

# The World's view of Dokdo

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Since 2005 when Japan actively started reasserting its claim to Korea's Dokdo, Tokyo encountered strong reactions from the Korean Government as well as other groups, including the international media. Presented here are English translations of eleven articles on the Dokdo issue that appeared in different print media in recent years. Could this new, aggressive attitude on the part of Japan mean revival of its militaristic past?

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## NORTHEAST ASIAN TENSION: PROGRESS HINDERED BY HISTORY

by Professor Jaime Silbert, Department of History, College of Philosophy and Humanities,  
Universidad Nacional de Córdoba

There is always tension in Korea-Japan relations. The truly important but delicate bilateral ties exist in a historical setting of Japanese colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula for 35 years. The brutal colonial legacy is still lingering 60 years after Korea's liberation.

Germany acknowledged Nazi barbarism and asked the global community for forgiveness. On the other hand, the Japanese Government refuses to acknowledge the violent, criminal acts that were perpetrated against the peoples of Korea, China, Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries under Japan's colonial rule. East Asia has emerged as an important region globally, but the situation with Japan has been a major obstacle to intra-regional cooperation. Regional discord has been the result, and an ongoing dispute between Korea and Japan has recently resurfaced.

It is in this connection that one must understand the Roh Moo-hyun Administration's response to the Japanese plan to "survey" the waters around Dokdo. These tiny islets are, without a doubt, in Korean territorial waters—the East

Sea (which the Japanese named the "Sea of Japan" during the colonial period). However, heated discussions have arisen between the two countries after the Japanese side took issue with Korean sovereignty over Dokdo.

Another controversy is raised when discussing the waters between Korea and Japan, the nomenclature for Dokdo, and Dokdo itself: It concerns history books that are used in Japanese primary and secondary schools. Some of them describe atrocities of the Japanese colonialists perpetrated against East Asian nations in a very distorted manner. Victimized nations feel that the history books are tantamount to intentional provocation. The Korean and Chinese Governments have demanded that false descriptions be stricken from the textbooks. However, the Japanese Government has continued to reject those demands.

Northeast Asia is important to the world economically. Potential disputes among the two Koreas and Japan stem from different government systems and cultures. If the Japanese Government continues its provocations under a

narrow nationalist framework, one cannot expect the intra-regional relations to move beyond their present limits to create a venue for constructive dialogue. The North and South Koreans are striving to overcome their differences and expand cooperation, and we must recognize that reconciliation is possible within the broad Northeast Asian context.

I will cite part of the text announced by ROK President Roh Moo-hyun a few days ago:

"Japan's present claim to Dokdo is tantamount to maintaining a right to what it had once occupied during an imperialist war of aggression

and, what is worse, to reasserting colonial territorial rights of bygone years. This is an act of negating the complete liberation and independence of Korea. Moreover, this amounts to contending the legitimacy of Japan's criminal history of waging wars of aggression and annihilation as well as 40 years of exploitation, torture, imprisonment, forced labor, and even sexual slavery. This cannot be tolerated by any means."

A Japanese Coast Guard patrol ship making an appearance in the waters near Dokdo.(L)

A Korean Coast Guard's 5000-ton patrol and rescue vessel on a Dokdo defense exercise.(R)



## RE-STOKING THE FIRES OF THE KOREA-JAPAN ISLAND DISPUTE

by Peter Kirschey

The islets that appear on the surface to be small and innocuous have reopened old wounds suffered by Koreans during the Japanese colonial period from 1910 to 1945.

The islets were originally part of Korean territory and then brought under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Empire from the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). In 1945, the Japanese were defeated; the Korean Peninsula was divided and the islets fell under the control of the U.S. military government. The U.S. forces withdrew from Korea in 1949, and the islets, 700 kilometers away from Tokyo and 450 kilometers from Seoul, have remained enshrouded in the fog of an unresolved international border issue. Since Korea's liberation, the islets have been a nationalist symbol rooted in Korean history.

Meanwhile, Japan has not clearly confessed its responsibility for crimes committed against the Korean people. The Korean Peninsula was made a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and came under the rule of a Japanese

governor-general in 1910. In 1929, the Japanese began an effort to make Korea part of Japan, and the Korean language and culture were outlawed.

Mr. Kim Sung-Do and his wife have been Dokdo residents since 1991, except for the period of 1997-2005, during which a shelter and a dock were being built on the island.



## DOKDO OR TAKESHIMA

by Professor Florian Coulmas, Universität Duisburg.

Florian Coulmas was born in Germany in 1949 and received his university education in Japan. After obtaining higher degrees in Japanese studies during the 1970s, Professor Coulmas lived in Japan for an extended period of time and authored a number of books concerning Japanese history and culture. He is now a professor at Universität Duisburg in Germany.

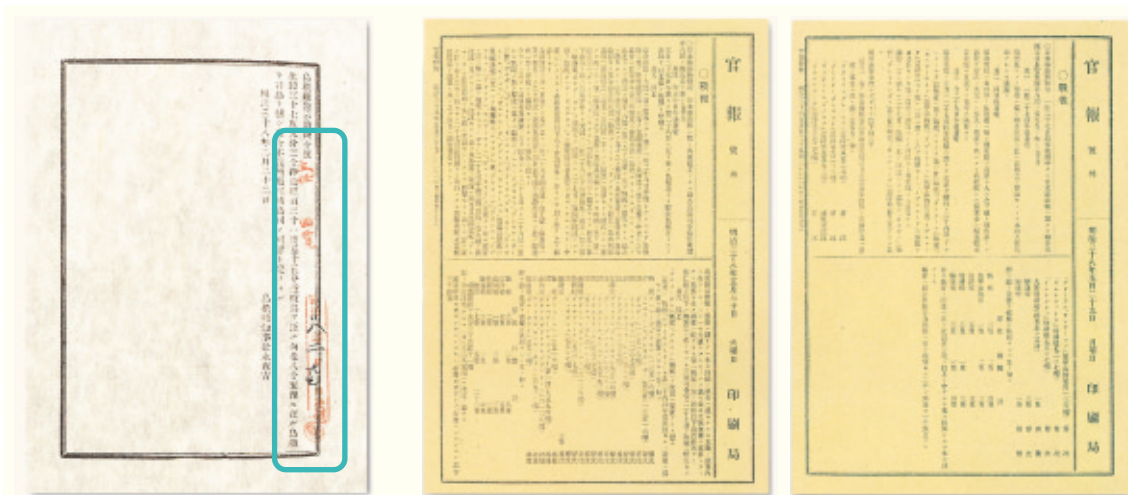
In an Open Letter to the Nation, President Roh Moo-hyun of the Republic of Korea (ROK) warned of the possibility of the ongoing controversy over Dokdo, recently rekindled, escalating into a “diplomatic war” with Japan. The islets comprise a combined area that is no larger than four football fields.

A Japanese diplomat stationed in Seoul was lacking in diplomatic courtesy—an important virtue of all in their profession—when he recently claimed that Takeshima (the Japanese name) was Japanese territory both historically and under international law. The Koreans have always maintained that the two islets they call Dokdo are unquestionably Korean territory, and street demonstrations erupted after the statements by the Japanese official.irate protesters gathered in front of the Japanese Embassy, and one man even cut off a finger as an expression of the determination to protect the homeland with blood. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that it is trying to preserve good relations with neighboring countries. Its pro-

posal for quelling the demonstrations was to take the Dokdo/Takeshima issue to the International Court of Justice (World Court) in The Hague.

