

Nationalism and Teritorial Dispute Over Dokdo / Takeshima between Japan and South Korea

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Abstract: *Japan relation with neighboring country South Korea, after colonization of Korea (1910), Korean War, Cold War and its aftermath, is a dynamic one until today. The tumultuous relationship is triggered by international changes in politic, economy, ideologies, and also from colonization era, independence war, including coexistences rivalry in global competition. In 1910th, Yoshino's thought concerning fraternity and opposed Japan colonization of Korea made huge attention among government, intellectual, student and became a zeitgeist of Taisho Democracy. However he failed to avoid military ambition on international conflict toward World War II and Pacific War. Today, Yoshino's Sakuzo thought on world peace brought relevance for international order and our life as an idea hard to realize.*

Keywords: Dokdo/Takeshima, Japan, South Korea, Yoshino Sakuzo, Nationalism

1. Introduction

What is the relevance between revealing history and current updated situation? Is history an ending process or endure with the time? For an event, history is an ending process, because history only happens once, not a repeated event. However, as a memory residue, history still exists on the analogy of event and thought. The line enforces us to understand about human life process, about good and bad things happened in the past, pleasant or miserable situation, or even a situation that brought empathy or revenge. Based on educational perspective, the past is the mirror for reflection, to design plan and to analyze the future. Based on this concept, historical experiences cannot be left buried, just like the dynamic and full of historical events relation between Japan and South Korea. The conflict between Japan and South Korea started with conflict of political and economical interest over sea resources on Dokdo/Takeshimaislands (next will be mentioned as D/T).

Conflict resolution between Japan and South Korea is made through several approaches such as cultural, civilization, diplomacy, law, and others. Historical approach plays the most significant role in the relation, because the "relation" itself is a process that has happened, is happening and may process in the future. However, historical events, as international law, cannot satisfy or accepted by both countries due to different interpretation over the historical event or international law/agreement made by one side, in war situation, or in the context of ending the war toward peace, although justice is still a factor controlled by powerful and dominated countries.

In the context of cultural history, religion, ideology, politics, economy and social which has passed the era of ancient, feudalism, colonialism and contemporary (independence), cold war and globalization, the relation of two countries is full of dynamic starting from cultural assimilation up to current situation where two countries are in tension on

claiming the D/K Island, each parties claim tend to partial and egocentric. In history teaching, it is violated scientific truth. Thoughts sometimes reach far ideas in the future or recollect the past, revise or change the current structure, just like thoughts of post-modernism.

Yoshino Sakuzō thoughts are made as basic concept and analyses about how the idea is coexist with contemporary events. The relevance of Yoshino's thoughts, described more than a century ago, is still relevant as abstract to solve major conflicts, in order to analyze conflicts in a multidimensional way, especially ideologically, so we will find multi-dimensional methods to solve a major conflict.

2. Literature Survey on Historical Resources

Coral island of D/T was used as Japan military base during Japan – Russia war in 1904 – 1905. Russia called the island as Manalai or Olivutsa Rocks. Le Liancourt, whale fisherman from Le Havre, France, founded the coral island itself in 1849. He named it as Rochers de Liancourt. In 1855 British came and named it as Hornet Rock¹. South Korea claimed the coral island as part of Gyeongsang province in northern part of Ulleung-do, while Japan claimed it as part of Okinoshima city, in Oki district of Shimane prefecture².

¹Dokdo was first registered on charts in Europe after a French expedition under Jean F.G. Prouse travelled to the East Sea/Sea of Japan in May of 1787, naming Ullung Island as "Dagelet", for a French astrologer, and Dokdo as "Boussole", after the name of one of the ships on the expedition. It was not until 1849, when French whale-hunters gave the name of their ship to the islets, that Dokdo began to be called "Liancourt Rocks". (<http://dokdo-research.com/page4.html>) <https://www.google.com/search?q=Tokdo+korean+version+claim&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&client=firefox-a&channel=sb>

²In the early 1900s, the residents of the Oki Islands of Shimane Prefecture called for a stable environment to conduct their sea lion hunting business... Against this background, the Cabinet decided to incorporate Takeshima into Shimane Prefecture and The

