 00:00

1. During President Roh Moo-hyun's state visit to Japan in June 2003, the Republic of Korea and Japan designated 2005 as the "Korea-Japan Friendship Year", which marks the 40th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic ties between the ROK and Japan. Taking this opportunity, the two countries agreed to pursue various exchange and

cooperation projects to further enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the ROK and Japan.

2. Based on this mutual understanding, the governments of the ROK and Japan held mutual consultations and agreed to pursue about 40 exchange and cooperation projects in 2005 in various areas including culture and arts, science and sports. The opening ceremonies to officially declare the commencement of the Korea-Japan Friendship Year 2005 will be held by the ROK government in Tokyo on January 25, and by the Japanese government in Seoul on January 27.

3. In addition, in efforts to induce the private sector to plan and participate in cooperative projects and to actively reflect suggestions from the private sector, the governments of the two countries agreed to establish the Advisory Committee (Korea) and the Executive Committee (Japan) for the Korea-Japan Friendship Year, consisted of leading figures from various areas including economy, media, culture and the academic circle. Based on suggestions made by these committees, around 180 exchange and cooperation projects proposed by the private sector were recognized as the official projects of the Korea-Japan Friendship Year.

4. In efforts to introduce the Korea-Japan Friendship Year events to the peoples of the two countries, the ROK and Japan agreed to make and use shared emblem, posters and pamphlets, and opened web sites (Korea: www.friendship2005.net / Japan: www.jkcf.or.jp/friendship2005) for the Korea-Japan Friendship Year.

5. The governments of the ROK and Japan hope that the Korea-Japan Friendship Year 2005 would contribute to the consistent development of mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries, which have been enhanced through joint hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup Games and the People-to-People Exchanges Year.

Comments by the Spokesperson of the MOFAT on the designation of "Takeshima(Dokdo) Day" by Japan

Date 2005-02-23 00:00

1. The Government of the Republic of Korea strongly regrets that a local ordinance was proposed to the provincial assembly of Shimane Prefecture on February 23, to designate February 22 as "Takeshima(Dokdo) Day". It is an act of impingement upon the ROK's sovereignty over Dokdo, which is indisputably our territory both historically and geographically and under the international laws. The ROK government strongly urges Shimane Prefecture to abrogate this ordinance at once.

2. The year 2005 has been designated as "the Korea-Japan Friendship Year" to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations, and the government and the people of the Republic of Korea are endeavoring to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the ROK and Japan by promoting people-to-people and cultural exchanges between the two countries. Such act of indiscretion by a local self-governing body of Japan openly confronts the efforts by the government and

the people of the ROK. It is questionable whether Japan sincerely hopes to develop the friendly ties between Korea and Japan.

3. The ROK government stresses that we will take decisive measures against any attempt to violate our sovereignty over Dokdo, and strongly urges the Japanese government and Shimane Prefecture to take called-for measures.

Remarks on Japan's History Textbooks at the UN Commission on Human Rights

Date 2005-04-07 00:00

At the 61st Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (March 14-April 22, Geneva), Ambassador Choi Hyuk, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea in Geneva, made the following statement on the Agenda Item of "Integration of the Human Rights of Women and the Gender Perspective", in which he raised the issue of distortions in Japan's history textbooks on the past such as the forcible mobilization and enslavement of the so-called "comfort women", and urged the Japanese government to take countermeasures.

Outcomes of the 6th Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Steering Committee

Date 2005-05-05 00:00

1. The 6th Meeting of the Korea Japan Joint History Steering Committee was held on May 5 from 10 AM to 12:30 PM at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, Japan. The meeting was headed by Director-General of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, Park Jun-woo, and Director-General of the Asian and Oceania Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenichiro Sasae, and attended by members of private sector support committees of both countries and related officials from the Ministries of Education, etc.

2. Last March 26, the joint study results reports were mutually exchanged on the occasion of the joint meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee. The two countries commended the reports as the successful outcomes of the dedicated research activities by Korean and Japanese researchers through the course of 6 general meetings and 45 subcommittee meetings, for a total of over 50 Korea-Japan joint meetings that have been held since the Joint Research Steering Committee was launched in 2002.

3. The two countries agreed to go through the necessary editing procedures for the publication of the report in order to release it to the general public at the earliest possible time. Moreover, they agreed to promote the wide distribution and utilization of the report at all sections and levels of both countries to ensure the appropriate application of the research results.

4. In particular, Director-General Park pointed out the limitation of the three years of the joint study was its inability to be directly applied to resolving the issue of history textbooks as. He emphasized that this limitation should be addressed when the second round of joint history research was launched, and that the new committee should be established in relation

to the issue of textbooks. The two countries agreed to continue close consultations on ways to sustain development in the joint research of history.

Comments by MOFAT Spokesperson on Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's Statement upon the 60th Anniversary of the End of WWII

Date 2005-08-16 16:28

1. In his statement upon the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II on August 15, 2005, Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi once again expressed deep remorse and heartfelt apology, while humbly accepting the fact of history that Japan caused huge damage and suffering to many countries in Asia with its colonization and aggression in the past. He also said that Japan needs to make efforts to maintain peace and strive for developments in this region by joining hands with other countries in Asia, including the ROK and China.