Is the call for an unbiased ruling in the World Court really fair? If the two countries so agreed, the World Court could convene to settle the issue. Koreans have always opposed settling the case at the World Court, and their position has remained steadfast. However, dwelling on Korean fears of losing the case is a failure to understand the historical dimension of the issue.

If there ever was a nation with good cause to believe international law protects the rights of the powerful, it would be Korea. In the past, international law was used as a tool to take away Korean sovereignty and complete Japan's annexation of the Peninsula. Japanese statesmen today still insist that Japan's colonial domination of Korea was legal, so The Hague conjures up very painful memories for the Koreans.



One hundred years ago, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt mediated the signing of the Portsmouth Peace Treaty to end the Russo-Japanese War, and Korea became a protectorate of Japan in the process. President Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role, while Korea lost the right to represent its own diplomatic interests.

In 1907 Korean Emperor Gojong dispatched three special envoys to the Second International Peace Conference at The Hague to protest the protectorate treaty and try to block its implementation. However, the Koreans were not allowed to attend the meeting. The forty-three states taking part in the conference only recognized the rights of the world's sovereign nations. Indeed, only the powerful nations were invited to join the discussions, and Gojong's special envoys were denied the opportunity to speak.

Nineteenth century international law allowed the sovereign powers to claim territories described as "*terra nullius*," or "no-man's-

land." The legal status of these territories was based on their possession by the powerful, and before long Japan joined their ranks.

In the mid-19th century the U.S. sent warships to Japan and demanded that the country open its ports to international trade. After that experience, the Japanese government officials realized that the only way to keep from becoming a colony was to be expansionist and become one of the colonizers.

Japan's expansionist policy targeted the Korean Peninsula after Okinawa and Hokkaido were secured. Korea had been ruled by the same royal family for centuries, but the Tokyo Government began to systematically undermine its authority from the 1870s onward. To this end, the Japanese skillfully manipulated international law, which had up until that time only served the purposes of the most powerful countries. Thus, Japan's position in East Asia was recognized under the auspices of international law while its position vis-à-vis Korea was clarified at the same time. Any other country

#### Shimane Prefecture Public Notice No. 40

Shimane Prefecture Public Notice No. 40, dated February 22, 1905, and proclaimed by Governor Bukichi Matsunaga, contains the prefecture's decision "...to incorporate into Japan's territory a *terra nullius* located 85 nautical miles off Okinoshima at 37°9.30' N. latitude and 131°55' E. longitude, because there is no evidence of its being occupied by any country, call it Takeshima, and place it under the jurisdiction of the Administrator of Okinoshima."

This is the only document possessed by Japan. The document was stamped with a red seal and used as a circular but was not publicized widely. Contrary to the Japanese assertion, Japan does not possess any concrete evidence that Shimane Prefecture Public Notice No. 40 was ever actually put on public notice.

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affected by the process became inexorably caught up in it. By seizing Korea's sovereignty, Japan maintained its own independence and represented Korea at The Hague Peace Conference with the consent of that international body. In this way, the usurpation of Korean sovereignty was legitimized according to international law.

The United States and Japan signed a secret agreement in July 1905 in which Japan would recognize that the U.S. had first claim on the Philippines. In return, the U.S. gave tacit approval to the Japanese domination of Korea. One month later, the Anglo-Japanese alliance (formed in 1902) was strengthened and expanded; the Japanese guaranteed British control over India and Burma, while the British handed the Korean Peninsula over to the Japanese. Therefore, Japan was assured that none of the participants at The Hague Peace Conference of 1907 would refute its right to control Korea.

The Japanese Government declared that

the islets at issue today were part of Japanese territory in January 1905. In February of that year, Shimane Prefecture, which is across the East Sea from Korea, made Takeshima (the Japanese name for Dokdo) part of its jurisdiction. Now a century later, Shimane Prefecture has declared February 22 to be "Takeshima Day," while the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' official website says that Korean control of Dokdo is a violation of international law. These facts have aroused Korean anger.

The Japanese Government insists that its 1905 action against Dokdo is not related with Japan's annexation of Korea. The Korean Government disagrees and considers the declaration to be part of the Japanese colonial policy. It constantly reminds the Korean public of this fact. Thus, the waves surrounding Dokdo/Takeshima are rising once again. The struggle over the islets is not particularly about material gain. This issue of abundant fishing grounds has been raised, but the historical grounds of the issue are far more important.

# DOKDO HISTORICALLY PROVEN TO BE KOREAN TERRITORY

For more than half a century the Koreans and Japanese have been disputing the territoriality of the tiny island that the Koreans call Dokdo (獨島) and the Japanese refer to as Takeshima (竹島). Japan's Shimane Prefecture (島根縣) approved an ordinance on March 16, 2005 designating February 22 as "Takeshima Day," and the move was vehemently denounced by both the Korean Government and the Korean people. The Japanese Education Ministry then ordered publishers of middle and high school textbooks on March 29 to describe the island as "Takeshima," again eliciting strong protests from Korea. In early April, the Japanese Government applied to the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO) for a survey of the waters around Dokdo, escalating tensions to the point where a military clash loomed.

The tension between the two countries mounted again on July 2, when the Korean side dispatched the maritime survey ship *Haeyang 2000* along with two naval escorts to study the ecosystem in the waters around the islets.

## Expanded Military Activity in Meiji Era

Dokdo is located 140 nautical miles from Korea and Japan. It consists of two volcanic islets, called Dongdo, or East Island, and Seodo, or West Island by Koreans, along with 36 assorted boulders and outcroppings that total 188,000m<sup>2</sup> in area. The seas for more than 200 nautical miles around Dokdo are part of an economic zone and are bountiful fishing grounds for abalone, top shell and other marine life.

On February 22, 1905 (in the 38th year of the Meiji era), Shimane Prefecture claimed jurisdiction over Dokdo (Takeshima). At the time, the Meiji government cited the principle of *terra nullius* (any territory not explicitly recognized as legitimately possessed is considered free to be legitimately occupied) as the legal basis for its claim to territoriality. The Japanese habitually invoked this "no man's land" rationale whenever they occupied territories belonging to other countries. The Meiji government also claimed the Chinese possession of Daoyudao (釣魚島) to be "*terra nullius*," and incorporated the island, along with Huangwei Islet (黃尾嶼),

into Okinawa Prefecture (沖繩縣), which is also known as the Ryukyu Islands (琉球諸島).

Japan began preparing for its invasion of Joseon (Korea) in 1860. As soon as the war with Taiwan was over in 1874, the Japanese selected Joseon as their next target for conquest. The Japanese forced the Koreans to sign a Treaty of Peace and Friendship in February 1876, and a trade agreement was concluded the following August. Joseon

was reduced to the status of a Japanese colony in 1910. Five years before (1905), the Koreans had lost their diplomatic authority to the Japanese, and Joseon had no opportunity to concern itself over the sovereignty of Dokdo. However, Dokdo was attached to Ulleungdo (鬱陵島) and historically belonged to Joseon.