Why does the coral island become uncertain issue? The reason is related to intern agenda of the ruling government. The new democratic South Korea under Kim Young Sam used Dokdo issue as domestic political issue for his presidency nationalistic campaign. On the other hand, Japan's former Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro used the issue for his maritime campaign. Concerning this conflict, I think that Yoshino nationalistic idea is still applicable until now, on a different context and situation although D/T Island did not emerge as specific issue at 1910th. Yoshino, together with Shimada Saburo and Koyama Tōsuke, established *Chosen Mondai Kenkyūkai* (Association of Korean Issues Researchers) on September 1905 with purpose of analyzing conflicts between Korean and Japan at that time and propose objective conflict resolution (Surajaya: 1995.181). Author cannot trace the continuation of Yoshino's idea, but found many researches and writings in research institution and university based on this issue.

Victor D. Cha, in his research, "South Korean-Japanese Relations 1969-1979: Is There More Beyond Emotionalism?" stated that the relation between Japan and South Korea used modified quasi-alliance structure approaches from alliance theory. The theory defined relation of two non-allied countries using third countries for alliance. Based on his research, there are two basic findings: first, even though South Korea and Japan are not allied countries, the emerging frictions were typical of allied countries with asymmetric dependency. Second, how far both countries will tolerate the frictions affecting their relationship, not just bilateral interaction and issue, but also their role in the alliance with the United States of America³.

Min Gyo Koo, in "Economic Dependence and the Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute Between South Korea and Japan"⁴ used conflict approaches. It was designed from micro and macro interests from people, groups and even countries. Conflict can be resolved and/or managed when facing a deadlock.

Yoshino Sakuzō (1878-1933) is known as liberal intellectual thought, anti fascism, anarcho-syndicalism, and communism in Tokyo Imperial University (University of Tokyo). He consistently proposed cooperation in coexistence life between Japan and its neighboring countries, Korea and China including international competition in maintaining world peace. Yoshino's thought on conflict resolution in East Asia had a major change. He write critics on Imperial Japan's expansive policy over Korea and China since 1916 until Yoshino passed away in 1933⁵, aside of Kobayashi Yukio (a researcher on Yoshino's thoughts) statement which he stated that Yoshino was supporter of Imperial Japan and stated that China and Korea nationalism were dangerous. Kobayashi quoted this based on Yoshino's thought in 1905,

Cabinet added Takeshima to the State Land Register, established a license system for sea lion hunting, and charged a fee for use of the state land

(http://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/takeshima/page1we_000060.html)

³(Cha: www.raskb.com/transactions/VOL67/VOL67-3.docx)

⁴Koo, Min Gyo, "Economic Dependence and the Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute between South Korea and Japan," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, IX-4 (2005), pp. 24–35.

⁵Matsuo: 1967. 388-405, in Surajaya: 1995.45

where Japan is 民本主義="Minponshugi" (democracy) at home and 帝國主義="teikoku shugi" (imperialism) for foreign policy⁶. The situation changed, where Yoshino—aged 20 and registered as student in Bible class in Sendai – wrote more about "fraternity"(relationship among mankind). This was the beginning of Yoshino's interest to liberalism, ideas introduced by liberalist Churches in Japan. The development of liberal ideology in Yoshino was higher after he returned from his study in China (as private tutor of Yuan Shih Kai) and London, where he returned to Japan to be Professor in University of Tokyo.

Yoshino, implementing the fraternity idea, helped Korean students who studied in Japan and being wanted by Japan military after 1923 Kanto great earthquake. These Korean students—supporting independence movements in their country—were considered endangered Japan roles in Korea by Japan's military. Yoshino even protected the students in his house and seek scholarship for them. Yoshino also protected students and political activist from China, who ran away after 1911 revolution, including providing political support for them. Yoshino also supported independence movement in Korea at 1 March 1919 and anti Japan's militarism campaign in China at 4 May 1919⁷. Yoshino also criticize Japan's military campaign to Siberia in 1918 and offer non-military solution. Yoshino did not see threat from Germany to the East in World War I but concerned on the expansive German economy.

Yoshino did not criticize Ishii-Lansing Agreement, an agreement between USA and Japan, which approved China as open market area after World War I, because he considered the economy cooperation is profitable and peaceful compare to military aggression⁸. Yoshino's fraternity idea changed his orientation over state "control" such as powerful Japan's control over China and Korea, because Yoshino knew there were anti-Japan's movement in China and Korea as reaction to suffering people in both countries due to Japan's exploitation. Yoshino also experienced democracy in England in term of defending basic human rights and personal democracy as part of development in his ideas and thoughts.