2. Based on our position that the establishment of correct awareness of history constitutes the basis of ROK-Japan relations, the ROK government has been stressing the fact that the Japanese government must strengthen its own efforts so that apologies and self-reflections expressed by the leaders of Japan on numerous occasions could be accepted by the governments and the peoples of neighboring countries as sincere ones.

3. Despite such official expressions of apology and self-reflections, however, the truth is that some political leaders of Japan have been inflicting considerable wounds on and rousing up angry responses from the peoples of neighboring countries, who had been victimized by Japan's colonization and aggression, by continuously making remarks which make us question if Japan is indeed sincerely reflecting on its past.

4. Our government urges the Japanese government to join us in our efforts to build up future-oriented friendly and cooperative ties of the 21st century as agreed upon between the ROK and Japan, by sincerely reflecting on the historical meaning of the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII, and making serious self-reflections and practical efforts regarding its past history.

Statement by MOFAT Spokesperson on the Announcement by the Japanese Ministry of Education on the Outcome of History Textbook Adoptions

Date 2005-10-10 09:00 name Webmaster

1. On October 5, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan officially announced the outcome of textbook adoptions by Japanese middle schools, which were completed on August 31. The adoption rate of history textbooks published by Fusosha, which include contents that glorify Japan's history of past aggression, was merely 0.4%.

2. The Government of the Republic of Korea notes that this is a result of consistent efforts by historians, local governments and civic groups of Korea, joining hands with the civil society of Japan, to prevent distorted textbooks from being adopted. Furthermore, it is our view that this outcome has once again reaffirmed that civil society with a healthy sense

constitutes mainstream in Japan, despite some concerns about general conservatism of Japanese society.

3. Based on its basic position that the establishment of a correct awareness of history must come first for the development of future-oriented cooperative ties between Korea and Japan, the ROK government has been conveying our concerns about distorted history textbooks and urging the Japanese government to correct such distortions.

4. The ROK government will continue to take countermeasures against the Japanese history textbook issue based on its firm position that "a correct awareness of history constitutes the basis of Korea-Japan relations".

Comments by MOFAT Spokesperson on "Takeshima(Dokdo) Day" Events in Shimane Prefecture of Japan

Date 2006-02-23 16:04

1. The Government of the Republic of Korea strongly regrets that Shimane Prefecture of Japan had proposed a local ordinance to designate the Takeshima(Dokdo) Day" last year, and held events to commemorate the "Takeshima(Dokdo) Day" on February 22 this year.

2. The ROK government will take decisive countermeasures against any attempt to violate our sovereignty over Dokdo, which is our own sovereign territory.

Comments by MOFAT Spokesperson on the Outcomes of the Authorization of Highschool Textbooks in Japan, 2007

Date 2007-04-03 18:04

1. The ROK government expresses deep concern that some of the textbooks, which have been approved by the screening panel of the Japanese Ministry of Education on March 30. Friday, reflect biased historical views and include distorted description of the past.

2. In particular, it is intolerable for the Japanese textbooks to continuously describe Dokdo as Japanese territory. The ROK governments demand that the Japanese government promptly withdraw the approval of those textbooks.

3. The Japanese government must clearly understand that in order to establish future-oriented relations with the neighboring countries, as well as contribute to the stability and cooperation of Northeast Asia, it is crucial to educate the young generation to squarely face the past and form a correct and unbiased understanding of history.

Comments by MOFAT Spokesperson on "Takeshima (Dokdo) Day" in Shimane Prefecture of Japan

Date 2008-02-22 14:00

1. Concerning the events to commemorate the "Takeshima (Dokdo) Day" in Shimane Prefecture, Japan, on February 22, the Government of the Republic of Korea expresses its

deep regrets and strongly calls Shimane Prefecture to stop its attempt to damage our territorial sovereignty over Dokdo at once, including the "Takeshima (Dokdo) Day" ordinance.

2. The ROK Government will take firm measures against any attempt to violate our territorial sovereignty over Dokdo, which is our own sovereign territory.

Korea's Demand for Correction of Distortions in Japanese History Textbooks

Date 2001-05-08 00:00

1. Mr. Han Seung-soo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea conveyed an aide memoire to the Government of Japan on May 8, which contains the Korean Government's item-by-item demand for correction in the controversial Japanese history textbooks. The demand is the latest in the series

of effort made by the Korean Government regarding the Japanese history textbooks, following the statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesman on April 3 and the expression of profound disappointment by Minister Han to the Japanese Ambassador to Korea on April 4.