The famous Japanese geographer Shihei Hayashi (林子平) published the *Illustrated Commentary on the Compendium of the Three States* (三國通覽圖說)



*A Map of Quan-tong or Lea Tonge Province and the Kingdom of Kau-li or Corea by Thomas Kitchin*  
This map, drawn by the English mapmaker Thomas Kitchin (1718-1784) in 1745, shows Fang-ling-tau (Ulleungdo) and Tchian-chan-tau (Dokdo) as located off the coast of Gyeongsang-do (province). Later, as Western maritime expeditions advanced into the East Sea, Ulleungdo came to be marked as Dagelet Island as well.  
Source: Collection of Kyunghee University's Hye-jung Museum

in 1785, a document that is in the archives at Kyoto University. It includes five illustrations of great historical value. One of these is the *Illustration of the 36 Ryukyu Islands* (琉球三十六島之圖), which indicates Daoyudao as Chinese territory. Meanwhile, the *Illustrated General View of Three States* (三國通覽輿地路程全圖) includes an island and an islet to the east of the Joseon (Korean) Peninsula. The island is called Takeshima (Dokdo in Korean), and a notation states that it belongs to Joseon territory.



In this case, Takeshima is placed at 39 degrees latitude and 160 degrees longitude, which deviates geographically from the actual location (of Dokdo), but the difference is understandable when one considers that the cartography was drawn 220 years ago. In addition, Takeshima and the Joseon Peninsula are colored in yellow, while the major Japanese islands and minor possessions are depicted in blue. The Koreans point out that maps of the Peninsula from the Silla Period in the sixth century indicate Dokdo under the name Usando (于山島). Thus, they assert the historical record states that Dokdo belongs to Korea.

*Memoranda on the Southern Islands and Other Essays* (南島記事外編), compiled in 1886, includes illustrations of domestic (Japanese) land, Okinawa, China and Joseon. These drawings depict Takeshima (竹島, the Japanese name for Ulleungdo

at the time) and Matsushima (松島, which the Koreans call Dokdo today) as being part of Joseon as well.

#### Japanese Officials Also Acknowledged Dokdo as Korean Territory

Japanese officials who were newly appointed between 1905, when Japan made Dokdo part of Shimane Prefecture, and 1914 still considered the island to be part of Joseon territory. The Supreme Command for Allied Powers put Ulleungdo and Dokdo under the U.S. Military Government after World War II, and Korea has maintained jurisdiction over the island since 1956. Korea has constructed docks and helipads on Dokdo and now guards the island with helicopters, naval vessels, armed police, soldiers and various armaments.



#### *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam*

(新增東國輿地勝覽 A Revised Edition of the Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea, 1530) 34×22(cm), Yi Haeng and others

*Paldochongdo* (The Complete Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea) and *Gangwon-do byeoldo* (Map of Gangwon-do Province) in the *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Revised Edition of the Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) show Usando (Dokdo) and Ulleungdo as part of the territory of Joseon (Korea) although the location of the two islands is switched around. Another part of the book, *Uljinhyeonjo*, (Chapter on Uljin County) states that "Usando and Ulleungdo are located in the middle of the East Sea." Though *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* was compiled and edited in 1530, the account above was recorded in 1481, the 12th year of King Seongjong's reign, when an earlier edition, *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea) was published. *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* contains the earliest map that identifies Dokdo. Source: Collection of Dokdo Museum

## JAPANESE AMBITIONS ON DOKDO UNMASKED

The Dokdo (獨島) islets are Korean territory, but Japan has designs on them, while the Diaoyutai (釣魚島; called Senkaku Islands in Japan) archipelago belongs to China, and Japan wants to seize these islands, too. Are there any other people anywhere who could possibly be so bold? However, the Japanese position on and attitude toward Dokdo and Diaoyutai is surely delusional. These two issues manifest Japan's aggressive ambitions and militarism.

### A Show of Korean Political Will

Japan's recent bid to conduct a maritime survey in the waters around Dokdo was a provocative act. The Koreans got more than angry; they prepared to respond with force, sending naval vessels with the expressed purpose of detaining the Japanese survey ships. As the situation deteriorated, Japanese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Yachi Shotaro visited Korea for two days of talks with his Korean counterpart. In the end, Japan cancelled its plans to dispatch the survey ships, while Korea is sched-

uled to submit Korean-style names for the undersea features near Dokdo to the International Hydrographic Organization. The two sides agreed to reopen talks this month.

This writer believes that this is a stop-gap measure and that Korea is merely showing that they want peace with Japan and in East Asia. I do not expect the Koreans to concede anything on Dokdo and the economic zone in which Dokdo is located. Naturally, the Japanese withdrawal of the survey plan was a good thing, but that will not be sufficient for avoiding a head-on clash in the future. Fundamentally, Japan must give up its preparations for ill-gotten gains from the Dokdo area and other waters.

Korea's basic position regarding its rights to Dokdo will not change. Republic of Korea (ROK) President Roh Moo-hyun released a Special Message on April 25, announcing the decision to mobilize national resources and diplomatic strength in response to Japan's provocative act regarding Dokdo sovereignty and other historical issues. President Roh pointed out that acknowl-



On April 19, 2006, two Japan Coast Guard survey vessels, *Kaiyo* (front) and *Meiyo* (back) are seen anchored in waters off Sakai Port waiting for their government's decision on whether to carry out a Dokdo survey. © Yonhap News

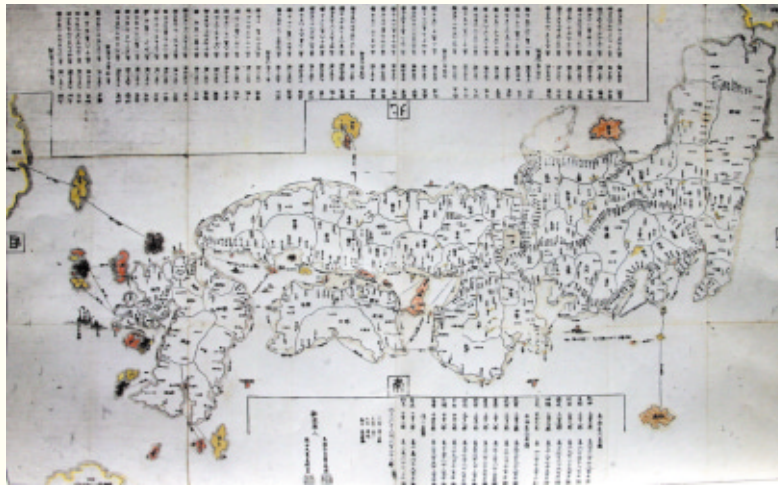
edging the problems concerning the Dokdo dispute, visits to Yasukuni Shrine by Japanese leaders and distortions in Japanese textbooks is the litmus test of the Japanese people's determination to maintain Korea-Japanese relations and East Asian peace. The Korean President added that there would be no compromise whatsoever with Japan over the sovereignty of Dokdo and that the territorial right to Dokdo could not be shared. The Korean position and attitude are understandable when one sees how Japan is embroiled with Diaoyutai.

In this writer's view, Japanese barbarism is the same with regard to both the Dokdo issue and the Diaoyutai issue. The Korean and Chinese peoples must work together to keep Japan in check.

### Historical Proof of Territorial Rights to Dokdo

The historical record proves that Dokdo belongs to Korea. Usanguk (于山國), a small kingdom in the East Sea that encompassed Ulleungdo (鬱陵島) and Usando (于山島), was subjugated by the Silla kingdom in 512 (the 13th year of Silla King Jijeung's reign). "Usando" is the ancient name for the place called Dokdo today.