However, Huntington hypothesis of "basic source of conflict in the new world is not merely economic or ideology" is questioned. Huntington stated that, the fundamental source of conflict in this new world would not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural⁹. Whenever we used culture in this term "respecting ancestral values for the next generation", therefore, the conflict history of D/K island has been inherited by the ancestors of both countries: tradition to exploited sea resources, catching fishes in the region related to the use of territory by the ruling political leader¹⁰. For

⁶ Kobayashi: 1963: 49-141. Surajaya: 1995. 45

⁷ Yoshino: 1904. 3-11), 1914:14. Surajaya: 1995.45-60

⁸Surajaya: 45-60

⁹ Samuel P.Huntington: (www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations)

¹⁰ In 17th century, Japanese government formally granted its people the right of passage to Utsuryo Island, and they used Takeshima as

example, Min Gyo Ko, “*the Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute between South Korea and Japan*,” (Min Gyo. Koo: 2005. 2-35). He stipulated four phases of conflict between Japan and South Korea over D/T island:

First: San Francisco Peace Treaty triggered the conflict in 1952, which is known as multi-interpreted MacArthur Line¹¹. The border and territorial control was not clearly stipulated and started armed conflict between Korean fisherman and Japan fisherman on economy issue and fishing area between 1952 and 1965.

Second: the taking over of D/T Island by South Korean Coast Guard. D/T Island has become icon for nationalist of South Korea and Japan during cold war. In 18 January 1952, South Korea President, Syngman Rhee, declared unilateral ocean right (the Rhee Line Declaration) where Dokdo Island was part of Rhee Line. In 12 January 1953, South Korea ordered the armed forces to control D/T Island to strengthen the claim over D/T Island, followed by the building of armed forces base by South Korean conscripts in 20 April 1953. In 7 June 1953 Japan responded South Korean actions by sending two coast guard vessels on a sudden notice and build security post on D/T Island. Japan’s move was then followed by mortar shooting by South Korea coast guard at 2 July 1953 sinking one Japan’s vessel. It happened again at 21 April and 24 Augusts 1954.

Third. There was “grace economic period” between Japan and South Korea in 1965 – 1978. South Korean President, Park Chung Hee, in 1965, signed peace treaty on normalization of international relation with Japan including the payment of war compensation. South Korea also received soft loan from Japan. Both countries agreed to elevate economic trade and Japan’s investment in South Korea. The D/T island issue was “hidden” as it may disrupt the good economic relation between Japan and South Korea during Park Chung Hee presidency. However, on 5 February 1977, Japan’s Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda issued Fukuda Doctrine of relationship based on sincerity diplomacy (心と心の振り合い = *kokoro to kokoro no furiai*) – which claimed D/T Island as part of Japan’s territory. It was considered contradictive statement and triggered protest from South Korea. In 7 February 1977, Japan’s Foreign Affair Minister, Ichiro Hatoyama, brought the issue to International Court, which resulted in the appointment of 18 February 1977 as the time

for South Korea Foreign Affair Minister Bak Dong-jin to meet Japan’s Foreign Affair Minister Ichiro Hatoyama.

Fourth, 1996 – 1998 era: the enactment of Law of The Sea (1994) where EEZ (*Exclusive Economic Zone*) is decided as far as 200 nautical miles and become part of economic right of the country, in order to solve conflict between fisherman from Japan and fisherman from South Korea. In 1999, South Korea and Japan agreed to create joint supervisory of the conflicted coral island, in other word, none of them may claim the island as part of one’s sovereignty. Both parties agreed to put maritime area around D/T Island as EEZ and agreed that vessels from both parties may operate in the EEZ. However, in reality, Japan’s vessel received blockade from South Korean vessels on D/T area.