2. The Korean Government's demand is based upon a thorough and in-depth analysis of the textbooks by a team of history researchers. The team's report was then evaluated by the National Institute of Korean History and reviewed by an advisory council of experts in the related area. Although the analysis found the

Japanese history textbooks to contain numerous problems, the Korean Government has limited its demand for correction to only the parts which are clearly false, obscuring, distorting and/or misleading. The list of the Korean Government's demand is composed of 35 items: 25 in Fusosha textbook, ten in seven other textbooks.

3. In conveying the aide-memoire to the Japanese Ambassador in Korea, Minister Han pointed out that the problematic contents in the textbooks are out of step with historic 1998 Joint Declaration on a new Korea-Japan Partnership for the 21st Century as well as with the pledges Japan has made before the international community such as the 1995 Statement by Prime Minister Murayama and the 1982 Statement by the Minister of Education on history textbooks. Furthermore, the textbooks in question go against the fundamental stance of the international community on history education, as enshrined in the 1995 UNESCO Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Human Rights and Democracy Education for Peace. Minister Han urged the Japanese Government to take prompt and effective actions in the spirit of these international pledges and agreements to correct and prevent the distortion of history.

4. In making the demand for corrections, the Korean Government has no intention to interfere with the education of history in Japan. The demand is made of the concern that textbooks in question may reopen the wound incurred upon the Korean people by the unfortunate past in the relationship between Korea and Japan, damage the amicable ties that

have developed between the two countries and negatively affect the regional situation in Northeast Asia.

5. In the belief that an objective understanding of history is the cornerstone of friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and Japan, the Korean Government will continue with the multi-faceted and steadfast diplomatic efforts in the international arena in parallel with bilateral efforts toward Japan, so as to clear the textbooks of the problematic contents.

6. In addition, the Korean Government will demise mid-to-long-term measures to prevent the recurrence of such distortions of history and to offer the world an accurate and objective understanding of Korea's history.

As part of such efforts, the Korean Government will consider reinforcing history education in the schools and establishing a permanent body within the Government to promote the exchange of historians between Korea and Japan, to prevent future misunderstanding of history and to strengthen the understanding of Korean history in the international community.

Korea-Japan Joint Committee on Immigration Affairs for 2002 World Cup Games

Date 2001-12-27 00:00

1. The 3rd Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint Committee on Immigration Affairs for 2002 World Cup Games was held in Seoul on December 21, 2001, for discussions on consular affairs between the two countries in efforts for the successful joint hosting of the 2002 World Cup Games.

2. The Korean and Japanese delegations consisted of officials from related ministries headed by Director-General of Overseas Residents and Consular Affairs Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Kim Kyung-keun and Director-General of Consular Affairs and Immigration Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ono Masaaki, respectively.

3. Taking this opportunity, the ROK side expressed its plan to implement concrete measures to strengthen consular management. The Japanese side decided to significantly ease restrictions on short-term visas issued to Korean nationals beginning January 1, 2002, and agreed to further negotiate on details for the 30-day visa waiver for Korean nationals for a certain period of time in light of the joint hosting of the World Cup Games and the Year of People's Exchanges between Korea and Japan in 2002.

4. Furthermore, the two sides agreed to issue 90-day multiple visas valid for a year to the related officials of the World Cup Games, and Accreditation Cards for officials who travel back and forth between Korea and Japan during the game. The two sides also agreed to maintain close consultations to prevent acts by hooligans or terrorists during the game.

Outcome of the 1st Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee

Date 2002-04-17 00:00

1. The 1st Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee was held in Tokyo on April 15, 2002.

2. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan took this opportunity to reaffirm agreements made between the two governments regarding the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee made public on March 5, 2002, and to exchange views on how to implement the agreements.

3. The two sides also agreed to continue to support the activities of the Korea-Japan joint history research, so that it may reap fruitful results. Both sides agreed to expedite the process for appointing the members of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee as early as possible through respective domestic procedures and to hold the 1st meeting in Seoul.

4. The two sides will discuss the date of the next meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee considering the progress of the activities by the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee.

The 1st Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee to be Held

Date 2002-04-05 00:00

1. The 1st Meeting of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Steering Committee, which will consist of nongovernmental academics and government officials from Korea and Japan to support activities of the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee, will be held in Tokyo on April 15, 2002.

2. The delegations from the Republic of Korea and Japan will take this opportunity to reaffirm agreements made between the two governments regarding the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee as declared on March 5, 2002, and exchange views on future developments. They will also discuss selection of the personnel and their itinerary for the Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee.

Japanese Foreign Minister to Visit Korea

Date 2002-07-09 00:00

1. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan Yoriko Kawaguchi will pay an official visit to the Republic of Korea from July 12 to 14, 2002, at the invitation by the Government of the Republic of Korea. During the visit, Minister Kawaguchi will participate in the Korea-Japan Foreign Ministers' Talks and pay a courtesy call on President Kim Dae-jung.

2. During the Korea-Japan Foreign Ministers' Talks, the two ministers will exchange views on a wide range of issues including the policy toward North Korea regarding the recent situation on the Korean Peninsula, ways to promote Korea-Japan relations after the joint

hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, and ways to promote bilateral cooperation in the international arena.