Documents and maps that irrefutably describe Dokdo as Korean territory abound: the "Records of Silla" (羅紀) section of the History of the Three Kingdoms (三國史記, 1145), Annals of King Sejong (世宗實錄, 1432), Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea (東國輿地勝覽, 1481), Revised and Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea (新增東國輿地勝覽, 1531), the "Military Affairs Section" (軍政編) of the Handbook of State Affairs (萬機要覽,



1808), to name a few.

Japan furtively seized Dokdo in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War, and thereafter called the islets “Takeshima” (竹島). In 1910, Japan annexed Joseon but then surrendered unconditionally to the United States on August 15, 1945. The ROK Government was established in 1948, three years after the end of World War II. Since then, Japan has argued for its territorial right to Dokdo, citing its previous occupation as “historical fact.”

Recently Japan has become more aggressive in claiming Dokdo (Takeshima) as its own. On March 16, 2005, Japan’s Shimane Prefecture (島根縣) passed legislation to make February 22nd “Takeshima Day.” This is a declaration of sovereign rights to Dokdo, a Korean territory that is under the administrative control of Korea. Such behavior is absurd in the extreme, and the Korean city of Masan responded on March 18 by naming June 19th as “Daemado Day.” Daemado (對馬島) consists of two islands that are currently under the control of the Japanese (who pronounce the same characters as “Tsushima”). The

Masan City Council announced to Koreans everywhere that Daemado was in fact Korean territory. Thus, the Dokdo controversy has moved beyond the government level to incite public sentiment in both countries. The Korean Government and public are never going to give an inch on their claim to Dokdo sovereignty.

Japan’s Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Nakayama Nariaki, included Japan’s position on Dokdo and Diaoyutai in the education guidelines released on April 1, 2005. The guidelines say that passages pertaining to Dokdo and Diaoyutai had been revised in the new textbook edition published on March 30, 2006. The phrasing on Dokdo was changed from “negotiating with Korea” to “part of Shimane Prefecture, while the Koreans also claim it to be part of their territory.” As for Diaoyutai, the textbooks originally read “(the issue is) in negotiation with Mainland China and Taiwan.” However, the passage now has been changed to describe the islands as “part of Okinawa Prefecture (沖縄縣),” and that “the Chinese also lay claim to them.” Japan’s textbook

#### Map refutes Japanese claim

The book *Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan*, which Professor Kim Woo-Jun of Yonsei University first introduced to Korea in 2005, does not include Dokdo as a part of Japanese territory.

Source: Collection of Kim Woo-Jun, Professor at Yonsei University

revision is a blatant manifestation of intentions to seize and swallow up land that belongs to other countries. Such behavior is like burying one’s head in the sand and shows contempt for people everywhere.

#### Concealing Crimes and Diverting Attention

Japanese deception takes on many different forms. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi called on the Koreans to “stay calm in the interest of friendly Japanese-Korean relations,” and reminded them of “things to be considered in the future.” Such words suggest the Prime Minister has no other recourse than trying to hide his country’s own crimes while getting people to focus on some other issue. First, why does Japan attempt to seize Dokdo while talking about friendly relations between Japan and Korea? Second, why does he call for cool-headedness when the pirate ships have already encroached on Korean territorial waters? Third, he tells others to consider the future. Does that mean the Korean people will want to hand over Dokdo’s

sovereignty to the Japanese? What nonsense!

Prime Minister Koizumi emphasized amicable Japanese-Korean relations once again. However, Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki-moon asked again how refusal to remove references regarding Japan’s claim to Dokdo from the textbooks can be construed as “friendly relations.” Such false utterances by the Japanese are simply deplorable.

March 1 of this year marked the 87th anniversary of the Korean Independence Movement from Japanese colonial rule. At the commemorative ceremony, President Roh Moo-hyun said that if the Japanese want their country to be a world leader, their priorities should not be on amending the Constitution and beefing up the military. Instead, the President continued, Japanese behavior must conform to common decency and universally accepted practices in order to earn the trust of the international community. The question needs to be asked again: Do the words and deeds of the Japanese government and leadership conform to common decency?



## ISLAND DISPUTE SETS OFF NATIONALIST FRENZY IN KOREA

Called Dokdo in Korean but Takeshima in Japanese, the tiny islets in the East Sea, 250km from the Korean peninsula and home to 32 policemen and a recently returned couple in their 60s, have been a recurring flashpoint between South Korea and Japan. It was reignited last month when Japan prepared to survey the waters, an abundant fishing ground that could also contain gas deposits, and where the

boundaries of the two countries' exclusive economic zones are uncertain.

But the acrimonious dispute is about more than a few craggy rocks and some squid -- it is casting a shadow over economic, foreign and security relations, made all the worse because Japan and South Korea are both US military allies.

For Koreans, the word "Dokdo" has become

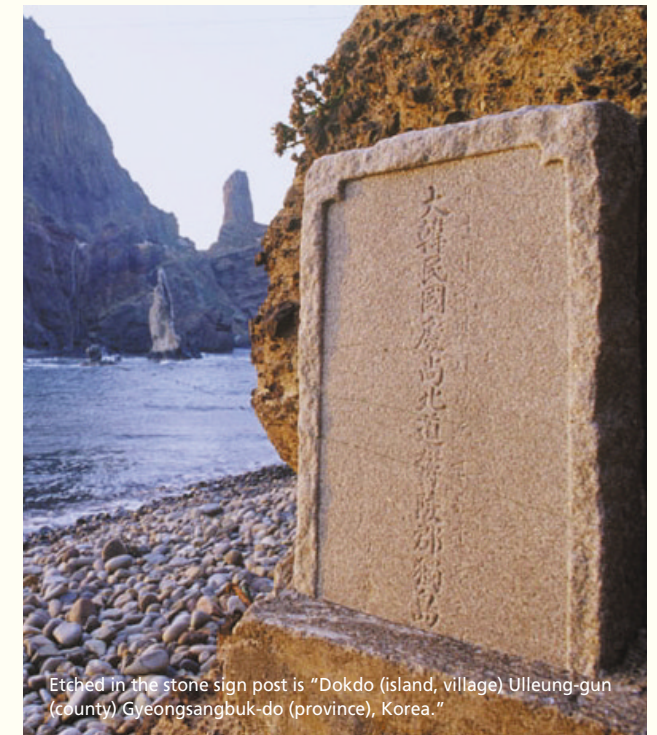
synonymous with liberation from Japanese imperialism, and the rise of Korean assertiveness. In 1905, the islets became the first part of Korea to be annexed by Japan, but Seoul has controlled them since the 1950s.

Coming amid tensions over visits by Junichiro Koizumi, Japanese prime minister, to the Yasukuni war shrine and over school textbooks that Koreans say glorify Japan's militarism, the Korean government has spared no effort in asserting its claim over the islets.

Booklets with 500-year-old maps showing Dokdo as part of Korea have been printed, a taskforce has been established to map out measures to protect Dokdo, and \$36m (£19m) has been earmarked for improving facilities on the islands and researching the area. Meanwhile, Korea Telecom has installed the first private telephone line on Dokdo, saying the phone service proved who owns the islets.

Such territorial disputes are casting a long shadow over relations in Northeast Asia. Japan is also entangled in disputes with China over islands and gas fields in the East China Sea.