Did Yoshino ever discuss about conflict of D/T coral island during Japan-Russia war in 1904-1905? The answer is absolutely not. Yoshino did not reject the war, he even supported huge mass rally rejecting the peace treaty between Japan and Russia in Portsmouth, which ended the war, September 1905 at Hibiya square. Yoshino’s perspective on nationalist movements in Japan showed his early thinking as Professor in State Law at Tokyo Imperial University. (Yoshino: 1914, Surajaya: 1995.16).



a navigational port and an anchorage for ships on their way to Utsuryo Island and as a ground on which to hunt and gather marine resources such as sea lions and abalone (http://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/takeshima/page1we_000057.html)

¹¹ See also, SeokwooLee :Dokdo: The San Francisco Peace Treaty, International Law on Territorial Disputes, and Historical Criticism...”The San Francisco Peace Treaty is constitutive, and some of its provisions have an effect erga omnes (rights or obligations toward all). But its territorial clause does not purport to define Korea’s boundaries in any detail and does not mention Dokdo, a group of some ninety islets in the East Sea, or Sea of Japan, that are contested by Korea and Japan: (Asian Perspective: July-September 2011, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 361-380). (<https://www.google.com/search?q=Asian+Perspective%3A+July+September+2011%2C+Vol.+35%2C+No.+3%2C+pp.+361-380.&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&client=firefox-a&channel=sb>)

3. Definition of Problem

(a) How the relevance is over Yoshino’s thought after his death (1933) until current days which passing through (World War II, Pacific War, Cold War, Korean War, and post-diplomatic normalization in 1965)? Kim Dae Jung kidnapping, until historical textbook stigma since 1970s and resent territorial conflict over D/K Island? (b) How is the possibility of Yoshino’s thought still applicable and actual until today as an ideological tool in solving the conflict?

4. Approach

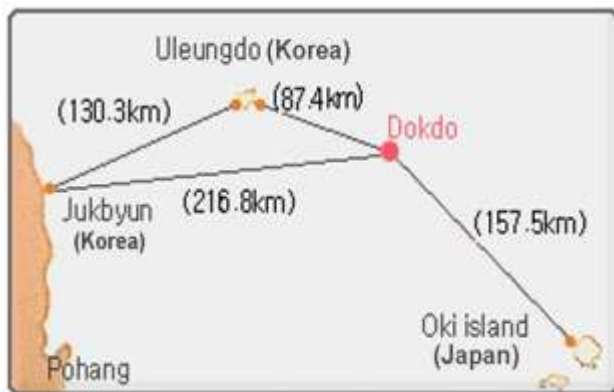
This research, based on interdisciplinary approach: historical approach, sociology and culture, thought and ideological approach. Data compiled based on literature studies by analyzing data found on books, science journal, news, and articles in Internet. In other word, Author used interdisciplinary approaches on history of thought and development of actual realities in each timeline. The writer understood that thoughts and reality are not automatically a

link and match paradigm. History is more to a record of events and the solution for problem in the past through peaceful or violence means. In the context of D/T Island, historical record is always interpreted in subjective.

Dokdo Island



Resources: http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=264142 (accessed March 30, 2018)



<http://www.dokdo-takeshima.com/why-japan-cant-have-dokdo-iv.html> (accessed, March 30, 2018)

5. Discussion

Dispute over D/T Island is still unsolved until now. Many argumentation and historical resources on background of D/T Island ownership have been presented by Japan and South Korea¹². D/T Island is geographically part of Exclusive Economy Zone. This area is abundant for: fishing ground, potential gas resources, sea weed, including various kinds of shells and fishes. Sea course meeting (*Liman Current*) from the north and course from the south (*Tsushima Current*) increase the number of fishes and algae.

Based on historical resources, Japan occupied Korea in 1910 and Shimane prefecture have claimed D/T Island as part of Japan sea territory until Japan lost in 1945 Pacific War. In the midst of D/T island conflict, in 2004 – 2005, new conflict emerged on revision of Japan's history textbook for Secondary and High School students, which said that D/T Island is part of Japan territory. It is still unresolved conflict