A Korean flag is flying over a patrol ship guarding the Korean waters near Dokdo.



Etched in the stone sign post is "Dokdo (island, village) Ulleung-gun (county) Gyeongsangbuk-do (province), Korea."

## DOKDO ISSUE REVEALS JAPAN'S MISTAKEN VIEW OF HISTORY

**Question:** Isn't there another basic reason behind the recent Korea-Japan dispute over Dokdo other than the rivalry over the submission of names for undersea features?

**Chin Xide** (Researcher in the Institute of Japanese Studies, the Chinese Academy of Social Science): The dispute between Korea and Japan over territorial rights to Dokdo has continued for a long time. The seabed names are nothing but a trigger. Differences of opinion between the two countries have been building up for years, and the discord has boiled over. For this reason the present flap is neither the beginning nor the end and the possibility exists for further confrontation in the future. Besides, the Dokdo issue is linked to historic matters; the islets were seized by the Japanese in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War. Control over Dokdo was returned to Korea at the end of World War II. One of the aims behind Japan's claim to Dokdo sovereignty is to legalize its occupation during the colonial period.

**Question:** What do you think about the changed diplomacy by the Koreans who have shown firm resolve just two days after a bilateral agreement was reached?

**Chin Xide:** Korean-Japanese relations have changed course several times. Former Republic of Korea (South Korean) President Kim Dae-jung visited Japan in 1998 in an attempt to resolve historic issues, but the Japanese caused a row linked to historic matters. When he was inaugurated, ROK President Roh Moo-hyun expressed the intention of maintaining a forward-looking policy toward Japan, and quiet diplomacy was pursued with regard to history. He asked for an effort inside Japan for resolving historic questions, but then in 2005 a local government in Japan declared "Takeshima Day," which riled the Korean public. Korea has decided that quiet diplomacy does not bring results and that further development of Korean-Japanese relations will be difficult if historical disagreements are not settled.



Samhyeongjekul Rock with its characteristic hole in the middle.

### Mistrust Between Korea and Japan Hinders East Asian Security Cooperation

**Question:** What effect does the current Dokdo controversy have on the Six – Party Talks, East Asian Summit meetings, East Asian security cooperation, and other multi-party channels of diplomacy?

**Li Dunqiu** (Director of the Korean Peninsula Research Center of the World Development Research Institute under the State Council Development Research Center): The Korea – Japan dispute over Dokdo has a negative effect on the Six – Party Talks. Although neither the ROK nor Japan is the most important player at the Talks, they both serve as mediators. In this regard, their positions differ on the North Korean nuclear issue. The current Dokdo squabble has widened their differences, which hinders smooth progress in the Talks. East Asian Summit meetings, however, do not involve extremely delicate matters that require each of participating countries to vote; the discussion focuses on economics, so the effect of the Dokdo dispute will probably be minor.

# DOKDO: ISSUE OVER HISTORICAL HERITAGE

by Elly Burhaini Faisal

**K**orean-Japanese diplomatic ties have remained strained and ominous, and still no agreement has been reached on Dokdo (island). The Japanese plan to survey the waters around Dokdo, which is currently controlled by Korea, has elevated tension between the two countries. Japan's insistence on conducting the hydrographic survey sparked a strong Korean backlash. On the morning of April 20, President Roh Moo-hyun of South Korea (ROK for the Republic of Korea) denounced Japan for reclaiming territorial rights to sovereign Korean soil that it (Japan) seized during the colonial war: "Japan demands territorial rights to land colonized in the past during a war of aggression."

Korea's condemnation is well grounded in fact. The nation is still distressed by the terrible experience of Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945—a rule that inflicted great pain on the Koreans. President Roh has stressed that Dokdo not only belongs to Korea but carries historic significance as a clear testament to 40 years of affliction suffered by Koreans. According to the

President's Open Message pertaining to the islets, "Dokdo was the first territory of Korea to be seized in the course of Japan's usurpation of the Korean Peninsula."

## Japanese Occupation

In President Roh's view, the Russo-Japanese War was a war of aggression through which imperial Japan gained control over the Korean Peninsula: "Under the pretext of carrying out the War, Japan sent its troops to Korea and occupied the Korean Peninsula. Japanese forces laid siege to Korean royal palaces, terrorized the royal court and the Government of Korea, thereby coercing them to sign the Korea-Japan Protocol, expropriated the land and people of Korea as it pleased, and established military facilities. Japan then unilaterally proclaimed military rule over part of the Korean territory and eventually trampled on Korea's sovereignty by taking away our fiscal and diplomatic rights. It was in the midst of this process that Japan forcefully merged Dokdo into its territory, installed an observation tower and elec-

tric cables, and utilized them in their war campaign."

The Korean President added: "While continuing its military occupation of the Korean Peninsula, Japan deprived Korea of its sovereignty and secured colonial control over the Peninsula. Japan's present claim to Dokdo is tantamount to maintaining a right to what it had once occupied during an imperialist war of aggression and, what is worse, to reasserting colonial territorial rights of bygone years. This is an act of negating the complete liberation and independence of Korea. Moreover, this amounts to contending the legitimacy of Japan's criminal history of waging wars of aggression and annihilation as well as 40 years of exploitation, torture, imprisonment, forced labor, and even sexual slavery."

According to President Roh, Dokdo symbolizes for Koreans the complete recovery of their sovereignty. Visits by Japanese leaders to the Yasukuni Shrine, Japanese history textbooks and



A typical scene at a local conscription office during the Japanese colonial period. Japan launched a massive mobilization program to force a great number of Korean men and women into the war effort, causing innocent citizens to shed blood at the frontline and toil to death as forced laborers.

Dokdo are touchstones for measuring the extent to which Japan recognizes its past as well as of its commitment to the future of Korea-Japan relations and peace in East Asia:

"As long as Japan continues to glorify its past wrongs and claim rights based on such history, friendly relations between Korea and Japan cannot stand."

## Historical Obstacles

Dokdo is just one of several issues hindering



Korean-Japanese relations. Despite outcries by both the Koreans and Chinese, the Japanese Government has approved a revised set of history textbooks. One of the eight new versions set off diplomatic protests in 2001, and the Koreans said at the time that the controversial text could cause tension to flare up in the region because it could be construed as glorifying Japan's colonial expansion.

The BBC recently reported that the Korean Ambassador to Japan had "expressed regret over the fact that some of the 2006 Japanese (middle school) textbooks still contain content that justifies

and glorifies wrongs committed in the past."

China, too, voiced its indignation by summoning the Japanese Ambassador and telling him, "(some of) the new texts would be vehemently condemned by people from all Asian countries who were victimized by Japan."

The most controversial textbook was written by a group of extreme right-wing historians called the Society for History Textbook Reform, and its first version was published in 2001, sparking a firestorm of criticism and condemnation. The Korean Government recalled its Ambassador to



*Seriola quinqueradiata*, commonly known as yellowtail (left), and *Sargassum fulvellum* (a brown seaweed, right) are just a few of many species that make their home in the waters around Dokdo, a treasure trove of rare natural resources featuring over 100 species of birds and abundant migratory fish.

Japan for nine days in protest.

Chinese Ambassador to Japan Wang Yi lodged similar complaints in a meeting with the Japanese Vice Foreign Minister: "A textbook by Fushosha Publishing Co has distorted history and hurt the feelings of people in Asia, including China."

It refers to the Japanese slaughter of some 300,000 civilians in the Chinese city of Nanjing as an "incident," rather than the "massacre" it is known as elsewhere. Only one of the eight textbook versions mentions the number of victims; the others simply state that "many people died." Making matters worse, a new civic studies textbook says that Korea is illegally occupying Dokdo.

The problem of new history textbooks has naturally aggravated the Korean-Japanese controversy over Dokdo. Chinese-Japanese tension has also been heightened by the historical arguments and territorial row. Korea and China cite the disputes as a reason to block Japanese aspirations of becoming a standing member of the UN Security Council. Despite the ongoing protestations of the Koreans and Chinese, no intention

of voluntarily withdrawing approval for the new textbooks has been shown. The Japanese central government merely says that factual errors can be amended; the decision to use the textbooks is left up to the local authorities.

The Japanese unilaterally decided to begin a hydrographic survey of the undersea features in waters claimed by both Korea and Japan as part of their respective exclusive economic zones (EEZs). This attitude appears to be unfair and prompted a strong response from the Koreans. Making matters worse, the Japanese aim to preempt the Koreans in getting international approval for the undersea feature names. This is no trivial matter. For Koreans, Dokdo is not just about the ownership of some tiny islets; it symbolizes closure to an unjust chapter in Korean history with Japan and the full consolidation of Korea's sovereignty.

President Roh Moo-hyun's elucidation of Korean resolve to continue safeguarding Dokdo comes as no surprise. In his words, "Physical provocations will be met with strong and firm

responses.” He also declared that Korea would not compromise on the issue, no matter what the costs and sacrifices may be.

Korea will defend the rocky islets far off its shores. More than 20 patrol boats are on stand-by to repulse any Japanese survey ships (that enter the disputed waters). As far as the Koreans are concerned, Japanese hydrographic survey plans are not a regular survey but rather show disregard for Korean sovereignty and are a reflection of nationalist ambitions to recover colonial land controlled by Japan in the past. The Japanese ambitions are fueled by the abundance of fish in the waters around the islets as well as the gas deposits that are believed to be under the seabed.

### Japan’s Position

As the war of words between Korea and Japan escalates, both sides have tried hard to ease the tension. After discussions, Japan decided to call off the hydrographic survey for the time being. However, the cancellation only came after

the Koreans agreed to postpone their plans to register undersea feature names. The Japanese have described the hydrographic survey they were going to conduct as being natural and for a scientific purpose:

“Many countries have conducted this kind of scientific survey,” contends Japan’s Chief Cabinet Secretary Shinzo Abe. However, Secretary Abe said that international law would be kept and that matters related to the territorial issue would be handled prudently. Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro has made statements to the same effect.

Prime Minister Koizumi’s response to ROK President Roh’s strongly worded message was, “We put the first priority on maintaining Korean-Japanese relations, and we will deal with the issue calmly.”

The Japanese Prime Minister said he wants to meet with President Roh to discuss the two countries’ differences of opinion. However, a Korea-Japan summit meeting has yet to be scheduled.



Breaking waves between Dongdo and Seodo

# KOREAN VIEWPOINT ON THE MARINE TERRITORIAL ISSUE

Japan has raised the Dokdo (island) issue to spark an international dispute and try to bring Korea to the conference table. The negotiation between Korea and Japan over the naming of undersea features has been continuing rather smoothly, even though the Korean side has strongly expressed its position:

“Dokdo’s history and sovereignty are not something that can be compromised. We consider Korean-Japanese relations to be important, however, and want to build the future together.”

Chinese Internet users have highly regarded Korea’s firmness “whatever the costs and sacrifices may be.”

Japanese Studies Professor Yuji Hosaka at Sejong University in Korea says:

“Japanese politicians, including the Prime Minister, consider ROK President Roh Moo-hyun’s April 25 Open Message as a gesture for the Korean people. However, I do not agree. On closer look, the President is actually saying that the Japanese Government’s international conduct is a show for the Japanese public. During the Russo-

Japanese War, Japan forcibly merged Dokdo into its territory for military purposes.

“The Japanese people are misled when the Japanese Government distorts historic facts. The Japanese Government purposefully does not reveal the historic background that has caused the Dokdo issue to erupt. Japanese Government documents from 1877 state that Dokdo is part of Joseon (Korean) territory. All Japanese history researchers know this clearly, and the Japanese people must know it, too.”

Professor Hosaka graduated from Tokyo University in 1988 and subsequently earned his doctorate degree at Korea University.

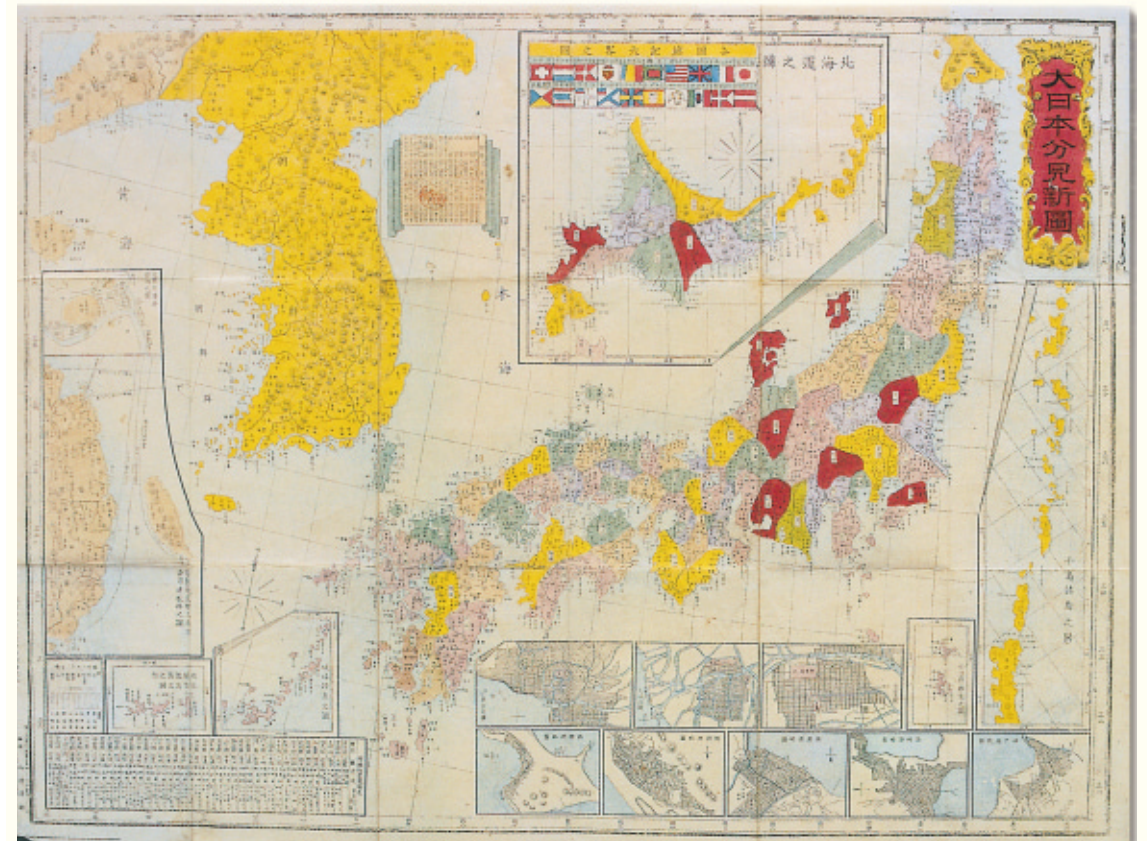


Korea Coast Guard ship 271 patrols the waters surrounding Dokdo



*Dainihonbunshinzu* (New Scaled Map of Great Japan, 1878)  
37.5×550(cm), Kiyosuke Yamamura

This map covers Joseon (Korea), Taiwan, Hokkaido, and Okinawa, illustrating in detail and color-coding each region of Japan. Jukdo (Ulleungdo) and Songdo (Dokdo) are colored in yellow, the same color used to mark Joseon. Songdo appears twice in this map, reflecting the Japanese confusion over geographic location of the island. Source: Collection of Dokdo Museum





Dokdo Museum, located on Ulleungdo, collects and exhibits materials related to Dokdo and the East Sea.