¹²The first historical references to the island were cited in Korean documents, which make reference to them as a part of an independent island state known as "Usankuk" (Ullung Island) which was incorporated into the Korean Shilla Dynasty in 512 AD

despite efforts made by both parties to solve the problem in diplomatic ways¹³. The latest issue was, Shimane prefecture administration has declared 22 February 2005 as the centennial (100 years) claim of Japan over D/T Island. Shimane administration approves written statement on "Takeshima Day" ordinance and submitted by 15 March to central government. The government approved the ordinance by 16 March 2005 for "Takeshima Day". Each year after the approval, "Takeshima Day" is celebrated in Japan. The last Takeshima Day on 22 February 2016, Shimane administration leader, Zembe Mizoguchi stated that government continues to strongly hope that the Takeshima issue is discussed at diplomatic levels¹⁴. There were 460 participants commemorating Takeshima Day in 2016 from many organizations. Governor Zenbe Mizoguchi, reminded that Japan and South Korea held a summit last November for the first time in roughly three and a half years, and said.... "We strongly encourage the continued discussion on the Takeshima issue during diplomatic negotiations." Head of LDP party, Yamaguchi, also stated that Japan as a whole must join hands to seek the return of Takeshima, and I vow that the LDP will stand at the head of a concerted movement to do so,".... All of Japan will work together for the return of Takeshima, and the LDP will be in the forefront of the movement."¹⁵

On the other hand, in South Korea, Masan City administration propose bill of "Daimado Day" (related to General Yi Jong Mu conquest over Tsushima Island in 1419). There were sound reactions over "Takeshima Day" celebration in South Korea. Cho Taeyeon, Press Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea said in a press conference at 22 February 2016, 'This is deplorable', and warned that if a central government (of Japan) bureaucrat attends the ceremony, then we will take appropriate measures. It was not just a bluff, and in reality, at 21 February 2016, 323 students united in "Dokdo Academy" landed at D/T Island and made a resolution to postpone Takeshima Day, while "National Citizen Movement of Patriotic Korea" held protest in Seoul the next morning and three protesters cut their hair¹⁶. Eleven years before, in 16 March 2005, Heo Kyung Wook burnt himself while his two friends cut their fingers in front of Japan's Embassy in Seoul as protest against "Takeshima Day".

The escalating conflict in East Asia, North Korea versus South Korea, D/T island, Sankaku island and constellation with major countries like China, Russia and USA which

¹³In 2012, South Korea and Japan came very close to signing a bilateral security agreement that would help to address mutual security threats: China's rise in power and North Korea's missile testing and nuclear status. Yet the South Korean government halted the signing of the agreement due to domestic opposition, putting a stop to this and other future security agreements for now. Probably D/T problem is one reason of postponing the bilateral security.

¹⁴www.japantimes.co.jp/.../government-rep-attends-takeshima-day-event-stress-japans-clai... accessed Feb 22, 2016 -

¹⁵<https://www.jimin.jp/english/news/131672.html> accessed Mar 15, 2016 -

¹⁶<https://www.japancrush.com/.../korea-outraged-by-japans-takeshima-day-celebrations...> Feb 23, 2013 - The Japanese government has angered Korea over its official endorsement of 'Takeshima Day' (February 22), on which ceremonies were held .

have interest to Korea and Japan, the conflict seemed hard to be resolved, unless there was historical criticism approaches on what has happened. Japan Empire, Nara and Heian, had good relationship with three empires in Korea: Pakchae, Silla and Koguryo in early centuries. However, the relationship of these empires in Kamakura era, Edo era and Meiji era had it's up and down like "alliance" and also "rivalry" as enemy¹⁷.

6. Conclusion

Yoshino Sakuzō's thought concerning conflict between Japan and Korea is one of historical ideas in solving international conflict, especially the ideas of fraternity, nationalism and peace. To use Yoshino's ideas of fraternity, mean that each party must have a broad perspective on "criticism of historical evident" and create new evidence as a part of old historical fact. It means that dissolving conflict base on peace coexistences is changed conflict into mutual cooperation and management concerning D/T natural resources. Base on this perspective the long-standing dispute between Korea and Japan over D/T has caused considerable controversy among each country's nationalists, while each nation has presented evidence based on their perception and interpretation of historical resources and fact and their interpretation of international law concerning D/T.

7. Future Scope

Based on this reason for claim to the D/T the issue has not yet been brought to an international tribunal, even Japan has requested the issue be taken to the International Court, but Korea refused the proposal. This has allowed Japan to effectively protest Korea's occupation of the islands through movement and national movement like Takeshima Days, the other side Korean movement concerning the issues of D/T minimal diplomatic actions. I think international discusses and bilateral understanding and agreement between the two countries is a good method, based on Yoshino Sakuzō's thought.

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