Scuba divers conducting an underwater survey

## JAPANESE PROVOCATIONS: SHAMELESS ACTS REGARDING HISTORY

Interview with Gebhard Hielscher, Specialist in Far Eastern Affairs

by Park Yong-che, Correspondent in Tokyo

**G**ebhard Hielscher is a freelance German journalist who formerly worked as a Far East correspondent, and he is explicit about the trouble between Korea and Japan. He describes Japanese provocations over Dokdo, Yasukuni Shrine and history book distortions as simply “shameless about history.”

I met him in a downtown Tokyo hotel on April 19, and we compared the different ways that the Germans and Japanese dealt with post-war issues such as territory and textbooks. We also discussed ideological currents in Japanese society and Korean-Japanese relations.

**Japan claims Dokdo is a Japanese possession and that Korea’s “effective control” is an illegal occupation.**

“The territorial issue must be classified as either traditional land or land acquired through an expansionist policy. I believe it is reasonable to apply these two classifications from the time of reorganization into modern nation states. For Japan, it was the Meiji Restoration in 1868, while

the basis for Germany must be the Proclamation of the German Empire in 1871. In my view, both Germany and Japan must accept as an established fact that they have lost lands they acquired after the above dates. Of course, Dokdo falls within this time frame. I have not seen credible evidence to support the claim that Dokdo belonged to Japan before Shimane Prefecture incorporated the islets into its jurisdiction in 1905. Japan’s incorporation of Dokdo was the initial stage in the takeover of the Korean Peninsula. To claim that Dokdo is Japanese territory is a shameful act perpetrated by people who have no sense of historical shame.”

**No Proof of Dokdo’s Belonging to Japan**

**Germany also suffered great turmoil over territorial issues after the war.**

“This is a personal story, but my father came from Silesia and my mother’s native home was Tilsit. Of course both of these places were German territory at the time of my par-

ents' birth, but now Silesia is part of Poland and Tilsit is in Russia. Indeed, Germany lost far more territory after World War II than Japan did. Germany relinquished 114,000 square kilometers of traditionally held lands to Poland and Russia. This amounted to 24.3 percent of Germany's total territory and is a greater area than South Korea's entire 99,000 square kilometers. Germany's forfeiture of territory was settled with the finalization of the so-called Oder-Neisse Line as its eastern border (with Poland). Germany gave up a vast swath of land that had been part of the country for generations, and 10 million Germans lost the place that they had called home. However, the German people reflected on past aggressions and accepted the loss of territory as a token repayment of a moral debt owed to the Russians and Poles."

**A huge gap exists between the Korean and Japanese views on history, including the textbook and Yasukuni Shrine issues.**

"Japanese history books were amended somewhat in the early 1980s after a massive outcry (against inaccuracies and factual distortions). Yet, the overall content of the texts is far from trustworthy. After the war, Germany researched history textbooks jointly with the U.K., France, Poland and others. In the words of Georg Eckert Institute Director Wolfgang Höpken, joint textbook research works to neutralize the poisoned nationalist abuses of history in textbooks and historical concepts. When visiting the war shrine, Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro was quoted as saying that war must never break out again, but he is not convincing."

**Where is the origin of these differences between Germany and Japan?**

"The first issue is geopolitical. Germany is located in the center of a continent. To be acknowledged by European nations, one must behave in a manner acceptable to one's neighbors. On the other hand, Japan is an island country, so such a need does not exist.



**Map of the Eight Province of Korea Made in Japan (1592)**  
 This is the first Japanese map that used the same names for the geographic features as used by the Joseon Kingdom. It includes Ulleungdo and Dokdo (right middle) islands.  
 Source: Collection of Dokdo Museum

Neighboring countries are disregarded and everything is settled simply by relying on the United States. Moreover, Japan, unlike Germany, was targeted by the atomic bomb, causing the Japanese people to forget about their own wrongdoings. Instead, they think of themselves as victims.

"The most fundamental difference between the two countries is this: Germany was separated into the U.S., U.K., France and USSR occupation

zones, and the country was divided east and west. Reunification did not come until 1990. Japan, by contrast, remained as a single country after the war and a Japanese government was maintained. The national pain was nowhere near that suffered by Germany. After World War II, the U.S. did not press Japan so hard on its responsibilities for the war, as the U.S. wanted to use Japan in its fight for supremacy over the Soviets."



## A SWIPE AT THE WEST

By Professor Florian Coulmas, Universität Duisburg



A crowd gathering at a conscription campaign in Korea during the Japanese colonial rule.

### Nationalists Parade in East Asia: Boasting about Their Accomplishments, Harboring Anti-American Sentiment and Distorting History

A specter is roaming around East Asia. Nationalism has not been discredited as deeply in East Asia as it has in Europe, or more specifically, in Germany. Moreover, it has grown quite strong recently, and it appears in each East Asian country. The chauvinistic tendency is not just due to today's powerful wave of globalization. What are the reasons, then?

Various factors are generating the antipathy in East Asia, where nationalism is so salient. In China, the surging national pride cannot be ignored. It is mixed with the Chinese feeling that the world owes them a debt for the painful colonial domination that they suffered. Moreover, Chinese anger at the United States is growing. They need the U.S. market, but the arrogant, paternalistic attitude exhibited by the Americans is hard for even Chinese dissidents to accept. One country wages war on other countries, threatening their very culture. It tries to force its own value system on China and other regions of the world. Seeing this conjures up bad memories for the Chinese, who want to resist by expressing the greatness of their people and nation. Chinese Government policy consistently pursues national unity, and that message has been recently reverberating in Taiwan as well.

On the Korean Peninsula, national reunification remains the overriding concern. In North Korea (DPRK for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), nationalism has always been the basis

Chinese protestors holding a Chinese flag and banners, reading "Diaoyu Island is China's territory," march to the Japanese embassy in Beijing to protest attempts by the Japanese coast guard to stop Chinese activists from landing on the disputed islands between Japan and China, Wednesday, March 24, 2004. A Chinese protest ship approached the Island and dispatched a group of activists on small paddle boats that evaded a Japanese Coast Guard vessel and landed on the island, according to the Japanese Coast Guard. © Yonhap News



for legitimizing the regime. In fact, the DPRK Government insists that it is speaking on behalf of the entire Peninsula, and that view has been long accepted by the North Korean citizens. The North's dictatorial regime has been less reliant on the USSR and China than South Korea (ROK for the Republic of Korea) has on the United States. The people in the South are well aware of this.

Strong anti-Americanism in South Korea has grown even stronger with the current Administration. Many South Koreans believe the United States is not supporting national reunification aggressively enough. Most South Korean politicians put greater importance on reunification than they do on issues involving the North's nuclear program, which is the primary concern in Washington. In such a situation, reunification appeals to nationalist sentiments.

### The Nationalist Argument Is Now More Readily Accepted

The Japanese have elected a Prime Minister who is nationalist to the bone. The current

Japanese Prime Minister is supported by a political party that cannot make peace after even 60 years and has failed to win the trust of neighboring countries. The Japanese nationalist argument has become more palatable today than it used to be, and Japanese nationalism has affected the surrounding region as well. While neighboring countries debate Japanese nationalism, their concern focuses on Japan's rise as a regional and global military power. Their apprehension is amplified by Japan's inadequate perception of the past.

Japanese history includes an oppressive colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula and a war of aggression against China and Southeast Asia. These acts of the past have remained politically important, unresolved issues up to the present in East Asia. Historic issues are driving the rising nationalism throughout the region, and the nationalist fervor has been fuelled further during the four and a half years that Koizumi has been Prime Minister. China's opportunistic manipulation of the history issue has been undesirable, but Japan holds the key to improving internation-



Dongnimmun Rock at sunrise

al relations in Northeast Asia and stemming the rising tide of nationalism region-wide.

Some time ago, Tokyo Mayor Ishihara Shintaro indirectly spread a false rumor about the Nanjing Massacre (1937) during a visit to New York. He claimed that more people died at the hands of the Chinese than were killed by the Japanese. Meanwhile, Japanese national medal recipients visited Yasukuni Shrine with Prime Minister Koizumi on October 17, 2005. Candidates vying to become the next Prime Minister are adopting the same behavior as Koizumi, because they believe it will improve their chances for being elected. (Foreign Minister Aso Taro also suggested that the Japanese Emperor should visit Yasukuni Shrine.)

As long as such behavior continues, Japanese relations with China, South Korea and North Korea

will remain strained, and anyone who knows properly about Yasukuni Shrine understands the reason. The shrine is on the same grounds as a war museum that distorts history and glosses over the atrocities committed by imperial Japanese troops as well as Japan's colonial legacy.

Former Korean Prime Minister Lee Hae-chan pointed out the problems between the two countries during a meeting of the Korea-Japan Parliamentarians Union: "Due to the deep scars left after the 35-year Japanese colonial rule, careless remarks or nationalistic behavior by Japanese leaders could stir serious confrontation in Asia."

Many Asians are awestruck by the European Union, which has managed to resolve the deep animosities that existed among European nations. There is talk in some quarters about an East Asian



Majestic horizon: Sunset over Seodo

body, but unfortunately Asia lacks political leaders with the kind of vision of people like Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, who suggested a European Community Project back in 1950. Instead, Asian political affairs are dominated by hardliners who show little sign of giving up the nationalist card.

For this very issue of Asian unity, many people welcomed the East Asian Summit (EAS) that was promoted aggressively by Malaysia and China last December. The EAS is an additional multiparty organization along with ASEAN. Yet another caucus is ASEAN+3, which brings together the ten ASEAN countries with China, Korea and Japan. Such a grouping can promote understanding between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, while helping to calm the surging current of nationalism.

The so-called Asian financial crisis of 1997

was a severe blow to East Asian solidarity, but it has now been put on the table once more. Trade and direct investment are strengthening economic ties within the region, and political discussions are starting anew. One of the discussion groups in this regard is ASEAN+3. This unofficial gathering was first called in 2001 after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum showed a weak response to the Asian economic crisis. The ASEAN+3 has been convened annually ever since. Economic cooperation has been the main topic on the agenda, but discussions are also held on security and environmental issues. To further promote the process, a resolution was passed at the ASEAN+3 talks in Kuala Lumpur in 2004 to hold the first EAS (16 nations in all).

The United States did not take part in the EAS.



In fact, it did not particularly welcome the preparations for the summit but showed concern, instead. To serve its own interests, the United States prefers two-party arrangements such as the defense treaties with South Korea and Japan, provision of military supplies to Taiwan and nuclear technology cooperation with India. China is steadily emerging as a U.S. competitor, and the United States is building a strategic structure that circumvents China to keep the Chinese in check. Some observers say that the U.S. absence from the EAS makes it a nonstarter. Others, however, call the summit an additional layer of links for a network that is steadily bringing East Asia closer together.

The realization of the EAS has not been a simple task. Some of the ASEAN representatives feared that they would be marginalized by the eco-

nomic might of the three Northeast Asian members. The selection of participating countries also posed a problem, with controversies over the inclusion of Taiwan, India and Australia. Despite the setbacks, the summit group was formed successfully. The EAS is a new process, a forum in its formative stage, and China has already said it would host the EAS in 2007. What benefits come from the EAS remain to be seen, but two political objectives can be surmised.

### **Both China and Japan Regard Themselves as the Regional Power**

First, EAS incorporates China into the cooperative structure. Chinese President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao both emphasize at every opportunity that China can only develop in a peaceful environment and will not seek hegemony. ASEAN was initially formed as an anti-communist bastion, and ASEAN members stand firm on this point.

On the other hand, China and Japan are openly at odds. Each considers itself to be the

“natural leader” of the region, and neither trusts the other. China does not simply see Japan as an extension of U.S. power but also will never trust the Japanese for historical reasons.

Conversely, China has already emerged as Japan’s largest trading partner, but the Japanese view China more as a threat than as an opportunity. South Korea, for its part, no longer wants to play the role of a “shrimp between two whales.” The ROK has intensive trade ties with both China and Japan, and lately the Koreans have expressed the desire to serve as a mediator. Considering the thorny relations between the two countries (China and Japan), it is a strategy for maintaining a balance. Therefore, expanding a multiparty mechanism that includes China in the region coincides with the interest of China as well as the nations on the Chinese periphery.

The second objective for the EAS is to develop a new dimension for regional consolidation. Solidarity is essential for the peaceful development of East Asia, and ASEAN serves as a model in this regard. Since ASEAN was formed in 1967,



the member countries have managed to reign in their mutual animosities and rivalries. Deepening the multilateral structure is the only way to respond effectively to the nationalism that has proliferated throughout most of the region.

Many issues in Northeast Asia are dependent on Japan’s foreign policy, which is directed mainly at the United States. The East Asian region expects Japan to become more involved directly. Japan’s political ties with its neighbors have never been worse, and many Japanese are truly worried about this. The February issue of *Ronza*, a monthly magazine published by a group of intellectuals, features a dialogue between two influential Japanese journalists—Tsuneo Watanabe, chairman of the conservative *Yomiuri Shimbun* Group, and Yoshibumi Wakamiya, chairman of the progressive *Asahi Shimbun*’s editorial board. These two have been rivals throughout their careers and have always expressed opposing views on political issues. This time, however, their voices are in agreement: Prime Minister Koizumi’s visits to Yasukuni Shrine must end at last.



**Life on Dokdo**

A couple of sapsal dogs, an indigenous Korean breed whose name means “dog that dispels evil spirits and brings good fortune,” are enjoying a lazy afternoon on Dokdo. Sapsal dogs have for centuries stood guard in private homes and are now watching out for Korea’s easternmost island.

**Dokdo in the Eyes of the World**

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